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REGIONAL COOPERATION IN OCEANIA:

deepening interdependence through the development of fisheries adaptation policies

Belo Horizonte
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Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação *Stricto Sensu* em Relações Internacionais da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais, como requisito para obtenção do título de Mestre em Relações Internacionais.

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RESUMO

O objetivo do presente trabalho é analisar o desenvolvimento de políticas de adaptação relacionadas com a pesca entre 1992-2021, para compreender se os países da Oceania reforçaram a cooperação regional existente ao longo dos anos, possivelmente avançando para um regionalismo. A pesquisa se centra nas consequências que os pequenos países insulares em desenvolvimento do Pacífico enfrentam devido ao aumento do nível do mar em sua indústria pesqueira. O estudo destaca a interdependência entre estas nações insulares, considerando a sua dependência económica da pesca, e seus recursos limitados e isolamento geográfico. Prevê que, à medida que as alterações climáticas e as suas consequências na pesca pioram, serão desenvolvidas políticas de adaptação relacionadas, aumentando a cooperação regional entre os países insulares e as potências regionais. Nesse sentido, a hipótese é de que aumentará a interdependência entre os países, fazendo-os caminhar para um regionalismo. A análise explora as mudanças geopolíticas e a evolução da identidade regional na Oceania. A pesquisa utiliza abordagens quantitativas e qualitativas. O método causal-explicativo é associado à técnica de análise documental e mobiliza-se o método de estudo de caso comparativo. O método utilizado será a análise de dados pré-existentes, e também dados secundários que permitirão a análise de como existe a cooperação na região. Inclui dados estatísticos na recolha de dados secundários, que são retirados principalmente dos relatórios do Painel Intergovernamental sobre Mudanças Climáticas. A revisão da literatura foi realizada por meio de buscas no Google Acadêmico, pois alguns dos dados sobre os países estudo de caso (Austrália, Nova Zelândia, Fiji, Ilhas Salomão e Papua Nova Guiné) não estavam disponíveis nos sites governamentais. Além dos relatórios oficiais de cada país, também foram recolhidos dados de relatórios da Organização das Nações Unidas para a Alimentação e a Agricultura e da Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura, bem como fontes de notícias online. Espera-se contribuir para o avanço da compreensão sobre as consequências da mudança global do clima na Oceania, e sobre as consequências diretas disso em países mais vulneráveis – como a fome e a insegurança alimentar.

Palavras-chave: Políticas de adaptação, pesca, interdependência, PSIDS, cooperação regional, regionalismo.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to analyze the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies from 1992-2021 to understand if Oceania's countries have strengthened the existing regional cooperation in Oceania over the years, possibly moving towards a regionalism. The research focuses on the consequences that small island developing countries in the Pacific face due to rising sea levels on their fishing industry. The study highlights the interdependence between these island nations, considering their economic dependence on fishing, and their limited resources and geographic isolation. The hypothesis is that as climate change and its consequences on fisheries worsens, strengthened fisheries-related adaptation policies will be developed, increasing regional collaboration among the island countries and regional powers like Australia and New Zealand. In that sense, cooperation will increase, and, consequently, the interdependence between the countries, making them move towards a regionalism. The analysis aims to delineate how these policies may lead to a deeper interdependence, exploring geopolitical shifts and the evolution of regional identity within Oceania. This research uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The causal-explanatory method is associated with the document analysis technique and the comparative case study method is mobilized. For the purpose of carrying it out, the method used will be the analysis of pre-existing data, and it also works with secondary data that will allow the analysis of how cooperation exists in the region. It will include statistical data in the collection of secondary data, mainly those referring to climate change, which are taken mainly from Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's reports. The literature review was carried out through searches on Google Scholar, as some of the data about the case study countries (Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea) were not available on governmental websites. In addition to the official reports from each country, data was also collected from Food and Agriculture Organization and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization reports, and online news sources. It is expected to contribute to the advancement of understanding about the consequences of global climate change in Oceania, about the direct consequences of a struggling agricultural industry – such as hunger and food insecurity.

Key-words: Adaptation policies, fisheries, interdependence, PSIDS, regional cooperation, regionalism.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIS	Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea
ANZCERTA	Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
COPs	Conference of the Parties
CPR	Common pool resources
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
GHG	Greenhouse gases
GPD	Gross domestic product
GPGs	Global public goods
IOs	International Organizations
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IR	International Relations
IUU	Illegal, unreported and unregulated
MSG	Melanesian Spearhead Group
NDCs	Nationally Determined Contributions
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONG	Non-governmental organization
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PLG	Polynesian Leaders Group
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PSIDS	Pacific Small Island Developing States
PSMA	Agreement on Port State Measures to Prevent, Deter and Eliminate Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development of 1992
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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1 INTRODUCTION

The predictions made by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) on its latest report (2022) are that the vulnerability of Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS[1]) will increase over the next decades. Causing, for example, floods, alteration of the ecosystem and water resources, cyclones, that consequently impacts on the economy and tourism, compromising the health of the population and alteration of the coastline, because the consequences of global climate change are worsening. These factors may culminate in the most extreme scenario of total loss of territory due to rising sea levels and, if confirmed, could lead to a large number of internally displaced persons and migrations (IPCC, 2014).

Small Island Developing States (SIDS[2]) are considered by the IPCC as the most vulnerable in the world in relation to climate variations, in terms of susceptibility to damage and less conditions to adapt. Since they have, in general, a small territory with limited resources, they are dependent on agriculture, they are geographically isolated from the rest of the world due to their insular condition, among other factors. Also, the countries have a very small population and the gross domestic product (GDP) of all the members combined equals about 8% of the world GDP. The SIDS group is composed of 58 island countries that came together during the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, or Earth Summit) to jointly defend their interests and claim for assistance. SIDS is considered a group, and not an International Organization (IO) or Alliance, because it does not have an established and ratified treaty, nor a headquarters (Robinson; Dornan, 2017). Hence, this work will analyze the specific case of the developing island countries located in Oceania.

In the case of Oceania, a direct consequence of global climate change is the food insecurity generated, among other reasons, by the loss or reduction of shoals, caused by excessive heat. These new circumstances of the Anthropocene[3] have a direct impact on the environment and, therefore, on international geopolitics, as recourses become scarcer (Pimenta; Teixeira; Nascimento, 2022). Industrial tuna fishing, for example, is carried out in the South Pacific on a large scale and the continent is responsible for about 60% of the tuna stocks on the planet. Still, small-scale commercial fishing is also essential to supply domestic markets and accounts for a significant part of PSIDS exports from the region, corresponding, for example,

[1] This term specifies only the developing island countries located in the Pacific, which are starred in Annex A.
[2] The list of countries that make up the group can be found in Annex A.
[3] The term Anthropocene is a term used by some geographers and scientist that refers to the most recent period in Planet Earth's history, characterized by human activities which have direct impact on the Earth's environment and climate (Pimenta; Teixeira; Nascimento, 2022).

to US$ 114 million in frozen fish exports from Vanuatu, US$ 90 million from Kiribati, and US$ 46 million from Fiji, all in 2020 (Horton, 2019a; OEC, 2022). Considering that fishing is already directly impacted by the consequences of climate change, such as ocean acidification and fish migration, it will be used as the analysis activity to understand the conditions for strengthening the existing regional cooperation in Oceania based on the demands for fisheries-related adaptation policies (IPCC, 2014). In this sense, the goal of this research is to *analyze the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies from 1992-2021 to understand if they have strengthened the existing regional cooperation in Oceania, possibly moving towards a regionalism.*

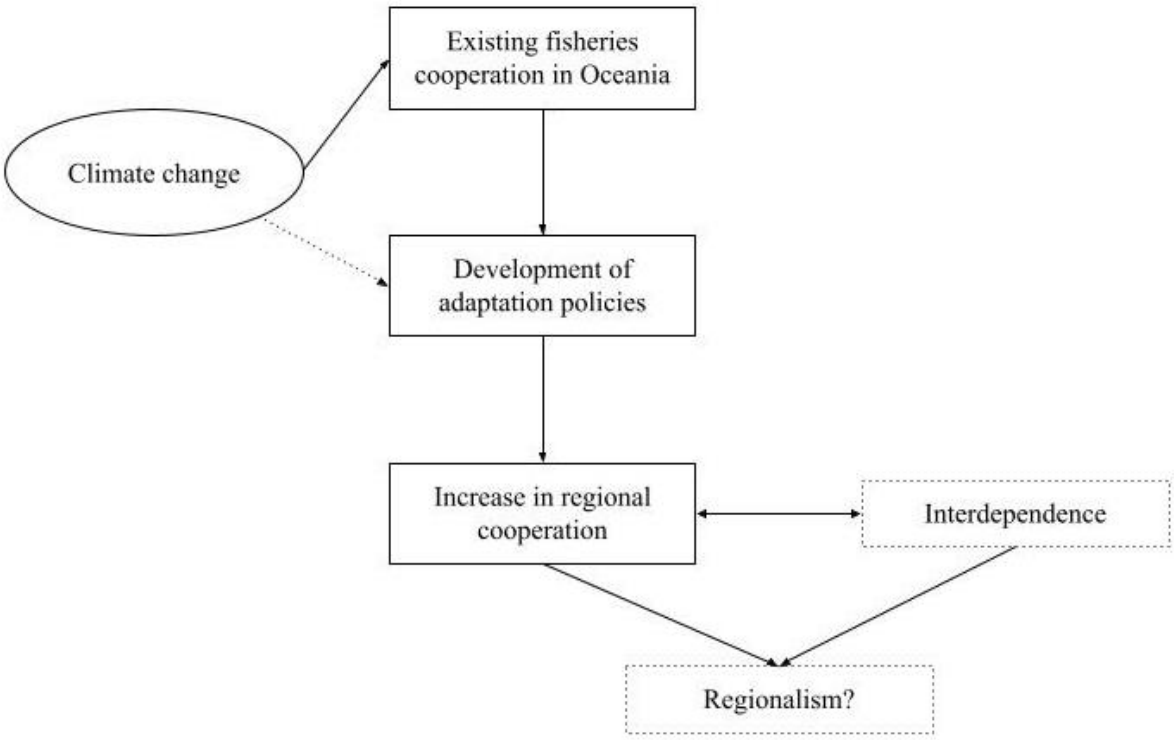
Taking into account the worsening consequences of global climate change, PSIDS are becoming increasingly vulnerable, especially in relation to the loss of territory due to sea level rise, soil salinization, and the increase in the number of environmentally displaced people. Based on this, cooperation at the regional level – driven by the arrangement between the PSIDS and the regional powers, Australia and New Zealand – develops as the countries of Oceania are hit more seriously by the consequences of climate change. So, the development of adaptation policies for the issue of fisheries becomes necessary. Therefore, taking climate change as a context condition, the problem statement that guides this work is: *How does the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies affect regional cooperation and interdependence in Oceania?*

Considering the presented research question, the proposed hypothesis are:

1. *If more fisheries-related adaptation policies are developed, as climate change's consequences are worsening, then Oceania's regional cooperation will increase;*
2. *If the cooperation between Oceania's countries increases, they will become more interdependent and the region will move towards a regionalism.*

In the first presented hypothesis, the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies is the independent variable, as it is the presumed cause of impact on the dependent variable; regional cooperation is the dependent variable, as it is the one observed in response to the development of the fisheries-related adaptation policies. Then, the second hypothesis is that the condition of interdependence, that is, the mediating variable, explains the relationship between the independent (cooperation) and the dependent (regionalism) variables. So, regionalism is a dependent variable of the cooperation, as it will be observed in response to the increase of the interdependence condition. Figure 1 summarizes the analysis model of the research.

Figure 1 – Analysis model



Source: elaborated by the author.

To sum up, as it is possible to see in Figure 1, to deal with the condition of climate change and its consequences, the development of adaptation policies (independent variable) increases regional cooperation (dependent variable). Then, regional cooperation, now as the independent variable of the second hypothesis, generates regionalism (dependent variable). Thus, it is possible to identify that there is an asymmetry relationship between the variables, which makes it possible to carry out a causal-explanatory analysis for the phenomenon.

It is expected to contribute to the advancement of understanding about the consequences of global climate change in Oceania, about possible adaptation measures to deal with fishing and about the direct consequences of a struggling agricultural industry – such as hunger and food insecurity. It is also expected to encourage production and debates that promote cooperation on the climate issue, especially considering that these consequences are not limited only to PSIDS, but also to all other countries in the international system.

Complex Interdependence[4] is an approach in the field of International Relations whose main authors are Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. They took the concept of dependency, which is when a State is determined or affected by external forces, and applied it in an international

[4] Complex Interdependence is an approach of Neoliberal Institutionalism, Keohane's functional (or contractualist) theory of International Regimes (Hasenclever; Mayer; Rittberger, 1997).

logic. Thus, Interdependence is the mutual dependence between States which, in world politics, refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between countries and whether a country is determined or significantly affected by external forces. These effects result, in most cases, from international transactions, that is, from the economy – which demonstrates the inclusion of economics in theories of International Relations (IR). The interdependence between States has reciprocal effects, but is asymmetrical, which means that this dependence is not mutual and balanced (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

There are also studies that assess regionalism among PSIDS as a group, placing these countries with a certain level of regional identity[5]. This identity emerged in the context of the Cold War (1947-1991), in which the PSIDS became independent from their colonizers and wanted to assert a pan-Pacific regional identity in the 'Pacific Way'. This included having native-island leaders in regional organizations and an anti-colonial tone, and the continent became divided into three sub-regions based on geocultural facts. With this, emerged the 'Melanesian Way', that is considered to be a form of sub-regionalism in which the national Melanesian identity is projected to a regional level, by the national elites that intend to shape regional politics according to their own interests. After this, the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) was created. There was a 'Polynesian response' to this, by the creation of a Polynesian sub-regional organization called Polynesian Leaders Group (PLG). Some authors even consider a possible emergence of a 'Micronesian Way' in the future (LAWSON, 2015). Those will be discussed in Chapter 4, in order to understand the New Pacific Diplomacy, which is a shift in foreign policy, diplomatic ideas and practices between the countries in South Pacific in the early 2010s, and how it relates to regional cooperation (Fry; Tarte, 2015). To do that, it was necessary to define regional identity. But, in this research, identity is a contextual element/component but not a variable present in the hypothesis.

Thus, Keohane and Nye (1975) suggest that it is possible to consider integration as a scope of interdependence as long as it is considered within the region's historical context and the international system itself. One important form of influence is through economic interdependence, which makes integration theory relevant for analyzing regional politics, also making it possible to determine what Weiss (1999) calls an 'interdependence-to-integration causality', that differs from the European experience – it is market-led, as emerges from

[5] According to Lawson (2015), regional identity can be understood from three characteristics: it is relational (1), as it needs a comparison with an alternative image to establish self-identity, a dynamic reflected in the prevalent 'self/other' dichotomy seen in identity-based movements; they are also situational (2), being context-dependent; and identities frequently are instrumental (3), capable of being strategically employed to achieve specific goals or as protective measures against external pressures.

economic benefits, but it is also transaction-led, and considers expanding international relationships and the expanded agenda of IR.

As regional cooperation develops further and countries become more dependent on each other, being assisted by international institutions, it can spill-over, giving rise to a regional integration process (Hirst, 1991). This regionalism is characterized by microeconomic organizations that promote economic integration through formal institutional structures, and macroeconomic organizations of a political nature that seek to mitigate or prevent conflicts (Hurrell, 1995). And so, regionalism can be understood according to the five different levels described by Hurrell (1995): regionalization, regional awareness and identity, regional inter-state cooperation, state-promoted regional integration, and regional cohesion. This research will look for examples of these five levels within the scope of cooperation for the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies in Chapter 4.

Also, in the case of this work, the scope of security and defense will not be considered in the analytical model, as the PSIDS countries do not suffer military threats and do not have military forces in action, and Australia and New Zealand also do not have a history of involvement in conflicts beyond the World Wars. But, it is important to recognize that the increasing Chinese interest in the continent, as well as the U.S's and China's strategic competition to expand their influence in the Pacific may be a problem in the future. Although there is no perceived risk of conflict between the countries of Oceania amongst themselves, they are still susceptible to external threats which, in turn, can lead to either more or less cooperation between them and, consequently, in more or less regionalism. Still, even though China and the United States are important for climate cooperation, both countries choose not to prioritize the issue, unlike Australia and New Zealand (Pimenta; Teixeira; Nascimento, 2022; Henningham, 1995).

Table 1 summarizes the operationalization of the research.

Table 1 – Operationalization of the research

Analysis dimension	Analysis units		Variables	Indicators	Collection method	Analysis method
	Context unit	Recording unit				
International system	Oceania	Australia, New Zealand, Fiji,	Regional cooperation	Adaptation policies for fisheries Regional organizations	Academic articles and books	Historical analysis and case study

		Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea		Trade related to fishing Preferential/free trade agreements Common markets Economic and monetary unions Political unions		
			Interdependence	Regional organizations Trade related to fishing Preferential/free trade agreements The New Pacific Diplomacy	Academic articles	Document analysis and case study
			Fisheries-related adaptation policies	Fishing related treaties IOs and groups	Government websites, IO reports (IPCC, FAO, UNESCO)	Document analysis and case study
			Regionalism	Regionalization Regional awareness and identity Regional inter-state cooperation State-promoted regional integration Regional cohesion	Academic articles and books	Historical analysis and case study

Source: elaborated by the author.

Each chapter will discuss a specific goal, carrying a theoretical and empirical discussion at the same time. The specific goals are:

1. List fisheries-related vulnerabilities that PSIDS have, and existing fisheries adaptation policies that can be applied;
2. Identify existing regional cooperation processes in Oceania, with a focus on fisheries, from 1992-2021;
3. Analyze the New Pacific Diplomacy;
4. Discuss whether regional cooperation points to closer ties between the countries of Oceania, possibly moving towards a regionalism.

To achieve the proposed objectives, it is intended to carry out a comprehensive, applied and documental analysis to test the presented hypothesis. Regional cooperation can be identified through a historical and descriptive analysis, for example, the increase of treaties and conventions, bilateral agreements and through Organizations, joint programs, donations and

financial loans, among others. The vulnerabilities of island countries related to climate change, as well as possible adaptation policies, will be described according to IPCC reports (2014; 2022), which projected several scenarios with the consequences of global climate change for the world - leading to more drastic events that can be expected if no action is taken. There are already some projects in partnership with organizations such as Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) that develop adaptation policies for SIDS countries using international funds that are donated by countries such as Australia. Also, there were many treaties and conventions related to fisheries and aquaculture signed by PSIDS, Australia and New Zealand, that can exemplify the progression of cooperation on the topic over time. Thus, secondary data will be measured from pre-existing reports.

From there, the research will work with secondary data that will allow the analysis of how the PSIDS cooperate with each other and with Australia and New Zealand. It will include statistical data in the collection of secondary data, mainly those referring to climate change, which are taken mainly from IPCC's reports. This collection will be done in order to develop the argument presented in our hypothesis that the development of adaptation policies related to fisheries within organizations and between countries themselves is efficient to promote regional cooperation. The timeframe for analyzing the development of adaptation policies will be from 1992, when the Rio Earth Summit took place, until 2021, as it is the latest data available for all of the five case study countries.

The five countries for the comparative case study were chosen considering three criteria. They are: Australia and New Zealand, as it's not possible to talk about regional interdependence without their assistance; Fiji and Solomon Islands, as they are the two PSIDS countries that export frozen fish to Australia and New Zealand; and Papua New Guinea, that is the PSIDS country that export the most, even though Australia and New Zealand are not their main export recipients. The Federated States of Micronesia, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2021) and alongside Papua New Guinea, also exports a lot of frozen fish. But, the country was not a case study as the Micronesian government doesn’t provide enough fishing data for the country. In that way, the case study countries will be discussed in depth and in that order, in Chapters 2 and 3.

This research uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The causal-explanatory method is associated with the document analysis technique and the comparative case study method is also mobilized. For the purpose of carrying it out, the used method will be the analysis of pre-existing data (Quivy; Campenhoudt, 1998). The sources will be, mainly, the reports of

the IPCC, FAO and UNESCO, the projections made by the IPCC regarding the future consequences of the rise of the sea level, and websites and documents of the chosen countries. The literature review was carried out through searches on Google Scholar, as some of the data about the case study countries were not available on governmental websites. In addition to the official reports from each country, data was also collected from FAO and UNESCO reports, and online news sources.

Table 2 shows the main concepts of this work, and the process of discussing them will be carried out as they were mobilized through the chapters. The definition of each concept is first mentioned and discussed at the section mentioned on the Table.

Table 2 – Concepts of the dissertation

Concept	Definition	Section
Adaptation policies	Adaptation policies are priority actions that must be adopted by the governments of the countries so that an extreme disaster does not occur and/or does not affect the structure and population in a very incisive way. These adaptation policies are extremely important because they can give stability to SIDS in Oceania in the face of future consequences, reducing risks and vulnerabilities, and make them capable of engaging in their foreign policy to establish cooperative arrangements, if they have political management. adequate internal situation, and can then go as far as to constrain regional powers to take a stand (Santos, 2018).	3.1
Interdependence	Keohane and Nye (2001, p. 7): ‘‘Interdependence is the mutual dependence between States which, in world politics, refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between countries and whether a country is determined or significantly affected by external forces. These effects result, in most cases, from international transactions, that is, from the economy – which demonstrates the inclusion of economics in theories of International Relations. The interdependence between States has reciprocal effects, but is asymmetrical, which means that this dependence is not mutual and balanced’’.	2.2
International cooperation	Milner (1992, p. 467): ‘‘when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination’’. This concept complements the discussion about cooperation according to Keohane (1984), who understand that there is an adjustment of behavior on the part of the actors involved according to the preferences of others, within an international system that is considered anarchic.	2.2
Regional cohesion	Hurrell (1995, p. 29 translated[6]): ‘‘the horizon that, at some point, a combination of previous processes will culminate in the emergence of a cohesive and consolidated regional unit. Cohesion can therefore be understood in two senses. First, when the regional level plays an important role in the relations between the states of the region and the rest of the globe. Second,	4.4

[6] From the original: “Coesão regional” aponta para o horizonte que, em algum momento, uma combinação dos processos anteriores culmine no surgimento de uma unidade regional coesa e consolidada. Coesão pode ser entendida, portanto, em dois sentidos. Primeiramente, quando o nível regional desempenha um papel importante nas relações entre os Estados da região e o resto do globo. Em segundo, quando a região forma a plataforma organizacional para a estruturação da política entre os atores da região em vários temas. A coesão aponta para os crescentes custos e a vinculação que a interdependência e a integração geraram para os atores regionais.

	when the region forms the organizational platform for structuring policy among actors in the region on various issues. Cohesion points to the growing costs and binding that interdependence and integration have generated for regional actors''.	
Regional identity	Lawson (2015, p. 3): "First, identity formation is relational; the process requires a contrasting image against which self-identity can be constructed the 'self/other' dimension common to virtually every form of identity politics. Second, identities are situational; they may be activated according to the demands of a particular context. Third, identities are often instrumental; they can be deployed strategically in the pursuit of goals, or as defensive mechanisms in the face of unwelcome external pressures".	4.1
Regional integration	Mesquita (2019, p. 5, translated[7]): "Integration is understood as specific state decisions aimed at reducing or eliminating barriers to the exchange of goods, services, capital and people. This is a concept that is usually confused with economic integration, although it naturally involves more dimensions, and which is dominated by the European reference."	4.4
Regionalism	According to Hurrell (1995), it can be understood according to five different levels: (1) regionalization, (2) regional awareness and identity, (3) regional inter-state cooperation, (4) state-promoted regional integration, and (5) regional cohesion.	4.4
Regionalization	Söderbaum (2004, p. 44-45): ''In this way regionalization is seen as an instrument to change existing structures, take advantage of new opportunities that arise as well as to create bonds of identity and community. According to this perspective actors engage in regionalism not only on the basis of material incentives and resources [...] but they are also motivated by ideas and identities.''	4.1

Source: elaborated by the author.

All things considered, the structure of the dissertation is as follows: The second chapter discusses the first part of the first specific goal. It begins explaining the role that the PSIDS have within Oceania, and how the countries are interdependent, and introducing the five case study countries and the discussion about international cooperation; the second section of the chapter explains the relationship between climate change and fisheries and the climate-related consequences suffered from the PSIDS as from the IPCC report (2022); the third section of the chapter discusses the adaptation policies that can be applied in the PSIDS in order to deal with the consequences climate change has on fisheries.

The third chapter discusses the second part of the first specific goal, and the second specific goal. Therefore, the first section analyzes what are the adaptation policies according to the IPCC (2022); the second section discusses why fisheries is important for Oceania, and for

[7] From the original: A integração é entendida como decisões estatais específicas visando reduzir ou eliminar barreiras ao intercâmbio de bens, serviços, capital e pessoas. Trata-se de um conceito que habitualmente se confunde com integração econômica, embora naturalmente envolva mais dimensões, e que é dominado pelo referencial europeu.

each of the case-study countries; the third section identifies how fisheries-related cooperation happens in the region, specifically through IOs and forums, and treaties, as determined by the indicators in Table 1 (p. 25).

As for the fourth chapter, it discusses the third and fourth specific goals. The first section explains the concept of regional identity and how PSIDS can share an identity; the second section analyzes the New Pacific Diplomacy; the third section identifies how fisheries-related cooperation happens in Oceania through trade agreements, common markets and political unions, the final indicators of cooperation; and the fourth section discusses whether regional cooperation points to closer ties between the countries of Oceania and the concepts related to regionalism.

At the end of each chapter, there is a conclusion section that organizes and articulates the findings of each chapter. Lastly, the fifth chapter ties together the main findings while revisiting the research hypothesis.

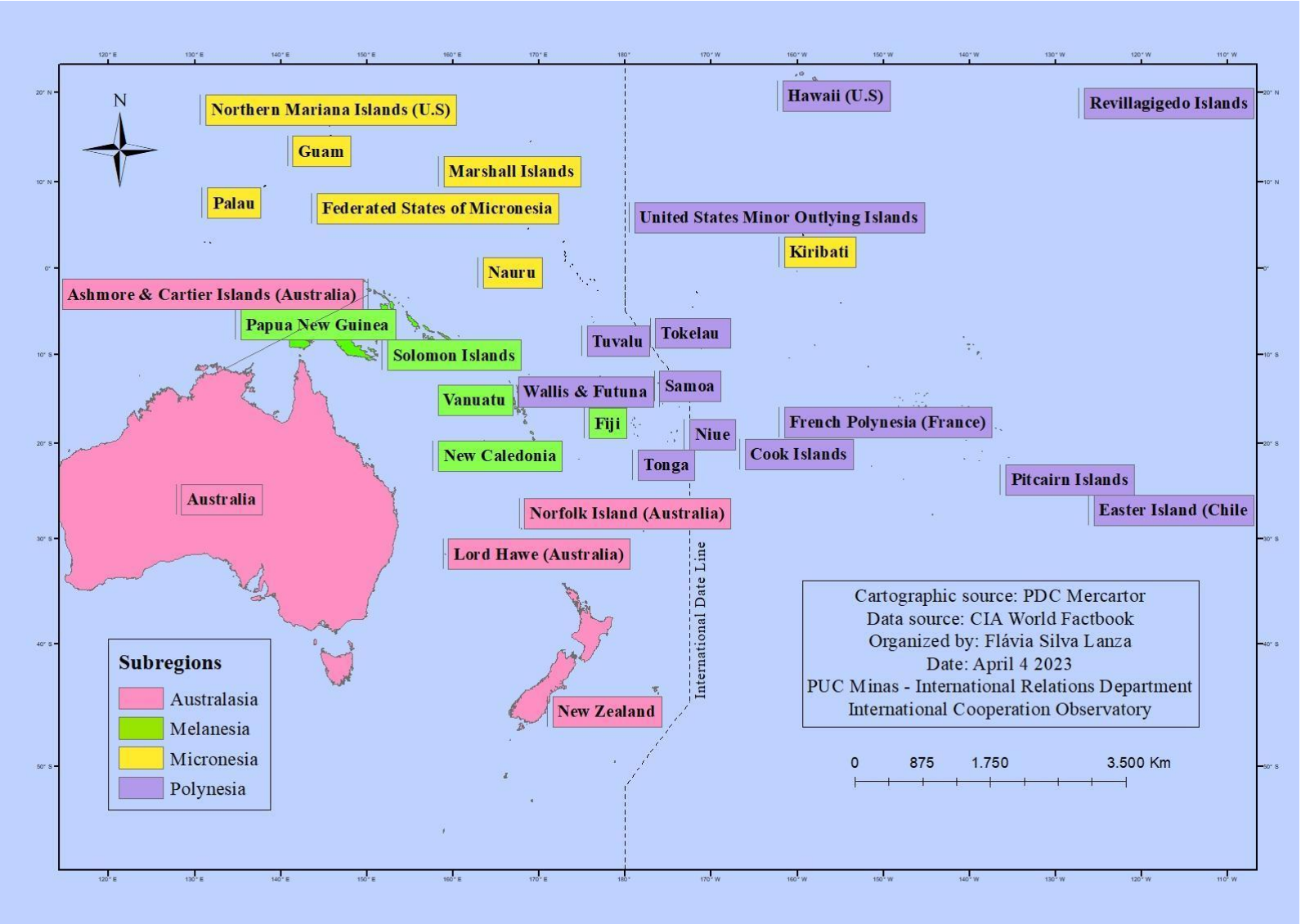
2 OCEANIA AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Oceania is the island region[8] located in the South Pacific Ocean, between Asia and America, and is divided into four sub-regions: Australasia (Australia and New Zealand), Micronesia (which means "small islands"), Polynesia (which means "many islands") and Melanesia (which means "black islands"), as can be seen in Figure 2. It is the smallest continent in the world when considering its land area, which is 8,525,989 km², spans 8 time zones and the International Date Line, and is located in the intertropical and southern temperate climate zones (CIA, 2022).

This chapter is dedicated to discuss the first part of the research's first specific objective: list fisheries-related vulnerabilities that PSIDS have, and existing fisheries adaptation policies that can be applied. The first section explains the relationship between climate change and fisheries and the climate-related consequences suffered from the PSIDS according to the IPCC report (2022); the second section explains the role that the PSIDS have within Oceania, and how the countries are interdependent; lastly, the third section introduces the five case study countries and begins the discussion about international cooperation.

[8] The term region can be understood from various criteria, such as territorial location, economy, climate, socio-cultural characteristics. The regions have a territorial correspondence, but it does not necessarily have to be a border (HERZ, HOFFMAN, 2004). According to Hurrell (1995), regions are socially constructed and, therefore, can be politically contested. States of a certain region have correspondences, and, thus, they must unite, since they share interests.

Figure 2 – Cartographic representation of the sub-regions of Oceania



Source: elaborated by the author based on CIA (2022.

2.1 Climate change and fisheries

The study of climate change deals with ‘‘a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods” (UNFCCC, 1992, p. 4). This can lead to several problems, such as rising sea levels, melting glaciers, changes in rainfall patterns, desertification, cyclones, droughts, storms, an increase in the number of hurricanes, among others. Also, the increase in global temperature can affect fishing activity, and may even leave the population without food, which is the starting point for the present work (IPCC, 2022; Santos, 2018).

Climate change is already considered a threat to the world and the search for ways to adapt to its consequences are urgent, according to the Secretary-General of the UN Antonio Guterres in his speech at the Austrian World Summit (R20) in 2018. To deal with that, there are many studies on the vulnerability that the PSIDS have facing these consequences, considering the effects that climate change may have on the particular territory and people, and what sort of conditions the government possesses to adapt the country (Mendes; Santos; Souza, 2020). This vulnerability means “the propensity or predisposition to be harmed’’ (IPCC, 2014, p. 22), which includes the country’s susceptibility to damage and lack of ability to cope and adapt, and depends on climatic factors, in addition to socioeconomic, physical and ecological factors that interact with each other (IPCC, 2022).

Climate change relates to fisheries because it has consequences that directly impact the fishing activity, as it is sensitive to environmental conditions and has an important role of supporting livelihoods and feeding the PSIDS populations (Galappaththi *et al*, 2021). One of them is the large-scale changes in the distribution of fisheries resources that, according to the IPCC (2022), have already been observed as the shifts in tuna distribution. This can decrease the revenue of the PSIDS, which depend on fisheries exportation and license fees, as well as impact the populations nutrition. The activity is already affected by climate change in the sense that, as the oceans are warmer, occurs coral bleaching and poisoning of the fish species, as well as a rise of metabolism of marine and coastal fishes that could be fatal to some species (Mycoo *et al*, 2022). In addition to that, fisheries are affected by deoxygenation, acidification and the GHG emissions, which can also be fatal to some species and, therefore, decrease fishing activity (Lam *et al*, 2020).

Oceans and fisheries are also understood as a common pool resource (CPR), which are discussed by Elinor Ostrom (2000) and means that they are a natural resource that is shared by

many and are available to all, and are important for human survival and economic activities. Other examples of CPR include forests, underwater basins and irrigation systems. But, fisheries is a resource that is hard to control as it can happen over large areas – and this can end up with the scarce availability of fisheries in the future (Hägg, 2016).

The issue of water resources began to be specifically debated during and after the Conference on the Sea in 1973, and with the 1st UN Conference on Water in 1977. From then on, it began to be discussed as part of the social agenda of the IR, since it was perceived the importance of the Oceans for sustainable and economic development, in addition to having an impact on the quality of life and health of the population. The quality requirements for fishing are high and, with fish mortality, it can end up impacting the quality of water resources (Souza, 2005). Considering this, protecting the oceans is imperative to maintain the fish industry, that is extremely important for the societies, and international cooperation might be a way to ensure the protection – as it can be exemplified by the 2009 "Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries and Food Security" between Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, and the Solomon Islands regarding the Indian Ocean (Hägg, 2016).

Other future impacts on the PSIDS projected by the IPCC include: decline in reef-associated species due to coral bleaching or cyclone damage, oceanic-scale shifts in the distribution of large pelagic fish and hence their fisheries, and changes to the size structure or breeding behavior of species (Mycoo *et al*, 2022). Climate change is also a threat to water resources because of the rising sea levels that could provoke salt-water intrusion on the fresh water supplies (ADB, 2021).

IPCC (2022) projects that could occur a 20% decline in coral reef fish production by 2050, which could affect nutritional security in the PSIDS. As fishing is an important activity for the PSIDS's economy, as well as their population's nutrition, adapting fishing so that it's not as impacted by climate change is extremely important for the island countries to ensure their food security. One way to do it is through community-based adaptation, as well as other adaptation measures. This will be explained further in section 3.1. Tuna, more specifically, is extremely important not only for local diets, but for the nutrition of the whole population (ABD, 2021).

> According to the World Food Summit (WFS) in 1996, universal food security will only exist when everyone has permanent physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. FAO's approach to food security is based on four dimensions or pillars: a) availability, (the "supply side" of food security - level of food production); b) access (to an adequate supply of food which requires a greater policy focus on

> income and employment, markets and prices, and should also reflect intra-household distribution, as this can be an important factor); c) stability, (referring to access to food at all times and the impacts of markets and prices); d) utilization, commonly understood as the way the body makes the most of various nutrients in food (FAO, 2014, p. 5).

Therefore, food insecurity means that the government is not able to provide safe and nutritional foods for the whole population to grow and develop in a healthy way. The eradication of hunger, alongside improving the quality of life of the world's population, is something really important in the social agenda of IR, because it is the 2nd goal of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Social topics have been considered important by international actors since the creation of the UN, in 1945, but the topic became more debated after the preparation of the 1990 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Other important conferences for the consolidation of sustainability and social agendas include: the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, the 1994 World Summit for Social Development 1995, the 1995 World Conference on Women and the 1996 World Conference on Human Settlements (Mota, 2015; Souza, 2005).

> Issues related to hunger can be addressed at different levels of analysis: at the level of the individual (biological aspect); at the family level (access to food); at the national level […]; at the global level (research on the balance between consumption and food production in the world). In this sense, it would not be an exaggeration to admit that the problem of hunger has, in essence, an international dimension, because it relates the actions implemented in the domestic environment to the domains of foreign policy, security and the international economy (Mota, 2015, p. 56, *translated*[9]).

The hunger issue is not related to the production of food, as the quantity of food that is produced worldwide is enough for the whole population of the planet. Because of this, the problem lies in the division of these foodstuffs, which is done unevenly, much like the distribution of income between developed and developing countries (Mota, 2015). Thus, it is necessary for the island countries to discuss the problem of hunger as part of their foreign policy, in addition to the assistance and humanitarian actions of IOs and international forums being aimed at alleviating the problem.

[9] From the original: as questões relativas à fome podem ser tratadas em diversos níveis de análise: no nível do indivíduo (aspecto biológico); no nível familiar (acesso à alimentação); no nível nacional (trato com as políticas públicas); no nível global (investigação sobre o balanço entre consumo e produção de alimentos no mundo). Nesse sentido, não seria exagero admitir que o problema da fome tem, em sua essência, uma dimensão internacional, porque relaciona às ações implementadas no ambiente doméstico aos domínios da política externa, da segurança e da economia internacional.

The food security issue in PSIDS includes: the countries have a high dependence on imported food, as well as on food aid; Oceania, as a region, is subject to a high incidence of natural disasters and are more vulnerable to climate change, which has large negative effects on the supply of locally-produced food; cash remittance by Pacific Islanders residing overseas is an important source of national income and, therefore, to ability to purchase food; chronic food insecurity is most common in urban areas while acute food insecurity is most common in isolated locations; also, malnutrition occurs and diseases related to poor nutrition are widespread, usually consequently from lack of a healthy and balanced diet (FAO, n.d.b).

The latest IPCC report (2022) confirmed that even if the GHG emissions are reduced, the global temperature will continue to increase and the impacts of climate change will remain a global issue. In addition, there has been collected more scientific evidence that proves sea level rise and extreme sea level have direct impacts on small island countries, as it is the case of the PSIDS. Those are particularly vulnerable to climate change. Many of them are biodiversity hotspots, and experience a harder impact when climate-related natural hazards occur. Although they are diverse in physical and biophysical characteristics, political and economic systems, they share similarities such as: ‘‘geographical remoteness, isolation, narrow resource bases, heavy dependency on external trade, vulnerability to exogenous economic shocks, economic volatility, and limited access to development finance’’ (Mycoo *et al*, 2022, p. 2048). Because of the diversities, the adaptation policies that are applied in each country need to be place and culturally-specific, in order to be successful in assisting the populations. These are detailed in section 3.1.

Some climate induced problems in the PSIDS include: coastal flooding and submergence of coastal areas, erosion, reef destabilization, rainfall, drought tropical cyclones and depressions, loss of marine and coastal biodiversity and ecosystem services, landslides, mudflows, deforestation, slow-onset climate loss of terrestrial biodiversity, transcontinental dust clouds, water insecurity, economic decline and livelihood failure. Some indirect impacts are: unhealthy water quality, chemically contaminated groundwater, salt water intrusion, limited sediment production – all which can affect agriculture and the settlements. The population faces health risks related to the climate variability, extreme events and temperature and precipitation, such as vector-bone diseases (ex: malaria, dengue fever and the Zika virus), heat stress, allergic diseases and respiratory illnesses due to air pollution, diarrhea, and ciguatera fish poisoning (due to a toxic algae that affects reef fish) (Mycoo *et al*, 2022).

Climate-related migration, including planned resettlement, is also a concern for PSIDS. It already happens internally in most countries as a displacement of the population to reduce

risks, usually from the center of the islands to the coast, and the IPCC projection is that the countries' habitability will worsen with the increase of the consequences of climate change. To deal with these consequences, IPCC (2022) considers that culture and cultural resources are going to have an important role in the development of adaptation policies and the creation of adaptive capacities and resilience. Community solidarity and cohesion are related to place-based identity, and that will be important to develop the adaptive capacities. Because of this, migration and reduced habitability could become a hindrance to the development of adaptation policies. Also, in the FSM, for instance, as deterioration of land happens and women are the decision makers, the loss of land may implicate not only in economic deprivation, but also compromise the country's cultural identity, as well as cultural sites and their tangible heritage (Mycoo *et al*, 2022).

As some of the PSIDS are also sustained by tourism and invest yearly on infrastructure and capacity building, it may be difficult to revert to subsistence living if climate change makes tourism impossible. Beach erosion already has an impact in coast-focused tourism (MYCOO *et al*, 2022). In addition to reducing the population's diet, it may also end up reducing fishing-related jobs (Lam *et al*, 2020).

All in all, PSIDS have many vulnerabilities as a consequence of global climate change, that are added to their issues of being small developing countries. IPCC recommends many adaptation policies that can assist PSIDS on improving their fisheries on the short and medium terms whilst dealing with those vulnerabilities and issues, which will be discussed in the last section of this Chapter.

2.2 PSIDS and Oceania

The continent of Oceania is made of 14 countries officially recognized as independent territories, as can be seen in Table 2, and 11 dependent territories, detailed in Table 3. Altogether, it is estimated that the population of Oceania is 44 million inhabitants (by the end of 2021), and that of the PSIDS, together, of 13 million inhabitants (also by the end of 2021). With the exception of Australasia, almost all islands have a population composed mostly of indigenous people. The vast majority of islands are of volcanic or atoll[10] origin, and have low relief, sandy soil that is not suitable for agriculture, and little vegetation cover. Funafuti, capital

[10] Oceanic island formed by corals, usually formed from a volcanic island crater that has accumulated coral reefs (IPCC, 2022).

of Kiribati, for example, is located 1.1m above sea level. In addition, most island countries have low altitude (CIA, 2022; UN, 2022).

Table 3 – Countries of Oceania

#	Country	Population (2022)	Sub-region
1	Australia	25,499,884	Australasia
2	Papua New Guinea	8,947,024	Melanesia
3	New Zealand	4,822,233	Australasia
4	Fiji	896,445	Melanesia
5	Solomon Islands	686,884	Melanesia
6	Federated States of Micronesia	548,914	Micronesia
7	Vanuatu	307,145	Melanesia
8	Samoa	198,414	Polynesia
9	Kiribati	119,449	Micronesia
10	Tonga	105,695	Polynesia
11	Marshall Islands	59,190	Micronesia
12	Palau	18,094	Micronesia
13	Tuvalu	11,792	Polynesia
14	Nauru	10,824	Micronesia

Source: elaborated by the author based on CIA (2022) and UNFPA (2022).

Table 4 – Oceania's dependent territories

#	Territory	Population (2022)	Collectivity	Sub-region
1	Hawaii	1,455,271	United States of America	Polynesia
2	New Caledonia	285,498	France	Melanesia
3	French Polynesia	280,908	France	Polynesia
4	Guam	168,775	United States of America	Micronesia
5	Northern Mariana Islands	57,559	United States of America	Micronesia
6	American Samoa	55,191	United States of America	Polynesia
7	Cook Islands	17,564	New Zealand	Polynesia
8	Wallis & Futuna	11,239	France	Polynesia
9	Easter Island	4,888	Chile	Polynesia
10	Niue	1,658	New Zealand	Polynesia
11	Tokelau	1,357	New Zealand	Polynesia

Source: elaborated by the author based on CIA (2022) and UNFPA (2022).

In Oceania, PSIDS are considered to be the most at risk of the consequences of global climate change, according to the IPCC (2022). Their vulnerability is increased by their underdeveloped economy, small population compared to other countries in the world, and their geographic distance from the main continental centers. The risk of vulnerability is defined from the vulnerability and exposure of societies and local systems to climate-related hazards, which

vary due to economic, social, demographic, cultural, institutional circumstances and governance of a country.

PSIDS' countries are the majority of the countries in Oceania, which were presented in Figure 2. Their collectivity as a group (SIDS) arose in 1992, during the Rio Summit, and included island countries that were grouped in three geographic regions: the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea (AIS). Because of their geographic proximity and shared colonial history, the 20 PSIDS share many similarities in culture, politics and environmental vulnerability (Robinson; Dornan, 2017). According to Fry and Tarte (2015), it was in 2009 that PSIDS' diplomatic role took a turn, and the group became a key for these countries' participation in the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) and the Group of 77. This is mainly due to the group's effort during UNFCCC's meetings, the UNCED that happened in 2012, and the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States that took place in Samoa in 2014.

This vulnerability is defined as "the propensity or predisposition to be adversely affected and encompasses a variety of concepts and elements, including sensitivity or susceptibility to harm and lack of capacity to cope and adapt'' (IPCC, 2014, p. 22), and it depends on climatic factors, in addition to socioeconomic, physical and ecological factors that interact with each other. As a result, the PSIDS are vulnerable because they are not as economically developed and, therefore, their government's response capacity is small compared to Australia and New Zealand (IPCC, 2022). This vulnerability is not the same as the one defined by Keohane and Nye, which will be explained in section 3.3.

When considering climate change in PSIDS, which are countries that lack representation in the media and in the international system for being small and in development, it is intended that attention is drawn to their vulnerabilities, in particular regarding the fact that the relocation of populations in these countries, when affected by sea level rise, may be necessary (IPCC, 2014). Thus, it is necessary to think of this region as an environment where cooperation already occurs more frequently in economic areas, but could be improved with more emphasis in the socio-political and climatic spheres, since there are a plurality of needs (Scollay, 2005).

The group is considered key in the continent for assisting the island countries in raising awareness for their climate-related vulnerabilities. Most PSIDS countries suffer from low economic diversification and are highly dependent on tourism, and suffer economic losses that are resulted directly from natural disasters or impacted by climate change. In this regard, the SIDS group emerged as an organization where all the island countries could come together and raise awareness for their challenges. Many of the countries enhanced their Nationally

Determined Contributions (NDCs)[11] in order to access global climate funding and serve as a market to investors in order to develop adaptation policies to deal with climate change (Emerging Issues For…, 2015).

Organizations such as FAO and UNESCO have developed joint programs with the SIDS group in general, to provide assistance to all the SIDS countries and promote cooperation amongst them. This cooperation can be understood as ‘‘when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination’’ (Milner, 1992, p. 467). This concept complements the discussion about cooperation according to Keohane (1984), who understand that there is an adjustment of behavior on the part of the actors involved according to the preferences of others, within an international system that is considered anarchic[12]. The intention of this cooperation is to better manage the global public goods (GPGs) that cross borders and have global or nearly global effects (Nordhaus, 2005). Some challenges facing the development of cooperation are mainly related to the difficulty of accessing some services in more remote parts of the territory of PSIDS countries, and the cost and need for efficiency that cooperation demands (Axelrod; Keohane, 1985; Lucas et al., 2017).

Cooperation can be achieved through the assistance of IOs, that center the countries' requests and promotes policy development in partnership, making it easier for donated resources to be taken to all countries and for an exchange of knowledge to occur between them. It is through negotiation between the countries, that the actors' actions are coordinated in favor of their common interest. This discussion is developed further in Chapter 3 (Keohane, 1984).

FAO's programs include training for capacity building, diffusion of technologies for agriculture, and knowledge-sharing between the SIDS – all with the intention of increasing food and nutrition security in the PSIDS. The Organization also helps in the occurrence of negotiations between countries, for example, the Pacific Small Island Developing States Solutions Forum that happened in Samoa in 2022, and the Pacific Week of Agriculture and Forestry that happened in Fiji in 2023 (FAO, n.d.a). As for UNESCO's initiatives, they include, for instance, the Barbados Programme of Action[13], the Small Island Developing States

[11] ‘‘NDCs are countries' self-defined national climate pledges under the Paris Agreement, detailing what they will do to help meet the global goal to pursue 1.5°C, adapt to climate impacts and ensure sufficient finance to support these efforts.’’ (UNDP, 2023, n.p.). They represent the short and medium plans that the country has, based on their specific capabilities, to adapt to climate change. They are updated every five years and submitted to UNFCCC.

[12] The term anarchy presupposes that there is no government common to or superior to States and other international actors within the scope of world politics, that is, the term does not imply that the international system is not organized - and, therefore, the relations of cooperation between actors, despite being complicated in some topics, it is possible and can be built from norms and principles that need to be followed.

[13] In 1994, the United Nations World Conference on Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) took place in Barbados, a Caribbean island country. During this conference, an agreement was reached and implemented, known as the Barbados Declaration. The declaration endorsed the objectives of the Program for

Accelerated Modalities of Action (S.A.M.O.A Pathway[14]), the Global SIDS Dialogue platform, the UNESCO-SIDS Action Plan 2016–2021[15], among others (UN-OHRLLS, 2015; UNESCO, 2016). They are detailed in section 3.3.

Because of their small size, developing status and shared colonial history, PSIDS are very dependable on imports from other countries, and Australia and New Zealand are important partners for this trade. The PSIDS, amongst themselves, also have a long history of partnership, as can be exemplified by the creation of AOSIS and the SIDS group itself, which have the intention of assisting them on concentrating demands for dealing with specific issues. Hence the countries of Oceania are very interdependent, but this interdependence is asymmetrical (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

> Interdependence is the mutual dependence between States which, in world politics, refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between countries and whether a country is determined or significantly affected by external forces. These effects result, in most cases, from international transactions, that is, from the economy – which demonstrates the inclusion of economics in theories of International Relations. The interdependence between States has reciprocal effects, but is asymmetrical, which means that this dependence is not mutual and balanced (Keohane; Nye, 2001, p. 7).

Asymmetry means that the interdependence between Oceania's countries is not balanced – and so, the PSIDS countries can be perceived as more dependent on Australia and New Zealand than the other way around (Keohane; Nye, 2001). However, between themselves, there is a history of cooperation and knowledge-share among the governments. The PSIDS can also be considered a significant development for the New Pacific Diplomacy, which is discussed in section 4.2.

Although they have similar issues and are all developing countries located in the South Pacific, PSIDS have many differences in government, politics, economy, population and territory. For this reason, the next subsections introduce the five case study countries – Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea – and shows their roles within Oceania. As they are very diverse in government, territory and economy, and some

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Sustainable Development and outlined a set of policies that SIDS countries should adopt to achieve sustainable development. These policies aimed to align with the principles outlined in Agenda 21, encompassing 14 key points. (UNESCO, 2016).

[14] The S.A.M.O.A Pathway was formulated in 2014 with the assistance of UNESCO, during UNCED. The document served as a foundation for establishing goals aimed at promoting development and eliminating poverty in the SIDS' countries. The S.A.M.O.A Pathway also takes into account the impacts of climate change on island nations, as well as addressing other important areas such as renewable energy, disaster reduction, food security, vector-borne diseases, basic sanitation, sports, education, and other topics (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

[15] The UNESCO SIDS Action Plan 2016–2021 was developed by UNESCO as an outgrowth of the Third International Conference on SIDS, which took place in Samoa in 2014. establishment of long-term goals so that the countries of the SIDS group can develop capacities to adapt to their vulnerabilities (UNESCO, 2016).

details may not be common knowledge, their characteristics were summarized in the next section.

2.3 Case study countries

As mentioned, the countries in Oceania have an asymmetric interdependence, because, as each PSIDS has its specific type of government, different territories' size, climate and geographical relief, and their own economic focus, they are more or less dependent of Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, it is important to differentiate the case-study countries from each other. The countries are: Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea.

Australia is the 6th largest country in the world and the largest in Oceania, the richest of the continent, and it is also the country with the largest population in Oceania. Its climate is tropical in the north of the territory, and arid/semiarid in the rest of its extent. Almost 50% of the country's territory is composed of agricultural land, and about 18% of forests. Australia typically suffers from cyclones, droughts and forest fires, and the islands Heard and McDonald have registered volcanic activity. Its population of almost 25,000,000 people is mostly located on the east and southeast of the territory, and about 85% of the citizens live in urban areas (CIA, 2022).

Figure 3 – Map of Australia

Source: World Atlas (n.d.).

The country became independent from the United Kingdom in 1901, but its chief of state is King Charles III, being represented by the general governor David Hurley. It has a GPD of circa US$1,500 trillion (2022), and most of it is destined to household consumption. The agricultural products that are produced in Australia include: sugar cane, wheat, milk, beef, cotton, grapes, poultry and potatoes. Its industry is focused in mining, equipment transportation, food processing and steel (CIA, 2022).

Exportation wise, Australia is currently the world's biggest export of coal, opals and liquefied natural gas, and it holds the largest uranium reserves in the planet. The exported commodities are mostly iron, coal, natural gas and wheat. Exports go mostly to China (about 40%), but also to Japan (14%), South Korea (9%), India (6%) and Taiwan (4%). Australia imports about $298.712 billion/year, mostly in refined petroleum, cars, delivery trucks, broadcasting equipment, computers, and gold. Import partners are China (28%), United States (10%), Japan (6%), Germany (5%) and Thailand (5%) (CIA, 2022).

As for New Zealand, it is the second largest country in Oceania, and consists of the two main islands (North and South) and a few smaller islands. Its climate is temperate, the territory is predominantly mountainous and the country has many natural resources, such as natural gas, iron, sand, coal and gold. New Zealand sometimes suffers from earthquakes, and some islands suffer from volcanism. The country's population is mostly located in urban areas, and over 75% of it resides on the North Island (CIA, 2022).

Figure 4 – Map of New Zealand

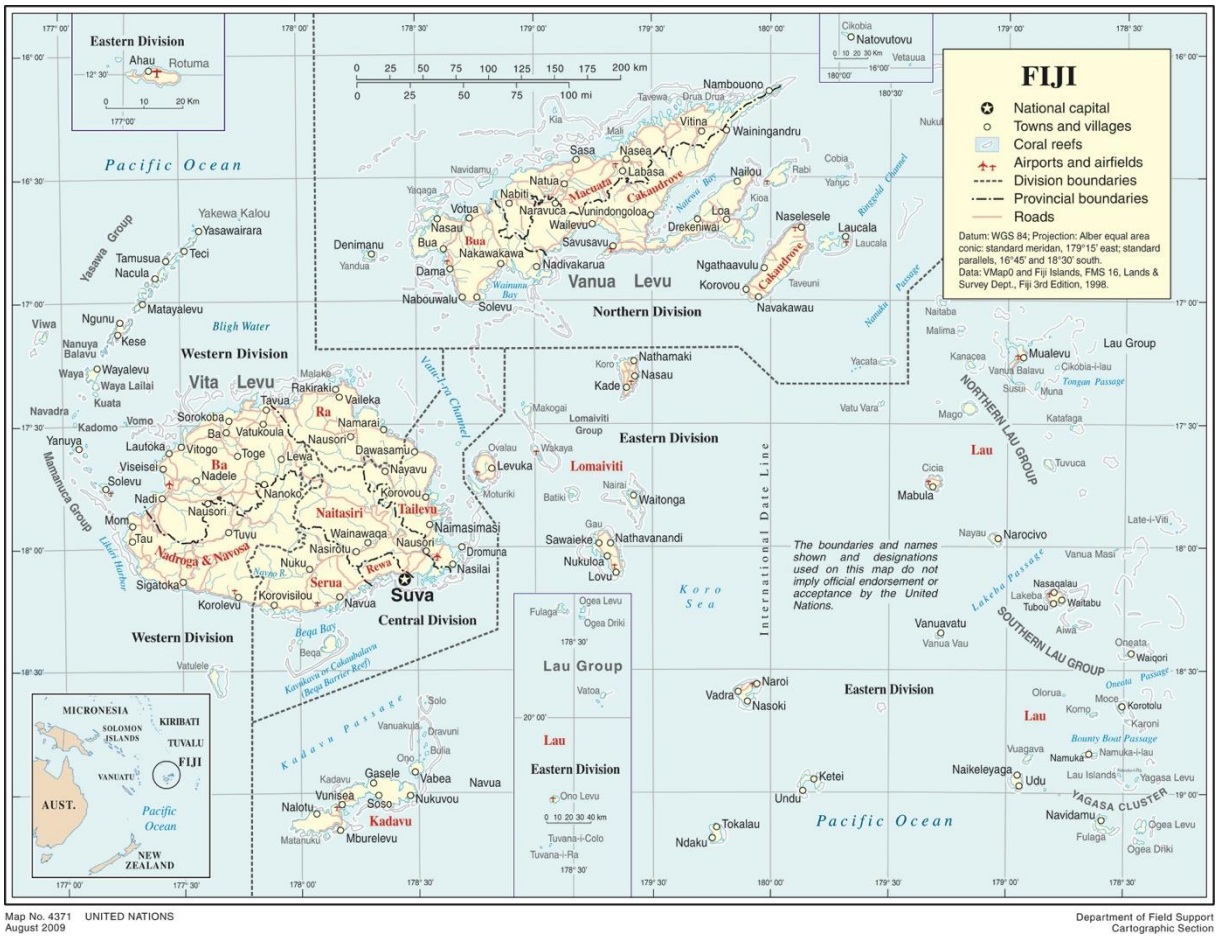
Source: World Atlas (n.d.).

New Zealand became a separate colony from the United Kingdom in 1841, but only became fully independent in 1907 – and its chief of state is currently King Charles III, being represented by the general governor Cindy Kiro. It has a GPD of almost US$250 billion (2022) and most of it is composed by the services sector and destined to household consumption. The agricultural products that are most produced there include: milk, beef, kiwi, apples, potatoes, grapes, wheat and green onions. The industry sector is mostly focused on agriculture, forestry and fishing, as well as manufacturing, mining and tourism (CIA, 2022).

The country exports about US$50 billion a year (estimate), mostly to China (28%), Australia (14%), the United States (9%) and to Japan (6%). The exported commodities include: milk powders, lumber, beef, butter and mutton. On the other hand, the imported commodities include: card, refined and crude petroleum, delivery trucks and gas turbines. The import partners are China (18%), Australia (15%), the United States (9%), Japan (6%) and Germany (5%). In 2021, it is estimated that New Zealand imported about U$62 billion in goods (CIA, 2022).

The Republic of Fiji is an island country that has a small territory in comparison to New Zealand, its closer neighboor. It is composed of volcanic originated-mountains, and has a tropical marine climate. Whilst most of the territory is covered by forests, its natural resources are timber, fish, gold, copper and has potential for offshore oil exploitation. Approximately half of its population lives in urban areas, and roughly 70% lives on the island of Viti Levu, which is the largest island of the country, while it’s capital Suva is the most populated city (CIA, 2022).

Figure 5 – Map of Fiji



Source: UN Geospatial (2009).

Fiji was first visited by the Dutch in the 17th century, and later became a British colony in the 19th century. The country became independent in 1970, after a few military coups and, because of those, Fiji was expelled from the British Commonwealth. Its government is a parliamentary republic, and has a chief of state, currently President Wiliame Katonivere, and a head of government, currently Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka (CIA, 2022).

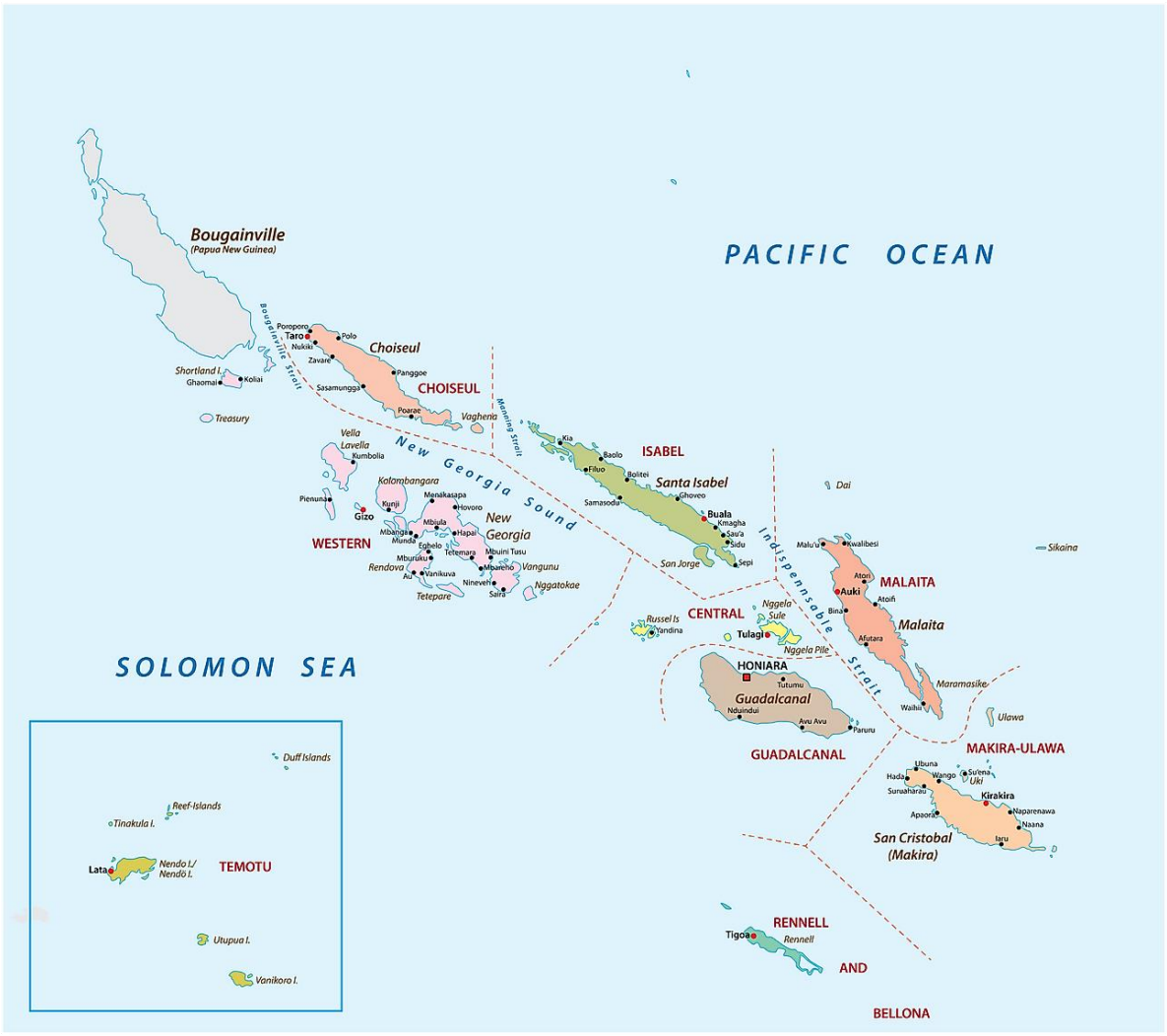
The country suffers from extreme air pollution, due to the practice of waste incineration, and from vehicle emissions, as well as deforestation and soil erosion. Although Fiji has the second biggest economy of the PSIDS, after Papua New Guinea, it still deals with hunger, lack of water and poverty (CIA, 2022).

The Fijian economy is heavily based on tourism, which was directly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. The country's GPD is currently of US$4,296 billion (2021), and it is mostly composed of the service sector. The farming production is focused on sugar cane, cassava, vegetables, coconut, eggs and milk, and the industry sector, for instance, is focused on tourism, sugar processing and clothing. In 2021, Fiji exported US$1,171 billion and imported

US$2.344 billion. The major exported commodities are water, fuel wood, gold, sugar, refined petroleum and fish, and the imported commodities are refined petroleum, aircraft, cars, wheat and broadcasting equipment. Most of the exports are to the United States (29%) and Australia (14%), but also from New Zealand (7%), Japan (6%) and Tonga (6%). As for the imports, they come from Singapore (28%), Australia (13%), China (13%), New Zealand (11%), France (11%) and South Korea (8%) (CIA, 2022).

As for the Solomon Islands, it is a group of islands located in Oceania on the east of Papua New Guinea. Its territory is composed mostly of mountains with some coral atolls, it has a tropical monsoon climate and many natural resources, such as fish, forests, gold, bauxite ore, phosphates, lead, zinc and nickel. The land is mostly forest and the population is concentrated along the coastal regions, with the majority of the population residing in Honiara, located in the central region of the Solomon Islands, as it is possible to see in Figure 5, which is the capital of the country and has the chief port. The country suffers from tropical cyclones, earthquakes and tremors, volcanic activity, tsunamis, deforestation, soil erosion and death of coral reefs (CIA, 2022).

Figure 6 – Map of the Solomon Islands



Source: World Atlas (n.d.).

The Solomon Islands was once divided as a German colony in the north, and a British colony in the south of the country. In 1900, Germany ceded the north to Britain and it was only in 1978 that the Solomon Islands became independent. But it is still a part of the British Commonwealth, with King Charles III being the current chief of state, and Prime Minister Manasseh Sogavare being the current head of government (CIA, 2022).

Their GPD is of US$1,631 billion (2021) and it is mostly due to the services sector. The agricultural products produced in the country are oil palm fruit, sweet potatoes, coconut, taro, yams, vegetables and cocoa. The industrial sector is focused on fish (specially tuna), mining and timber. It is estimated that, in 2021, the Solomon Islands exported US$413 million to China (65%), Italy (9%) and India (6%), and imported US$619 million from China (24%), Australia (13%), South Korea (12%), Singapore (12%) and Malaysia (10%). The exported commodities include lumber, processed fish, aluminum, palm oil and cocoa beans, and the imported

commodities are refined petroleum, non-fillet frozen fish, insulated wiring, broadcasting equipment and excavation machinery (CIA, 2022).

Lastly, Papua New Guinea is located on the east from Indonesia, and is washed by the Coral Sea and the South Pacific Ocean. It is near Australia and the Solomon Islands. The climate is mostly wet tropical with slight seasonal variation and monsoon. Its natural resources include gold, copper, silver, natural gas, timber, oil and fisheries, and its territory is mostly mountainous with coastal lands. It is estimated that 85% of its population lives and works in farming and agriculture, most of them living in isolated communities, and the rest of the population is located in urban areas (CIA, 2022; The Economist, 2003).

Figure 7 – Map of Papua New Guinea

Source: UN Geospatial (2004).

Papua New Guinea's GDP is US$36 billion (as of 2021). The most produced agricultural products are oil palm fruit, bananas, coconuts, sweet potatoes, game meat, yams, roots, and other vegetables. The country's industry is focused on oil and gas, mining of gold, copper and nickel, processing of palm oil, copra crushing, tourism, fishing, livestock of pork

and cattle, dairy farming, and spice products, such as turmeric, vanilla, chili, pepper and others. The lumber industry is especially important to the economy, and 95% of the total land area of forests are owned by tribal clan groups. In order to carry any forest-related operations, negotiation happens between the governmental agencies and the clan groups (CIA, 2022).

The estimative is of US$10,5 billion in exports and almost US$5 billion in imports. The exported commodities are natural gas, gold, copper, palm oil, nickel, crude and refined petroleum, lumber, tuna and coffee, and the imported commodities are refined petroleum, rice, delivery trucks, excavation machinery and motor vehicle parts. Besides tuna, which is extremely important for the country's commerce, they also trade sea cucumber, prawn, lobster, shark and other fish. The Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) Fisheries Agency is working with the Papua New Guinean government towards strengthening the industry and making sure it is environmentally sustainable. The exported partners are Japan (25%), China (25%), Australia (16%), Taiwan (6%), South Korea (6%). The imported partners are Australia (27%), China (25%), Singapore (13%), Malaysia (8%), Indonesia (5%) (CIA, 2022; The Economist, 2003). Table 5 summarizes some economic, politic and geographic aspects for the five case study countries.

Table 5 – Basic characteristics of Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea

Characteristics	Australia	New Zealand	Fiji	Solomon Islands	Papua New Guinea
Climate	tropical in the north of the territory, and arid/semiarid in the rest of its extent	temperate	tropical marine	tropical monsoon climate	mostly wet tropical with slight seasonal variation and monsoon
Territory	50% agricultural land,18% of forests	mountainous	volcanic originated-mountains and forests	mountains with some coral atolls	mostly mountainous with coastal lands
Natural resources	bauxite (aluminium ore), iron ore, lithium, gold, lead, diamond, rare earth elements, uranium, and zinc	natural gas, iron, sand, coal and gold	timber, fish, gold, copper and has potential for offshore oil exploitation	fish, forests, gold, bauxite ore, phosphates, lead, zinc and nickel	gold, copper, silver, natural gas, timber, oil and fisheries
Natural disasters	cyclones, droughts and forest fires, volcanic activity	earthquakes, and some islands suffer from volcanism	extreme air pollution, due to the practice of waste incineration, and from vehicle emissions, deforestation and soil erosion	tropical cyclones, earthquakes and tremors, volcanic activity, tsunamis, deforestation, soil erosion and death of coral reefs	earthquakes, volcanoes, cyclones, floods, tsunamis and droughts
Majority of population	urban	urban	urban	coastal	farming and agricultural areas
Independence	1901	1907	1970	1978	1975
Chief of State	King Charles III, represented by the general governor David Hurley	King Charles III, represented by the general governor Cindy Kiro	President Wiliame Katonivere	King Charles III	King Charles III / Bougainville: President John Momis
Head of government	Prime Minister Anthony Albanese	Prime Minister Chris Hipkins	Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka	Prime Minister Manasseh Sogavare	Prime Minister Ishmael Toroama
GPD	US$1,500 trillion (2022)	US$250 billion (2022)	US$4,296 billion (2021)	US$1,631 billion (2021)	US$36 billion (2021)
Agricultural produce	sugar cane, wheat, milk, beef, cotton, grapes, poultry and potatoes	milk, beef, kiwi, apples, potatoes, grapes, wheat and green onions	sugar cane, cassava, vegetables, coconut, eggs and milk	oil palm fruit, sweet potatoes, coconut, taro, yams, vegetables and cocoa	oil palm fruit, bananas, coconuts, sweet potatoes, game meat, yams, roots, and other vegetables
Industry	mining, equipment transportation, food processing and steel	agriculture, forestry and fishing, manufacturing, mining and tourism	tourism, sugar processing and clothing	fish (specially tuna), mining and timber	oil and gas, lumber, mining of gold, copper and nickel, processing of palm oil, copra crushing, tourism, fishing, livestock of pork and cattle, dairy farming, and spice

					products, such as turmeric, vanilla, chili, pepper and others
Exports	iron, coal, natural gas and wheat	milk powders, lumber, beef, butter and mutton	water, fuel wood, gold, sugar, refined petroleum and fish	lumber, fish, aluminum, palm oil and cocoa beans	natural gas, gold, copper, palm oil, nickel, crude and refined petroleum, lumber, tuna and coffee
Exports to	China (about 40%), but also to Japan (14%), South Korea (9%), India (6%) and Taiwan (4%)	China (28%), Australia (14%), the United States (9%) and to Japan (6%)	United States (29%) and Australia (14%), but also from New Zealand (7%), Japan (6%) and Tonga (6%)	China (65%), Italy (9%) and India (6%)	Japan (25%), China (25%), Australia (16%), Taiwan (6%), South Korea (6%)
Imports	refined petroleum, cars, delivery trucks, broadcasting equipment, computers, and gold	card, refined and crude petroleum, delivery trucks and gas turbines	refined petroleum, aircraft, cars, wheat and broadcasting equipment	refined petroleum, fish, insulated wiring, broadcasting equipment and excavation machinery	refined petroleum, rice, delivery trucks, excavation machinery and motor vehicle parts
Imports from	China (28%), United States (10%), Japan (6%), Germany (5%) and Thailand (5%)	China (18%), Australia (15%), the United States (9%), Japan (6%) and Germany (5%)	Singapore (28%), Australia (13%), China (13%), New Zealand (11%), France (11%) and South Korea (8%)	China (24%), Australia (13%), South Korea (12%), Singapore (12%) and Malaysia (10%)	Australia (27%), China (25%), Singapore (13%), Malaysia (8%), Indonesia (5%)

Source: elaborated by the author with data from CIA (2022).

As it is possible to notice, the countries were all European colonies at some point and suffers from natural disasters; four of them are still part of the Commonwealth; in three the population is majority located in urban areas, their economies depend on the exports of their natural resources and their industry is heavily focused on tourism. Also, Australia is an import partner for all of the other four countries, while New Zealand has closer relations to Fiji. Except for Fiji, the countries seem to have a very close export relationship with China.

The next subsections introduces the role that the five case study countries have within Oceania, and starts the analysis of the cooperation among them. Then, in Chapter 3, it will be discussed how each country deals with the fisheries sector and specific cooperation related to aquaculture and fisheries.

2.3.1 Australia

It was during World War II (1939-1945) that Australia became a strategic country for conquest, and both Japan and the United States changed their approach to the country. It became an important base for the American army and, after the war, Australian economy boomed as a result of the political, economic and military cooperation with the United States. From that cooperation, in 1951, emerged the ANZUS security treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the US. Australia remains a party to the treaty until today (Przygoda, 2021).

In 1989, Australia launched the initiative to establish an Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), with initial members being: Australia, Brunei, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States. Later on, more countries such as China, India, Russia, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji Applied to enter the organization. Country-members facilitate trade amongst themselves, aligning regulations and making their economy grow together (Przygoda, 2021).

In recent years, in the South Pacific region, Australia is mostly important for being a concentrated place for production and centralization of capital, as it has natural resources, large industries and territory for mining and for processing of oil and natural gas. Besides APEC, Australia is a member of the G20, OECD, Pacific Islands Forum and many other organizations, also having free trade agreements with ASEAN, Canada, Chile, China, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore, Thailand and the United States. It has free trade agreements with the United States (AUSFTA) and New Zealand (ANZCERTA). It is also worth mentioning that the Australian dollar is the official currency of Kiribati, Nauru and Tuvalu (Przygoda, 2021).

Australia is the largest aid provider to the PSIDS, specially related to health-aid and education-aid, and most of them have the country as its top trading partner. In recent years, Chinese investment in the South Pacific has become a source of worry, and, as a response to that, the Australian government started a policy of reengagement with the rest of Oceania's countries – the ''Pacific Step-up'' policy, which aims to maintain Australian influence in the region. This policy includes: more aid, security assistance and interaction between the countries (Synergia Foundation, 2019; Huitt, 2020).

Currently, there are two Australian-led labor mobility programs being applied: the Seasonal Worker program and the Pacific Labor Scheme. The first takes workers from Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu, and they are employed in agricultural jobs to fill labor shortages, also providing skill training for them. The second program makes it possible for semi-skilled workers of those same countries to work jobs in other sector for up to three years in Australia (Huitt, 2020).

2.3.2 New Zealand

In Oceania, New Zealand is fairly important for being Australia's largest destination for export of services, and the fourth country for the export of goods – mostly due to the success of the ANZCERTA Agreement between the countries, which is important the discussion of cooperation and possible integration that will be developed in Chapter 4. The country is also a significant producer of coal and iron, that are exported to the whole continent. In addition to that, New Zealand is a party to many regional and international agreements and, after Australia, is the second main aid provider to the SIDS. The country remains a party for the ANZUS security treaty, even though the New Zealander government declared that its country has become a nuclear-weapons-free-zone (Przygoda, 2021).

According to the Government of New Zealand, the country is a party to other 2.601 treaties (MFAT NZ, 2023a). The New Zealander Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade also mentions that Australia is their most significant economic partner, but their cooperation doesn't stop at the economic area, also happening in defense and foreign policy, and this proximity is due to their shared history, values, geographical proximity and ''healthy sporting rivalry'' (MFAT NZ, 2023b, n.p.).

With the PSIDS, the New Zealander Ministry also mentions a relation between culture, history, politics and shared interests – and because of it, it is important to understand New Zealand's work as a promoter of a Pacific identity, which will be discussed in section 4.1. The

Ministry's website makes it clear that the government is working towards assisting PSIDS to deal with their vulnerability, and intends on keeping this cooperation forward. This is exemplified by the ''Pacific Regional Four-Year Plan'' developed by the Ministry in 2021 and includes measures in which New Zealand intends to help PSIDS advance towards Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and also adaptation policies to deal with the consequences of climate change. PSIDS also receive 60% of the funding in the Official Development Assistance program that New Zealand implements, and the country has a Plan of assistance for each PSIDS country (MFAT NZ, 2023b). These Plans will also be reviewed in Chapter 4.

Alongside New Zealand's intentions of keeping the cooperation with the PSIDS, the federal government created a regional strategy called Pacific Reset, that means to keep the partnership between the countries, but could also mean a way for New Zealand to slowly become a regional leader. This could be a response to Australia's Pacific Step-up policy and Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy[16], and demonstrates New Zealand's interest in competing for regional influence (Huitt, 2019).

2.3.3 Fiji

In Oceania, Fiji is important for advocating towards mitigation and adaptation for climate change. The country was president in the 2017 Conference of the Parties (COP23), held in Germany. Australia and New Zealand assist Fiji in the development of adaptation policies, but both of the countries pushed sanctions against Fiji when a coup happened in 2006, which led Fiji to be excluded from the meetings of the PIF. The sanctions were lifted and Fiji is back on PIF, but it is possible to see that the relationship between the countries is volatile (Skulley, 2016).

In 2020, Fiji's then Prime Minister Josaia Bainimarama gave a speech during the opening of the Regional Pacific Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) Hub Office saying that Fiji, alongside the other PSIDS, intends to be a leader in meeting the targets set in the Paris Agreement. It is important to note that the Hub has funding from Germany, the United Kingdom and Australia. The Prime Minister also said that the creation of the Hub Office, which resulted from the Climate Change Action Pacific Partnership (CAPP) Conference, is intended to assist the PSIDS to deal with their vulnerabilities. The Hub is encouraging cooperation

[16] The ''Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy'' strategy was first introduced in put down as a strategy in 2016 by the than-Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe. It's main goal in relation to PSIDS is to promote economic prosperity, free trade and peace in the Indian and Pacific Oceans (ASEAN, n.d.).

between PSIDS, for example between Fiji and the Solomon Islands in creating a monitoring system for adaptation policies, between Fiji and Kiribati in presenting workshops to support investment planning, between Fiji and Vanuatu in consultancy to enhance adaptation targets. Considering this, it is possible to notice that the Fijian government is actively working alongside PSIDS towards developing policies to adapt to the consequences of climate change (Skulley, 2016; Fiji Prime Minister…, 2020).

2.3.4 Solomon Islands

Historically, the country was extremely important during the Pacific War that happened between Japan and the Allies (specifically the United States) during World War II (1939-1945). The Solomon Islands campaign (1942-1945) was an important campaign after the attacks on Pearl Harbor (Hawaii), and the episode of the Battle of Guadalcanal (1943) represented a significative victory of the Allies. During the campaign and during the Cold War[17] (1947-1991), the country became a stage for battles, and the seas around it were used for testing military atomic bombs[18]. Years later, the consequences of those tests are still impacting the populations health (CIA, 2022).

In Oceania, the Solomon Islands can be considered a strategic location and a great market. With the PSIDS, the Solomon Islands are member of the many regional treaties and organizations, such as PIF, the Pacific Community, the OHCHR Regional Office for the Pacific, Nauru Agreement, among others. The country also has a security deal with China, signed in April 2022, authorizing Chinese navy ships to visit their ports and train Solomon Islanders on law enforcement. The United States saw this as a possible future thread, in the sense that the country could become China's first Oceanic military outpost, even though the deal doesn't mention a military base being established in the country. Both the United States and China have

[17] While World War II had the episode of the Pacific War, in which the island countries were the stage for the unfolding of the war, it was during the Cold War that nuclear tests were carried out more intensely in the Oceania sea, causing several problems of health for the population of the islands and also impacting on the environment. Still, it is necessary to point out that the nuclear bomb tests in the Pacific Ocean are not mentioned much when it comes to world history. However, it is important to draw attention to the impacts that these tests had and still have in these places. Radiation continues to affect the inhabitants of the islands, as many people develop respiratory problems, and there is still radioactive waste in the seas and on some small islands, which have had to be inhabited by their residents (Henningham, 1955).

[18] To ensure the effectiveness of these nuclear weapons, the countries that were developing them chose to carry out atmospheric tests and at the bottom of the sea, and the Oceania region was widely used as a location for these tests. These tests culminated in destruction, dislocation and death for the population, mainly in the Marshall Islands, which was the most affected country and still suffers from the consequences of nuclear tests. To deal with the consequences of these nuclear tests, an initiative that the countries of Oceania took, years later, was the signing of the Treaty of Rarotonga (Henningham, 1955).

turned their eyes to the PSIDS, hoping to increase their influence in the region and, therefore, are competing against dominance – and the PSIDS are willing to use the relationship with those countries as access to aid. Australia, who has been trying to increase regional influence, is also concerned and, as a response, finalized a defense pact with Papua New Guinea. In addition, the Solomon Islands is located close to Australia and the American continent, and therefore could be a strategic ally (Grossman, 2023).

2.3.5 Papua New Guinea

The country was once divided between a German (North) and a UK colony (South). In 1902, the German land was transferred to the Australian government for them do administrate it, and during that period, Australia occupied the north during World War I (1914-1918). Later, in World War II (1939-1945), the country was invaded by Japan, but the Allies managed to push them out during the New Guinea campaign, and both territories were combined into one Australian administration. It only became independent in 1975. The government is a parliamentary democracy and it is also a part of the Commonwealth, so King Charles III is the current chief of state, and Prime Minister James Marape is the current head of government. An independence referendum happened in 2019, and the almost unanimous voters chose that the region of Bougainville would become an independent region, still located in Papua New Guinea. Their current president is Ishmael Toroama (CIA, 2022).

In addition, the country relies on its mineral deposits for 72 percent of its export earnings, and mining is a significant source of employment in the country. The primary exports include copper, gold, and oil. Additionally, Papua New Guinea's waters will soon be hosting the world’s inaugural offshore mining project. While the mining operations could help economic development, it will also contribute to environmental degradation (The Economist, 2003).

The country suffers from hurdles surrounding public health, education and wellbeing, and it is also vulnerable to floods, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic activity, tsunamis and loss of territory due to sea-level rise. In order to deal with that, 10.5% of the Australian Official Development Assistance goes to Papua New Guinea. The population also faces challenges, such as corruption, limited government capacity and a HIV/AIDS epidemic (The Economist, 2003; U.S. Department Of…, n.d.).

In Oceania, Papua New Guinea is, alongside Australia and New Zealand, one of the three countries with a rich natural resources-economy – and the other PSIDS rely on their

natural resources for subsistence, rather that economic development. It is also the most populous amongst PSIDS and, with their abundant resources, can be considered an important actor to security in the Pacific (The Economist, 2003; U.S Department Of…, n.d.).

2.4 Conclusion

All things considered, in order to understand how regional cooperation works in Oceania, and, therefore, answer the research question ‘‘How does the development of fisheries-related adaptation policies affect regional cooperation and interdependence in Oceania?’’, it was necessary to firstly understand the characteristics of each case-study country and how climate change is affecting them and their fisheries, in order to see how regional dynamics work in the continent. As exemplified in Figure 1 (p. 23), climate change can be understood as a catalyst to promote the development of more fisheries-related adaptation policies, which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that there is already a regional cooperation and an interdependence between the countries, which is asymmetrical and, because of it, PSIDS are more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change and are more aid-dependent than Australia and New Zealand. The history of this cooperation will be developed further in Chapter 4, and, then, it will be possible to understand if an increase in cooperation and interdependence will move the region towards a regionalism, as put in the hypothesis:

1. If more fisheries-related adaptation policies are developed, as climate change’s consequences are worsening, then Oceania’s regional cooperation will increase;
2. If the cooperation between Oceania’s countries increases, they will become more interdependent and the region will move towards a regionalism.

It is also possible to conclude that climate change has a direct impact on fisheries, because the fishing activity is sensitive – in IPCC’s terms – to environmental conditions. This means that there has already been observed shifts in fishes distribution, and there is risk of poisoning or even extinction of species. When considered that the fishing activity is crucial for supporting livelihoods and feeding the PSIDS populations, combating these impacts on fisheries becomes extremely important for keeping food security and nutrition in those countries.

There are IOs, such as FAO and UNESCO, that try to assist the PSIDS in dealing with those consequences through the development of adaptation policies. The fisheries-related ones are the adaptation policies that assist PSIDS in dealing with their climate vulnerabilities while

also maintaining the fisheries economy, as it is intrinsically linked to PSIDS' food security. The importance of fisheries to the region and to each case study country will also be discussed in the next Chapter.

3 FISHERIES AND ADAPTATION POLICIES

The fishing activity is an important sector for most of the PSIDS, both for subsistence of the population, and also for exportation, as it provides the countries with opportunities to develop their economy. However, the activity is already impacted by the consequences of climate change. The IPCC predicts that without a reduction in the GHG emissions, 13% of the total tuna species could decline in the Pacific Ocean. This can also end up impacting the wealth and the wellbeing of the population (Mycoo *et al*, 2022).

The tuna fisheries is extremely important in South Pacific because it provides income and employment for many countries, and it contributes to more than $40 billion annually (globally). It is also an important food and nutrition source to the islands' population, and, in some cases (for example to Kiribati, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia), it represents the country's only renewable source, which means that tuna is the only opportunity for economic development that the country has. There are four important species that are consumed: skipjack (the most common), yellowfin, albacore and bigeye (Forum Fisheries Agency, 2019).

This chapter is dedicated to discuss the second part of the research's first specific objective, and also the second specific objective: list fisheries-related vulnerabilities that PSIDS have, and existing fisheries adaptation policies that can be applied; and identify existing regional cooperation processes in Oceania, with a focus on fisheries, from 1992-2019. The first section discusses the adaptation policies that can be applied in the PSIDS in order to deal with the consequences climate change has on fisheries; the second section analyses the importance of fisheries in Oceania, and specifically for the five case study countries; lastly, the third section focuses on how international cooperation for fisheries occurs in Oceania, and it is divided according to the indicators of regional cooperation determined at the Introduction. Those are: cooperation through IOs, forums and alliances; and fisheries-related treaties. As for trade agreements, common markets and political unions, they are discussed in the next Chapter.

3.1 Fisheries-related adaptation policies

For cooperation related to global climate change, it is necessary to control some resources in common in the world, the CPRs, which include, for example, forests, fishing areas and water basins – that is, resources that are considered important to be preserved, in general, by all countries of the international system, since they are shared by them. Cooperation to

manage these resources needs to involve formal institutions and control rules, which causes some problems to arise, such as: providing reliable information about dangers, benefits and options; monitoring by a State in order to avoid free-riders; provision of public goods; need for compensation; and the very creation of these mitigation and adaptation institutions. This makes the alignment of policies between States more difficult, and therefore cooperation is not something simple to achieve (Keohane; Victor, 2011).

Considering this, it is possible to understand by cooperation the foreign policy alignment between the countries, so that there is room for the joint elaboration of adaptation measures. As for adaptation measures, or policies, they differ from mitigation measures, which would be actions intended to reduce the consequences of climate change. Then, mitigation would be achieved with a remediation, which would return the planet to climatic conditions with a reduction in polluting gas emissions and would cause the environment to suffer less impacts (Santos, 2018). IPCC's definition of both measures are specified in Table 6.

Table 6 – Definitions of mitigation and adaptation

Mitigation	Adaptation
"A human intervention to reduce the sources or enhance the sinks of greenhouse gases (GHG). This report also assesses human interventions to reduce the sources of other substances which may contribute directly or indirectly to limiting climate change, including, for example, the reduction of particulate matter emissions that can directly alter the radiation balance (e.g., black carbon) or measures that control emissions of carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, Volatile Organic Compounds and other pollutants that can alter the concentration of tropospheric ozone which has an indirect effect on the climate.'' (IPCC, 2022, p. 125).	"The process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects. In human systems, adaptation seeks to moderate or avoid harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In some natural systems, human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate and its effects'' (IPCC, 2022, p. 118).

Source: IPCC (2022).

In the climate debate, there are more discussions about climate change adaptation policies, which can be implemented by developing countries that can limit their gas emissions, since mitigation policies are more expensive and require a greater degree of international cooperation by developed countries. These adaptation policies are extremely important, as they can provide stability to PSIDS in the face of future consequences, reducing risks and vulnerabilities. In addition, the policies make the PSIDS able to commit themselves in their foreign policy to the establishment of cooperative arrangements, if they have adequate internal political management, and then they can even constrain the regional powers to position

themselves (Grasso, 2010). Also, the development of adaptation policies manages to help the SIDS countries to deal with possible problems in the 4 areas of cooperation (economic, social, political and climate), since these policies cover issues of employability, food, exchange of knowledge and technology, among other issues. Adaptation strategies include: natural resource protection, land reclamation, relocation and even migration, community-based adaptation, disaster risk management, early warning systems, ecosystem-based measures, among others (IPCC, 2014; IPCC, 2022). Those policies are summarized on Table 7.

Table 7 – IPCC's adaptation guidance for island countries in the short term

Creating adaptive capabilities	Traditional knowledge (meteorology)
	'Borrowed' technology (technical cooperation)
	Region specific
Risk identification	Analysis of weather events
	Incentives to researches and studies
Donations	From other countries
	ONGs
	IOs
Recycling	Of waste in water
	Of trash
Other risk management measures	Drip irrigation
	Conversion to non-fossil waste
Economic reorientation	Economy and tourism
Community based adaptation	Material and immaterial exchange between countries
	Transfer of mitigation and adaptation measures between countries
Avoiding maladaptation	Use of protected areas for climate refugees
	Combine traditional approaches + GHG reduction
Integration with development policies	Think about your economy and industrialization in a sustainable way
	Renewable energy
	Industrialization
	Invest in infrastructure
	Tax reductions
Important concerns	Ways to deal with coral erosion
	Threat to biodiversity
	Extinction of fish used for food
	Extinction of plants used in local medicine

Source: elaborated by the author based on IPCC (2022).

Those related to fishing are the adaptation policies that aim to minimize the impacts caused by global climate change on fishing activity. In Oceania, the worsening of climate change directly impacts fishing as an economic activity and, therefore, adaptation policies are necessary to maintain fishing as important in the region. Different adaptation approaches are required for different countries. Some examples include: technical assessments, provision of mooring sites and facilities for vessels, prioritizing investment, increase resilience of vulnerable groups that heavily rely on fishing activities, develop larger vessels according to need, invest in gear development, get subsidies, build partnerships with private sector/civil society and create incentives such as conditional budget allocations for these sectors to work together, decentralized planning for fishery management units, build knowledge, monitoring issues, arrange possible fishing international agreements, among others (IPCC, 2022; Mahon, 2002).

These adaptation policies are priority actions that must be adopted by the governments of the countries so that an extreme disaster does not occur and/or does not affect the structure and the population in a very incisive way. Thus, the IPCC makes several recommendations to make it possible to live with these extreme events, since even with the reduction of GHG emissions, the improvement in climate conditions would only be felt by the planet after many years (Santos, 2018). These measures, which are developed through international cooperation, include projects that can, for example, promote exchange of knowledge and technology regarding agriculture, promote jobs for the local population, encourage imports/exports, improve living conditions in relation to basic sanitation and gender inequalities.

The adaptation options that the IPCC (2022) puts as possible to be carried out by the PSIDS includes lessons learnt from on-the-ground practices in the countries themselves. Also, cultural analysis and community engagement is very important for the development of these adaptation policies. The Pacific islands suffer with the littering of shorelines, trouble with structures and erosion and inundation, and they need constant investments to deal with these issues. The adaptation policies are also closely related to disaster and risk management, as most of the policies also assist in reducing climate change-driven risk, as well as contribute to regional sustainable development. Some risk-oriented adaptation policies include: active restoration of coastal and marine ecosystems, enhance marine biodiversity with hard structures, change fishing grounds and target species to diversify fisheries livelihoods (Mycoo *et al*, 2022).

Community-based adaptation, according to the IPCC (2022), is a process that is lead and supported by meaningful local involvement of individuals and organizations. Therefore,

the projects are led according to the understanding of sociopolitical context that is provided by the community. These are particularly important because they express the true vulnerabilities of the island-countries and emphasize what the priorities should be, making the adaptation process more efficient. They can also increase community ownership and the population's commitment to the implementation of the project. However, these kind of adaptation policies also faces challenges, such as ''elite capture of project management, internal power dynamics within communities, and different priorities of communities living across the island that were supposed to be all responsible for implementing whole-of-island projects'' (Mycoo *et al*, 2022, p. 2079), as well as misplacement of resources, both which ended up happening during the implementation of adaptation projects in Vanuatu and Samoa.

In addition to that, livelihood responses are put by the IPCC (2022) as a way for the communities to adapt across different livelihood activities. Some examples of livelihood responses include: ''employing several activities ranging from diversification of livelihoods to changing fishing grounds and considering weather insurance'' (Mycoo *et al*, 2022, p. 2079), diversifying cropping patterns, varying fertilizers and chemicals, investing in irrigation technologies and storage of foodstuffs, reforestation, slope revegetation, increase rainwater harvesting, desalination, migration with planned resettlements, as well as education programs. Some health-related adaptation policies that are worth mentioning include: improve the reliability and safety of water-storage practices, improve data collection, enhance the integration of climate services into decision- making, strengthen the organizational structure of emergency response, ensure sufficient resources and surge capacity, improve sanitation and hygiene, and others. But, there are some problems in implementing those adaptation policies (IPCC, 2022).

> Specific governance-related barriers for effective adaptation include: lack of coordination between government departments and sectors and limited policy integration (Scobie, 2016; Robinson, 2018b), lack of ownership of adaptation implementation in cases where communities or national governments have not been part of the adaptation decision process (Conway and Mustelin, 2014; Kuruppu and Willie, 2015; Prance, 2015; Nunn and Kumar, 2018; Parsons and Nalau, 2019), and difficulties in integrating IKLK in adaptation initiatives. Specific barriers to effective sustained adaptation in the Pacific include variable climate change awareness among decision makers, and the preference for short-term responses rather than longer-term transformative ones (Nunn et al., 2014). (Mycoo *et al*, 2022, p. 2087).

Besides governance-related limits, there are other factors that increase vulnerability. Some examples include: poor data availability and quality, low technical capacities, limited regional cooperation and climate information, food insecurity, vector diseases, water-borne and

food-borne diseases, lack of financial resources, corruption, lack of healthcare and climate awareness in more remote rural communities, overlook of a cultural analysis and existing traditional knowledge beforehand, attention to gender equality, among other factors. The communities' values and knowledge, and traditional governance, more specifically, are extremely important to be considered, as they can perceive risks and where adaptation is needed, and add social issues, such as gender equality and heritage, to the adaptation policies – therefore, improving them (IPCC, 2022).

To conclude, PSIDS have many vulnerabilities as a consequence of global climate change, that are added to their issues of being small developing countries, and, therefore, those impact directly on the fishing activity in those countries. But, as detailed by the IPCC, there are many adaptation policies that can be applied in order to deal with those problems. As it is possible to notice from the examples cited, there are many adaptation policies that impact directly on the fishing activity, as well as some that impact indirectly. All in all, cooperation between the countries is essential to promote the fisheries-related adaptation policies. There are also adaptation policies that are developed by IOs, such as FAO and UNESCO, and promote the cooperation amongst PSIDS. These will be discussed in the third section of this Chapter.

3.2 Fisheries importance in Oceania

Fisheries refers to the capture of water-based resources. It differs from aquaculture because the fish resources are withdrawable from their natural environment, while aquaculture refers to the cultivation of aquatic organisms in a controlled environment (EMBRAPA, n.d.). Therefore, aquaculture is the ''farming of aquatic organisms including fish, molluscs, crustaceans and aquatic plants with some sort of intervention in the rearing process to enhance production, such as regular stocking, feeding and protection from predators'' (Australian Government, 2023a, n.p.). FAO expects that more than 55% of the fish consumed globally will be produced by aquaculture (Australian Government, 2023a). In Oceania is no different, considering that the population of the countries is a great consumer of fish, as it is possible to notice in Table 8.

Table 8 – Ranges of estimated annual *per capita* fishery production consumption

Country	**Range of Estimates** (kg/year/person)
Cook Islands	47.0–71.0

Federated States of Micronesia	72.0–114.0
Fiji Islands	44.0–62.0
Kiribati	72.0–207.0
Marshall Islands	38.9–59.0
Nauru	46.7
Niue	49.0–118.9
Palau	84.0–135.0
Papua New Guinea	18.2–24.9
Samoa	46.3–71.0
Solomon Islands	32.2–32.7
Tonga	25.2–30.0
Tuvalu	85.0–146.0
Vanuatu	15.9–25.7

Source: ADB (2009).

Additionally, seafood plays an important role in achieving food security in many islands. For PSIDS, this is especially important as they are more prone to natural disasters, more vulnerable to climate change, and those consequences impact directly on their agricultural production, which can cause destruction of fishing fleets and shore-based infrastructure. This can impact directly on food production and, therefore, increase food insecurity, as well as impact their national economy (FAO, n.d.b; Hilmi *et al*, 2016).

In the Pacific, fish protein is estimated to make up 50–90% of animal protein consumption in rural areas and 40–80% in urban areas (Mycoo *et al*, 2022, p. 2066). Marine fisheries usually correspond to most of the production of the PSIDS countries. Given that PSIDS are developing countries, fishing is an especially important activity for the livelihood of island populations, as well as an important activity for maintaining the economy in the region (Australian Government, 2023a; Horton, 2019a).

> Fisheries contribute USD 1 billion annually to Pacific economies, generate nearly 25,000 jobs, provide 50-90 percent of animal-sourced protein for rural populations, and represent the primary or secondary source of income for up to half of all households in the Pacific (New Zealand Foreign…, 2021, p. 14).

As previously said, fishing is considered to be one of the oldest human activities, and plays an essential role in human nutrition. As an economic activity, “the seafood industry comprises three distinct sectors that engage in catching, processing, and marketing of fish and

fish products'' (Petrossian, 2019, p. 26), and presents a huge source of income for the economy of several countries (Petrossian, 2019). Papua New Guinea, Micronesia and Vanuatu together moved more than US$373 million in 2021 in global frozen fish exports, entering the ranking of the top 100 exporters at 37th, 38th and 39th place, respectively. Also on the list are Kiribati, Nauru, Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Cook Islands, Tuvalu and Fiji (OEC, 2022).

Table 9 – Frozen fish exporters (2021)

Position in the world ranking[19]	Country	Exported volume (US$)	Main export recipients in general (from most to least)
24º	New Zealand	240,977,000	China, Europe, Australia, the U.S., and Japan.
37º	Papua New Guinea	127,427,000	China, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Australia.
38º	Micronesia	124,287,000	Thailand, China, Japan, Philippines, and the U.S.
39º	Vanuatu	121,829,000	Thailand, Japan, South Korea, Cyprus, and China
42º	Australia	105,355,000	China, Japan, South Korea, and India.
46º	Kiribati	90,545,000	Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Japan, and South Korea.
48º	Nauru	88,562,000	Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Philippines, South Korea, and India.
57º	Marshall Islands	58,175,000	Denmark, South Korea, Germany, Poland, and Cyprus.
74º	Solomon Islands	19,265,000	China, Singapore, Australia, Malaysia, and New Zealand.
75º	Cook Islands	16,665,000	Japan, France, Thailand, Greece, and China.
84º	Tuvalu	11,137,000	Thailand, Nigeria, Philippines, South Korea, and Ecuador.
86º	Fiji	10,015,000	New Zealand, China, Singapore, Australia and U.S.

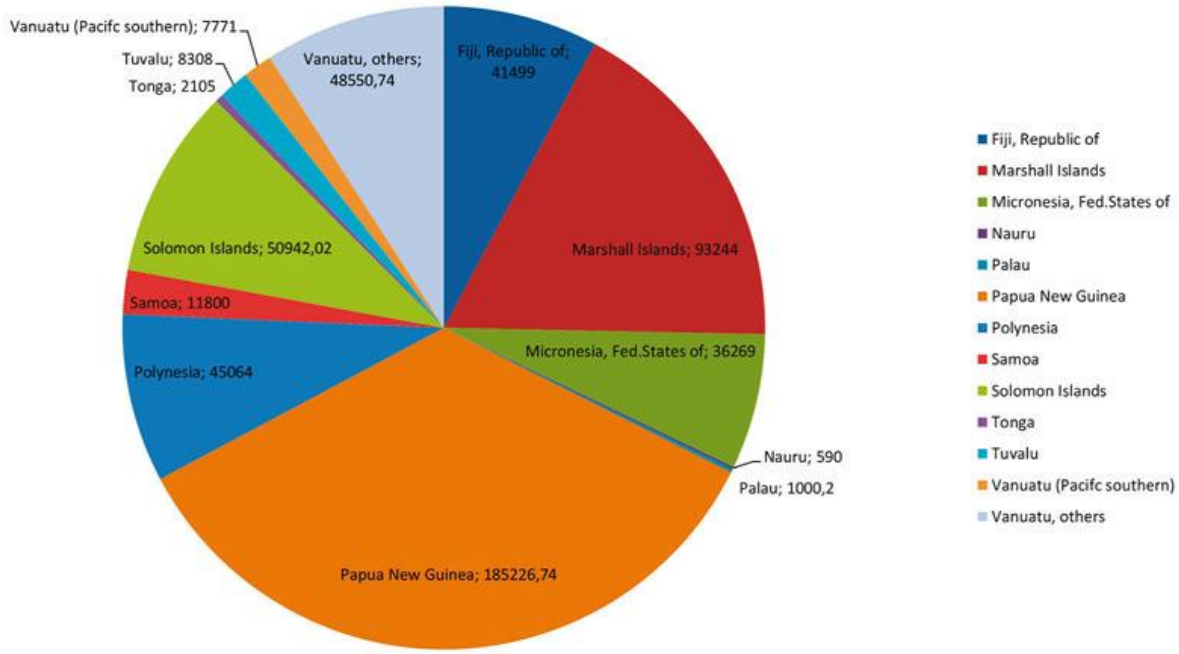
Source: elaborated by the author based on OEC (2022).

FAO defined that there are three categories of fishing in Oceania: (1) commercial fishing, which supplies domestic markets and is the basis of fish export goods, which is the case of the islands of Melanesia; (2) subsistence fishing, which provides the supply of fish on which

[19] The largest exporters are Russia, with US$2.41 billion (9.9% of the total), China, with US$2.36 billion (9.7%), Norway, with US$1.74 billion (7.1%), United States, with US$1.73 billion (7.1%), and Chile, with US$1.6 billion (6.4%) (OEC, 2022).

the inhabitants of the PSIDS depend for their nutrition, as is the case in the islands of Polynesia and Micronesia, and therefore represents about 70% of the use of fisheries in Oceania; and (3) industrial-scale shrimp fishing, which is limited to Papua New Guinea (FAO, 2011).

Chart 1 – Capture fishery in the PSIDS in 2011 (tones)



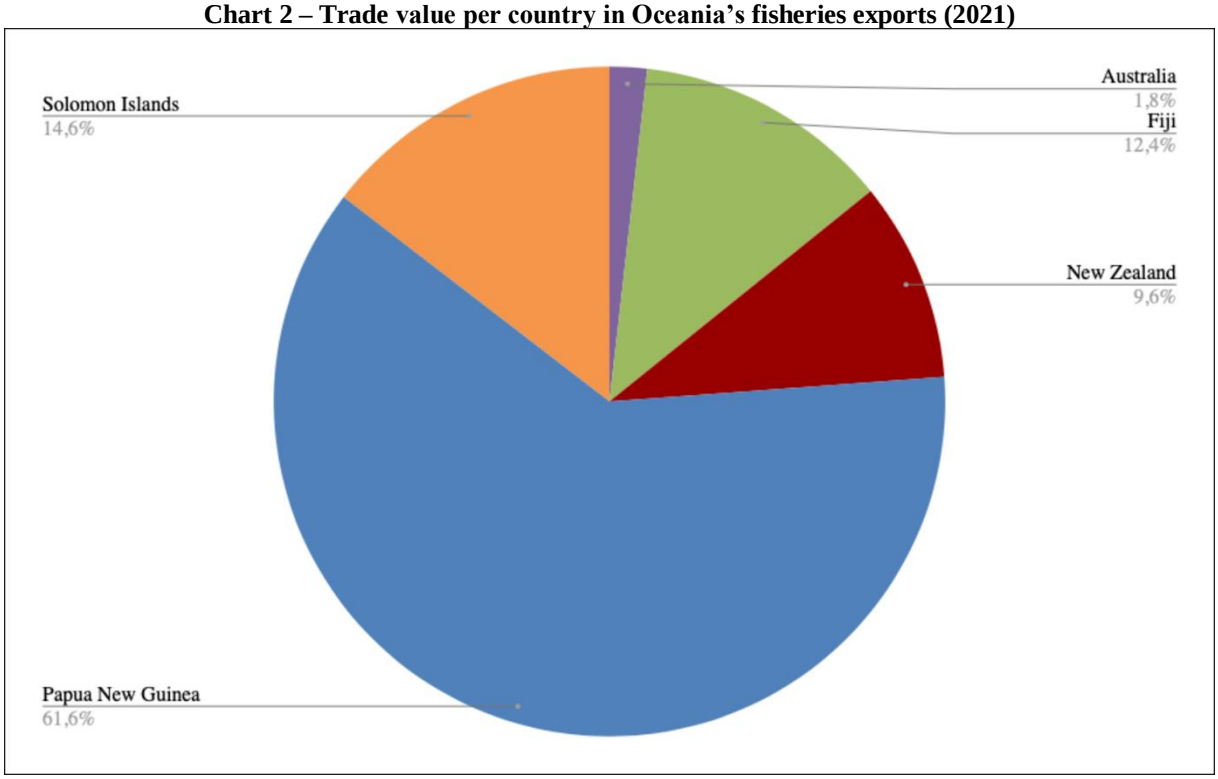
Source: Hilmi *et al* (2016).

As it is possible to see in Chart 1, the Melanesian countries (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji) are the countries that depend of fisheries the most. The majority of the catch is destined for domestic consumption. As for aquaculture, the Solomon Islands, Papua Guinea and Fiji are also the most dependent countries (Hilmi *et al*, 2016).

Large-scale industrial fishing is also carried out in the region by countries other than the PSIDS, such as China, the United States, Japan, Taiwan and European countries, in the Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs), and is focused on tuna fishing, since Oceania has more than half of the world's tuna stocks and represents about 60% of the global tuna catch annually (FAO, 2011). This means that PSIDS don't receive all of the economic benefits, even though they are responsible for assisting the tuna industry to quadruple over the past 40 years (IW:LEARN, 2021).

Also, in 2021, PSIDS exported almost US$ 332 million, which corresponds to 88,57% of Oceania's total export of fish, as it can be seen on Chart 2 (OEC, 2022).

Chart 2 – Trade value per country in Oceania's fisheries exports (2021)



Source: elaborated by the author based on OEC (2022).

And according to OEC (2022), in 2021 Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea were the countries that imported the most processed fish in Oceania. The ranking can be seen on Table 10.

Table 10 – Oceania's importers of processed fish (2021)

Ranking position	Country	Trade Value (tons)
1	Australia	423009953
2	New Zealand	65416780
3	Papua New Guinea	22540633
4	Fiji	18570763
5	Samoa	13303527
6	Vanuatu	4998094
7	New Caledonia	4797136
8	French Polynesia	4163368
9	Solomon Islands	3629003
10	Micronesia	3582299
11	Kiribati	2934291
12	Tonga	2320156
13	Guam	1920427
14	Marshall Islands	1027677
15	American Samoa	788737
16	Cook Islands	631971
17	Palau	595380
18	Northern Mariana Islands	543530
19	Niue	207943
20	Wallis and Futuna	201020

21	Tuvalu	108438
22	Nauru	32520
23	Norfolk Island	20694
24	Tokelau	1129

Source: OEC (2022).

The countries that exported the most processed in 2021 were Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Fiji. Oceania's ranking of exports can be seen in Table 11. PNG both exports and imports processed fish, as the exports are mostly tuna, and the imports include sardine, salmon and molluscs (OEC, 2022).

Table 11 – Oceania's exporters of processed fish (2021)

Ranking position	Country	Trade Value (tons)
1	Papua New Guinea	230764699
2	Solomon Islands	54494944
3	Fiji	46414588
4	New Zealand	36080196
5	Australia	6735076
6	Pitcairn Islands	166167
7	Marshall Islands	28543
8	Micronesia	6776
9	Samoa	5929
10	Nauru	803
11	American Samoa	350
12	French Polynesia	212

Source: OEC (2022).

However, in the case of tuna, PSIDS have a rate of return of around 4-5% of the value that is exported, due to licensing agreements for the ZEEs with Japan, the United States, Korea, Taiwan, China and the European Union - and this is still happening despite attempts to better organize fisheries in the region, such as the creation of the Nauru Agreement, which defines a multilateral licensing arrangement between the Parties, and the Fisheries Agency (FFA) of the PIF, that coordinated the elaboration of the Nauru Agreement (Tarte, 2014; Tarte; Fry, 2019).

The parties to the Nauru Agreement are: Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu. The Agreement is important because its parties control most of the tuna purse seine fishery in the world, as well as half of the global supply of skipjack tuna, which is the most commonly canned one. The Nauru Agreement in intended to facilitate cooperation in the sustainable development of fisheries in the PSIDS, and also manage fisheries arrangements (PNATUNA, n.d.).

> In Oceania, the highest reliance upon fish is in atoll countries like Kiribati, Tuvalu, and the Federated States of Micronesia, with lower reliance on seafood in countries that have large inland populations, such as Vanuatu, or are more wealthy territories. The region's large EEZs provide an economic backbone for Oceania. Tuna fisheries generate approximately US$7 billion annually for the global economy and provide 10% of regional GDP. Countries sell access to the tuna resources within their EEZs to extra-regional countries as a key source of income for their economies. This is a particularly prominent source of income for Kiribati (constituting 42% of government revenue), Nauru (17% of revenue), and Tuvalu (11%). Roughly 6-8% of regional wage employment stems from jobs relating to tuna fishing, in the offshore catch and onshore processing and canning industries. Onshore tuna processing is significant to the economies of American Samoa, Fiji, and Solomon Islands, with over 23,000 jobs created to date on these islands (Horton, 2019b, n.p.).

Considering that Australia and New Zealand benefit from fishing exports from PSIDS, as it can be seen on Table 9 (p. 74), it is possible to see that these countries will also gain from increased cooperation and consequent regional cohesion. However, the activity has been impacted by the increasing consequences of global climate change, suffering from the change in the pattern of fish migration, ocean warming and salinization, and the IPCC forecast is that these consequences could end with 60% of the fish species on the planet (FAO, 2011; Tarte; Fry, 2019). Furthermore, additional pressures caused by human activity, such as the overexploitation of natural resources, may further increase the impacts of climate change on fisheries (IPCC, 2022).

Another issue that Oceania's countries encounter in the fishing sector is illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing. It is an environmental crime that occurs worldwide and violates all international, national or regional fisheries regulations. As more than 2.5 billion people depend on the fishing industry for food and nutrition, as ''IUU fishing not only impedes the development and sustainable management of fisheries around the world but it also severely undermines the efforts to reduce global hunger and malnutrition'' (Petrossian, 2019, p. 43). Considering this problem, in 2016, during its 36th session, FAO approved the Agreement on Port State Measures to Prevent, Deter and Eliminate Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing (PSMA). This aims to prevent and end IUU fishing by implementing measures in the port State where the ship berths, which include offshore terminals and other facilities for landing, transshipment, and/or processing (FAO, 2022a).

Historically, illegal fishing has always been a problematic issue in the world, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, as it is a clandestine activity about which there is not much data, and which directly impacts on fisheries management and the conservation of marine life in the Oceans. According to a survey done by the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) in 2015, about 85% of the fish species studied were considered to be at risk of being illegally fished. In

addition to being an opportunistic endeavor, IUU fishing is also closely related to organized crime, which includes the involvement of criminal groups such as the Chinese Triads and the Russian Mafia (Donlan *et al.*, 2020; Petrossian, 2019).

> A vessel's fishing activity is considered illegal if it (a) uses prohibited gear or methods; (b) operates in closed areas (such as marine-protected areas) or during closed seasons; (c) operates with a fake license or without a license or vessel registration paperwork; (d) operates without a vessel monitoring system; and (e) fishes beyond allocated catch limits (i.e., over quota) or takes juvenile or prohibited fish species. (Petrossian, 2019, p. 40-41).

IUU fishing occurs primarily because illegal fishermen are able to use flags of convenience to fish in its waters, which is when vessels fly a flag of a different sovereign state. This type of flag is quick and easy to acquire, can be purchased over the internet and the vessel can also be registered online and anonymously, which allows fishermen to circumvent international fishing regulations and avoid penalties in case of capture. Also, when the time comes to dock the vessel, illegal fishermen use ports of convenience, which have a free economic zone, to unload fish stolen from their waters. Many port states lack the necessary resources to monitor vessels that dock on their shores, and as a result, it is estimated that only 20% of illegal fishers are actually caught. Therefore, it is very profitable to carry out IUU fishing (Petrossian, 2019).

This practice has several consequences for the countries where it occurs, which are mostly developing countries with a high rate of corruption, which facilitates its occurrence. Some of its economic impacts include: exploitation of marine resources, which perpetuates poverty and non-sustainable development in these countries; depletion of fish stocks; rising inequality; between others. Indonesia, for example, loses about US$4 billion in profit per year because of IUU fishing. Still, illegal fishing also has social and environmental impacts, such as: perpetuation of unregulated work and child labor, which are used by illegal vessels; applied fishing methods that are destructive to the marine ecosystem; the problem of accessory capture which concerns the non-intentional capture of other animals, such as the capture of dolphins by tuna fishing nets; serial depletion of species; inappropriate disposal of species for which the quota has already been reached; between others (Petrossian, 2019).

Industrial tuna fishing, carried out in the region on a large scale, is carried out in Oceania because the continent is responsible for around 60% of tuna stocks on the planet. Still, small-scale commercial fishing is also essential to supply domestic markets. Thus, IUU fishing is a significant problem, since monitoring this illegal activity requires monitoring technology that

developing island countries do not have. In this way, they place themselves particularly vulnerable to this threat (Horton, 2019a).

Furthermore, China's presence in Oceania has become a threat to the region. In the Chinese population's food, twice as much fish is consumed when compared to the global average, and ''China's growing economy coincides with an increased demand for high-value tuna and an expanding long-distance tuna fleet, capable of fishing the vast waters of Oceania'' (Horton, 2019, n.p.). Thus, the presence of illegal Chinese vessels is increasing in the region, and, as a result, the risks of depletion of global fish stocks have begun to be debated (Bateman, 2022).

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the fishing activity is extremely important in the region. As put by FAO (n.d.b, n.p):

> Fisheries themselves contribute a substantial amount of food to the people of the South Pacific. For example, a recent study of the dietary habits of three villages in Fiji (Rawlinson *et al*., undated) showed that fresh fish was eaten at 58 percent of the meals. Fisheries contributes to employment, thereby allowing the purchase of food. It has been estimated (FAO, 1996e) that fisheries provide income to almost 100,000 Pacific Islanders. The licensing of foreign fishing vessels to fish in the waters of Pacific Island countries forms an important source of revenue for these countries. This revenue has implications for the purchasing of food as well as a range of programmes which could enhance the food security situation. The World Bank (1995) estimates that in 1993 total access fees for the Pacific Islands region were about US$ 56 million.

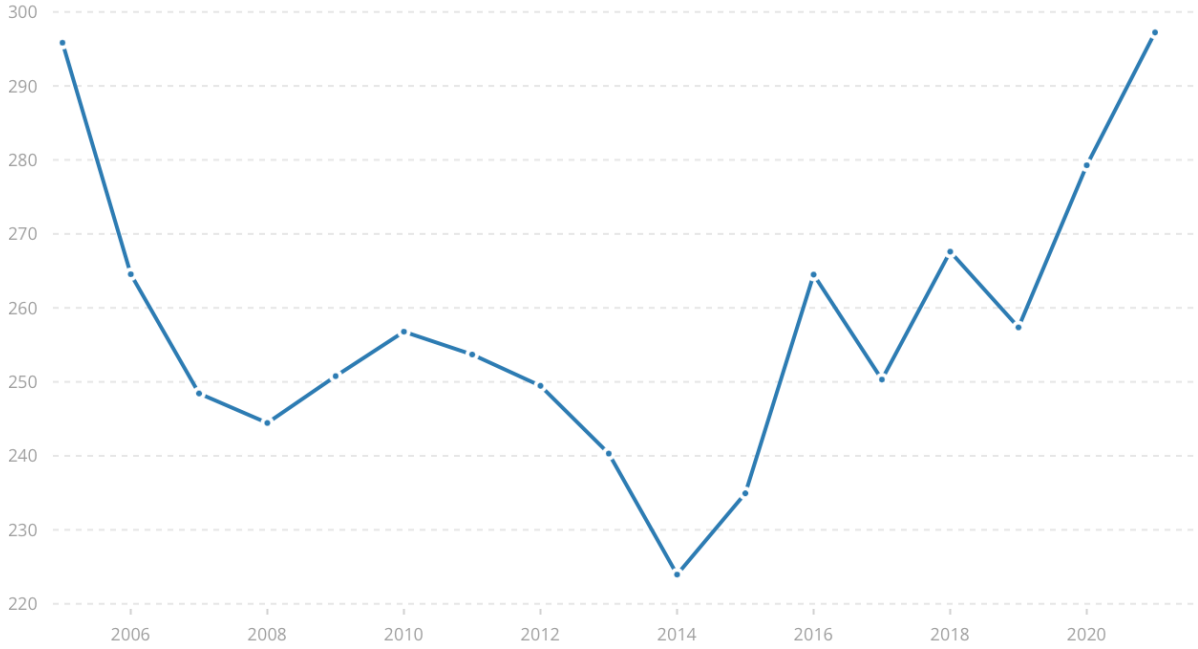
Australia and New Zealand are the partners that propel development cooperation related to fisheries in Oceania. Besides them, out of the three PSIDS case study countries, Papua New Guinea is the one that exports the most fisheries products (ADB, 2009). This will be detailed in the next subsections.

3.2.1 Fisheries in Australia

Australia's market size for the fishing industry was US$ 3.6 billion in 2022. In the last 10 years, the country's exports increased 16%. The country is a net importer of fish products, and, in the last 10 years, their imports increased by 33% (OECD, 2021). The aquaculture industry's domestic demand in Australia has also been increasing in the last 10 years, especially for the production of salmonids (which includes salmon and trout) and edible oysters. The country has the largest Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in the Pacific region (Australian Government, 2023b).

In 2018, the country produced 0.3 million tons of fish, with a value of US$ 2248 million, and almost 60% of that value came from fisheries, and the rest from aquaculture. The progression of Australian fisheries production over the years can be seen in Graph 1. In that same year, the Australian government spent US$ 119.5 million on financing the fisheries sector, and also provided US$ 10 million in support to individuals and companies related to the sector through benefiting policies with the aim of increasing the fishers' income. Other policies include special insurance systems, lowering the cost of inputs, support for fuel and capacity reduction (OECD, 2021).

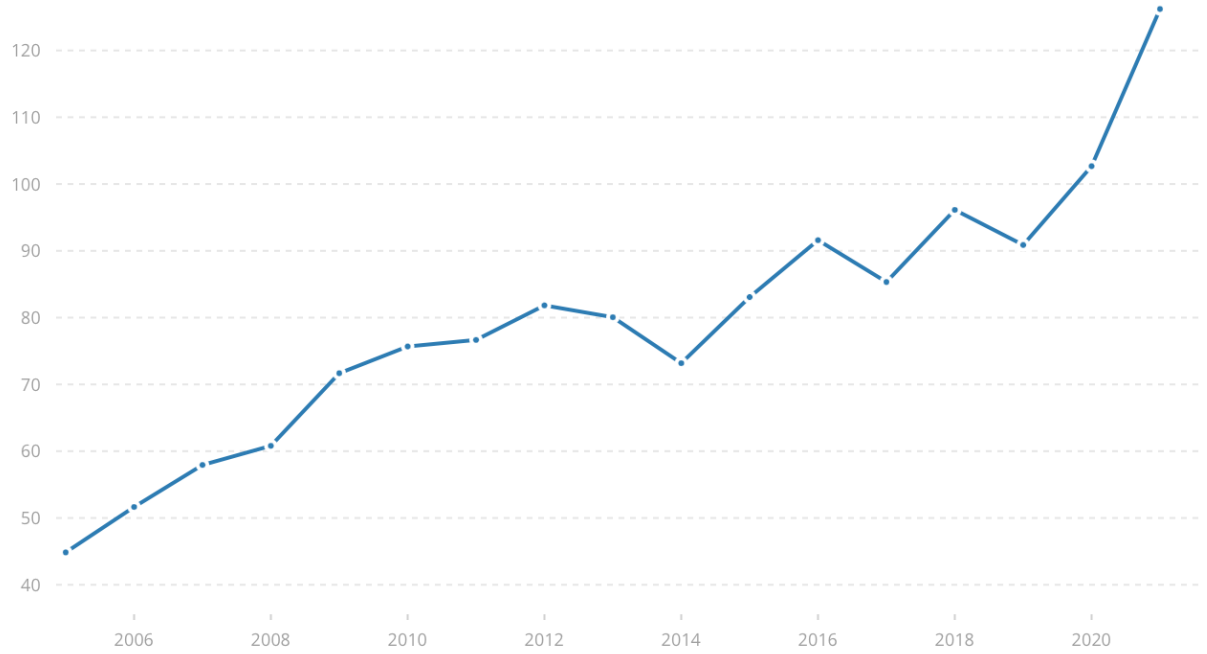
Graph 1 – Total fisheries production in Australia 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

As for the aquaculture production, it occurs on the whole territory and is very important for the country's development. In 2013, the production composed 43% by value of the entire Australian seafood production, which has a reputation of being sustainable and high quality (Australian Government, 2023b). The progression of the aquaculture production over the years can be seen on Graph 2.

Graph 2 – Total aquaculture production in Australia 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



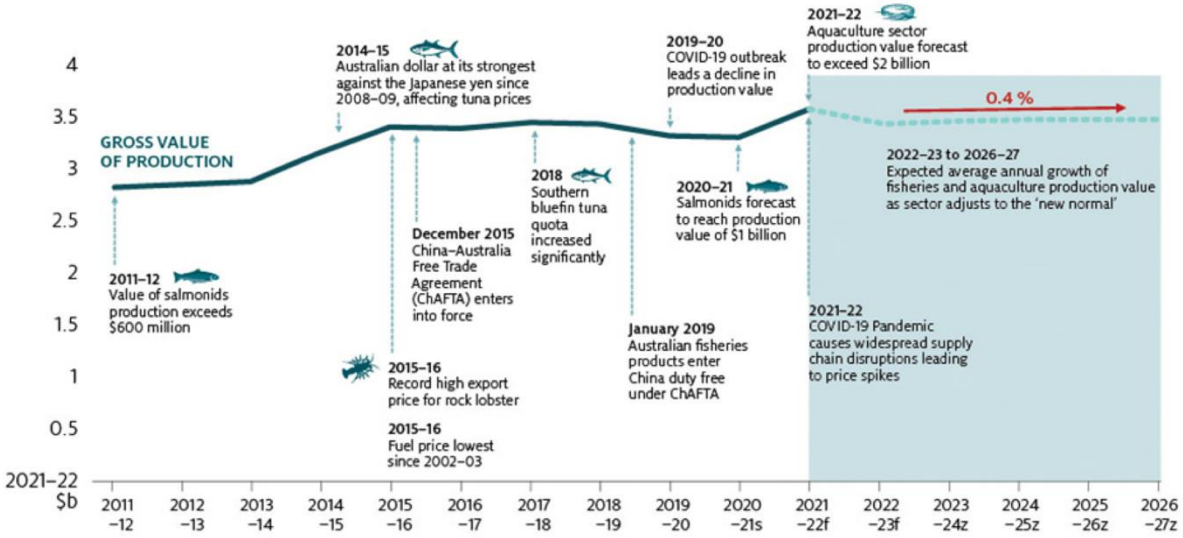
Source: World Bank (n.d.).

Australia is also committed in the fight against IUU fishing, as it is also a member of PSMA. The country also follows OECD's IUU policy indicators, which includes many responsibilities that should be followed in order to intervein in IUU fishing, such as vessel registration, authorizations, and port and market measures (OECD, 2021).

The Australian government has a specific national aquaculture strategy, and the production is estimated to have increased 25% since 2004, and it is currently valued in just over US$ 1 billion. It also expects seafood production to rise in the next year, as the sector had a strong recovery in 2021 with the end of COVID-19 related restrictions. Aquaculture, in comparison to fisheries, is expected to grow in a slower pace (Australian Government, 2023b). The Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences (ABARES) projects that the aquaculture sector production will exceed US$ 2 billion/year. ABARES also expects that salmonids, tuna and rock lobster production will increase until 2026 (ABARES, 2022).

As it is possible to see in Figure 8, the production of fisheries and aquaculture has been increasing steady since 2014. About 65% of it is destined to domestic consumption (Australian Government, 2023b).

Figure 8 – Australian fisheries and aquaculture production timeline (2011-2027)



Source: ABARES (2022).

In 2020 and 2021, there was a decline in exports due to the import restrictions in China, but it is estimated that there was a 9% increase in the sector between 2021 and 2022. It is forecasted to grow about 8% until the end of 2023, as a strong post-pandemic recovery is predicted – and so, the production may achieve a peak of US$ 3.63 billion (Australian Government, 2023a). Another challenge is the trade issues focused on commodity with China, that could have affected the aggregate value of exports in 2022. According to ABARES (2022), Australia's proximity to the Asian seafood market is what makes the country safe from long-term shocks. Although the COVID-19 pandemic had many effects on trade, such as a decrease of exports of rock lobster and abalone, it is expected that the Australian exports increase 3.6% in the next years (ABARES, 2022).

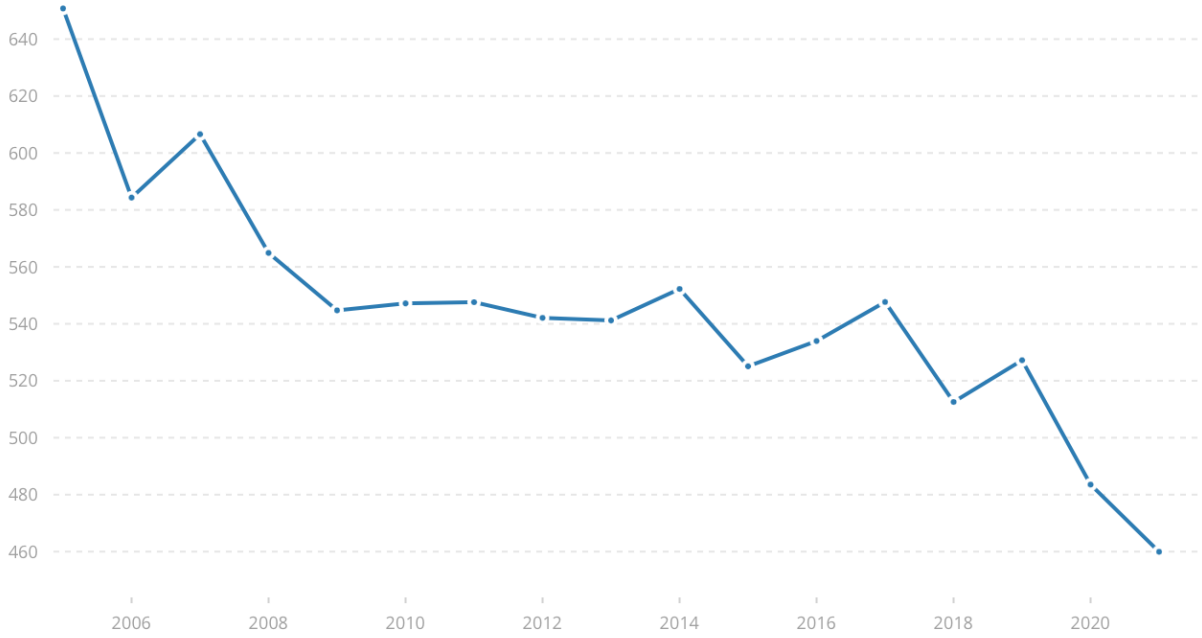
3.2.2 Fisheries in New Zealand

New Zealand, although not as expressive as Australia in market size and exportation, also has a large fishing industry that is mostly focused on the domestic market. The country is currently focused on developing sustainable measures for fisheries and aquaculture, as well as protecting marine life and managing the impact that the industry has on protected species – and it is possible to notice a commitment towards environmental sustainability being intertwined with the fisheries industry. The government manages restrictions, monitoring, scientific research and fishing vessel activity in international waters, with the objective of monitoring commercial fishing and fish stocks, and make the fisheries management system more efficient.

To do that, the activity is divided among different sectors: inshore fisheries, deep-water fisheries, migratory species fisheries, freshwater eel fisheries (which includes longfin and shortfin eels), international fisheries, and different fish stocks (MPI NZ, n.d.).

The fishing industry is significant for New Zealand's economy, as the country exports around US$ 2 billion and employs almost 17.000 people directly. The production is mostly focused in deep water and inshore fisheries, but the government also has a *Fisheries 2030 strategy* that is focused on developing the aquaculture industry – their goal is to make it the primary source of seafood and to produce NZD 1 billion/year by 2025 (FAO, 2014; Seafood New Zealand, 2023). The progression of the fisheries production over the years can be seen in Graph 3, and it is possible to notice that there was a significative reduction in production from 2019 to 2020, which could be explained by COVID-19 restrictions.

Graph 3 – Total fisheries production in New Zealand 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

As for the aquaculture production, has been increasing since 2015, but it was also affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, as it's possible to see in Graph 4 (World Bank, n.d.).

Graph 4 – Total aquaculture production in New Zealand 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)

Source: World Bank (n.d.).

According to OECD (2020), the fisheries sector in New Zealand received about US$ 33.101.115 for research and development, which includes funding for fisheries research from the Ministry for Primary Industries, the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment funding and The National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research Ltd. It also destined US$ 22.260.353 for management and enforcement of the sector.

Table 12 – Support and Payments of the New Zealand fisheries sector 2020 (in US$)

SUPPORT FOR SERVICES TO THE SECTOR	
II.F. Research and development	33.101.115
Funding for fisheries research from the Ministry for Primary Industries (New Zealand)	*11.192.453*
The National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research Ltd (NIWA) (New Zealand)	*973.236*
Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment funding (New Zealand)	*20.935.425*
II.G. Management of resources	52.113.316
II.G.1. Management expenditures	21.967.554
Management Services (New Zealand)	*21.967.554*
II.G.3. Enforcement expenditures	30.145.762
Enforcement Services (New Zealand)	*30.145.762*
PAYMENTS MADE BY THE FISHERIES SECTOR	
III.C. Payments made by the fisheries sector, for management, research and enforcement	22.260.353
Cost Recovery Charges (New Zealand)	*22.260.353*

Source: adapted from OECD (2020).

The New Zealander government developed a Pacific Regional Four-Year Plan in 2021 that included assistance for SIDS in relation to fisheries, such as sustainable management of resources and increase the tuna fisheries revenue, whilst considering the impacts that climate change, as well as the COVID-19 Pandemic, have on the sector. New Zealand also has Four Year Plans regarding to other island-countries: Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. In FSM, New Zealand prioritizes to enhance their relationship with funding in fisheries and ocean-related activities, and assist FSM with their economic development through investments and scholarships. With Fiji, the country intends to strengthen fisheries-related trade. As for Papua New Guinea, the New Zealander government doesn't mention any specific fisheries-related activities. Finally, with the Solomon Islands, New Zealand intends to assist the country with climate-related vulnerabilities that impact water and fisheries, as well as increase the fisheries' production export from the Solomon Islands (New Zealand Foreign…, 2021).

3.2.3 Fisheries in Fiji

Fiji, as a smaller country population-wise in comparison to Australia and New Zealand, has a smaller fisheries sector that contributes as employment for about 10.000 people, and refers to 3% of the economy's GPD (2021), and so it is considered the third largest sector in the country. Fiji's Exclusive Economic Zone has large stocks of marine resources, and tuna species such as yellow fin, skipjack, albacore, and big eye are the most common export. Fresh and chilled tuna, and loin fillets are exported to Japan and the United States – and both countries are the ones that pay access fees to the Fijian government to explore in the country's ZEE. Tuna is the most exported, and, therefore, lucrative product (ADB, 2009; Investment Fiji, n.d.; Kitolelei *et al*, 2009). The exports value of 2020 can be seen on Table 13.

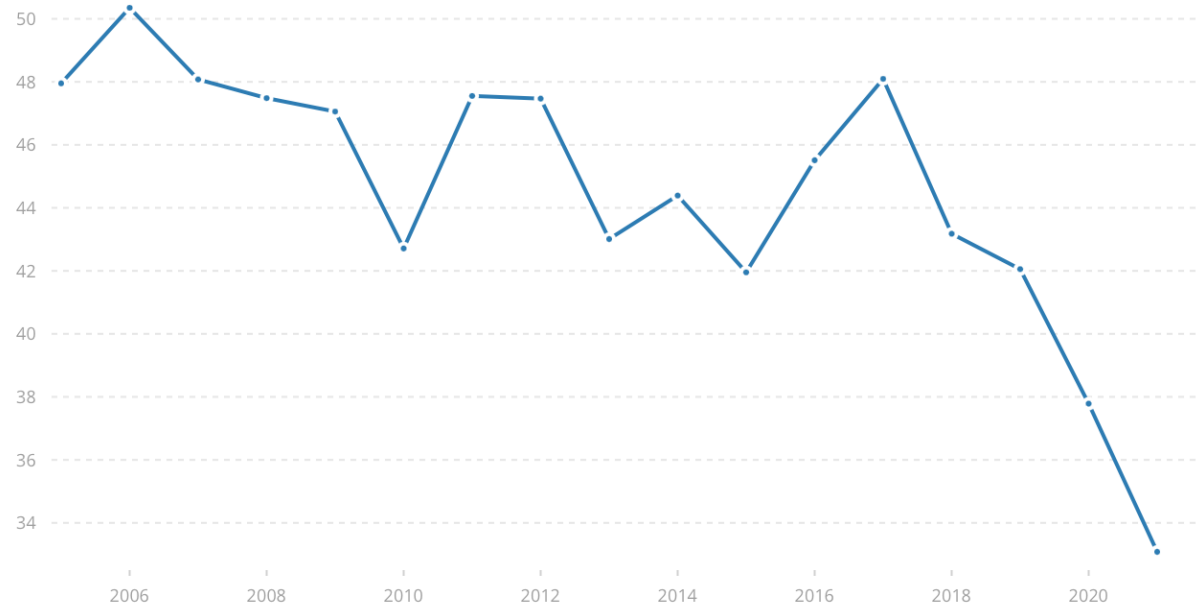
Table 13 – Fiji's exports (2020)

EXPORTS	US$
Fresh fish exports	62.3 Million
Prepared / preserved fish exports	7.8 Million
Fresh fish re-exports	116.9 Million
TOTAL	187 Million

Source: adapted from Ministry of Fisheries (2022).

Coastal commercial and subsistence are the majority of Fiji's fisheries production, followed by offshore locally-based production, freshwater and aquaculture. The sector corresponds to about 15% of all of the products that are exported by the country (Kitolelei *et al*, 2009). As it is possible to notice in Graph 5, fisheries production in Fiji declined from 2016 to 2017, and the COVID-19 pandemic only worsened a downward trend since 2017. This could be explained by the many difficulties the Fijian government has been dealing with over the years – such as: small-scale fishers have trouble reaching offshore fishery resources; offshore vessels compete for access to limited infrastructure and services; escalating fuel costs disproportionately impact small-scale motorized fisheries; competition from more efficient foreign fishery and aquaculture producers exists; coastal communities lack awareness about development limitations and the repercussions of overexploitation; and there's limited communication between the Fisheries Department and the tuna industry (FAO, 2023a).

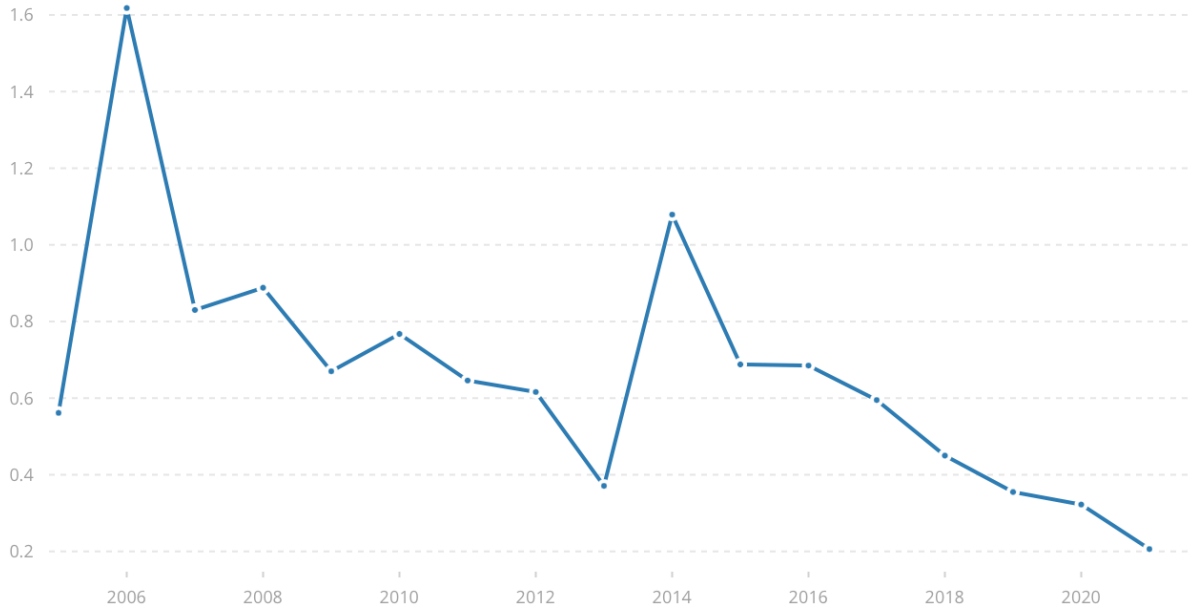
Graph 5 – Total fisheries production in Fiji 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

The aquaculture production focusses mostly on brackish water shrimp, as 850 kg are usually caught yearly, and followed by tilapia (393 kg) and carps (160 kgs). Aquaculture is not the Fijian government's focus, as the production has been decreasing, as it is possible to see in Graph 6 (ADB, 2009; World Bank, n.d.).

Graph 6 – Total aquaculture production in Fiji 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

The offshore fisheries is mostly focused on tuna, and the country is actively trying to make the production more sustainable, and is also engaged on the fight against IUU fishing. To do that, the Ministry allocates part of the annual budget to Capital Projects. A few examples of fisheries-related management and development projects in Fiji are listed on Table 14 (Ministry Of Fisheries, 2022).

Table 14 – Fiji's capital projects (2020-2021)

Project	Project operation budget (US$)	Achievement (%)	Goals
Fisheries Research & Conservation Programme	149,167	115	Promoting sustainable fisheries management and the replenishment of fish stock through management tool.
Pearl Oyster Research & Development	217,795	94	Carrying out Fisheries assessment survey to manage inshore fisheries. Empowering communities through sustainable resource management and development initiative.
Coastal Fisheries Development	772,000	93	Developing and implementing a coherent approach to optimal and sustained fisheries development. Promoting of sustainable fisheries management. Empowering of Community based through integrated sustainable resource. Improving our service efficiency.
Cyclone Rehab - Seaweed Develop Programme	143,117	55	
Freshwater Aquaculture Programme	400,000	535	Support small scale farmers and community-based Aquaculture production for food and nutrition security livelihood. Support Commercial development of Aquaculture
Food Security Program - Aquaculture	460,000	100	

Assistance To Commercial Aqua Farmers	216,364	100	Industries including existing and potential commodities. Ensuring Aquaculture farmers and producers have access to quality technical advice to improve on productivity yields. Food security and economic growth.
Upgrading Of Fisheries Office & Quarters	75,692	100	Improving the standard of Government Offices and premises. Support small scale farmers and community- based aquaculture production for food and nutrition security and livelihood.
Construction/Establishment Of Multi Species Hatchery	281,210	100	

Source: adapted from Ministry of Fisheries (2022).

Some projects, such as the Fisheries Research & Conservation Programme and the Freshwater Aquaculture Programme, achieved success beyond the expected goals - that's why it's achievement percentage is above 100%. As most of them were created with similar or the same goals, so it's possible to notice that there is an effort by the government of Fiji to promote sustainable policies related to fishing, in addition to developing the activity to improve nutrition and promote the country's economy. It is also noticeable that there are projects related to combating natural disasters and climate change (Ministry Of Fisheries, 2022).

According to the Fijian Ministry of Fisheries (2022), the country has been, and still is currently dealing with the socio-economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as of the two tropical cyclones (Yasa and Ana) that happened between 2020 and 2021. Because of it, the Ministry's budget declined in the recent years, and it's recent focus has been supporting food security throughout the country.

3.2.4 Fisheries in the Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands, alongside Fiji, also exports fisheries-related products to both Australia and New Zealand. About 57% of the animal protein intake of the population comes from fisheries and so the country has a high consumption and, therefore, large domestic market. About 6% of the Pacific tuna catch comes from Solomon Islanders' waters, as the country has the second largest EEZ in the PSIDS. It is also an important source of income, as many people are employed by the sector, especially in the local tuna industry, and is the second largest source of income after forestry. Therefore, it plays an important role in the country's economy (Solomon Islands Embassy, n.d.).

The Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources (MFMR) of the Solomon Islands is the responsible for fisheries and aquaculture in the country. According to it, purse seine fishery was the biggest catch in 2017, followed by yellowfin and big eye. The Cabinet also choose to further

develop the bait fish production in 2016, and the financing proved to be worth it as the production increased 350% in the next year. The government focuses specially in community fisheries livelihood and on the tuna onshore development program, which are the priorities for the Ministry's budget (MFMR, 2017). Also, the Offshore Division of the Ministry

> were also involved at the regional level attending annual meetings with Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA), Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) and Western Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC) of which the Solomon Islands is a member. These regional organizations help Solomon Islands manage their tuna resources through advice, training and some financial assistance (MFMR, 2017, p. 9).

It is also possible to note the commitment of the Solomon Islands to carry out technical cooperation with its neighboring countries in Oceania, mainly through training. In 2017 specifically, this included technical cooperation with Fiji, Australia and Papua New Guinea, as can be seen in Table 15 (MFMR, 2017).

Table 15 – Short term training for MFMR staff (2017)[20]

Training	Location	Division	Number of participants from MFMR
Aquatic Biosecurity Planning (SPC)	Noumea, New Caledonia	Aquaculture	1
Code of Conduct (IPAM)	Honiara, Solomon Islands	Inshore	1
Training for Administrators	Suva, Fiji Islands	MSSSIF	1
IPAM Training SIG for MFMR Officers	Honiara, Solomon Islands	MFMR	10
Fisheries Information Management Systems (FIMS)	Brisbane, Australia	Offshore	3
Livelihood GIS Training and Kobo Training	Honiara, Solomon Islands	Aquaculture	1
MPI Compliance Module 1	Noro & Honiara, Solomon Islands	Offshore	28
Certificate IV in Fisheries and Enforcement	Brisbane, Australia	Offshore	4
PNA Home Fish Canning Workshop	Honiara, Solomon Islands	MFMR	6
OFCF Refrigeration Training	Fisheries College, Kavieng Papua New Guinea	Provincial	1
SPC FAD Training Seagrass Watch Training	VMS, Santo, Vanuatu	Provincial	2
Seagrass Watch Training	Port Vila, Vanuatu	Provincial	1
SPC Short Term Attachment	Noumea, New Caledonia	Inshore	1
Project Management Certificate IV	Honiara, Solomon Islands	Inshore & Project Management	3

[20] Only trainings between the Solomon Islands and other Oceania countries are shown.

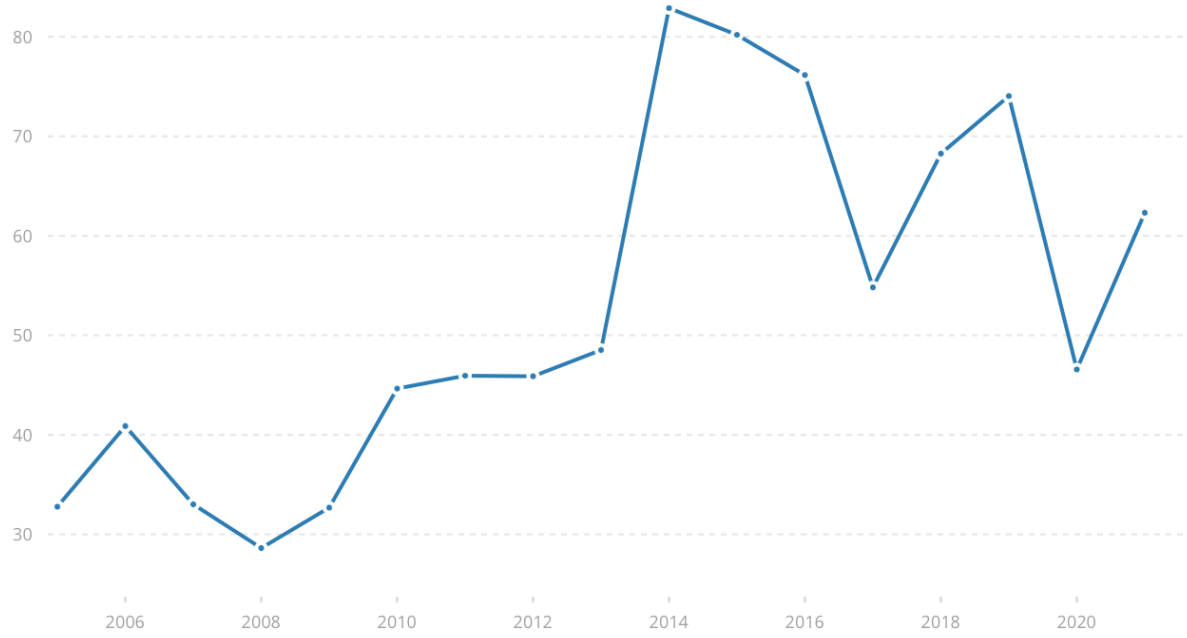
Fisheries Policy & Management Training (SPC/MPI/MSSIF)	Honiara, Solomon Islands	Inshore & Policy	21

Source: adapted from MFMR (2017).

Long term training is also happening through cooperation with Fiji, Australia and New Zealand (MFMR, 2017). Their fish export annually is of around 299,692kg, and of almost 8 metric tons for tuna, and, in 2017, the country received about US$ 286 million for their catches, and more than US$ 35,850 million in fisheries-related accesses and fees of almost 56 tons of production (Solomon Islands Embassy, n.d.). According to the World Bank (n.d.), fisheries production in the country has been rising since 2008, and 2014 was the highest production registered, of 82,883 tons.

The COVID-19 pandemic seems to have affected the production, as it was registered almost 47,000 tons, but the registered production of 2021 (62,314 tons) shows that the country returned the production and is aiming to make it grow, as it is possible to see in Graph 7 (World Bank, n.d.).

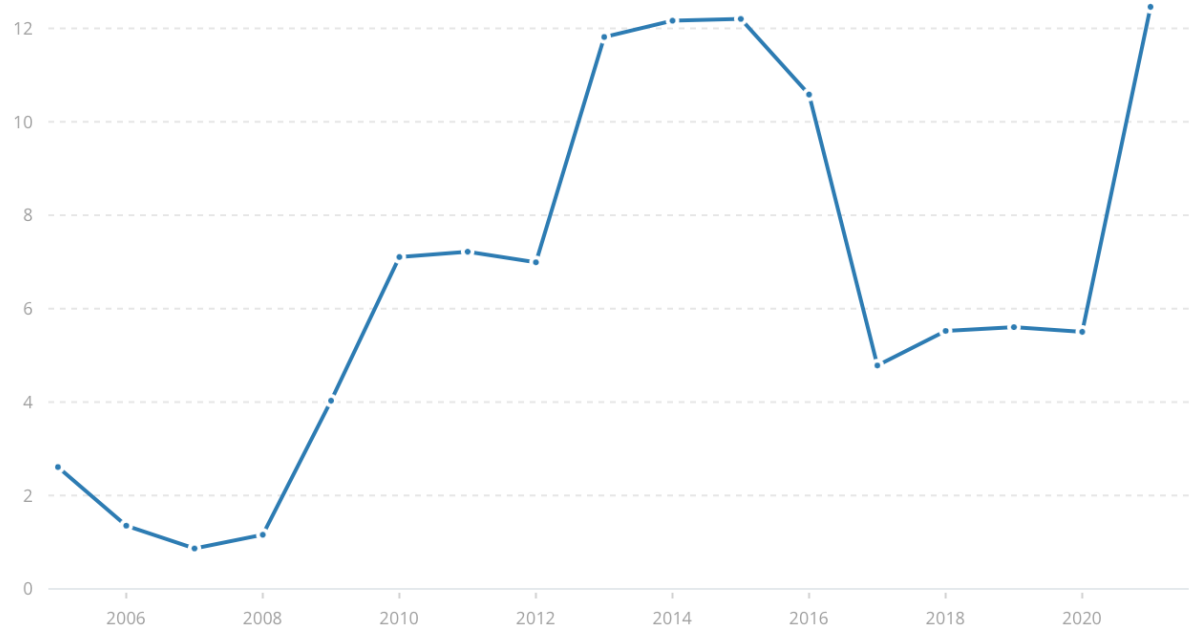
Graph 7 – Total fisheries production of the Solomon Islands 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

The country's aquaculture production followed a similar path between the years 2005 and 2017, but it took some time for production to resume on a large scale and to grow again, in 2021, with 12,461 tons, as it is possible to see in Graph 8 (World Bank, n.d.).

Graph 8 – Total aquaculture production of the Solomon Islands 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

3.2.5 Fisheries in Papua New Guinea

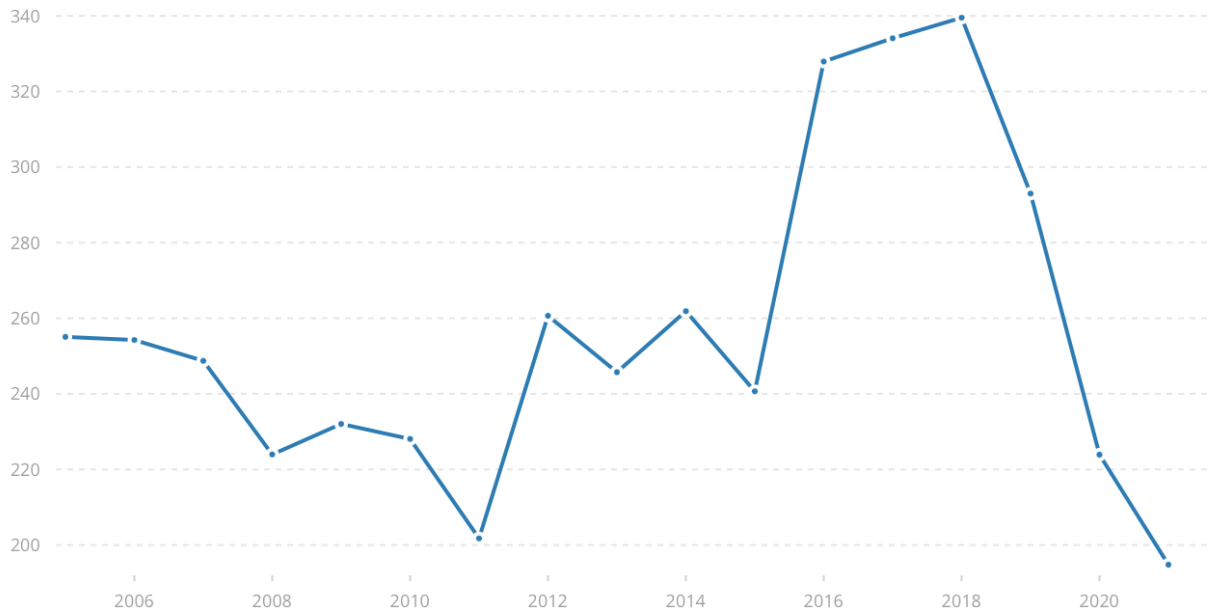
Papua New Guinea's economy is highly dependent of the fisheries sector but, according to the National Fisheries Authority (NFA), the country isn't exploring all of their fisheries potential. The tuna fisheries is the largest in the country, and the catch from PNG waters refers to about 30% of the regional tuna catch. Most of the fish consumed by the population is produced domestically. In 2010, PNG started cooperating with European countries and established the rules to access the European Union's markets, and most tuna products are exported to the European region. This Agreement included a commitment of the country to dealing with IUU fishing. So, it was from 2015 onwards that PNG shifted from having a tuna driven fishing industry to increasing economic returns from other types of fish and aquaculture (Fisheries, n.d.). The country's most valuable production are the offshore foreign and locally-based productions (ADB, 2009).

The country is also focused on cooperating with other PSIDS, especially other Melanesian countries. ''Within the region, PNG canned tuna is also exported to Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu under the trade agreement signed by leaders of Melanesian Spear Head (MSG) countries'' (Fisheries, n.d., n.p.). Within Oceania, fish meal, frozen lobster and live lobster are exported to Australia, and fish oil is exported to New Zealand. Most of PNG imports of processed fish also come from New Zealand, and from Thailand (Fisheries, n.d.).

The fisheries production includes primarily rainbow trout, common carp and tilapia. It had a boom from 2015 to 2016, and for 3 years the production was of about 334,000 tons. The fisheries production fell after that, and was registered low in 2020 and 2021. As the production fell in 2019, it's not possible to say that it could have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic alone (World Bank, n.d.). But, this downward trend could be explained by the lack of a statistical system specific to coastal fisheries which makes it hard for the government to be able to pinpoint patterns or trends within these fishing practices. In addition, there were over-exploitation of some species close to urban areas, such as bigeye tuna, and the country also doesn't keep much of what is exploited from their waters (FAO, 2023b).

Tuna, frozen lobster tails, frozen snapper fillets, live fish, lobsters, and processed and unprocessed bivalve shellfish and their meat are exported to Australia. Canned fish is also exported to the Solomon Islands (ADB, 2009). The production can be observed in Graph 9.

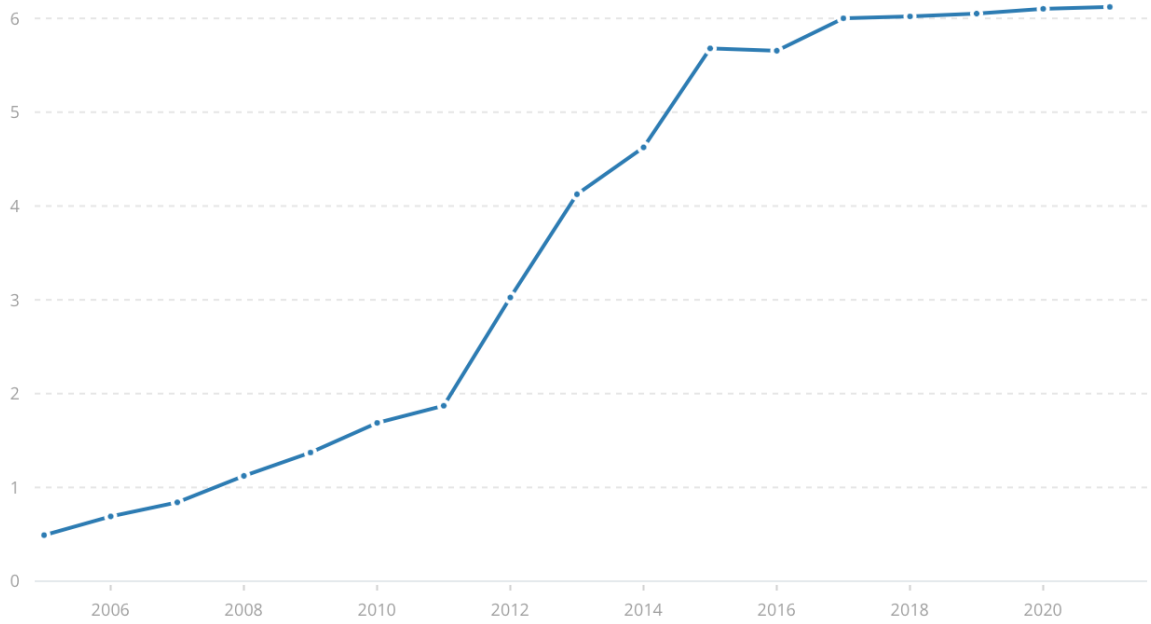
Graph 9 – Total fisheries production of Papua New Guinea 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

As for the aquaculture production, the World Bank (n.d.) data show that it has been increasing steadily since 2015 over the years with the production of 5,680 tons in 2020. It can be observed in Graph 10. Most of the aquaculture production is destined to the domestic market and small-scale commerce. The only exported product from aquaculture is seaweed farming (Fisheries, n.d.).

Graph 10 – Total aquaculture production of Papua New Guinea 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

The NFA has a specific Aquaculture Unite inside of the Fisheries Management Unit, and it shows that the government is concerned about food security and environmental sustainability, as strategies are being developed to deal with that – which can also be exemplified by the 20 aquaculture projects currently being developed. Some of them are also related to inshore reef fisheries, which is mostly destined for local consume (Fisheries, n.d.). But, the NFA need to focus more on capacity building and training programs, as this sector could be more developed (Kuk; Tioti, 2012).

3.3 International cooperation for fisheries in Oceania

By cooperation, it is understood that there is an adjustment of behavior on the part of the actors involved according to the preferences of others, within an international system that is considered anarchic, as discussed in section 2.2. Also, actors are willing to cooperate when they expect others to cooperate as well, as it is important for them to be considered trustworthy. When considering a global dilemma, such as the consequences of climate change, actors are inclined to cooperate (Ostrom, 2000). An increase in the visibility of cooperative behaviors, also called “social interventions”, can facilitate other actor's change of behavior. “Local social norms are likely to play a prominent part in triggering individual climate-friendly behavior,

because these norms appear to be instrumental in explaining some of the observed cooperative behavior" (Carattini; Levin; Tavoni, 2019, p. 241).

Being based on liberal theoretical ideas, Complex Interdependence proposes the analysis of relations in the system based on the mutual dependence created between actors of international politics by transactions that occur in the midst of international borders - economic and social flows - comparing the contemporary world to a tapestry of diverse relationships. When defining Interdependence, the theory also states that it only exists in relationships in which there are reciprocal transaction costs between the parties involved (Keohane; Nye, 2001). It is in this context that the definition of the concept of asymmetry is presented, defined as the inequalities of capabilities between the actors of the system, as defining power relations - this being conceived by the authors as:

> Power can be thought of as the ability of an actor to get others to do something they otherwise would not do (and at an acceptable cost to the actor). Power can be conceived in terms of control over outcomes.[...] We can look at the initial power resources that give an actor a potential ability; or we can look at that actor's actual influence over patterns of outcomes (Keohane; Nye, 2001, p. 10).

Power, which can be understood as a process, is expressed that the constant deepening of transnational exchange relations – whether of goods or knowledge, for example – makes the actors more vulnerable to reciprocal impacts. That is, when equating the causes and consequences of a State's attitude, it is not possible to take it as a unitary actor, but rather an entity inserted in a complex of other actors, demands, rules and expectations that will suffer the consequences of these acts at the same time, that are connected in a web of relationships. In turn, these generated expectations informed how this first State should outline its strategies and, therefore, at the same time that it generated an impact on third parties, its behavior is constrained by them (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

The countries in Oceania already have close ties in the economic sense. The free movement of labor between Australia and New Zealand, for example, began in the 19th century, still in the colonial period. These countries currently have an agreement called CER Agreement (Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement), created in 1983, and there are even studies on the possibility of a monetary union between these two countries, which are currently against this union, but analyze the costs and benefits that it could bring (Scollay; Findlay; Kaufmann, 2011).

With the PSIDS, as they do not have a strong and developed industry, they depend heavily on imports from Australia and New Zealand. Thus, these two regional powers are an important source of exports for the island countries, reaching almost 60% of all imports from a

country, as is the case of Fiji, which is very economically dependent on New Zealand. The two powers jointly send around 59% of the aid that the PSIDS receive, which mainly includes the transfer of financial resources. There are also seasonal migration programs in which the PSIDS population moves to Australia at harvest time (IPCC, 2014; Scollay, 2005).

It is important to emphasize the asymmetry of the relationship between Australia and New Zealand with the PSIDS, since, although the second group strongly depends on the exports of these regional powers, the volume of exports corresponds to little of what these powers could really send to the countries of the PSIDS, not only for goods but also for financial and technical cooperation[21]. One example of technical cooperation for fisheries is Japan providing boats and tools for Tuvalu to improve its fisheries. In addition, the economy of PSIDS, in general, depends significantly on tourism, and Australia and New Zealand are the main source of tourists they have. A distinction was made by Australia and New Zealand between economic policy and policy for development - only the first policy is encouraged, while aid for the economic-industrial development of the island countries is not sent much by the powers, since the relationship of these is focused on trade, and this may further increase the asymmetry between the two groups (Scollay, 2005).

Interdependence is asymmetrical, which means that dependence is not always mutual and balanced. This is important in the sense of sources of influence, which means that one state influences another that is more vulnerable to it. Some States are more dependent than others, which transforms dependence as an instrument of power, since being less dependent but having many dependents means that the State has greater bargaining power. More dependent countries are usually more likely to suffer spillover impacts, which means that there can be an impact of a domestic event in one country on another country's economy. Also, an economic event from the economic can spillover to the political and military spheres. Within this asymmetry, there are the concepts of sensitivity and vulnerability, which are the variables that determine the degree of dependence of a country (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

> To understand the role of power in interdependence, we must distinguish between two dimensions, sensitivity and vulnerability. Sensitivity involves degrees of responsiveness within a policy framework. [...] It is measured not merely by the volume of flows across borders but also by the costly effects of changes in transactions on the societies or governments. [...] The vulnerability dimension of interdependence rests on the relative availability and costliness of the alternatives that various actors face (Keohane; Nye, 2001, p. 10-11).

[21] Cooperation can be financial (of resources) or technical (of shared knowledge).

PSIDS are specially more vulnerable to other actors on the international system. The New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself, for example, on its website, recognizes that Kiribati is very vulnerable to the consequences of climate change, and states that its

> foreign policy engagement has increased significantly as a result of Kiribati's emergence as a leading voice within the Pacific on climate change issues and its increasing profile on regional and international issues of importance to New Zealand, such as regional fisheries management and conservation (MFAT NZ, 2023c, n.p.).

This shows that there is an intention on the part of New Zealand of cooperating with the PSIDS to assist the countries on their climate change vulnerabilities. As it is mostly because the country has more recourses and, therefore, this highlights the asymmetry between the PSIDS and Australia and New Zealand, and that PSIDS are more dependent and vulnerable to external acts.

The commercial relationship in Oceania becomes even more asymmetrical when considering that Australia and New Zealand are not the countries that receive the most of the few products that the PSIDS export, but there is still a lot of pressure from them within the scope of the World Trade Organization (WTO), for example when they demanded tax cuts and other facilitators of trade agreements in the early 2000s, in the context of the Monterrey Consensus[22]. This pressure even succeeded in increasing trade in the region when considering, for instance, that the fabrics produced in Australia were being sent to Fiji for clothing production, which was later returned to Australia (Tigerstrom, 2005; Scollay, 2005). Table 16 summarizes the intraregional exports of goods in the five case-study countries and considering the entire South Pacific region, from 2006 to 2018, which was the data available by OECD (2021).

Table 16 – Intraregional exports of goods (% of total exports of goods)

Year	Australia	Fiji	New Zealand	Papua New Guinea	Solomon Islands
2006	69,63	57,18	56,64	81,27	91,78
2007	70,09	61,39	58,18	79,45	78,07
2008	72,57	58,13	59,41	78,32	86,07
2009	77,27	62,92	61,87	79,33	77,96
2010	79,78	66,9	64,6	80,78	80,52
2011	80,79	67,2	63,78	75,81	83,89

[22] The Monterrey Consensus was a result of the UN International Conference on Financing for Development that happened in Mexico, in 2002. The document states aid commitments being sent from the US and the European Union for development of developing countries, and also agreements regarding debt relief, fighting corruption, and policy coherence. It was signed by more than 50 countries (Scollay, 2005).

2012	81,38	62,77	64,68	74,62	84,48
2013	82,47	64,19	66,92	77,34	83,62
2014	81,68	67,87	64,84	83,76	83,42
2015	78,68	65,88	61,88	85,92	81,37
2016	74,03	64,41	64,16	85,54	83,35
2017	81,44	62,07	67	83,09	82,79
2018	83,15	65,66	67,77	83,91	85,5

Source: OECD (2021).

As it is possible to see in Table 16, the five countries export a large percentage of their goods production to other countries in the South Pacific region. Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, more specifically, have a history of big exports since 2006, and, therefore, they can be considered more sensitive than Fiji and New Zealand to trade shifts in the region. Australia has been increasing its exports from 2006 until 2014, and has been trying to increase it again ever since. This shows that both Australia and New Zealand, although being very important in the region, also focuses a considerable percentage of their exports to other countries around the world, mostly China, India, Japan and others (OECD, 2021).

As for fisheries-specific cooperation, it happens through the support of regional organizations, IOs, trade agreements and treaties. Those will be detailed in the next subsections.

3.3.1 Cooperation through IOs, forums and alliances

For Complex Interdependence, international institutions, such as IOs, are extremely important because they help organize the political agenda and determine government priorities, in addition to serving as a ‘‘spokesperson’’ to show the position of the weaker countries against the stronger ones. Also, it is worth noting that in Complex Interdependence it is not just the States that interact in international politics (transnationality), and this interferes with the role of the international agenda. Domestic issues can also have an impact on the construction of a state’s identity (Keohane; Nye, 2001).

Actors can act transnationally, stabilizing standards of conduct across institutions. Interdependence refers, in world politics, to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between countries or between actors in different countries. These effects often result from international transactions (flows of money, goods, people and messages across international borders). Following the logic of Keohane and Nye's theory (2001), the term transnationality

refers to the relationships that take place in the global context that include non-governmental agents.

And so, because of their geographical proximity, shared colonial history, concerns regarding environmental protection, regional decision-making, and self-determination and legitimate regional governance, PSIDS already have a tendency to trade with each other (Chand, 2005; Fry, 2019; Lawson, 2015). Examples of the role played by the PSIDS in trying to integrate the region economically and politically include the creation of the MSG, in 1993, and the PLG, in 2012, which help the island countries to cooperate in various areas, including security and climate change and will be discussed in Chapter 4 (Tarte, 2014).

One research gap that IPCC (2022) points out in relation to adaptation policies is the need of focusing studies in the role that international and regional organizations have in promoting those policies. As mentioned in section 3.1, there are many adaptation policies that are developed through IOs that assist the PSIDS and also promote cooperation amongst the countries. Most of them are created and implemented through the intermediation of IOs. FAO, for instance, has the SIDS Solutions Platform, which is dedicated to promoting and replicating adaptation policies focused on overcoming food-related challenges. The Platform was launched after the Organization created, in 2021, a SIDS Solutions Forum that to improve nutrition and strengthen climate adaptation considering the problems that were accentuated with the COVID-19 pandemic – and there were policies related to strengthening infrastructure to the fisheries sector, to develop a green growth recovery to fisheries products and to improve the quality and storage of the products (FAO, 2022a).

Besides this specific Program, in 2021, FAO also assisted SIDS' countries in sustainable policies related to fisheries, that includes projects to support small-scale fishers, training for alternative fishing methods through fish aggregating device (FAD) materials (FishFAD project), training for safety at sea,, technical support for community-based fisheries management programs and support for strategies in aquaculture development (FAO, 2022b). Another project currently taking place in the SIDS is the Sustainable Fish Value Chains for Small Island Developing States (SVC4SIDS) Project, that is focused on developing tuna fishing in Kiribati (FAO, 2022b).

UNESCO is another organization that has many programs dedicated to assisting the SIDS. UNESCO is considered one of the pioneering bodies of the UN to support SIDS in their sustainable develop. The Organization's first significant projects with SIDS include the implementation of the 1994 Barbados Program of Action, the 2005 Mauritius Strategy, and the S.A.M.O.A Pathway (SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action). UNESCO's support for the

group became more expressive in 2008, with the creation of an integrated platform called UNESCO-SIDS Intersectoral Platform (UNESCO, n.d.).

Cooperation between UNESCO and the SIDS group began with the Barbados Program of Action (BPOA). This was adopted during the United Nations World Conference on Sustainable Development of SIDS, which took place in Barbados, an island country located in the Caribbean region, in 1994. Also at that Conference, the Barbados Declaration was signed, which supported the commitments of Program (UN-OHRLLS, 2015). Following these steps, UNESCO worked with the SIDS group to develop the Mauritius Strategy. This Conference, which took place in 2005 in Mauritius, had the objective of reviewing the actions taken according to the BPOA, and also preparing the SIDS group as an actor that has vulnerabilities and, therefore, demands assistance measures, during Rio+20[23], which took place a few years later, in 2012 (Nações Unidas Brasil, 2020).

Also, it is important to mention the S.A.M.O.A Pathway, which was developed with the support of UNESCO in 2014 during the SIDS Conference that took place after UNCED. During the Conference, all island countries members of the SIDS group gathered to compile their vulnerabilities in a document, and this was used to prepare goals focused on development and poverty eradication in these countries. In addition, the project also considers the consequences of climate change in island countries, as well as to other topics such as renewable energy, disaster reduction, food security, vector diseases, basic sanitation, sport, education, among other topics (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

Another program is the UNESCO-SIDS Action Plan 2016-2021. It was developed by UNESCO as a consequence of the Third International Conference on SIDS, which took place in Samoa in 2014. UNESCO involved several of its sectors in the planning of the Plan, in addition to other international partners, to assist in the establishment of long-term goals for that the countries of the SIDS group are able to develop capacities to adapt to their vulnerabilities. Thus, the Plan of Action was developed according to 5 priority areas: (1) increase countries' capacities to achieve sustainable development through education and institution building; (2) increase the resilience and sustainability of human interactions with the environment; (3) support the management of social transformations and the promotion of social justice; (4) preserve cultural heritage, promoting culture for sustainable development; and (5) increase the exchange of knowledge between island countries (UNESCO, 2016).

[23] Rio+20 (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development) took place from June 13 to 22, 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. During the Conference, world leaders met to renew their political commitment to sustainable development.

During the stipulation of the goals, the UNESCO document mentions the S.A.M.O.A Pathway several times, recalling the commitments to reduce inequalities stipulated in this project. The Organization had the role of producing the Plan, with the aim of developing adaptation capacities through education, encouraging scientific research and environmental conservation, in addition to safeguarding the cultural heritage of the islands and defending cultural diversity. For its elaboration, UNESCO sought the 5 priority areas according to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with a special focus on SDGs 2 (Zero Hunger), 10 (Reducing Inequalities) and 13 (Climate Action) (UNESCO, 2016). The Organization also assists the private sector, which includes fisheries-related policies that are not focused on adaptation, but in leveraging the PSIDS' fishing economy (UNESCO, n.d.).

A few other regional IOs that organize cooperation in Oceania are: the PIF; the Asian Development Bank; the Pacific Islands Applied Geosciences Commission; the South Pacific Tourism Organization; the Pacific Regional Environment Program Secretariat; the Pacific Community Secretariat; the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency; the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission; the Nauru Agreement Concerning Cooperation in the Management of Fisheries of Common Interest, which is an agreement that helps control tuna - and this agreement controls about 30% of the world's tuna supply, and also 60% of the Pacific tuna supply; the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (SPNFZ), which emerged from the Rarotonga Treaty in 1985 and prohibits nuclear explosions in the Pacific Ocean; between others (CIA, 2022; PIFS, n.d.; NTI, 2018).

PIF, specifically, is an IO whose main function is to promote conditions for cooperation between the island countries of Oceania, created in 1971, and facilitate regional trade with a free trade area, in addition to creating peacekeeping operations[24] with the intention of improving the economic and social well-being of the islands' population. In addition, island countries also maintain diplomatic relations with each other, through agreements mainly on fishing, such as the Nauru Agreement on Cooperation in the Management of Fisheries of Common Interest, export of agricultural resources and other foods, sending diplomatic missions and exchange of knowledge (PIFS, n.d.).

AOSIS is also another grouping of developing island-countries, much like SIDS, but it is more structured as it has a formal office. It is a coalition of coastal states formed by small islands that are extremely vulnerable to climate issues, especially rising sea levels, and which has increasingly gained space in international negotiations as a representative and expression

[24] Peacekeeping is the most traditional way of carrying out peace operations, seeking to keep the parties in conflict apart so that it is possible to move towards the peace agreement process.

of the demands of the countries that make up the group, which are States that are more invisible in the system. It was created in 1990, during the Second World Climate Conference and it doesn't have a formal, written treaty (Yamin; Depledge, 2005).

AOSIS's actions revolve around three main objectives: climate change, sustainable development and ocean conservation. According to the first category, the Alliance's priority is to ensure that global carbon dioxide emissions are linked to the goal of reducing temperature rise. Also, AOSIS strives to ensure that the specific challenges that SIDS face are overcome. Furthermore, the Alliance is committed to continuing to work for international cooperation and new partners to develop capabilities to face the challenges posed by climate change, helping SIDS and other vulnerable States to ''amplify their voices and make an environmental impact, lasting socio-economic and geopolitical'' (AOSIS, n.d., n.p).

> AOSIS does not have the formal structure or permanent status of many other international and regional organisations, and is a relatively informal network of small island countries. It maintains an office in New York to advise its member countries on issues of common concern, to provide a clearing house for member countries' views on major issues, and to coordinate negotiating positions. (Bass; Dalal-Cleyton, 1995, p. 8).

Therefore, SIDS can be considered as a less institutionalized grouping, and AOSIS as being more structured. SIDS has more members, as this grouping does not have a formalized institutionalization, and island countries are not subject to any type of treaty that leads to formal obligations. AOSIS, on the other hand, is not an IO like the UN, FAO or UNESCO, as it also does not require ratification by States in a treaty for its operation to be in force. However, AOSIS has its formal office and is more institutionalized. Both SIDS and AOSIS have a set of island countries as members, with all AOSIS members being small developing states. Thus, both sets are closely related, and both are concerned with searching for assistance for PSIDS (Santos, 2018).

Considering the five case study countries, it is possible to notice that they are very active in IOs and Forums. As it is possible to see in Table 17, there are 77 regional and IOs in which at least one of the case study countries is member. All of the countries are members in 43 organizations, which is about 55,84% of them. In 8 of them, 4 of the five case study countries are members (about 10,39% of the organizations); in 12 of them, 3 of the five case study countries are members (about 15,59%); in 5 of them, 2 countries are members (6,49%); lastly, 9 of the organizations found have one of the case study countries as member (11,69%). This

shows that the countries are members in the majority of the organizations and, therefore, have a high level of interest in cooperating with each other.

Table 17 – International and regional organizations (in alphabetical order)

International/Regional organizations[25]	Australia	New Zealand	Fiji	Solomon Islands	Papua New Guinea
Amnesty International	X	X	X		X
Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum (APEC)	X	X			X
Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum	X	X	X	X	X
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)	X	X			X
Asian Development Bank (ADB)	X	X	X	X	X
Australasian Law Teachers Association (ALTA)	X	X			
Bank for International Settlements (BIS)	X[26]	X[27]			
Commonwealth Secretariat*	X	X	X	X	X
Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific*	X	X	X	X	X
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations	X	X	X	X	X
Forum Fisheries Agency	X	X	X	X	X
Forum for India–Pacific Islands Cooperation			X	X	X
G-20	X				
Gamelan Council	X	X	X	X	X
Group of 77			X	X	X
ICFTU Asia and Pacific Regional Organisation	X	X	X		X
Indian Ocean Rim Association	X				
Inter-Parliamentary Union	X	X	X		X
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	X				
International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)	X	X			X
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	X				
International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP)	X				
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)		X	X	X	X
International Labour Organization (ILO)	X	X	X	X	X
International Maritime Organization (IMO)*	X	X	X	X	X
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	X	X	X	X	X

[25] The organizations marked with a * will be further discussed in section 3.4 of this Chapter.
[26] Reserve Bank of Australia.
[27] Reserve Bank of New Zealand.

International Organization for Migration (IOM)*	X	X	X	X	X
International Organization for Standardization (ISO)	X	X	X		X
International Seabed Authority (ISA)	X	X	X		
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	X	X	X	X	X
International Trade Center (ITC)	X	X	X	X	X
Interpol	X	X	X	X	X
ITUC-Asia Pacific	X[28]	X[29]	X[30]		X[31]
Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)	X	X			
Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP)			X	X	X
Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC)			X[32]		
Pacific Aviation Safety Office (PASO)	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Community*	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Island Farmers Organisation Network			X	X	X
Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP)*	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)*	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency*	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat*	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Islands Museums Association			X	X	X
Pacific Power Association (PPA)	X	X	X	X	X
Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO)	X	X	X	X	X
Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)			X		X
Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP)*	X	X	X	X	X
South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission			X	X	X
South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO)			X	X	X
The Commonwealth	X	X	X	X	X
The Pacific Community	X	X	X	X	X
UN	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)	X	X	X	X	X

[28] Australian Council of Trade Unions.
[29] New Zealand Council of Trade Unions.
[30] Fiji Trades Union Congress.
[31] Papua New Guinea Trade Union Congress.
[32] City of Levuka.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)	X	X	X		X
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNWOMEN)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP)*	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR)			X		
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)	X	X	X		X
United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)	X[33]				
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)	X	X	X	X	X
United Nations Population Fund (UNPF)	X				
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	X	X	X	X	X
World Bank	X	X	X	X	X
World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA)	X	X			
World Food Programme (WFP)	X	X	X	X	X
World Health Organization (WHO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	X	X	X	X	X
World Trade Organization (WTO)	X	X	X	X	X

Source: elaborated by the author with data from DFAT AU (2023b), ForumSec (2023) and USIP (2017).

Also, it is possible to notice that Fiji and Papua New Guinea are very active in IOs and regional organizations, as they are members of 63 of them. They lose only to Australia, that is member of 65 organizations, and are followed by New Zealand (59 organizations) and the Solomon Islands (52 organizations). This shows that Fiji and Papua New Guinea are more interested in cooperation, as they are members to the majority of the organizations (about 81,82% of them), even though Australia and New Zealand have more resources to offer.

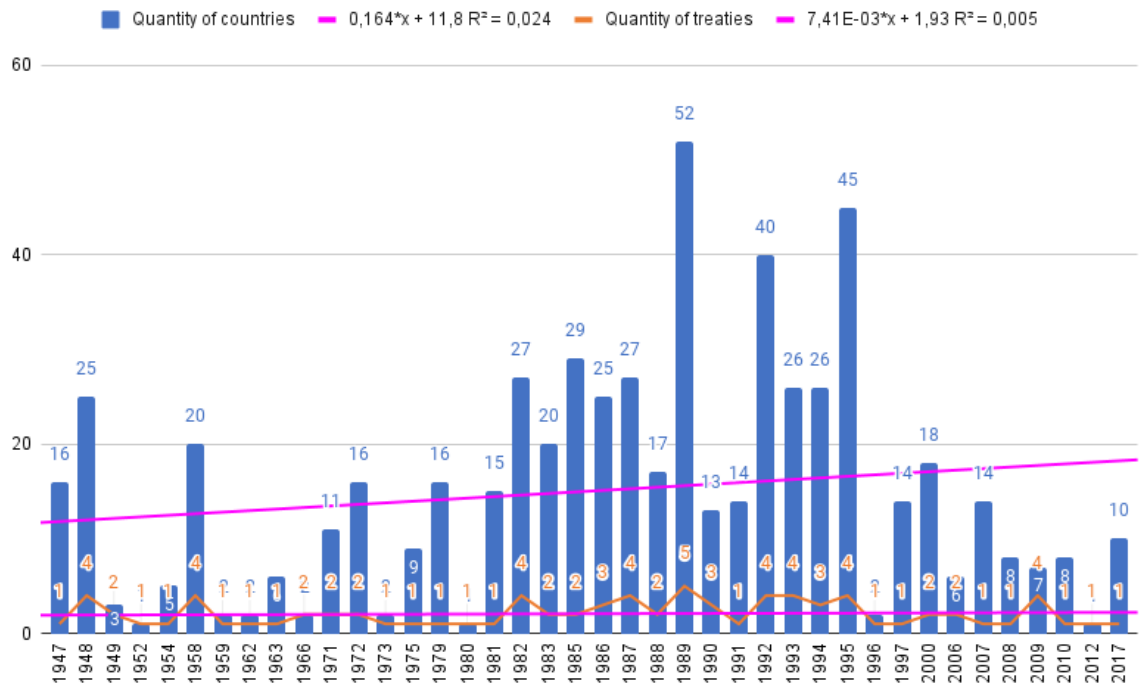
3.3.2 Fisheries-related treaties

[33] Funding.

There are currently many treaties and conventions related to fisheries and aquaculture that are in force. To find those, it was necessary to compile four different data bases: UN Treaties (2023), ECOLEX (2023), FishBase (2023), and Pew Trusts (2023). The search was for the terms ‘fish’, ‘fisheries’ and ‘aquaculture’, and were found 237 treaties and conventions related to those. Out of them, 83 are signed by at least one country in Oceania. The ones that include any of Oceania’s countries are detailed and organized chronologically in Annex B

Considering all of the treaties found, it is possible to notice that there are many international treaties and conventions concerning fisheries and aquaculture-related issues and at least one country in Oceania is a party for about 35% of all of them. In 1992 and the following 3 years, after UNCTAD occurred and the threats of climate change became more discussed in the international system, there were 15 treaties signed, which shows an increase in interest to cooperate more regarding fisheries and aquaculture topics.

Graph 11 – Quantity of treaties and Oceania countries signatories per year (1947-2017)



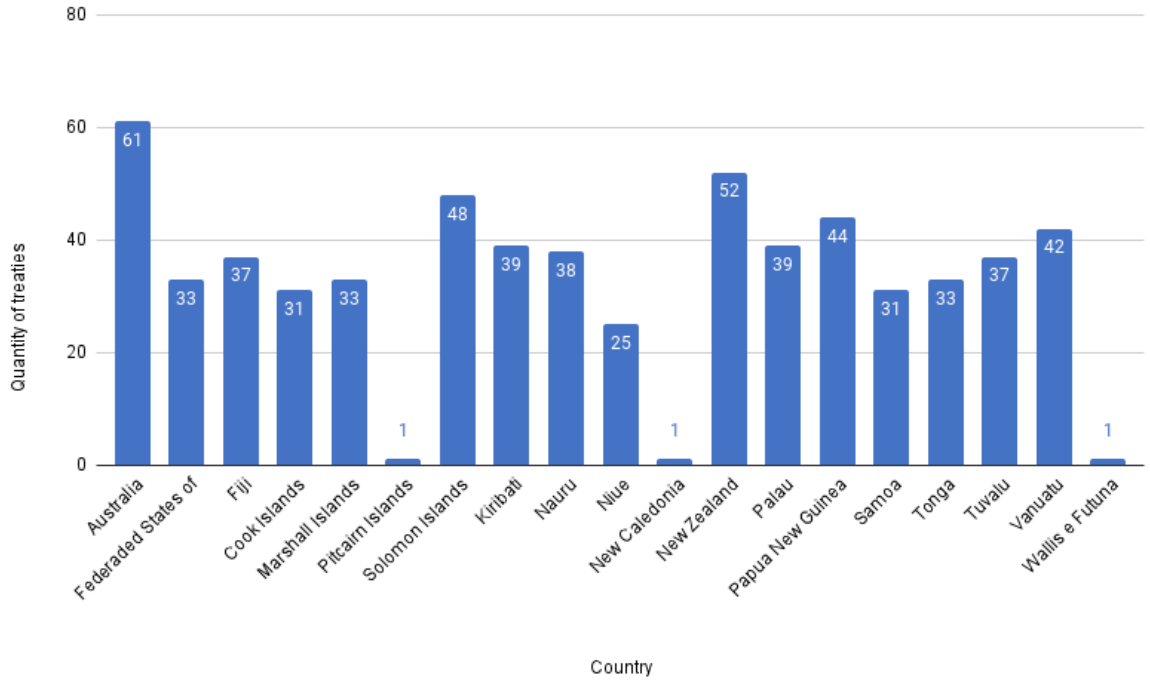
Source: elaborated by the author with data from Fishbase (2023), Pew Trusts (2023), UN Treaties (2023) and ECOLEX (2023).

Considering Graph 11, it is possible to notice that between 1982 and 1995 the majority of the fisheries and aquaculture treaties were signed by Oceania’s countries, and also that most of the countries were involved in those treaties. Although the tendency line (in pink) of the quantity of treaties along the time is still, the tendency line of the quantity of countries involved

in increasing exponentially, which indicates that the countries of Oceania have become more involved in cooperating with each other on fisheries and aquaculture-related issues, and that it is also likely to keep increasing in the future.

Also, according to the collected data, Australia, New Zealand, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea are the countries that are signatories to most treaties and conventions, in descending order. Fiji is the 8th country on the list, tied with Tuvalu, as it is possible to see in Graph 12, which was surprising considering that the fishing activity is so important to the country, so it was expected that Fiji would follow Papua New Guinea and cooperate more with its neighbors.

Graph 12 – Quantity of treaties and conventions signed per Oceania country (1947-2017)



Source: elaborated by the author with data from FishBase (2023), Pew Trusts (2023), UN Treaties (2023) and ECOLEX (2023).

According to OECD, the PSIDS' economies are vulnerable to external shocks, they don't receive enough assistance to deal with that. Therefore, they are still considered by OECD to be ''aid orphans'' (OECD, 2021). To conclude, it is possible to notice that they depend heavily on cooperation to deal with their climate-related vulnerabilities and improve their economy.

Out of the treaties mentioned, a few stand out because they are specifically related to trade cooperation between the countries. There are also agreements relating to the combat of

IUU fishing, and preferential or free trade agreements that exist between Australia and New Zealand. It is also possible to see Oceania's countries come together in the political sense in PLG and MSG. Therefore, in order to understand the political and economic unions in Oceania, it's important to comprehend the regional geopolitical dynamic of the continent, and how they perceive themselves as having a regional identity. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.4 Conclusion

All things considered, it is possible to conclude that there are many adaptation and mitigation policies suggested by OIs and the countries themselves, and that a majority of the adaptation ones can assist PSIDS to deal with the consequences of climate change that impact directly on the fishing activity. There are projects currently implemented by the IPCC, FAO or UNESCO on the territories, but each policy needs to be specific to each island's characteristics, which means that they should involve the local community in the implementation.

Although there are many policies that can be adapted and implemented, they are still not fully successful because of many factors, such as governance-related limits, poor data availability and quality, low technical capacities, limited climate information, food insecurity, diseases, lack of financial resources, corruption, lack of healthcare and climate awareness in more remote rural communities, lack of attention to gender equality, among other factors. This means that, especially in remote rural areas, it's harder to implement the policies and this can explain why the PSIDS are having so many losses regarding the fisheries activity.

Also, not only fisheries and aquaculture are essential as a food source to the population of PSIDS and to promote food security, but they are important to maintain the country's economy, and in most cases, the fisheries industry is their biggest source of income. PSIDS have been exporting the majority of their production both to Australia and New Zealand for decades, which shows that cooperation for fisheries exist for a while, and that the countries intend to strengthen these ties. In addition, they have a history of cooperation to deal with IUU fishing and to try to fight the licensing agreements of the ZEEs that Japan, the U.S., China and other countries have – and these countries end up getting much of the tuna exploit in PSIDS' waters. This shows how the countries are interdependent, even if that interdependence is asymmetric between PSIDS and Australia and New Zealand. And this also means that PSIDS are more vulnerable to the other international actors.

Considering the first presented hypothesis: If more fisheries-related adaptation policies are developed, as climate change's consequences are worsening, then Oceania's regional

cooperation will increase. It was possible to notice that cooperation for fisheries in the continent increased over time.

Out of the IOs mentioned, 10 were chosen be briefly analyzed more specifically. They have all five case-study countries as members, and came up several times during the research. Those are detailed on Table 18.

Table 18 – Organizations that all five case-study countries are members

International/Regional organizations	Description
Commonwealth Secretariat	The Commonwealth is an association of 56 independent countries which, historically, used to be part of the British Empire. But, currently, any country can join. The Commonwealth Secretariat, in turn, is the Secretariat is the IO that supports the member countries to cooperate in order to achieve development, democracy and peace.
Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific	The Council was established by the Pacific Island Forum Leaders in 1988 with the objective of supporting Pacific countries and to improve cooperation, coordination and collaboration between Pacific inter-governmental organizations.
International Maritime Organization (IMO)	IMO is an UN agency founded in 1958 and responsible to regulate maritime transport. It focuses on safety, environmental protection, capacity development and tackling the consequences of climate change.
International Organization for Migration (IOM)	IOM was founded in 1951 and works with other partners to deal with migration regulation, it's relation to development and forced migrations.
Pacific Community	The Pacific Community was created in 1947 with the intention of supporting Pacific countries to achieve sustainable development. It also assists in cooperation and research according to the following topics: climate, ocean, land, culture, rights and good governance.
Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP)	PIDP was created in 1980 at the first Pacific Islands Conference of Leaders (PICL) with the objective of assisting PSIDS's leaders to achieve economic development through cooperation. It also has the intention of supporting education, culture, the arts and the environment on PSIDS
Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)	PIF is an organization created in 1971 with the intention of assisting cooperation between the Pacific countries, as well as keep peace in the region. It has 18 members: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.
Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency	FFA is an advisory body of PIF, and it also works with other agencies, such as Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC), to assist PSIDS in developing their tuna fish industry.
Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat	PIF's Secretariat is the Chief Executive of the organization, and it's also responsible to advocate for PIF's interests to other IOs and non-governmental organizations.
Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP)	SPREP was founded in 1982, and was previously known as South Pacific Regional Environment Programme. It is focused on helping PSIDS to develop sustainably, and has 21 members, including Guam (the U.S.) and French Polynesia (France).

Source: elaborated by the author with data from The Commonwealth (2023), Council of regional… (2019), PIFS (n.d.), SPC (2023), ForumSec (2023), IOM (2023), IMO (n.d.).

All of those IOs also show that cooperation for fisheries in Oceania have existed for a while, some even in the 1950s, and that the countries create organizations to support and further develop this cooperation. Regionally, there are many IOs focused on PSIDS economic development, and the fisheries activity is one that is supported by organizations. Considering the second presented hypothesis: If the cooperation between Oceania's countries increases, they will become more interdependent and the region will move towards a regionalism. As the number of IOs increase through the decades, it is also possible to see that interdependence between the countries have been increasing.

Also, there are 22 numbers of treaties that include all five case-study countries as parties. Those are detailed on Table 19, with a brief summary of their scope of action.

Table 19 – Treaties that all five case-study countries are parties (in chronological order)

Name of treaty/convention	Year	Summary
South Pacific Permanent Commission	1947	Coordinates regional maritime policies in South Pacific
Convention on the International Maritime Organization	1948	Focuses on maritime safety
Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat	1971	Established nature reserves on wetlands
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora	1975	Ensured that trade in animals and plants doesn't threaten their survival in the wild
South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency Convention	1979	Support to its members for the conservation of living marine resources, in particular highly migratory species
South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement	1981	Support trade in the South Pacific
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea	1982	Maritime safety and conservation of marine resources
Secretariat of the Pacific Community	1983	Focuses on regional development
Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals	1985	Focuses on conservation of migratory species
South Pacific Nuclear Weapons Zone Treaty	1985	Formalizes the South Pacific as a nuclear-weapons-free zone
Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region	1986	Focuses on protecting natural resources
Protocol for the Prevention of Pollution of the South Pacific Region by Dumping	1986	Focuses on preventing and controlling pollution
South Pacific Tuna Treaty	1987	Focuses on assisting the tuna trade and protection of the species
Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States of America	1988	Facilitating fisheries trade between PSIDS and the U.S.
Montreal Protocol for the Protection of the Ozone Layer	1989	Protection of the ozone layer
Convention on Biological Diversity	1992	Protection of biological diversity
Niue Treaty on Cooperation in Fisheries Surveillance and Law Enforcement in the South Pacific Region	1992	Focuses on fisheries surveillance

Agreement establishing the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme	1993	Focuses on monitoring, protecting and assessing the environment
Agreement for the Implementation of the Provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982 relating to the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks	1995	Focuses on conservation and management of straddling and highly migratory fish stocks
United Nations Agreement on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks	1995	Focuses on conservation and management of straddling and highly migratory fish stocks
International Plant Protection Convention	1997	Environmental protection
Convention on the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean	2000	Focuses on conservation and management of highly migratory fish stocks in the Pacific Ocean

Source: elaborated by the author with data from Fishbase (2023), Pew Trusts (2023), UN Treaties (2023) and ECOLEX (2023).

As the number of treaties in force increases, island countries are also becoming more interdependent, as proposed in the second hypothesis. But, it is important to notice that almost all of those treaties were signed in the 1980 and 1990s. This shows that PSIDS should be updating or signing new treaties regarding the consequences that the increase in climate change make, as those are directly impacting the fishing activity but no new treaties were signed by the five case-study countries since 2000.

4 OCEANIA'S REGIONAL GEOPOLITICS

As it was possible to notice from the previous Chapter, Oceania's countries trade amongst themselves and have many fisheries-related treaties, as well as they are members of many IOs that assist PSIDS on the development of adaptation policies. PSIDS are specifically very dependent on Australia and New Zealand as import and export partners, and are also dependent on the fisheries industry for domestic consumption, and as a driver of their export economy. Therefore, in order to understand if the existing cooperation in Oceania is moving towards a regionalism, it is necessary to understand how the concept relates do Keohane's idea of interdependence.

Firstly, Keohane and Nye (1975) considers that an increase on the levels of interdependence can generate an increase in the demand for international cooperation. With that, integration can be within the scope of interdependence, as long as the region's historical context and the international system are considered. Economic interdependence can cause integration, which was defined by Weiss (1999) as the 'interdependence-to-integration causality'. But, as Keohane and Nye (1975) didn't stablish the concepts and aspects of integration, it is necessary to mobilize Hurrell (1995) to understand the definitions according to the Regional Integration Theory.

Secondly, it is important to not mix up regionalization and regionalism. Regionalization is defined by the creation of geographic or political-administrative regions, while regionalism is defined by cultural and social aspects. Therefore, regionalization can be the increase of social integration, and spontaneous social and economic interaction between countries. Regional integration is a subtype of regionalism, which is a broader phenomenon. According to Hurrell (1995), there are five aspects of regionalism: regionalization, regional awareness and identity, inter-state regional cooperation, regional integration and regional cohesion. Those will the detailed in this Chapter.

All things considered, this Chapter discusses the third and fourth specific objectives: analyze the New Pacific Diplomacy; and discuss whether regional cooperation points to closer ties between the countries of Oceania, possibly moving towards a regionalism. The first section analyses the continent's regional identity, also introducing the concept of regional awareness according to the Integration Theory; the second discusses what is the 'New Pacific Diplomacy', and analyses Oceania's currently geopolitics; the third section discusses the trade agreements related to fisheries, common markets and political unions that exist in Oceania; lastly, the fourth

section analyses the region's interdependence in relation to the concepts of regionalism and integration.

4.1 Regional identity

As mentioned, each case study country has a different background, economic focus, and government types. However, they also have some historical similarities: a shared colonial history, native ethnicity, are heavily dependent on imports, their population depends of agriculture and fisheries for subsistence, share the same environmental vulnerabilities due to their island status and, therefore, share the need for the development of specific adaptation policies, among other characteristics (Lawson, 2015).

The concept of identity in IR was first introduced in the sense of a national identity that a country has – that is, a sense of belonging to that State, due to a culture and customs shared among the people of that population. So much so, the idea of national identity is linked to the modern national state, as it expresses an identity based on a nationality. Modern government systems were based on the principle of "invention of tradition", that is, they made symbols official and developed the collective ideal of a people (Hobsbawm, 2011). However, it is clear that the State is not the only protagonist with regard to the maintenance and creation of values and collective traditions. The role played by the globalization process, which connects different cultures and promotes the homogenization of habits, is becoming increasingly clear. Consistent with Hall's vision (2006), identities are no longer restricted to a single collectivity.

Thus, it is possible to think of an identity that is shared by an entire region. Anderson (1983), introduced the concept of imagined communities, and regions can be considered as such, being supported by internal factors (history, culture, religious traditions) or external factors (political threat). Then, regional identity can be understood from three characteristics:

> First, identity formation is relational; the process requires a contrasting image against which self-identity can be constructed the 'self/other' dimension common to virtually every form of identity politics. Second, identities are situational; they may be activated according to the demands of a particular context. Third, identities are often instrumental; they can be deployed strategically in the pursuit of goals, or as defensive mechanisms in the face of unwelcome external pressures (Lawson, 2015, p.3).

Because of this, there are studies that assess regionalism among PSIDS as a group, placing these countries with a certain level of regional identity. This regionalism is characterized by microeconomic organizations that promote economic integration through

formal institutional structures, and macroeconomic organizations of a political nature that seek to mitigate or prevent conflicts (Hurrell, 1995). And so, regionalism can be understood as "ideological package of values, beliefs, motives and interests underpinning invocations of region and the processes, activities and institutions which constitute 'the region' as a tangible entity" (Lawson, 2015, p. 4). This means that, due to their shared history and identity, it is possible to think about a regionalization process in Oceania.

Andrew Hurrell (1995) states that four processes are necessary for a unit to become cohesive and consolidated. These are: (1) regionalization; (2) regional awareness and identity; (3) regional cooperation between states; (4) State-sponsored regional economic integration. This section will focus on the second process, but the other three will be explained in section 4.4 of this Chapter. To Hurrell (1995, p. 27, translated[34]):

> Regional awareness and a shared sense of belonging to a given community can be supported by internal factors, often defined in terms of common culture, history and religious traditions. They can also be defined in opposition to an external "other", which can be understood primarily as a political threat (Europe's self-image defined against the USSR or Latin American nationalism defined against the threat of US hegemony), or an external cultural challenge (the long tradition of defining "Europe" in opposition to the non-European world, especially Muslim ones, or, more recently, the awakening of an inspired identity as opposed to "Western").

Regional awareness concerns the regional consciousness that the population living in the region has. This is different from the identity of the region, but both elements, together, can be considered as the analytical concept of identity. The identity of a region means features such as a specific environment, culture and people that differ from one place to another. This identity can be studied through the understanding of a regional market, governance, division or political regionalization. Regional awareness, on the other hand, refers to people's identification with a region and can be studied by the elements – either natural or cultural – that have been determined by and institution, organization or group as the constituent of the identity of that region. In the European Union, for instance, regional awareness is monitored through the Eurobarometer surveys (Hurrell, 1995; Paasi, 2011). "Ultimately regional identity is a label reserved for the existence of a kind of spatial shape for these traits. In this sense identity is a

[34] From the original: A consciência regional e a percepção compartilhada de pertencer a uma determinada comunidade podem apoiar-se em fatores internos, muitas vezes definidas em termos de cultura, história e tradições religiosas comuns. Podem também ser definidos em contraposição a um "outro" externo, que pode ser entendido primariamente como ameaça política (a auto-imagem da Europa definida contra a URSS ou o nacionalismo latino-americano definido contra a ameaça da hegemonia norte-americana), ou um desafio cultural externo (a longa tradição segundo a qual se define "Europa" por oposição ao mundo não-europeu, sobretudo aqueles islâmicos, ou, mais recentemente, o despertar de uma identidade inspirada em contraposição à "ocidental").

feature of the ‘region’, rather than a feature of the regional consciousness of the people living there.” (Paasi, 2011, p. 14).

Oceania’s regional identity, for instance, emerged in the context of the Cold War (1947-1991), in which the PSIDS became independent from their colonizers and wanted to assert a pan-Pacific regional identity in the ‘Pacific Way’. So, the colonial regional diplomacy ended, and a postcolonial diplomatic system took place in 1971. This included having native-island leaders in regional organizations and an anti-colonial tone, and the continent became divided into three sub-regions based on geocultural facts. The Pacific Way has the basic premise of looking towards the collective best interest, and the term was first used at a UN General Assembly in 1970 by the then-Prime Minister of Fiji Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara (Tarte; Fry, 2019).

Some authors argue that there are many expressions of the Pacific Way, and so it is possible to talk about Pacific Ways. With this, emerged the ‘Melanesian Way’, that is considered to be a form of sub-regionalism in which the national Melanesian identity is projected to a regional level, by the national elites that intend to shape regional politics according to their own interests (Tarte; Fry, 2019). The Melanesian Way was headed by Bernard Narokobi, a jurist who assisted the transition of Papua New Guinea from an Australian territory to an independent country. He believed, based on a postcolonial view, that the Melanesian countries should come together to develop economically, as well as improve their governance and promote social changes, considering topics such as race, women’s rights, conflict resolution, land use, food security, environmental protection, foreign aid, and others. (Dobrin; Golub, 2020).

Then, the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) was created. This IO is composed of the four Melanesian countries, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, with the purpose of promoting the countries’ economies, as well as strengthen trade and technical cooperation between them. Fiji also became a party in 1996. It was originally founded as a political gathering, in 1986, but the country-members signed an agreement to establish it as a group in 2007. One way of promoting economic cooperation between the parties was the gradual reduction of tariffs on imported goods from those four countries. MSG currently develops other policies to deal with climate change and natural resources management (Tarte; Fry, 2019; MSGSEC, n.d.).

There was a ‘Polynesian response’ to this, by the creation of a Polynesian sub-regional organization called Polynesian Leaders Group (PLG) in 2011. PLG doesn’t have a Secretariat yet, with meeting being held every year in a location determined by a floating secretariat, which

is provided by the Chair, and it is composed by 5 parties (Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu) and three observe members (American Samoa, French Polynesia and Tokelau). The Polynesian identity is one of the foundations of PLG, as the group is not limited to country-parties, but to Polynesian society in general. Its main goal is to hand out a place for development-focused cooperation between the members according to the stablished common interests, that include culture, education, transport, energy, nature and sustainability, health, agriculture and fisheries, tourism, trade, human rights, and more (Tarte; Fry, 2019; Iati, 2017).

Some authors even consider a possible emergence of a 'Micronesian Way' in the future (Lawson, 2015). The Micronesian rise, and its search for emphasis can be exemplified by the threats made by the Marshall Islands of leaving the Pacific Island Forum (PIF) during a meeting in 2021, in which their candidate didn't win the position of secretary general, with the argument that the leadership of PIF should rotate between the three PSIDS sub-regions in Oceania. The government of Kiribati withdrew from PIF in 2022, also on the account of wanting a Micronesian leader to be in charge of the Forum. Polynesian and Cook Islander Henry Puna was the candidate elected for the post of secretary general. But, since then, Kiribati's prime minister has already stated his government's interest in returning to PIF (Ivarature, 2022; Lyons, 2022).

In the same as PIF, as mentioned in 2.1, there are many IOs that regulate the cooperation amongst Oceania's countries. Besides the already mentioned, they are: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Pacific Community, Council of Regional Organizations in the Pacific, Forum for India-Pacific Islands Cooperation, Forum Fisheries Agency, Gamelan Council, ICFTU Asia and Pacific Regional Organization, Indian Ocean Rim Association, ITUC-Asia Pacific, Organization of African, Caribbean and Pacific States, Pacific Island Farmers Organization Network, PIF Fisheries Agency, Pacific Islands Private Sector Organization, and Pacific Islands Trade and Investment Commission (DFAT AU, 2023b). The existence of so many IOs and Forums can be a sign of shared identity as well, because institutions and IOs can affect the development of identities and collective interests. Keohane and Martin (1995) show that high levels of cooperation make the IOs more significant in the international system. IOs define the cooperation agenda, reduce the lack of trust between the actors, facilitate the achievement of agreements and investments, and monitor to ensure that established policies are being followed by all of the parties. For regional cooperation, in specific, IOs can assist the negotiation process that may lead to a regional integration agreement (Schiff; Winters, 2002).

According to Söderbaum (2004, p. 44-45):

> In this way regionalization is seen as an instrument to change existing structures, take advantage of new opportunities that arise as well as to create bonds of identity and community. According to this perspective actors engage in regionalism not only on the basis of material incentives and resources [...] but they are also motivated by ideas and identities.

As mentioned in 2.1.2, New Zealand's interest in Oceania is rooted in the idea of a shared history, politics and culture. IOs can also assist in the process of identity formation. This relates to the idea of a Pacific identity because the regional organizations that exist, such as the MSG and the PLG can dictate the identity of their members from today on. Although these organizations exist to promote cooperation, some of them can be considered controversial to the new regional diplomatic system in South Pacific – the New Pacific Diplomacy.

4.2 New Pacific Diplomacy

The Pacific diplomacy began in the 1960s, while the firsts PSIDS became independent from their colonizers and started to conduct their own foreign policies. For the most part, as the countries weren't yet members of forums and IOs, their policies were limited. But, since the beginning, it is possible to notice a commitment between the PSIDS and their desire to cooperate amongst each other and work together towards their common goals. Because of this, the South Pacific Forum, created in 1971, was the main arena for the regional cooperation, and also the IO responsible of representing all of PSIDS's problems and demands to the rest of the international system. The Forum lasted until 2000, when it was replaced by the Pacific Islands Forum – which has now 18 members[35], and is still focused on promoting cooperation amongst the PSIDS, as well as possibly forming a trade bloc and develop peacekeeping operations if needed (Fry; Tarte, 2015).

According to Fry (2005), from the 1990s up until its replacement by PIF, the South Pacific Forum became focused on promoting a regional integration, with Australia and New Zealand being their forerunners, and there was also an increase of focus on international security, on topics such as terrorism transnational organizes crime. Therefore, it is possible to see that the South Pacific Forum lost its original focus of assisting PSIDS to negotiate jointly

[35] These members are: Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, French Polynesia and New Caledonia.

in the international system. The replacement to PIF was a way for the Forum to regain that focus.

The New Pacific Diplomacy is a shift in the regional geopolitics between the countries located in the Pacific Ocean, which is characterized by a change in foreign policy, diplomatic ideas and practices by the PSIDS in the early 2010s. It refers specifically to the diplomacy pursued by the PSIDS in global forums and IOs. Anote Tong, former president of Kiribati, called it a 'paradigm shift' on how the small island countries would engage in regional cooperation efforts from now on, focusing on their needs and vulnerabilities, and also prioritizing their relationship amongst themselves. Tong cites the importance of a regional solidarity, and that is the principle on which the New Pacific Diplomacy began to form – the PSIDS can assist each other in several areas, such as fishing, as it can be represented by the Pacific Oceanscape[36] project (Fry; Tarte, 2015; Tong, 2012).

> Yet in the Pacific, there is some evidence that regionalism is experiencing a resurgence. This can be explained in part by what Fry and Tarte (2015) have called the 'New Pacific Diplomacy'. Pacific Island countries are using their collective agency to advocate for change on the global stage in ways reminiscent of the 1970s and 80s when their leaders were at the forefront of action on issues such as nuclear testing, fisheries and self-determination (Leslie; Wild, 2018, p. 1).

In that regard, it is necessary to understand how the New Pacific Diplomacy came together in order to make sense of the discussions of regionalism, which will be detailed in section 4.4.

Tong (2012), in his discourse, mentions that the PSIDS countries should come together to solve their shared vulnerabilities. This also shows that there is indeed a shared regional identity in Oceania, to which Hurrell (1995) will say is important to promote a regionalism. Tavola (2015) proposes that, in order to achieve success in a regionalism project, a PSIDS-only organization, focused solely on PSIDS's interests, should cooperate with Australia and New Zealand, South Korea, the European Union and Japan. Sub-regional bodies, such as PLG, MSG, AOSIS, and others, should determine the problems that needed to be handled locally and the ones concerning the whole PSIDS-only organization.

One of the precursors to the emergence of this New Pacific Diplomacy was the adoption of the Pacific Plan, in 2005 (Slatter, 2015). It was developed by the PIF Secretariat, supported by the Asian Development Bank, with the goal of promoting regional cooperation and

[36] The Pacific Oceanscape is a program supported by the World Bank to help countries improve their sustainable fisheries management and strengthen institutions responsible for ocean conservation (Tong, 2012).

integration in the South Pacific. It includes regional cooperation of services and policies between the Pacific governments, provision of public goods and services, low market barriers to improve trade, and also technical cooperation – this is considered by PIF as the three types of regionalism: regional cooperation, regional provision of public goods/services, and regional integration (PIFS, 2007). The Plan was revised in 2007, and later again in 2013, and it is still in effect to this day, as it is considered a 'living plan' and its updated yearly (Pacific Plan Review…, 2013).

Besides their relationship with themselves or with Australia and New Zealand, there were also changes concerning the relationship of the PSIDS with other international actors. As the South Pacific region has become more active on Forums and IOs, other countries in the world have turned their eyes to the PSIDS (Fry; Tarte, 2015). The US and China, for instance, are competing for dominance in the region, as it is a strategic location, and has a large market for imports and propagation of the ideologies of these two countries (Xing; Bernal-Meza, 2021). China's interest in the PSIDS also facilitated the development of the group itself (O'Keefe, 2015). Manoa (2015) calls it a shift from PIF to the PSIDS group as the best representation of the developing countries in the UN and other international Forums, mostly because of the different interests and necessities that both organizations have – again, this relates to the fact that Australia and New Zealand are members of PIF.

And so, the New Pacific Diplomacy was promoted with the intention of encouraging trade, fishing and climate change cooperation, as well as decolonization, without having to rely on Australia or New Zealand for funding. The reason for the PSIDS wanting to depend less on those two countries is that, according to Fry and Tarte (2015), they had antithetical positions during negotiations, making them harder, and they also have different interests in many issues – for instance, in relation to carbon emissions targets negotiation. This is also considered to be one of the problems of PIF, as Australia and New Zealand are also members and main financiers of the Forum, making it not a southern-only group and, therefore, not recognized by AOSIS and the G77 as a southern global coalition.

Many authors see Fiji as the forerunner of the New Pacific Diplomacy, mainly because of its suspension from PIF in 2009 and the country's start of an activist foreign policy. Fiji was also the leader of the MSG, assisted in the creation of the Pacific Islands Development Forum and assisted in the change of representation of PSIDS at the UN – from PIF to the PSIDS group itself (Tarte, 2014). The PSIDS can also be considered a key for the New Pacific Diplomacy,

as the group participates in AOSIS and the Group of 77[37] (G-77), and also represent the Pacific island-countries in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Therefore, PSIDS participated in important climate events such as UNCED (2012) and the Third International Conference on SIDS in Samoa (2014) (Fry; Tarte, 2015).

With Fiji's suspension from PIF in 2009, the country's foreign policy could be considered the starting point for some institutional developments that were important for the development of the New Pacific Diplomacy. This is due, mostly, to the Fijian government searching for other trade forums in a way to cooperate with other countries around the world, as they couldn't use the PIF to negotiate trade with the European Union. To return to PIF, Fiji's condition was that the Forum would reconsider Australia and New Zealand's membership, as the country wanted to promote an PSIDS-only organization, which would also assist in the Pacific Plan's regionalism proposition (Tavola, 2015). In this sense, it is possible to consider that the New Diplomacy of the Pacific was a result both of the increase of external interests in the region, mainly by China, and of the role that Fiji played after 2009 (Leprince, 2022).

There was also an increase desire for enhancing PSIDS' autonomy. The MSG can also be considered as an expression of the New Pacific Diplomacy, as it is also a major forum of the continent and an articulation of a sub-regional integration. All Melanesian countries embraced the integration proposed as part of the MSG since 2009, and the Fijian and Papua New Guinean leadership was important for its consolidation. Some authors consider that the MSG has achieved a certain level of integration between the Melanesian countries that hasn't yet been achieved by Oceania as a whole (Fry; Tarte, 2015; Leprince, 2022).

As for the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF), it was a Fiji-led initiative created in 2013, that focus on assisting the PSIDS on achieving a sustainable development, emphasizing on a society-government inclusivity and defending self-determination, in the sense that the organization is intended to not suffer any type of foreign interventions and only center their specific demands (Fry; Tarte, 2015). Some authors argue that PIDF ended up competing with PIF, especially because PIDF is not for governments only, and also has more plurality in the Secretary – this is a main concern regarding PIF, and also the reason why Kiribati decided to withdraw from the Organization in 2022, as they didn't agree with the elected Secretary General and wanted their Micronesian candidate to be chosen for the position (Lyons, 2022). China,

[37] The G-77 was created in 1964 by 77 developing countries during a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) meeting, with the intention of promoting the country-members economy and economic-related negotiations between them – also encouraging South-South cooperation for development (G77, n.d.).

Russia, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates give funding for PIDF to develop policies (Fry; Tarte, 2015).

Another important part of the New Pacific Diplomacy is the Nauru Agreement. It was originally signed in 1982, and the implementation was coordinated by the PIF Fisheries Agency. In 2009, the secretariat headquarters were established in Majuro, capital of the Marshall Islands (Fry; Tarte, 2015). The Parties to the Nauru Agreement currently control the world's sustainable tuna purse seine fishery, about 30% of the world's tuna supply and 60% of the Pacific supply, which are: the Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and Tokelau (PNATUNA, n.d.).

In addition to that, another important characteristic of the New Pacific Diplomacy is all of the other IOs and Forums that are Pacific-run and were created specifically to negotiate trade or other kind of cooperation between the PSIDS and Australia, New Zealand and/or the European Union. As previously mentioned, there are many different IOs that aim to promote and assist the cooperation between PSIDS and other countries, such as PIF, PIDF, PIDP and the Pacific Community. So, it is possible to conclude that PSIDS have been actively trying to take part in the international system, and their diplomatic policies on the New Pacific Diplomacy reflect their intention of cooperation (Fry; Tarte, 2015).

Some other consequences of the New Pacific Diplomacy include: it represents a regional independence of the PSIDS in relation to Australia and New Zealand; makes the island-only groups, such as PIDF, more important in international forums, and their engagement in negotiations more aggressive; and it inspires Australia and New Zealand to commit regionally, as other countries turn their attention to Oceania (Fry; Tarte, 2015).

Also, the trade related to fisheries that was promoted in the New Pacific Diplomacy was not only through the arrangements of IOs. Both Australia and New Zealand have specific projects with each PSIDS, and destine most of their financial assistance to PSIDS. According to the New Zealander government, for instance, the country shares about 60% of their Official Development Assistance (ODA) funding for the PSIDS, with the argument of making the region more prosperous and stable (MFAT NZ, 2023c).

> The influence of Australia and New Zealand was mainly exercised through agenda-setting, the staffing of regional organisations, financial control and the making of regional declarations on security. They also had an effective veto on positions pursued by the Pacific island leaders that they deemed to be hostile to their interests, such as in climate policy. The various moves made by the islands to check their dominance, such as the rise of the new Pacific diplomacy […], also demonstrate that Pacific islanders recognized the impact of this hegemonic power on their interests (Fry, 2019, p. 313).

Fiji, specifically, is considered to be New Zealand's largest PSIDS trading partner, and the New Zealander population is Fiji's second largest tourist market after Australia. According to the New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade Ministry, about NZD$1.17 billion was spend in the two-way trade between the two countries in 2018. As for the Solomon Islands, the country accounts for only 3% of New Zealand's trade. But, almost all of it is focused on fisheries, as the fishing activity is the most important food and income source in the country. In 2018, about NZD$67.5 million was spend in the two-way trade between New Zealand, and the Solomon Islands. Lastly, Papua New Guinea has New Zealand's second largest goods export market in Oceania, after Fiji. New Zealand is also focused on helping Papua New Guinea increase their sustainable economic growth. In 2018, about NZD$257 million was spend in the two-way trade between the countries (MFAT NZ, 2023c).

As for Australia, the country also has many projects with the PSIDS, but they are mostly of financial support. AusAID is the biggest one, which is the country's development program and has assisting countries in the Pacific as priority (AUSAID, 2012, n.p). According to the government's Department of Foreign Affairs, they are currently ''supporting the region meet its climate resilience and mitigation objectives, expanding the Pacific Australia Labour Mobility scheme (PALM) and reducing fiscal distress in partner countries to further assist in the economic recovery from COVID-19'' (DFAT AU, 2023c, n.p). With that program, they also focus on sustainable infrastructure, humanitarian assistance during disasters, has an equality fund to assist LGBTQIA+ people and a Gender Equality Strategy, and also aims to combat unsustainable fisheries subsidies (Australian Government, 2023c).

PSIDS also have other fisheries-related policies currently in place. Fiji has a specific development project related to fisheries with the New Zealander government, that focuses on providing assistance for the country to deal with climate change and improve their inshore fisheries sector (MFAT NZ, 2023d). Fiji is also the primary country of the World Bank's funding for PSIDS that combats IUU fishing in cooperation with the PIF Fisheries Agency (New World Bank…, 2023). Lastly, it is important to mention that the country has projects with the Japanese International Cooperation Agency and the European Union (JICA, 2022).

According to the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources of the Solomon Islands, the country's project Mekem Strong Solomon Islands Fisheries (MSSIF), in partnership with New Zealand (Mekem Strong Solomon…, n.d.). As Fiji, the country also cooperates with the European Union, as they have a sustainable fisheries agreement, and with the Overseas Fishery Cooperation Foundation of Japan, focused on rural fisheries development, and a project with

China, which shows that the country is not only focused on regional cooperation (European Commission, n.d.; Overseas Fishery Cooperation…, n.d.).

So, as it is possible to notice, New Zealand is more actively trying to assist PSIDS in fisheries-related projects than Australia's AusAID project, as the country has specific projects with the countries that are not only investment-based, as the New Zealander government partners with PSIDS' governments in the development of policies. In addition, PSIDS also work with other countries in the Pacific region, specifically China and Japan, and have some partnerships with the European Union that are important for their fisheries as well. Out of the two PSIDS, Fiji seems to be the most engaged country in cooperation.

Lastly, Papua New Guinea also has the same collaboration as Fiji's with the World Bank in regard to combat IUU fishing, and with the European Union (New World Bank…, 2023). They also have a specific agreement with Australia regarding fisheries in the Torres Strait, in which there are about 18 islands that are currently inhabited, as well as over a hundred islands and reefs. The fisheries in the region, including both commercial and traditional fishing, is controlled by a Joint Authority and the catches of prawn, tropical rock lobster and finfish in the region are shared between both countries (Australian Government, 2023b).

Trade agreements and partnerships such as the Torres Strait Agreement are very important to demonstrate cooperation in the region. Therefore, in order to illustrate how the New Pacific Diplomacy boosted political and economic cooperation between the countries of Oceania, the next section explains some of the existing trade agreements, common markets and political unions.

4.3 Trade agreements, common markets and political unions

Out of the treaties mentioned in section 3.3, a few stand out because they are specifically related to trade cooperation between the countries. As it was possible to notice, the countries have many agreements, such as the South Pacific Fisheries Treaty, the SPFFA, the South Pacific Tuna Treaty, the Palau Arrangement for the Management of the Western Pacific Purse Seine Fishery, and the Agreement between the Government of Papua New Guinea and the Government of Solomon Islands concerning the administration of the special areas, that regulate the fishing activity in the region and promote fisheries-related cooperation among PSIDS. There are also fishing treaties of PSIDS with other countries in the world, such as the Organization for the Network of Aquaculture Centers in Asia and the Pacific, the Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific States and the Government of the United

States of America, and the partnership agreements that Kiribati, the Solomon Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia have with the European Union (Fishbase, 2023; Pew Trusts, 2023; UN Treaties, 2023; ECOLEX, 2023).

Agreements relating to the combat of IUU fishing also exist, showing that PSIDS are concerned about this illegal practice that affects directly their economy and the population's nutrition. This means that PSIDS seek, together, to deal with the difficulties they share. The Pacific Plan, in specific, also encourages regional integration, as it boosted cooperation in the Pacific and promoted a grow on cooperation between the European Union and ACP countries through the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA). According to the Government of New Caledonia (n.d., n.p.):

> Due to their late inclusion in globalization, Pacific Island Countries and Territories remained isolated and dependent on former colonial powers for a long time. The PICTA and PACER agreements are the results of a willingness to modernize insular economies while also integrating international markets.

Common markets are the removing of tariffs and trade barriers between countries in order to promote the free movement of goods and services, as well as labor and capital. Considering this, common markets are a treaty in which trade barriors are removed because of the policies agreed between the countries. Common markets are cited by Keohane and Nye (2001) as a sign of integration in the European Union, and it was established after the European countries achieved currency convertibility and implemented tariff cuts. Another example of a common market is MERCOSUL. Therefore, is not possible to identify a common market in Oceania, as the countries haven't established any treaties related to that.

But, preferential or free trade agreements exist between Australia and New Zealand, as it is possible to notice from the ANZCERTA Agreement. As previously mentioned, the success of ANZCERTA makes New Zealand important for Australia, as it is the country's largest destination of export of services, and the fourth country for the export of goods. Because of it, Australia is also the main recipient of Australian investments, and over half of it is Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)[38], which can be considered a sign of high-level economic integration (Australian Government, 2023c). This is due because, according to OECD, FDI is ''a key element in international economic integration because it creates stable and long-lasting links between economies. FDI is an important channel for the transfer of technology between

[38] ''Foreign direct investment (FDI) is a category of cross-border investment in which an investor resident in one economy establishes a lasting interest in and a significant degree of influence over an enterprise resident in another economy.'' (OECD Library, n.d., n.p.).

countries, promotes international trade through access to foreign markets, and can be an important vehicle for economic development.'' (OECD Library, n.d., n.p.).

ANZCERTA began in 1983, and has many benefits for both countries. According to the Australian Government (2023c), those include:

- Ban of tariffs and limitations on the quantity of imports or exports of goods originating from the Free Trade Area under ANZCERTA;
- Minimization of distortions in the market concerning trade in goods, including measures aimed at domestic industry support, export subsidies, and incentives;
- Alignment of Trans-Tasman food standards via the 1995 Australia New Zealand Food Authority (ANZFA) Agreement, resulting in reduced industry compliance expenses, fewer regulatory obstacles, and expanded consumer choices;
- Facilitation of the mutual recognition of goods and professions, eliminating technical trade barriers and obstacles to the movement of skilled workers between jurisdictions without the necessity for complete standard and professional qualification harmonization;
- Lowering of investment expenses via the 2013 Protocol on Investment, benefiting investors from both countries by reducing compliance costs, increasing screening thresholds, and providing greater legal assurance when investing across the Trans-Tasman region. Bilateral investment between Australia and New Zealand amounts to over $194 billion (2019).

ANZCERTA has the objectives of strengthening the relationship between Australia and New Zealand, eliminate barriers to trade, as well as develop and expand free trade between the countries. It is also recognized by WTO as a model of free trade agreement because it covers a large scope of trade issues. From ANZCERTA, the countries developed another program also with the aim of developing closer economic integration, called the Single Economic Market (SEM) agenda. SEM was ''designed to enable business, consumers and investors to conduct operations across the Tasman in a seamless regulatory environment'' (Australian Government, 2023c, n.p.). Some benefits accomplished by the SEM agenda, according to the Australian Government (2023c), include: the Australia New Zealand Science, Research, and Innovation Cooperation Agreement (ANZRICA, ratified in November 2017) encompass various collaborative efforts within our science, research, and innovation systems; the Trans-Tasman Electronic Invoicing Arrangement (signed October 2018) establishes a unified e-invoicing approach in Australia and New Zealand, aiming to boost efficiency and decrease business

expenses for both government and industry; and, lastly, the mutual acknowledgment between the Australian Trusted Trader program and the New Zealand Secure Exports Scheme (July 2016) offers trade advantages to member businesses, enhancing trade facilitation between the two nations.

Another example of a free trade agreement is the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (RCEP), which is a regional agreement between Australia and other 14 Indo-Pacific countries, including New Zealand, but none of the PSIDS. As RCEP is focused on improving trade and investment between the country-members, this means that PSIDS are not included in the trade of goods and services, investment, technical cooperation and new rules agreed between the countries regarding electronic commerce, intellectual property, enterprises and more. The Australian Government mentions that the goal of the Agreement is to ‘‘(provide) Australian businesses with new access to and improved rules for growing trade and investment in the fast-growing and dynamic Indo-Pacific region’’ (DFAT AU, 2023d, n.p.), but Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, even though they are important partners as receivers of imports from both Australia and New Zealand, as mentioned in the previous chapters, they don’t partake in RCEP (DFAT AU, 2023d).

Recently, El País (2023) called New Zealand ‘‘the trading partner of almost every country in the world’’ (n.p.), because they also have a free trade agreement with the European Union, which was signed this year (El País, 2023).

New Zealand, in specific, is considered to be one of the countries cooperates the most in the world, and has the most trade agreements in general. As mentioned in section 3.3.3, the country is the second with the most fisheries-related treaties, but New Zealand has free trade agreements with Brussels, with China, Japan and Australia because of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and with other 10 countries in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (Australian Government, 2023c).

As for political unions, they are organizations where the countries come together in a political sense, following an integration process. An example is the European Union. Both the MSG and the PLG are considered intergovernmental organizations and so, even though they came together for political reasons, are not political unions (Ilievski, 2015).

Economic and monetary unions (EMU) are a trade pact that combines a common market, a customs union and a monetary union. In common markets, trade barriors are removed because of policies agreed between the countries. In customs unions, the members establish a free trade zone, and also a common external tariff for trade. As for monetary unions, the countries establish a common currency that all members shall share. However, it is not possible

to identify an EMU in Oceania, nor a monetary union, despite some efforts made over the years for Australia and New Zealand to unify their currencies. At the early 2000, authors began to theorize if a currency union would be beneficial for both countries, as in previous negotiations the general public wouldn't even consider the idea (Coleman, 2001).

Australia has a larger mineral sector than New Zealand, and it's currency depends heavily on that. Therefore, a change of the Australian currency can lead to both benefits and issues. Australia would be able to choose its own inflation rate, as well as its own interest rate structure. From that, an exchange rate change might occur, stabilizing export incomes in terms of quirks and, consequently, stabilizing demand in Australia's non-tradable sectors (Coleman, 2001). On the other hand, without monetary independence, Australia wouldn't have the following benefits:

> 1. the ability to alter the value of the currency to stabilize economic output;
> 2. the ability to change interest rates to stabilize output;
> 3. the ability to choose the inflation rate;
> 4. the ability to change interest rates to alter income distribution; and
> 5. the ability to commandeer resources by issuing legal tender. (Coleman, 2001, n.p.).

Also, for Australian financial and political leaders, the issue is not important, as they assume that New Zealand should be the one to adopt the Australian dollar. If this occurs, the country won't be able to borrow money as easily as it currently does, mostly because the NZD is less vulnerable to external shocks than AUSD. But, NZD has a higher inflation than AUSD, and a change of currency would be good in that sense (Coleman, 2001). Also, a change of currency

> would provide the benefits of greater integration with the Australian economy as well as a means for New Zealanders to insure against shocks peculiar to New Zealand. If such contracts were popular, the New Zealand central bank would also have some powers to engage in countercyclical monetary policy by altering the conditions on these contracts. (Coleman, 2001, n.p.).

In a political sense, it is possible to see the PSIDS countries come together in PLG and MSG, as discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2. Therefore, this means that it is possible to think about regionalism in the Pacific, since there is a rapprochement between the countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres. This will be analyzed in the following section.

4.4 Regionalism

Keohane and Nye (1975) suggest that it is possible to consider integration as a scope of interdependence as long as it is considered withing the region's historical context and the international system itself. One important form of influence in regional cooperation is through economic interdependence, which makes integration theory relevant for analyzing regional politics, also making it possible to determine what Weiss (1999) calls an 'interdependence-to-integration causality', that differs from the European experience - it is market-led, as emerges from economic benefits, but it is also transaction-led, and considers expanding international relationships and the expanded agenda of IR.

Weiss (1999), mentions that there are three different types of interdependence:

> First, interdependence suggests a relationship of interests such that if one nation's position changes, other states will be affected by the change; second, the notion derived from economics that suggests interdependence is present when there is an increased national "sensitivity" to external economic developments; and third and finally, interdependence entails a relationship which is costly to break. Interdependence is also a measure of openness. Openness is a "multidimensional concept" when measured in economic terms, i.e., trade flows, labor and capital mobility and the liquidity value of money (price sensitivity of interest and exchange rates) (Tollison and Willett 1973: 259, note 10). The interdependent relationship is illustrated by sensitivity to factor price changes or vulnerability to policy changes, defined as some degree of mutual effect (Keohane and Nye 1975a: 367).'' (Weiss, 1999, p. 17).

From interdependence, integration or regionalism can emerge. This regionalism, traditionally, ''can be defined as cooperation between countries within the same continent aimed at facilitating the free flow of goods and services and encouraging trade and commerce through the coordination of foreign policies'' (Jiang, 2023, p. 82). International cooperation can be seen as the creation of interstate arrangements that make the regionalist project viable. The motivation for this cooperation can arise from various areas, such as the need to combat an external security threat (as was the case of the focus of the First Wave of Regionalism), solve common problems, reduce transaction costs, press en bloc on Organizations International (characteristic examples of the Second Wave of Regionalism) (Herz; Hoffman, 2004; Hurrell, 1995).

There are three main factors that lead actors to cooperate, according to the Institutionalist view of IR: mutual interests, the shadow of the future, and the number of actors. The first factor is the consideration of the interests of the actors, which through their perception can generate confidence about the information passed during the negotiation, and culminate in the coordination of policies. The second concerns the expected result that the competitor has,

based on his attitudes in the past - thus, if an actor has a tendency to cooperate, it can be expected that he will remain so and trust will be generated. Also, this second factor takes into account the concern that the actors, considered rational, have with their own future, since they may need help later and it is interesting to maintain friendly relations with the other actors in the institution. Thus, they seek to maximize their interests. The third factor, on the other hand, considers the number of actors present in the negotiation, because it is easier to reach a consensus with a smaller number of actors, which also prevents free-riders[39] (Axelrod; Keohane, 1985). Still, it is necessary to consider that actors such as Australia and New Zealand may choose not to cooperate with the PSIDS and focus on investing in climate policies at the domestic level, since their territories will also be affected by the consequences of global climate change.

As for identity, it is considered by Keohane and Nye (2001) as one of the three types of political integration. According to them, ‘‘We can distinguish three types of political integration: (1) the creation of common institutions; (2) the coordination of policies (with or without institutions); (3) development of common identity and loyalty. For voluntary assimilation to occur, all three types must develop.’’ (Keohane; Nye, 2001, p. 180).

> Integration is a macro-level process and interdependence is a micro-level phenomenon. On this basis, integration and interdependence are described by different variables. Keohane and Nye (1975a) provided a crucial analysis of the juxtaposition and intersection of integration and interdependence on the basis of different variables. Integration is a structural and interest-based process and often takes place within an institutional framework (Keohane and Nye 1975a: 368). Interdependence is a policy condition among states which was affected by transactions between transnational actors. (Weiss, 1999, p.2).

So, according to Nye (1965), interdependence is a condition of a relationship that is less durable and primarily based on instrumental associations, while integration is an on-going process that is more intense and durable. Therefore, an economic integration can be considered to be the outgrowth of an interdependent trade relationship.

> An interdependence-to-integration causality is in direct contrast to the integration process in post-war Western Europe, where integration began as a political process founded upon formal inter-governmental cooperation and the establishment of institutional and regulatory frameworks, preceded economic interdependence. Integration builds on a growing number of issues and stakeholders. Integration is the expansion and stabilization of interdependent relationships, of which a key indicator is the expansion of stakeholder interests and increasing investment transactions. This

[39] A free-rider actor is one who receives the benefits of cooperation, but without incurring any costs. Large groups are more likely to have free-riders.

> type of integration may be described as ‘vested interdependence’ which adds a continuity feature not present in interdependent relationships. (Weiss, 1999, p. 20).

Although Keohane and Nye (1975) treat regional integration as something within the scope of interdependence, they don’t present a model of regionalism. Thus, it was necessary to look for other authors, Hurrell (1995) and Weiss (1999), to properly define the concepts of regionalism, regionalization and regional integration. According to them, the integration process increases the interdependence of the economies that are members of the process, through an increase in the interdependence of industries and capital markets of those countries.

> Nye (1968b) described the European Economic Community (EEC) as a complex web of interdependences. Haas (1975: 79) suggested that European integration was occurring at a reduced level and scope and that only fragmented issue linkages could be discerned in the European Community’s collective decision-making. Keohane and Nye (1975a) described integration as both a process and an end state, and, like the condition of interdependence, on-going at any number of levels.’’ (Weiss, 1999, p.1).

Outside the European case, considering the countries in Oceania, it is possible to perceive that there is already a process of rapprochement between them, mainly in the economic scope, since the island countries export their primary products to the regional powers, and are extremely dependent on imports that come mainly from Australia - some authors in the field refer to the phenomenon as Post-Hegemonic Regionalism (Leslie; Wild, 2018).

The New Regionalism is a multidimensional aspect (it considers economic and political aspects) of the Regional Integration Theory, which is inserted in the Second Wave of Regionalism, and seeks to incorporate the political bias to the regionalization process including other continents in the analysis, since the regionalism should not be regarded as essentially European. Therefore, it presents a more comprehensive content, such as development and sustainability, a greater diversity of actors who face difficulties in common, and it is a reflexive approach, since it suggests rethinking and questioning current regionalism considering the particularities of each region and being able to think in a specific political demand that promotes in the society of the region an idea of collective identity (Söderbaum, 2013).

> Integration is any level of association between actors, on one dimension or another of various types of integration, such as economic, social, and policy integration. This places “integration” on the same analytical level as “interdependence” which is not closely associated with a teleological or process-oriented theory. [...] Integration occurs among countries or provinces whose geographic borders affected their mutual security, where economic and political processes coincided. Integration therefore is a political process fostered by economic processes. (Weiss, 1999, n.p.).

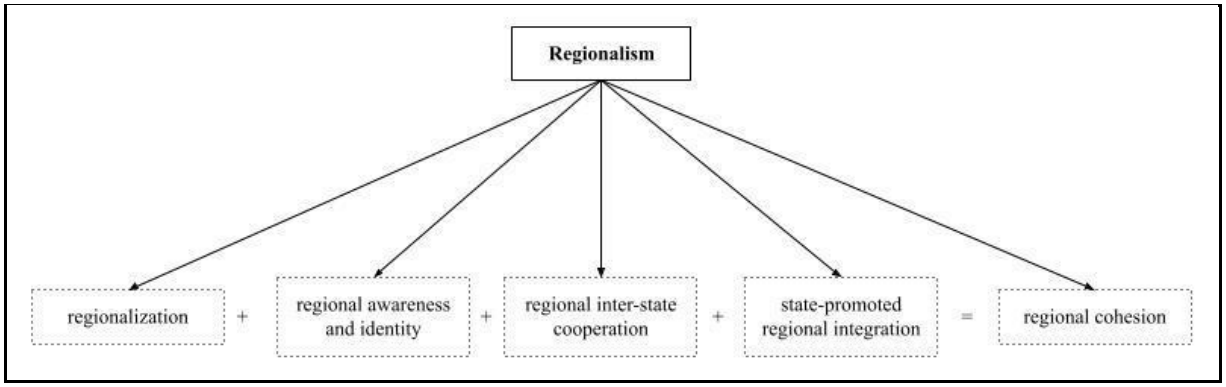
To Weiss (1999), the most thorough regional integration occurs when the countries have strong security ties and share borders, as it makes the economic and political processes coincide. Weiss (1999) also considers that economic integration, which can be also described as a "market-led" process, happens as a result of the multiplication of interdependent relationships, that are often from various economic sectors in global markets, with a stable international system. This economic integration flows to a political integration due to common security concerns between the countries, and so "The extent of the state's military security relationships is reflected in the geographic scope of its economic sectors. And, the security provided by integration continues to have an economic basis" (Weiss, 1999, p.21). But, as Spandler and Sõderbaum (2023) suggest, regionalism does not happen and function the same in all of the regions in the world, especially because the political dynamics between the countries may change due to external shocks or the emergence of new issues. This can be the case of the increase in the consequences of climate change.

> This type of integration may be described as 'vested interdependence' which adds a continuity feature not present in interdependent relationships. Where the number of interdependent relations has reached a critical mass, stakeholder concerns are addressed in policy decisions. Rising interdependence also establishes non-state organizational structures and processes across national borders. As the network of relationships expands it provides the incentive for policy cooperation, followed by the initiation of some type of formal integration process often between countries at different levels of economic development. Hence, integration is as much a process of constructing a network of relationships as it is one of establishing formal institutions. (Weiss, 1999, n.p.).

And so, integration can be considered as an expression of interdependence (Weiss, 1999). Regionalism, on the other hand, can be understood as "ideological package of values, beliefs, motives and interests underpinning invocations of region and the processes, activities and institutions which constitute 'the region' as a tangible entity" (Lawson, 2015, p. 4). According to Spandler and Söderbaum (2023, p. 6), in order for a regionalism to be successful, the states involved must ''respond to interdependences and pressure by interest groups by transferring national sovereignty to regional institutions and governance mechanisms''. This also means that if the region has strong and high-authority institutions, and a history of strong cooperation, not only during conflicts, but also in response to outbreaks, for instance the Ebola and the COVID-19 crises (Söderbaum, 2013; Spandler; Söderbaum, 2023).

Hurrell (1995) subdivides regionalism into five categories: regionalization, regional awareness and identity, regional inter-state co-operation, state-promoted regional integration, and regional cohesion, as exemplified by Figure 9.

Figure 9 – Regionalism according to Andrew Hurrell



Source: elaborated by the author based on Hurrell (1995).

Thus, regionalization is a "processes that generate an order for which rules of governance, either formal or informal, are established by relevant authoritative actors to achieve certain mutually agreed ends" (Lawson, 2015, p. 2). Examples include the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and so it is related to regional agreements. Regional identity relates to the idea of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983), in the sense that regions can share a sense of identity similar to nationalism (Hurrell, 1995). As mentioned in section 4.1, this regional identity can be understood from relational, situational and instrumental characteristics (Lawson, 2015).

Regional inter-state cooperation involves negotiation to the creation of agreements and institutions, and will be explained in the next section (Hurrell, 1995). State-promoted regional integration can be understood as a subtype of regionalism, "a dynamic process of intensifying the depth and scope of relations between actors leading to the creation of new forms of political-institutional governance of regional scope" (Herz; Hoffman, 2004, p. 160, translated[40]). The States start to bargain with each other on substantive issues and institutions are created. As it was possible to see in the case of the regional integration of the European continent, the scope of cooperation between the countries of Europe was focused on economic issues, but, with the expansion of the agenda of concern of the States, there was an expansion of themes such as the environmental issues that were dealt with in the negotiations. There are five regional integration stages: (1) free trade area, (2) custom union, (3) common market, (4) economic union, and (5) full economic integration (Hurrell, 1995).

[40] From the original: um processo dinâmico de intensificação em profundidade e abrangência das relações entre atores levando à criação de novas formas de governança político-institucionais de escopo regional.

As for regional cohesion, it can be understood as

> the horizon that, at some point, a combination of previous processes will culminate in the emergence of a cohesive and consolidated regional unit. Cohesion can therefore be understood in two senses. First, when the regional level plays an important role in the relations between the states of the region and the rest of the globe. Second, when the region forms the organizational platform for structuring policy among actors in the region on various issues. Cohesion points to the growing costs and binding that interdependence and integration have generated for regional actors (Hurrell, 1995, p. 29, translated[41]).

Economic cohesion is usually referred to as similar to regional inter-state cooperation, with an increase in the provision of goods and services among the countries. Social cohesion, on the other hand, is usually associated with the concept of social protection, that being referred to "the set of public actions aimed at tackling poverty, vulnerability and social exclusion, as well as providing people with the means to cope with major risks they may face throughout their life" (AUSAID, 2012, p. 3). Thus, social protection is a form of delivering a cohesive society. In the PSIDS, there are conflicts between social groups and weak institutions that hamper the prospects of social cohesion (AUSAID, 2012; Hurrell, 1995). The five concepts are summarized on Table 20.

Table 20 – Definitions of the terms of the Regional Integration Theory

Concept	Definition
Regional awareness and identity	"Regional awareness and a shared sense of belonging to a given community can be supported by internal factors, often defined in terms of common culture, history and religious traditions. They can also be defined in opposition to an external "other", which can be understood primarily as a political threat (Europe's self-image defined against the USSR or Latin American nationalism defined against the threat of US hegemony), or an external cultural challenge (the long tradition of defining "Europe" in opposition to the non-European world, especially Muslim ones, or, more recently, the awakening of an inspired identity as opposed to "Western")". (Hurrell, 1995, p. 27).
Regional cohesion	"the horizon that, at some point, a combination of previous processes will culminate in the emergence of a cohesive and consolidated regional unit. Cohesion can therefore be understood in two senses. First, when the regional level plays an important role in the relations between the states of the region and the rest of the globe. Second, when the region forms the organizational platform for structuring policy among actors in the region on various issues. Cohesion points to the growing costs and binding that interdependence and integration have generated for regional actors" (Hurrell, 1995, p. 5).

[41] From the original: "Coesão regional" aponta para o horizonte que, em algum momento, uma combinação dos processos anteriores culmine no surgimento de uma unidade regional coesa e consolidada. Coesão pode ser entendida, portanto, em dois sentidos. Primeiramente, quando o nível regional desempenha um papel importante nas relações entre os Estados da região e o resto do globo. Em segundo, quando a região forma a plataforma organizacional para a estruturação da política entre os atores da região em vários temas. A coesão aponta para os crescentes custos e a vinculação que a interdependência e a integração geraram para os atores regionais.

Regional integration	Can be understood as a subtype of regionalism and is multidimensional. "Integration is understood as specific state decisions aimed at reducing or eliminating barriers to the exchange of goods, services, capital and people. This is a concept that is usually confused with economic integration, although it naturally involves more dimensions, and which is dominated by the European reference." (Mesquita, 2019, p. 5, translated[42]).
Regionalism	"ideological package of values, beliefs, motives and interests underpinning invocations of region and the processes, activities and institutions which constitute 'the region' as a tangible entity" (Lawson, 2015, p. 4).
Regionalization	"processes that generate an order for which rules of governance, either formal or informal, are established by relevant authoritative actors to achieve certain mutually agreed ends" (Lawson, 2015, p.2). Examples include the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Source: Mesquita (2019) and Lawson (2015).

Regional cohesion can also be understood as the combined impact of the other four categories. There are many different paths to a regional cohesion, such as the expansion of economic integration, as was the European case, but it can also emerge from gradual creation of a supranational regional organization, creation of a strong institutional regime or by a strong regional hegemony (Hurrell, 1995).

> On balance, Australia and New Zealand have had enormous influence on Pacific regionalism—on its finances, agenda, policy directions and institutional development. This was most evident in the 1990s and 2000s, which could accurately be labelled an era of hegemonic regionalism. [...] With their combined economic and military power—Australia alone is the thirteenth largest economy in the world—compared with the very small economies of the island states, and their longstanding determination to shape the regional agenda and be seen as the natural leaders of the regional community, it might be expected that this would produce over time a more unqualified hegemonic regional system. This study has shown, however, that Pacific regionalism cannot be described as being ultimately determined by hegemonic power. Power as capacity has not easily translated into power as legitimate influence. (Fry, 2019, p. 314).

So, the New Pacific Diplomacy characterized a new diplomatic culture in the region, making it possible to presume a Pacific regionalism (Fry, 2019). One example of it was the establishment of the Framework for Pacific Regionalism, which was endorsed by Pacific Islands Forum Leaders in July 2014, with the intention to replace the Pacific Plan for Strengthening Regional Cooperation and Integration. Vision of the PIFS for Pacific regionalism: "Our Pacific Vision is for a region of peace, harmony, security, social inclusion, and prosperity, so that all Pacific people can lead free, healthy, and productive lives" (PIFS,

[42] From the original: A integração é entendida como decisões estatais específicas visando reduzir ou eliminar barreiras ao intercâmbio de bens, serviços, capital e pessoas. Trata-se de um conceito que habitualmente se confunde com integração econômica, embora naturalmente envolva mais dimensões, e que é dominado pelo referencial europeu.

2017, p. 5). Ocean and climate related objectives, as well as intended to focus on ecotourism and environment issues. The countries considered 6 forms of collective action in order to achieve rules of governance and, therefore, regionalization, as it can be seen on Table 21.

Table 21 – Forms of Regionalism according to the Framework for Pacific Regionalism

Regional collective action	To achieve:	By:	Requiring:
Coordination	Open consultation and access to information; and coordinated application of shared, best-practice norms and standards.	Establishing and managing agreed processes that facilitate regional dialogue and access to (and use of) information.	Voluntary consultations and agreements; possible resource sharing.
Cooperation	An effective and strengthened voice in protecting and sustainably harnessing the region's physical, social and cultural assets for the benefit of all.	Developing and committing to coordinated regional or sub-regional policies and strategies.	Voluntary agreement to modes of regional cooperation; services are mainly funded and delivered nationally.
Collaboration	Achievement of economies of scale and equitable benefits that cannot be achieved nationally.	Delivering regional public goods and pooled services.	Voluntary agreement to modes of regional collaboration; national governments are freed from daily management of these priorities.
Harmonization	Achievement of shared institutional and/or legal objectives.	Entering into specific regional or sub-regional commitments to common policies, regulations, standards and/or processes.	Legally binding arrangements, including commitment to national resource allocation; each country free to amend their internal laws / requirements to meet the shared regional objectives.
Economic integration	Greater economic prosperity founded on regional economic integration and sustainability and the equitable distribution of benefits and costs.	Lowering physical and technical market barriers to enable freer movement of people and goods within and among countries.	Legally binding arrangements, including commitment to national resource allocation; each country commits to amending their internal laws / requirements to meet the shared regional objectives.
Administrative / legal / institutional integration	A secure and well governed Pacific region pledged to upholding regional values.	Agreeing to common rules, standards and institutions to foster and sustain integration.	Legally binding arrangements, including commitment to national resource allocation and to operating within regionally mandated requirements.

Source: PIFS (2007, p. 6).

ADB's (2005) forms of regionalism are very similar to what Hurrell (1995) considers as regional cohesion and regional integration. To ABD (2005), the countries in the Pacific can cooperation in three different forms: (1) regional agreements between governments, which includes policy coordination and implementation; regional provision of services, which is the merge of national services at a regional level; and regional market integration, which is defined as ''lowering barriers for goods, services, and people between countries, including nontariff barriers such as nontransparent standards, restrictions on foreign investment or operations, and restrictive visa requirements'' (ADB, 2005, p. 18). Also, according to ADB (2005), there are both benefits and costs in the regionalism process. Those are detailed in Table 22.

Table 22 – Benefits and costs of regionalism in the Pacific

Ways in which Pacific countries can work together	Benefits	Costs
Regional cooperation (agreements)	consensus building and information sharing	setting up and maintaining the cooperative mechanisms themselves, and the cost of moving people around the region for meetings and conferences
Regional provision of services	higher level of services at less total cost, with fewer facilities, greater efficiency, and a higher degree of shared knowledge	moving goods, services, and people over large distances in the Pacific
Regional market integration	larger market for Pacific firms, with more production at a lower cost, more choice for Pacific consumers, and more economic opportunities for Pacific workers	adjustment costs for Pacific companies subject to increased competitive pressures

Source: elaborated by the author based on ADB (2005, p. 17-18).

Considering those, if the cooperation is binding, instead of being voluntary for the countries, it can better strengthen policy coordination and implementation. Also, the costs of the three forms of regionalism increase as more isolated countries are involved in the process, which is the case of PSIDS. One example of regional provision of services is the creation of the University of the South Pacific, Forum Line, Air Pacific, and the Forum Fisheries Agency. Lastly, some market integration arrangements in the Pacific that could be planned include: ''a free trade agreement among FICs (Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement), a closer economic relations agreement among all Forum members (Pacific Agreement for Closer Economic Relations), and an economic partnership agreement (EPA) between the FICs and the European Union'' (ADB, 2005, p. 18).

4.5 Conclusion

All things considered, it is possible to conclude that there seems to be a sense of shared regional identity between the countries in Oceania, as, even though the culture, history and people change from country to country, PSIDS identify as a region and formed the Pacific Way. Besides that, there are sub groups of identity, which can be exemplified by the emergence of MSG and PLG.

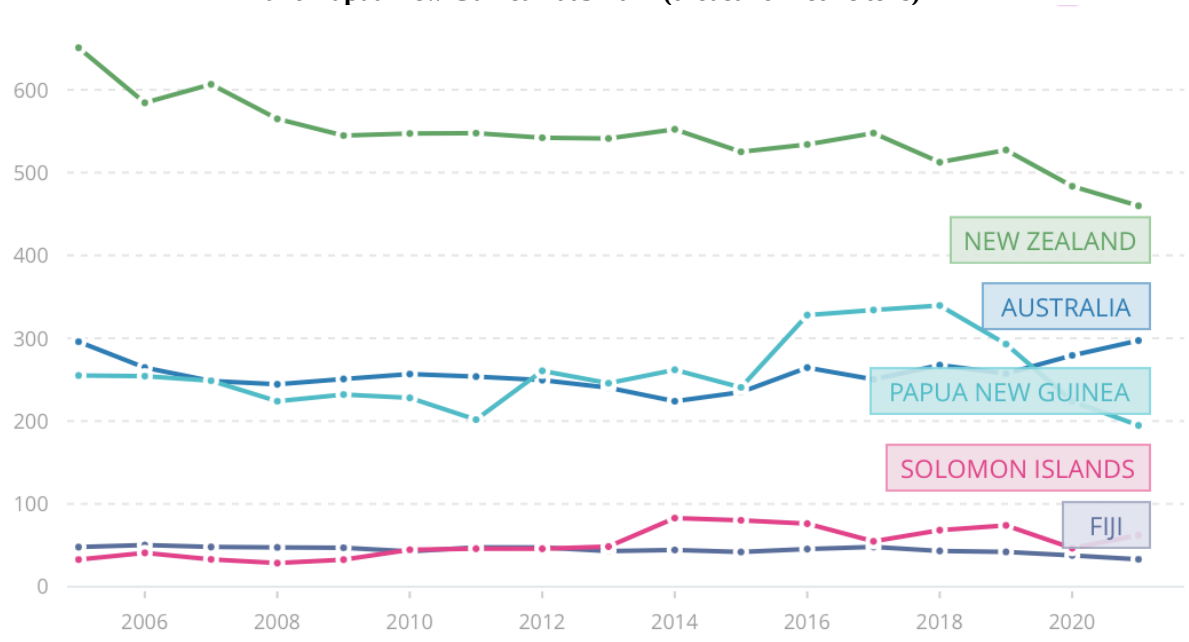
Also, with the New Pacific Diplomacy, PSIDS became more active in international forums, and started to cooperate more amongst themselves. With this, they became more interdependent, making it possible to start discussing integration and regionalism in Oceania. But, the cooperation was not only with the regional powers (Australia and New Zealand), but with other important countries in the region as well, such as China, Japan and the U.S. This can mean that it is possible to consider the regionalism not only in terms of the Oceania continent, but with the entire South Pacific being a part of it. Fiji, more specifically, is more important in this entire process than imagined, as the country is considered the forerunner of the New Pacific Diplomacy. Furthermore, the fisheries industry, through the further implementation of the Nauru Agreement and the trade combined across the region's many IOs, assisted in the process of furthering the interdependence between the countries.

Considering the second presented hypothesis: If the cooperation between Oceania's countries increases, they will become more interdependent and the region will move towards a regionalism. As it was possible to notice that PSIDS became more interdependent because of the increase in fisheries-related cooperation, it is possible to conclude that the countries are moving towards a regionalism. But, this regionalism is better understood through the concept of vested interdependence presented by Weiss (1999) than through the classic concept presented by Hurrell. In that sense, it is possible to consider that the region should culminate in a regional cohesion, if the existing cooperation further develops – as there are none political unions in the region such as the EU or ASEAN. Lastly, it was possible to notice that institutions in the region are actively trying to promote regionalism, as was exemplified by ADB's Framework for Pacific Regionalism.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Considering the case-study countries, it is possible to conclude that climate change has direct consequences in the fisheries industry in the PSIDS, as it is very sensible to environmental conditions. As fisheries is essential to promote food security and nutrition in those countries, it is essential that island countries develop adaptation policies related to fishing to deal with this problem. PSIDS have been exporting the majority of their production both to Australia and New Zealand for decades, which shows that cooperation for fisheries in the region has existed for a while and that the countries intend to strengthen these ties. In addition, they have a history of cooperation to deal with IUU fishing and to try to fight the licensing agreements of the ZEEs that Japan, the U.S., China and other countries have – and these countries end up getting much of the tuna exploit in PSIDS' waters. This shows how the countries are interdependent, even if that interdependence is asymmetric between PSIDS and Australia and New Zealand. And this also means that PSIDS are more vulnerable to the other international actors.

Graph 13 – Comparison of fisheries production between Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)

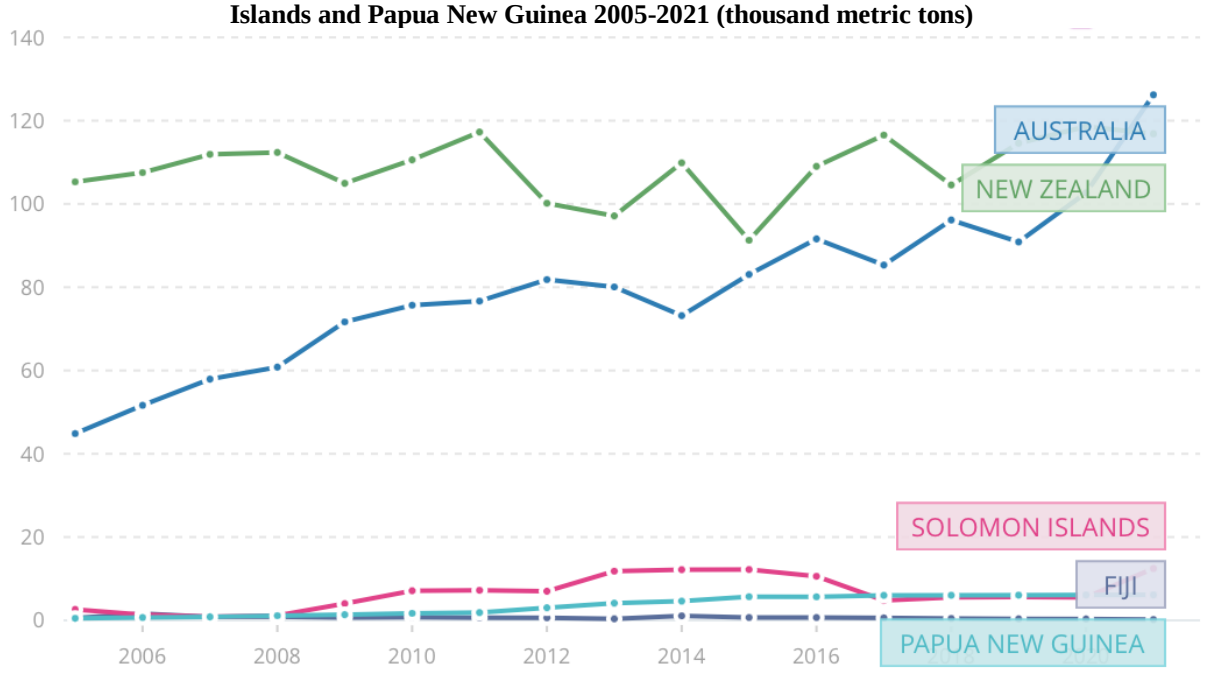


Source: World Bank (n.d.).

As it is possible to notice in Graph 13, fisheries production in the region has been decreasing over the last few years. Also, it is important to note that many countries, such as

China, Japan and the U.S. take away many fish from PSIDS because of their ZEEs in the region. This could explain why food insecurity in the region has also been increasing.

Graph 14 – Comparison of aquaculture production between Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea 2005-2021 (thousand metric tons)



Source: World Bank (n.d.).

As for the aquaculture production, as it is possible to notice in Graph 14, has been increasing in the last few years, especially in Australia and New Zealand. Analyzing the three PSIDS, it was possible to notice that Australia is an import partner of all countries – and for New Zealand as well. They also are very dependent on the fishing activity, as fish protein is the majority, if not all of the animal protein that is consumed by populations in rural areas of Fiji, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. PNG has the biggest capture of fisheries of the three PSIDS, and also has the biggest trade value per country of all five case-study countries.

Australia and New Zealand are also the countries that import the most processed fish, followed by Papua New Guinea. The three PSIDS also export more processed fish than Australia and New Zealand in trade value

With that said, this research proposed two hypothesis:

1. If more fisheries-related adaptation policies are developed, as climate change's consequences are worsening, then Oceania's regional cooperation will increase;
2. If the cooperation between Oceania's countries increases, they will become more interdependent and the region will move towards a regionalism.

Firstly, it was possible to conclude that there is already a regional cooperation and an interdependence between the countries, which is asymmetrical. As PSIDS are more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change, they end up depending more of help than Australia and New Zealand. There are also many adaptation policies related to fisheries that PSIDS could implement, and the IPCC, FAO and UNESCO can assist the countries in making the policies specific for each territory. Considering the first presented hypothesis, as the number of reports and studies are made regarding the consequences of climate change in PSIDS, it is possible to conclude that the IOs are developing more adaptation policies as these consequences are worsening. However, the IOs face many challenges when implementing those policies, especially in more remote areas, which makes the implementation difficult.

There are many IOs, such as FAO and UNESCO, that try to assist the PSIDS in dealing with those consequences through the development of adaptation policies. The fisheries-related ones are the adaptation policies that assist PSIDS in dealing with their climate vulnerabilities while also maintaining the fisheries economy, as it is intrinsically linked to PSIDS' food security. Regionally, there are many IOs focused on PSIDS economic development, and the fisheries activity is one that is supported by organizations. Considering the second presented hypothesis, as the number of IOs increase through the decades, it is also possible to see that interdependence between the countries have been increasing.

Also, the number of treaties in force increased a lot in the 1980s and 1990s, which can be a reflex of the New Pacific Diplomacy. As it increases, island countries are becoming more interdependent, as proposed in the second hypothesis. But, it is important to notice that there haven't been many new treaties since the 2000s. This shows that PSIDS should be updating or signing new treaties regarding the consequences that the increase in climate change make, as those are directly impacting the fishing activity, but no new treaties were signed by the five case-study countries since 2010. Some international treaties that include PSIDS, such as *Convention on the Conservation* and *Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean,* have still more countries sending aid, such as Asian countries and other Pacific countries. The *South Pacific Permanent Commission*, for instance, includes Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. In addition, there are also treaties that include only the PSIDS and the U.S., such as the *Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States of America.* Hawaii and Guam weren't considered in the research, but it is possible to notice that the U.S. is signatory to many treaties and is looking to increase its influence in the South Pacific region. Considering

this, it may be possible to consider a broader regional integration then expected, with PSIDS depending not only in Australia and New Zealand.

Japan and China also came up several times during the research which shows that those countries are also important for Oceania's regional geopolitics and, therefore, they should be considered alongside Australia and New Zealand when it comes to cooperation. In addition to that, PSIDS have many projects and treaties with the United States and with the European Union, which shows that the island-countries are not only focused on regional cooperation, but on global cooperation – and, therefore, they have a bigger cooperation scope than considered on this research's hypothesis. Therefore, for future researches, it may be necessary to consider a bigger regionalism with all of the countries on the Pacific Ocean, as Japan and China, and even the U.S.

It was also possible to conclude that there is a sense of shared regional identity between the countries in Oceania, as, even though the culture, history and people change from country to country, PSIDS identify as a region and formed the Pacific Way. They also share many similarities, as most were colonies and are still a part of the Commonwealth. Besides that, there are sub groups of identity, which can be exemplified by the emergence of MSG and PLG. Also, with the New Pacific Diplomacy, PSIDS became more active in international forums, and started to cooperate more amongst themselves. With this, they became more interdependent, making it possible to start discussing integration and regionalism in Oceania. But, the cooperation was not only with the regional powers (Australia and New Zealand), but with other important countries in the region as well, such as China, Japan and the U.S. This can mean that it is possible to consider the regionalism not only in terms of the Oceania continent, but with the entire South Pacific being a part of it.

Faced with the issue of climate change, the Japanese government, for instance, in partnership with FAO, inaugurated a project in 2020 that aims to promote and guarantee food security through sustainable fishing in the Pacific. The countries covered by the project are: Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Palau, Samoa, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. But, they haven't yet released a document with the issues and successes of the project.

Fiji, more specifically, is more important in this entire process than imagined, as the country is considered the forerunner of the New Pacific Diplomacy. Furthermore, the fisheries industry, through the further implementation of the Nauru Agreement and the trade combined across the region's many IOs, assisted in the process of furthering the interdependence between the countries.

As it was possible to notice that PSIDS became more interdependent because of the increase in fisheries-related cooperation, it is possible to conclude that the countries seem to be moving towards a regionalism. But, this regionalism is better understood through the concept of vested interdependence presented by Weiss (1999) than through the classic concept presented by Hurrell. In that sense, it is possible to consider that the region should culminate in a regional cohesion, if the existing cooperation further develops – as there are none political unions in the region such as the EU or ASEAN. All in all, it was possible to notice that institutions in the region are actively trying to promote regionalism, as was exemplified by ADB's Framework for Pacific Regionalism.

The countries are also very concern about dealing with IUU fishing, which seems to be a big issue for PSIDS, as they don't have means and technology to train inspectors in order to deal with the issue. Although there are treaties focused on this, and it is possible to notice the intention of PSIDS of dealing with the problem, there aren't many researches promoted by IOs to assist with this specific situation.

Lastly, one issue during the research was the lack of reports about current adaptation policies that are being implemented after 2021, and of specific information about fisheries being published by the governments of the case study countries. The 2009 ADB report used was extremely informative for the research, but it's outdated. A major vulnerability faced by PSIDS is the acidification of the Pacific Ocean, the main consequences of which are the bleaching of coral reefs, greater acidity in rainwater – which can cause environmental damage, especially in relation to plantations, as the alteration The ph of the water affects the development of agricultural plant species - in addition to the mortality of marine life, affecting fishing (around 450 species of fish that live in coral regions), which is one of the country's main economic activities. Furthermore, the reduction in fish stocks could contribute to food insecurity among the archipelago's inhabitants, since around 60% to 80% of the fish catch is consumed by the population itself. Considering that the fishing activity is so important for the domestic sphere of countries, as a form of nutrition, and also for international cooperation, and as a lucrative economic activity, it should be more analyzed. Another issue found is that there are many studies that asses regionalism in some regions around the world, such as the AFRICAN Integration Index and the ASEAN Digital Integration Index. But there aren't many studies focused solely on PSIDS as a group, or Oceania as a continent. The Asian Integration Index sets some guidelines for integration that include PSIDS, but it's not focused on the particularities of island countries, which should be considered more carefully.

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ANNEX A – SIDS MEMBERS

#	UN MEMBERS	Non-UN Members / Associate Members of the Regional Commissions
1	Antigua & Barbuda	American Samoa*
2	Bahamas	Anguilla
3	Bahrain	Aruba
4	Barbados	Bermuda
5	Belize	British Virgin Islands
6	Cape Green	Curacao
7	Comoros	French Polynesia*
8	Cuba	Guadeloupe
9	Dominica	Guam*
10	Federated States of Micronesia*	Cayman Islands
11	Fiji*	Cook Islands
12	Grenada	Martinique
13	Guinea Bissau	Montserrat
14	Guyana	Niue*
15	Haiti	New Caledonia*
16	Jamaica	Northern Mariana Islands*
17	Kiribati*	Puerto Rico
18	Maldives	Saint Martin
19	Marshall Islands*	Turks & Caicos Islands
20	Mauritius	US Virgin Islands
21	Nauru*	
22	Palau*	
23	Papua New Guinea*	
24	Dominican Republic	
25	Samoa*	
26	Saint Lucia	
27	Saint Kitts and Nevis	
28	Sao Tome and Principe	
29	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	
30	Singapore	
31	Seychelles	
32	Solomon Islands*	
33	Suriname	
34	Timor-Leste	
35	Tonga*	
36	Trinidad & Tobago	
37	Tuvalu*	
38	Vanuatu*	

Source: United Nations, Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States. Countries marked with * are located in Oceania.

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ANNEX B – FISHERIES TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS (1947-2017)

Short name	Name of treaty/convention[43]	Year	Oceania countries/territories that are members
CPPS	South Pacific Permanent Commission*	1947	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement for the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Fishery Commission	1948	Australia, New Zealand
APFIC	AsiaPacific Fishery Commission	1948	Australia, New Zealand
IMO Convention	Convention on the International Maritime Organization*	1948	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
IWC	International Whaling Commission*	1948	Australia, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
	Convention for the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	1949	Vanuatu
IATTC	Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	1949	Kiribati, Vanuatu
INPFC	International North Pacific Fisheries Commission	1952	Vanuatu
London Convention	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil*	1954	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu
Living Res. of the High Seas Cnvt.	Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas*	1958	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, Tonga
Continental Shelf Convention	Convention on the Continental Shelf*	1958	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, Tonga
High Seas Convention	Convention on the High Seas*	1958	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, Tonga
Territorial Sea Convention	Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone*	1958	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Solomon Islands, Tonga
Antarctic Treaty	Antarctic Treaty	1959	Australia, New Zealand
	Exchange of Notes constituting an Agreement between the government of Australia and the government of the Federation of Malaya on the Exchange of Planting Material between Malaya and Papua New Guinea	1962	Australia, Papua New Guinea
	Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water*	1963	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Samoa
ICCAT	International Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas	1966	Vanuatu

[43] The treaties marked with a * have at least 3 of the case study countries as members.

Ramsar Convention	Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat*	1971	Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Vanuatu
	Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof*	1971	Australia, New Zealand, Solomon Islands
World Heritage Convention	Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*	1972	Australia, New Zealand, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Marshall Islands, Palau, Pitcairn Islands
London Dumping Convention	Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter*	1972	Australia, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu
MARPOL 73/78	International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships	1973	Kiribati, New Zealand
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*	1975	Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu
SPFFA	South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency Convention*	1979	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Papua New Guinea concerning Maritime Boundaries between the Republic of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea and cooperation on related matters	1980	Papua New Guinea
SPARTECA	South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement *	1981	Australia, Niue, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, Micronesia
	Agreement between the Government of Tuvalu and the Deep-sea Fisheries Association of the Republic of Korea concerning the licensing of fishing vessels of the Republic of Korea to fish within the Fishery Limits of Tuvalu	1982	Tuvalu
CCAMLR	Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources	1982	Australia, New Zealand
Nauru Agreement	Nauru Agreement Concerning the Cooperation in the Management of Fisheries of Common Interest*	1982	Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*	1982	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community*	1983	Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand, Micronesia, New Caledonia, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Wallis & Futuna
ANZCERTA	Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement	1983	Australia, New Zealand
CMS	Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals*	1985	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu

Rarotonga Treaty	South Pacific Nuclear Weapons Zone Treaty*	1985	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement on fisheries between the Government of Tuvalu and the Government of Japan	1986	Tuvalu
SPREP	Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region*	1986	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
	Protocol for the Prevention of Pollution of the South Pacific Region by Dumping*	1986	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
	Agreement between the Palau Maritime Authority and Federation of Japan Tuna Fisheries Co-operative Associations, National Offshore Tuna Fisheries Association of Japan, Japan Far Seas Purse Seine Fishing Associations and Federation of North Pacific District Purse Seine Fisheries Co-operative Associations of Japan concerning the supply of goods and services for the period August 1, 1987 to July 31, 1988	1987	Palau
	Memorandum of Agreement between the Fisheries Associations of Japan and the Palau Maritime Authority	1987	Palau
South Pacific Fisheries Treaty	South Pacific Fisheries Treaty*	1987	Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands
	South Pacific Tuna Treaty*	1987	Australia, Cook Islands, Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
NACA	Organization for the Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia and the Pacific	1988	Australia
	Treaty on Fisheries between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States of America*	1988	Australia, Cook Islands, Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement between the Government of Papua New Guinea and the Government of Solomon Islands concerning the administration of the special areas	1989	Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands
Basel Convention	Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal*	1989	Australia, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
Lome IV	Fourth ACP - EEC Convention*	1989	Fiji, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
MP	Montreal Protocol for the Protection of the Ozone Layer*	1989	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Wellington Convention*	1989	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement on Trade and Economic Co-operation between Australia and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam	1990	Australia

S-Pacific Nat. Conserv. Convention	Convention on Conservation of Nature in the South Pacific*	1990	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa
OPRC	International Convention on Oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Cooperation	1990	Australia, Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Palau, Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu
Driftnet Convention	Convention for the Prohibition of Fishing with Long Driftnets in the South Pacific*	1991	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity*	1992	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	La Jolla Agreement for the Reduction of Dolphin Mortality in the Eastern Pacific Ocean	1992	Vanuatu
Niue Treaty	Niue Treaty on Cooperation in Fisheries Surveillance and Law Enforcement in the South Pacific Region*	1992	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Palau Arrangement for the Management of the Western Pacific Purse Seine Fishery*	1992	Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
SPREP	Agreement establishing the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme*	1993	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement to Promote Compliance with International Conservation and Management Measures by Fishing Vessels on the High Seas	1993	Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand, Vanuatu
IOTC	Indian Ocean Tuna Commission	1993	Australia, Vanuatu
	The Melanesian Spearhead Group Trade Agreement*	1993	Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Fiji
CCSBT	Commission for the Conservation of Southern Bluefin Tuna	1994	Australia, New Zealand
	Federated States of Micronesia Arrangement for Regional Fisheries Access*	1994	Marshall Islands, Kiribati, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*	1994	Australia, New Zealand, Niue, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Agreement for the Implementation of the Provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982 relating to the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks*	1995	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
Stradd. /Highly Migr. Fish St. Agr.	Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks*	1995	Australia, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Nauru, Vanuatu, New Zealand, Niue, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Samoa
STCW-F Convention	International Convention on Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping for Fishing Vessel Personnel	1995	Kiribati, Palau

UN Fish Stocks Agreement(UNFSA)	United Nations Agreement on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks*	1995	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands
	Agreement for the Establishment of the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission	1996	Australia, Vanuatu
IPPC	International Plant Protection Convention*	1997	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	Arrangement between the Government of Australia and the Government of New Zealand for the Conservation and Management of the Orange Roughy on the South Tasman Rise	2000	Australia, New Zealand
	Convention on the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean*	2000	Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
IOFC	Indian Ocean Fishery Commission	2006	Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand
	Southern Indian Ocean Fisheries Agreement	2006	Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand
PICTA	Pacific Islands Countries Trade Agreement*	2007	Cook Islands, Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Marshall Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
	A Third Arrangement Implementing the Nauru Agreement Setting Forth Additional Terms and Conditions of Access to the Fisheries Zones of the Parties	2008	Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
	Convention on the Conservation and Management of High Seas Fishery Resources in the South Pacific Ocean	2009	Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand, Vanuatu
	Fisheries Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Kiribati	2009	Kiribati
	Partnership Agreement between the European Community and Solomon Islands on fishing off Solomon Islands	2009	Solomon Islands
	Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Federated States of Micronesia on fishing in the Federated States of Micronesia	2009	Federated States of Micronesia
	Amendments to the First Arrangement Implementing the Nauru Agreement Setting Forth Minimum Terms and Conditions of Access to the Fisheries Zones of the Parties*	2010	Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
	Convention on the Conservation and Management of High Seas Fishery Resources in the North Pacific Ocean	2012	Vanuatu
PACER Plus	The Pacific Agreement for Closer Economic Relations*	2017	Australia, New Zealand, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu

Source: elaborated by the author with data from Fishbase (2023), Pew Trusts (2023), UN Treaties (2023) and ECOLEX (2023).