

Negotiating Ocean Territory in Bermuda and the Sargasso Sea

by

Leslie D. Acton

Marine Science and Conservation
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved:

Lisa Campbell, Supervisor

Xavier Basurto

Noella Gray

Elizabeth Shapiro-Garza

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in
Marine Science and Conservation in the Graduate School
of Duke University

2017

ABSTRACT

Negotiating Ocean Territory in Bermuda and the Sargasso Sea

by

Leslie D. Acton

Marine Science and Conservation
Duke University

Date: _____

Approved:

Lisa Campbell, Supervisor

Xavier Basurto

Noella Gray

Elizabeth Shapiro-Garza

An abstract of a dissertation submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in
Marine Science and Conservation in the Graduate School of
Duke University

2017

Copyright by
Leslie D. Acton
2017

Abstract

To address growing concerns about global oceans health, state and non-state actors have pushed for the establishment of large marine protected areas (LMPAs) in national exclusive economic zones (EEZs) and on the high seas. This push has resulted in a rapid proliferation of LMPAs in recent years, despite limited understanding of their social and political attributes and implications. This dissertation contributes to growing social science scholarship on LMPAs by employing a qualitative, multi-sited case study investigating negotiations over two proposed, overlapping LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. It engages with human geography theory on territoriality to examine the territorial practices emerging through LMPA proposals and how negotiations over these 'scaled-up' management tools are contributing to transformations in global oceans governance. Specifically, it addresses three research questions: (1) What territorial practices do actors use in negotiations over LMPAs? (2) How do these territorial practices produce ocean space? (3) What do these territorial practices reveal about these ocean spaces and human-ocean relations?

To answer these questions, this dissertation traces negotiations over these two proposed LMPAs across space, actors, jurisdictional scale, and time, to study sites including Bermuda, Washington, DC, London, and the 2014 World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia. Results demonstrate that actors used diverse territorial practices, such as map-making and the promotion of territorial narratives, to negotiate for

particular governance outcomes. Some of these territorial practices served to 'fix' ocean spaces, belying their continuously emergent material and social realities. Others contributed to altering ocean space despite the absence of any formal regulatory change. Further, analysis revealed that the territorial practices employed during these two distinct, but related LMPA negotiations interacted, producing an unexpected territorial outcome in the Sargasso Sea.

Overall, this dissertation contributes to increasing scholarship in human geography on the emerging territorial processes transforming global oceans governance and, more broadly, human relations with offshore ocean spaces. It presents an empirical study that advances understanding of LMPA negotiations and reveals more diverse interests in and relations to these offshore spaces than traditional conceptualizations suggest. Results from this dissertation could inform ongoing and future LMPA proposals and negotiations through attention to the limits/possibilities produced and revealed by actors' territorial practices.

Dedication

For my parents and sister,
who taught me to stretch, to listen, and that every voice has value.

Contents

Abstract	iv
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xiv
List of Abbreviations	xv
Acknowledgements	xvi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research Questions	5
1.2 Theoretical approach.....	6
1.2.1 Human geography: Territoriality and production of space.....	6
1.2.2 Territorial practices and LMPAs	9
1.3 Methodology	13
1.4 Dissertation Structure and Chapter Contributions.....	17
2. Staking Claims: Territorial Negotiations in Bermuda’s EEZ and the Sargasso Sea	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 Literature and analytical framework.....	24
2.3 Methods	29
2.3.1 Data Collection	29
2.3.2 Data Analysis	34
2.4 Background and Context.....	35
2.4.1 Global oceans governance.....	35
2.4.2 Context in Bermuda	40

2.4.2.1 Recent colonial and government history	41
2.4.2.2 History and Structure of Marine Governance in Bermuda.....	42
2.4.2.3 Economy and the global recession	47
2.4.2.4 Social Issues and Divides.....	48
2.4.2.5 Perceived ocean values and relations	50
2.5 Overlapping Negotiations: Policy-Production through Decision-Making Moments	52
2.5.1 Approaching DMM #1: Emergence of the Sargasso Sea Initiative	52
2.5.1.1 Motivations to protect the Sargasso Sea	53
2.5.1.2 The Sargasso Sea Initiative	57
2.5.2 Decision-Making Moment #1: The Pocantico Meeting	60
2.5.2.1 Structure of the Pocantico meeting.....	61
2.5.2.2 Descriptions and perceptions of the Pocantico meeting	64
2.5.2.3 Outcomes	66
2.5.3 Approaching DMM #2: BASS and the Blue Halo	71
2.5.3.1 Promoting Sargasso Sea conservation in Bermuda: BASS.....	71
2.5.3.2 Clarifying the UK’s role in Sargasso Sea and EEZ negotiations	74
2.5.3.3 Promoting a marine reserve in Bermuda’s EEZ: The Blue Halo initiative	76
2.5.3.4 Resistance emerges: Fishing, deep-sea mining and Bermudian sovereignty	81
2.5.3.5 Actor roles: The Bermuda government and Pew	86
2.5.4 Decision-Making Moment #2: Public Consultation about Bermuda’s EEZ.....	90
2.5.4.1 Structure	92

2.5.4.2	Descriptions and perceptions of events and relations	98
2.5.4.3	Outcomes	102
2.5.5	Approaching DMM #3: Blurred negotiations.....	106
2.5.5.1	The SSA: Promoting Sargasso Sea conservation internationally	107
2.5.5.2	Interactions between the SSA and Bermudian actors.....	109
2.5.5.3	Confusing negotiations in Bermuda	111
2.5.5.4	The EEZ Stakeholder Caucus	113
2.5.6	Decision-Making Moment #3: The Hamilton Declaration.....	115
2.5.6.1	Structure	118
2.5.6.2	Descriptions and Perceptions.....	119
2.5.6.3	Outcomes	125
2.5.7	Moving forward: “The Future of Bermuda’s EEZ”	128
2.5.7.1	The Outcome Document and budget constraints.....	128
2.5.7.2	Stalled negotiations: Government relations and MSP	130
2.6	Discussion.....	137
2.6.1	Territorial Interactions: The Hamilton Declaration.....	138
2.6.2	Staking Claims and Claiming Stakes of “Scaled-up” Ocean Territories	145
2.7	Conclusion.....	149
3.	What is the Sargasso Sea? The problem of fixed space in a fluid ocean	151
3.1	Introduction.....	151
3.2	Literature Review	154
3.2.1	Production of space: Oceans as territory.....	154

3.2.2	Calls for a wet ontology.....	158
3.2.3	Producing territory through map-making.....	162
3.3	Methods	165
3.4	Background	166
3.5	What is the Sargasso Sea?.....	169
3.5.1	Encountering the Sargasso Sea.....	170
3.5.2	Locating the Sargasso Sea	172
3.5.2.1	Historical maps	173
3.5.2.2	Ecological Data.....	176
3.5.3	Seeing the Sargasso Sea through a “wet” ontology.....	189
3.5.4	Producing the Sargasso Sea	193
3.6	Discussion.....	208
3.6.1	Fixing the Sargasso Sea.....	208
3.6.2	Producing a “Wet” Sargasso Sea.....	213
3.7	Conclusions	217
4.	Contrasting Narratives, Shared Imaginaries: (Re)Producing Bermuda’s EEZ as “peopled” space	218
4.1	Introduction.....	218
4.2	Literature Review	220
4.2.1	Narratives as discursive practice	221
4.2.2	Narratives as acts of territoriality.....	224
4.2.3	Spatial imaginaries	228
4.3	Background	233

4.3.1 The emergence of potential EEZ governance outcomes	233
4.3.2 Bermuda’s offshore EEZ as “unpeopled”	237
4.4 Methods	239
4.5 Narratives and Imaginaries: Territorializing Bermuda’s EEZ	242
4.5.1 Spatial Imaginary 1: Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for conservation.....	244
4.5.1.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo	244
4.5.1.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo.....	249
4.5.1.3 Solution: Delay negotiations.....	252
4.5.1.4 Summary	253
4.5.2 Spatial Imaginary 2: Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for economic development .	256
4.5.2.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo	256
4.5.2.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo.....	259
4.5.2.3 Solution: Delay negotiations.....	267
4.5.2.4 Summary	268
4.5.3 Spatial Imaginary 3: Bermuda’s EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty	271
4.5.3.1 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo.....	271
4.5.3.2 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo	276
4.5.3.3 Solution: Delay Negotiations.....	278
4.5.3.4 Summary	279
4.5.4 Spatial Imaginary 4: Bermuda’s EEZ as an unknown space	281
4.5.4.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo	282
4.5.4.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo.....	283

4.5.4.3 Solution: Delay Negotiations.....	286
4.5.4.4 Summary	288
4.6 Discussion.....	291
4.6.1 Representing Bermuda’s EEZ.....	292
4.6.2 Imagining Bermuda’s EEZ.....	295
4.6.3 Performing Bermuda’s EEZ.....	299
4.7 Conclusion.....	302
5. Conclusion	303
5.1 Key Findings	303
5.2 Contributions and Future Directions.....	311
References	316
Biography.....	331

List of Tables

Table 1: Defining Territory and Related Terms	4
Table 2. Decision-Making Moments.....	28
Table 3. Study sites and timeline	30
Table 4: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as space for conservation.....	254
Table 5: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for economic development	270
Table 6: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty.....	280
Table 7: Territorial narratives depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as an unknown space	290

List of Figures

Figure 1: Pamphlet produced and disseminated by BASS to promote Sargasso Sea conservation.....	74
Figure 2: Blue Halo promotional items.....	79
Figure 3: Blue Halo advertisement, The Royal Gazette, October 2013.....	80
Figure 4: Change to the Geographical Area of Collaboration defined in the Hamilton Declaration.....	117
Figure 5: Sargassum mat floating off the coast of Bermuda	167
Figure 6: “Historic Mapping.”	174
Figure 7: “Historic Mapping: Seasonal Variation.”	176
Figure 8: “Drifter annual mean velocity.”	178
Figure 9: “Historic observations of Sargassum. Digitized from Winge 1923; Parr 1939; and Stoner 1983, Stoner & Greening 1984.”	181
Figure 10: “Remote Sensing.”	183
Figure 11: “36-month unconstrained simulation.”	187
Figure 12: Location of Sargassum at the end of one three-year simulation.....	188
Figure 13: “Preliminary development of possible sub-regions using climatological mean AVISO currents.”	195
Figure 14: “Eddies.”	196
Figure 15: “Original Regions.”	197
Figure 16: “Proposed Sargasso Sea Area: North Atlantic Gyre regions.”	199
Figure 17: “Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area.”	205
Figure 18: Sargasso Sea EBSA.	206
Figure 19: Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration.....	207

List of Abbreviations

ABNJ: Areas beyond national jurisdiction

BASS: Bermuda Alliance for the Sargasso Sea

DMM: Decision-Making Moment

EBSA: Ecologically or Biologically Significant Marine Areas

EEZ: Exclusive Economic Zone

LMPA: Large marine protected area

MPA: Marine protected area

MSP: Marine spatial planning

NM: Nautical miles

NGO: Non-governmental organization

SDD: Sustainable Development Department

SSA: Sargasso Sea Alliance

SSC: Sargasso Sea Commission

Acknowledgements

The time, support, encouragement, effort, and openness of countless mentors, advisors, friends, research participants, and funders made this work possible. I can never fully express my gratitude for their partnership throughout this process; the following is my imperfect but heartfelt attempt to begin.

First and foremost, thank you to my advisor, Lisa Campbell, for her guidance and support in research and teaching, her willingness to help navigate intellectual endeavors and academic life balance, and her mentorship during numerous cross-ocean research trips (including a memorable trip into the Sargasso Sea). Thank you also to my exceptional dissertation committee: to Xavier Basurto for his continuous mentorship and support over the past seven years, particularly his encouragement to “follow my curiosity” wherever that may lead; to Noella Gray for her grounded guidance throughout planning, research, analysis, and writing for this project; and to Liz Shapiro-Garza for her enthusiasm and support in thinking through theoretical and methodological issues, big and small.

Many thanks to the people in Bermuda, the UK, Washington, DC, and elsewhere who shared their perspectives, stories, time, and/or homes with me as I conducted this research. To the 104 interviewees for this project: thank you for your generosity, your openness, and your trust. I do not take these for granted. Thank you also to the numerous folks who provided access to documents and media – in particular, Robbie

Smith and Alison Green at BAMZ and Nicola O’Leary in the Sustainable Development Department for their generous support in archival research. Special thanks to Robbie Smith and the rest of the Sea Dragon scientists and crew for including Lisa and me in an unforgettable scientific voyage in the Sargasso Sea. To John, Wendy, Evie, and everyone at Salt Kettle in Bermuda and to Barbara in Washington, DC: thank you for providing a true “home away from home” during this research. Thank you also to Tracy Packwood for graciously providing office space in Bermuda.

I was grateful for the opportunity to participate in the Human Dimensions of Large Marine Protected Areas project in conjunction with this research. Thank you to Lisa, Noella, Evan Artis, Luke Fairbanks, Lillian Mitchell, Katie Wilson, Sarah Bess Zigler, and especially to our fearless leader, Rebecca Gruby, for the chance to learn from, collaborate with, and be inspired by a truly exceptional group of scholars. Thank you also to the other members of the Collaborative Event Ethnography team at the 2014 World Parks Congress for their insights and support.

It has been a true privilege to participate in the CaBaM (Campbell and Basurto and Murray) and Orbach labs. I have gained immeasurably from engaging with lab members past and present: Xavier Basurto, Abby Bennett, Noëlle Boucquey, Lisa Campbell, Elizabeth Clark, Brad Dubik, Luke Fairbanks, Amy Freitag, Alejandro Garcia Lozano, Morgan Gopnik, Rebecca Gruby, Grant Murray, Mateja Nenadovic, Mike Orbach, Courtney Pickett, Tasha Quintana, Hillary Smith, Seth Sykora-Bodie, and Sarah

Bess Zigler; in addition to countless others at DUML and “big Duke.” Thank you for inspiring me to stretch intellectually and demonstrating what it means to pair rigorous scholarship with boundless heart.

Thank you to Rachel Lo Piccolo, Mimi Brown, Janil Miller, Shirley Miller, Linda Nichols, Patty Nolin, Jeff Priddy, Rebecca Smith, Tom Walbert, Katie Wood, and many others for exceptional support during this process and for making the Duke University Marine Lab such a safe, inspiring, and enjoyable place to work. For their transcription work, thank you to Phyllis Acton, Nick Alcaraz, Scarlet Cheng, Scott Delgado, Marianne Ferguson, Connie Hernandez, Ashleigh McCord, Sarah Roberts, Bette Rubin, Caroline Schwaner, and Zoe van Buren.

Funding for this research was provided by the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, the Human Dimensions of Large Marine Protected Areas project, the Duke University Center for International Studies, and the Duke University Graduate School. Funders for the Human Dimensions of Large Marie Protected Areas project include the Oak Foundation, the Waitt Foundation, the Tiffany & Co. Foundation, and Lyda Hill.

Finally, thank you to many, many friends and family – this research could not have been completed without your continuous encouragement and support. To Elizabeth Clark, Brad Dubik, Liz Schrack, and Joy Stanistreet – thank you for being the best lab mates, colleagues, and (most importantly) friends I could have hoped for to share this journey. To Ana, Mateja, Aleksa, and Ana Luna – thank you for amazing

friendships, good food, many laughs, and countless snuggles. Thank you to Mom, Dad and Jen for your constant love, support, and patience, and for always reminding me what is really important. Finally, thank you, Luke, for your humor, your love, your grounding presence, and for holding my hand every step of the way.

1. Introduction

“The ocean – like land-space – is simultaneously an arena wherein social conflicts occur and a space shaped by these conflicts. The ‘socially constructed’ ocean that results then goes on to shape social relations, on land and at sea. In short, the ocean is not merely a space used by society; it is one component of the space of society.”

(Steinberg 2001, p. 20)

In 2009, oceans conservation advocate Sylvia Earle named the Sargasso Sea as one of her global conservation “Hope Spots.” Nicknamed the “golden floating rainforest of the Atlantic Ocean,” the Sargasso Sea derives its name from the large, continuous mats of the macroalgae *Sargassum* (*Sargassum natans* and *Sargassum fluitans*) floating in its waters (Laffoley et al. 2011). These *Sargassum* species need no substrate to support reproduction, and they structure a unique, drifting ecosystem including diverse, and in some cases endemic, organisms (Freestone and Morrison 2012). Earle’s high-profile recognition of and conservationists’ repeated calls to protect the Sargasso Sea spurred international negotiations over the governance of this oceanic space. These negotiations spanned roughly seven years, occurred on and between three continents as well as Bermuda, cost millions of dollars in conservation funding, and included approximately 4,163,499 km² of geographic area comprised of both high seas¹ and national waters (Laffoley et al. 2011).

¹ The high seas, also called areas beyond national jurisdiction (ABNJ), include oceanic areas located outside of national territorial waters and exclusive economic zones. The high seas are governed by internationally led regional and global bodies rather than by any individual state.

This dissertation examines these negotiations, specifically those concerning two large marine protected areas (LMPAs)² proposed in the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's exclusive economic zone (EEZ)³, which is located within the Sargasso Sea. In so doing, it contributes to growing social science literature on the relatively recent global trend of promoting and establishing LMPAs in national jurisdictions and on the high seas (Gruby et al. 2015; Campbell et al. 2016; Leenhardt et al. 2013; Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014). Scholars have identified LMPAs as a "frontier" of global oceans governance (Toonen et al. 2013). Since the establishment of Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument in Hawaii in 2006, at least 17 other LMPAs have been announced and/or implemented within national EEZs, and this number will likely increase (Alger and Dauvergne 2017a). LMPAs on the high seas, though less common, are also increasing, and are gaining traction through spatial governance tools used to identify significant marine ecosystems and areas (e.g. Ecologically and Biologically Significant Marine Areas (EBSAs) and Vulnerable Marine Ecosystems (VMEs)) and intensifying negotiations over an international implementing agreement to govern the high seas (Campbell et al. 2016). While proponents of LMPAs often support their implementation for precautionary

² The term marine protected area (MPA) encompasses any bounded ocean area in which governing agencies have limited human activity for the purposes of conservation. While the definition of LMPAs (also called very large marine protected areas (VLMPAs) and large-scale marine protected areas (LSMPAs)) varies, this dissertation classifies them as MPAs covering an area greater than 100,000 km² (Gruby et al. 2015).

³ A state's EEZ refers to the oceanic area extending from the outer reach of the state's territorial sea (defined as 12 nm from the state's coast) to 200 nm from the state's coast. Under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the state can claim exclusive rights to economic resources extracted from the surface and water column within those boundaries. As Bermuda is a UK overseas territory, the UK claimed an EEZ around Bermuda in 1996.

reasons (Leenhardt et al. 2013; Singleton and Roberts 2014), some scholars view their rapid increase as a potentially detrimental push for "quantity vs. quality" of global oceans conservation (De Santo 2013, p. 137; Jones and De Santo 2016). The relatively recent emergence and rapid proliferation of LMPAs warrants continued scholarly efforts to understand not only the opportunities they present for biodiversity conservation and scientific knowledge (Wagner 2013), but also social, political, institutional and economic aspects of their promotion and implementation (Gruby et al. 2015; De Santo 2013).

Yet, some global oceans governance actors continue to view offshore ocean spaces within EEZs and the high seas as "empty" and devoid of social relations, too remote to engender significant actor interest (Gruby et al. 2015). In fact, though the LMPA proposal in Bermuda's EEZ led to a highly contentious Public Consultation concerning the current and future governance of this vast oceanic area, many interviewees for this research echoed this Bermudian's response to a question concerning the outcomes of these negotiations for the EEZ itself: "Basically nothing. Nothing. Nothing has been done. ... Nothing has changed" (BDA Interview O80). This dissertation explores this seeming contradiction and unsettles the assertion that "nothing has changed" by examining these LMPA proposals as territorial practices (see Table 1) and negotiations over their establishment as processes of territoriality (Chmarahuff 2014; Steinberg 2009). While most social science scholarship on LMPAs to date focuses on their realized or potential implications for social justice and/or conservation

objectives (see Richmond and Kotowicz 2015; De Santo, Jones, and Miller 2011; Singleton and Roberts 2014), scholars have focused less on their implications as conservation territories for changing global oceans governance and for scholars’ broader understanding of shifting forms of territoriality. Chmara-huff (2014) argues that MPAs, and by extension LMPAs, represent one form of “the territorialization of the ocean, a process that produces new spatial practices, and ... new representations of space” (p. 4). This dissertation presents an empirical case study of the negotiations over these two overlapping LMPAs to investigate how these emerging governance tools, and negotiations over their designation, interact across space, time, and jurisdiction, how actors produce these spaces through territorial practices, and what these territorial practices reveal about these oceanic spaces in particular and global oceans governance more broadly.

Table 1: Defining Territory and Related Terms

Term	Definition⁴
Territory	An area defined by boundaries that delimit the space over which particular actors have authority to structure social and material processes
Territoriality	The ongoing process of establishing, defending, and/or contesting the boundaries defining, the control over, and the organization of space
Territorial practices	Practices employed by actors to negotiate, or establish, defend, and/or contest, territory during processes of territoriality
Territorial process	The emergence of, (re)production of, weakening of and/or negotiations over territory

⁴ These definitions reflect how I define each term for this dissertation. Appropriate references citing specific works and ideas that guided these definitions can be found throughout Section 1.2.

1.1 Research Questions

This dissertation addresses three key research questions:

1. What territorial practices do actors use in negotiations over large marine protected areas?
2. How do these territorial practices produce ocean space?
3. What do these territorial practices reveal about these ocean spaces and human-ocean relations?

To address these questions, I employed a qualitative, multi-sited case study of negotiations over two LMPAs proposed in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea.

Specifically, I attend to the following questions:

Chapter 2. Interacting territorial negotiations: What territorial practices did actors use to promote their interests during these negotiations? How did these negotiations interact, and what social, political and territorial outcomes emerged?

Chapter 3. Negotiating high seas territory: How and why did actors produce the Sargasso Sea as a fixed, homogenous, and static conservation territory despite its aqueous materiality?

Chapter 4. Negotiating national territory: What does actors' use of territorial narratives during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ reveal about actors' conceptualizations of and relations to this space?

1.2 Theoretical approach

Oceans cover 70% of the earth's surface, and governing this vast space is "an enormous undertaking" (Campbell et al. 2016, p. 522). The recent global trend toward establishing LMPAs is transforming global oceans conservation and governance, in part because of the vast oceanic areas involved in these governance tools (Campbell et al. 2016). Human geographic theory on territory and territorial processes presents a useful basis for studying this emergent trend. Some scholars characterize the proposal of and negotiations over LMPAs as a familiar push to create conservation territories through "fortress" conservation (Sand 2012; De Santo, Jones, and Miller 2011); others note that changing forms of spatial oceans governance, including, I argue, LMPAs, provide fertile ground for understanding new forms of territoriality in oceans emerging through both state and non-state actors and across and beyond traditional state boundary lines (Chmara-huff 2014; Steinberg 2009). The next section provides a brief review of human geographic theory on territoriality and how it relates to the production of space; the following section introduces how and why I frame these negotiations as territorial practices in this dissertation.

1.2.1 Human geography: Territoriality and production of space

Traditionally, the concept of territoriality has focused on the terrestrial nation-state, referring to "the manner in which the definition of a society's geographic limits, the organization of its processes, and the control of its people are exercised through

claims of authority over bounded swaths of land" (Steinberg 2009, p. 470). The nation-state is built on the idea of fixed spatial governance, and geographers have conceptualized territorial state-making as a sort of "mapping," or ordering, of society within a state's spatially delimited boundaries of sovereignty (Scott 1998; Neumann 2014). Yet, some scholars have characterized the predominant focus of territorial research on the nation-state as a "territorial trap," calling for a reconceptualization of territory and territoriality that includes both non-state sources of spatial control and territorial practices across and beyond state-centered boundaries (Agnew 1994; Brenner and Elden 2009; Sparke 2005; Steinberg 2009).

In response, research has increasingly attended to the role of non-state actors in territorial negotiations (Corson 2011; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995; Bassett and Gautier 2014). This work unsettles the idea of territory as solely controlled by a homogenous, cohesive state, and highlights the differentiated and changing interests and access of non-state actors, such as resource users, NGOs, industry, and scientists in territorial processes. Human geographers have also broadened the traditional conceptualization of territory to include other forms of spatial enclosure designated for particular purposes, such as conservation (Chmara-huff 2014; Neumann 2014; Corson 2011). In their seminal work in Thailand, Vandergeest and Peluso (1995) show the contingency of territoriality, illustrating the importance of understanding historical context and actor relations in tracing territorial processes. Scholars studying marine contexts have further unsettled

traditional conceptualizations of terrestrial-based territoriality by focusing on ocean spaces, which are historically viewed, and (re)produced, as space “outside” of state sovereignty and social relations (Steinberg 2009; Mountz 2013).

Zimmerer (2000) argues that bounded conservation territories, such as protected areas, constitute nature-society hybrids in that they are "second natures", or landscapes produced through human management and engagement that, in turn, (re)produce human relations. In other words, as Lefebvre (1974) asserts, space is dialectically produced with social relations, not only through material spatial practices, but also through representations of space and representational spaces.⁵ Similarly, territory emerges not only through material and/or social engagements with a space, but through representations bounding and/or ordering that space, as well as through the meaning enmeshed in conceptualizations of the space (Brenner and Elden 2009; Kipfer, Saberi, and Wieditz 2012). These processes occur within particular contexts, and interact with historical and current social relations, institutions, and events (McCarthy 2007; Moore 2005). The production of territory involves shared, contrasting or simply simultaneous perceptions, what Moore (2005) calls “contingencies of memory work, disputed histories, and multiple spatialities” (312). Further, despite common cartographic representations of territories and their boundaries as fixed and static, they are

⁵ Spatial practices refer to how people engage with the physical space itself; representations of a space refer to how the space and its organization are communicated, often through discursive means such as mapping; and representational spaces refer to the symbolic meaning(s) that actors appropriate to particular spaces (Lefebvre 1974).

continually reproduced and negotiated through processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Sparke 2005; Chmara-huff 2014; Massey 2005). Space, and therefore territory, constitutes “a moment in the intersection of configured social relations (rather than ... an absolute dimension)” that “cannot be seen as static” (Massey 1992, p. 81); in other words, territory, like space, is always emergent, alive, and full of conjunctures (Massey 2005). Territoriality, in turn, is never complete, but an ongoing process of establishing, defending, and/or contesting the boundaries defining, the control over, and the organization of space, as both material and social (Mountz 2013).

1.2.2 Territorial practices and LMPAs

“Despite its centrality to the definitions of the modern state, territory has remained undertheorized” (Kipfer, Saberi, and Wieditz 2012, p. 123). This dissertation adds to growing human geographic theorization of territory and territoriality by examining how territorial processes are shifting and new territorial practices are emerging in oceans through negotiations over LMPAs. I define territorial practices as practices employed by actors to negotiate, or establish, defend, and/or contest, territory during processes of territoriality. This definition differs somewhat from the narrower conceptualization offered by Brenner and Elden (2009), which equates the role of territorial practices in the production of territory with the role of Lefebvre's (1974) spatial practices in the production of space – peoples' material engagements with and within particular spaces, such as farming (exercising rights within and use of a space

and its resources) or building a fence (a barrier demarcating spatial boundaries). While I agree that these examples constitute territorial practices, I broaden the definition to include the creation and promotion of representations of space. Actors also use these practices to (re-, de-) territorialize space, though through more “abstract” mechanisms than those invoked by spatial practices (Vandergeest and Peluso 1995; Steinberg 2009).

For instance, actors employ discursive tools, such as maps or territorial narratives, that, when routinized through frequent reproduction and/or legitimized through promotion by relatively powerful actors or through far-reaching platforms, can serve to influence, and even shape, territories and territorial processes (Steinberg 2009; Rasch 2014). The creation, negotiation and establishment of particular spatial boundaries through map-making constitute territorial practices (see Chapter 3). Territorial practices also include the promotion of territorial narratives that characterize spaces as tools, settings, or symbols within a story to achieve territorial outcomes (see Chapter 4). Chapter 2 explores various other territorial practices employed by actors during territorial negotiations, including the formation of actor alliances, information dissemination, and engagement with actors perceived as relatively powerful decision-makers.

As discussed above, human geographers argue that protected areas constitute conservation territories (Zimmerer 2000; Corson 2011); thus, the proposal of and negotiations over protected areas are territorial practices within processes of

territoriality. Given their rapid proliferation and vast extent, LMPAs and negotiations over their establishment represent timely and useful processes through which to examine emerging forms of territoriality in oceans. Scholars have recently commenced this examination; for instance, some argue that states use LMPAs as territorial tools to strengthen sovereignty over national waters or articulate territorial control over ocean spaces under jurisdictional dispute, particularly in the Pacific Ocean (Leenhardt et al. 2013; Caron and Minas 2016). Others assert that global conservation actors promote the establishment of LMPAs to reach time-limited targets for the spatial extent of areas designated for conservation, or conservation territories (Spalding et al. 2013; Gray 2010). Still others contend that some LMPAs have served to further colonialist relations between island territories and mainland powers by infringing on local actors' rights to access space and resources (De Santo, Jones, and Miller 2011; Richmond and Kotowicz 2015).

This dissertation builds on these scholars' work, offering empirically-derived insights into territorial negotiations over LMPA proposals, production and establishment. In so doing, it answers Chmara-Huff's (2014) call to examine proposed MPAs (and LMPAs) not only as territories for conservation, but equally as "territories of resistance," or enclosed spaces used by actors as tools to argue for access, use rights, or authority over space, regardless of ultimate legal or institutional governance outcomes. Examining negotiations over LMPAs also offers an opportunity to explore the growing

role of non-state actors, such as NGOs, industry, resource users, donors, and scientists, and their relations with state actors in territorial negotiations over previously state-dominated ocean spaces (Bassett and Gautier 2014; Campbell et al. 2016).

By attending to negotiations over LMPAs proposed in national waters, on the high seas and across existing boundaries distinguishing the two, this dissertation also serves to “denaturalize” dominant lines of state sovereignty in oceans (Steinberg 2009; Mountz 2013). Mountz (2013) highlights how increasing activity in offshore spaces is “testing ground in an iterative process of power relations and sovereign activities that will make their way recursively from offshore to mainland territory and back again” (Mountz 2013, p. 833). These offshore activities, including the proposal and establishment of LMPAs, have destabilized jurisdictional divisions between national and international territory, and represent territorial practices that have created new relations and re-imaginings of territory, law and social processes in oceans. By examining negotiations over and interaction between two proposed LMPAs in national waters and on the high seas, I demonstrate not only how both state and non-state actors are expanding and testing the limits of their influence over the production and territorialization of these ocean spaces, but also how these state-centered jurisdictional boundaries continue to matter even as oceans governance transforms.

Finally, this dissertation augments the sparse but growing social science literature concerning how and why LMPAs are negotiated. St. Martin and Hall-Arbor

(2008) argue that, despite a recent “spatial turn” in human geography, there is not enough social science research related to ocean spaces, which can lead to a deficiency in understanding the “differential impacts of any spatial management” (St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008, p. 780). De Santo (2013) further contends that LMPA policy-makers afford relative import to ecological data over socioeconomic data when choosing sites for LMPA implementation. As scholars have begun to demonstrate, LMPAs represent socially produced ocean spaces and territories that, in turn, (re)produce social relations, despite their distance from shore (Steinberg 2001; Gruby et al. 2015). They must be studied as such if their ecological and social consequences are to be fully understood. Addressing calls for further research on the “social space” of oceans (Peters 2010; Steinberg 2009), and LMPAs in particular (Gruby et al. 2015; De Santo 2013), this dissertation contributes empirical research on the social and political processes surrounding the emergence of two proposed LMPAs.

1.3 Methodology

This dissertation employs a qualitative, multi-sited case study approach. A case study approach allows for a close examination of complex processes and relationships concerning “a relatively well-bounded phenomenon or class of events” (Poteete, Janssen, and Ostrom 2010, p. 33), in this case, negotiations over two proposed, intersecting LMPAs. This case study is bounded by the negotiations themselves; in other words, this research extends across diverse locations, actors, scales, and data types to

“follow” these negotiating processes through time and space (McCann and Ward 2012; Peck and Theodore 2012). This research uses methodology drawn from similar, yet distinct forms of multi-sited qualitative research such as multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Freidberg 2001) and the distended case approach (Peck and Theodore 2012). It further situates this case within broader political, historical, and relational contexts to produce a “thick” analysis that attends not only to the contingency of negotiations over these two particular LMPA proposals, but also to how they exemplify emerging mobile policies in global oceans governance (McCay and Jentoft 1998; Peck and Theodore 2010; Campbell et al. 2016).

I selected negotiations over LMPAs in Bermuda’s EEZ and the Sargasso Sea to complete this research for three reasons. First, they represent a unique opportunity to examine how LMPAs proposed on the high seas and in national EEZs interact, particularly given the nascent, but increasing use of both spatial tools in global oceans governance. Second, relatively little social science research has emerged on proposed or implemented LMPAs in the Atlantic Ocean compared with the Pacific Ocean; negotiations over these LMPAs provided an avenue to fill this gap. Political, social and ecological realities in the Atlantic Ocean are distinct from those in the Pacific Ocean, and while comparatively few LMPAs exist in this space, proposals here are increasing. The third reason was pragmatic; I conducted this dissertation research concurrently with related research for the Human Dimensions of Large Marine Protected Areas project.

This larger project investigates broad social, political and governance aspects of five proposed or designated LMPAs in national EEZs. The research objectives and logistical considerations of the larger project guided my decision to focus on the proposed LMPA in Bermuda to fulfill concurrent research needs.

I provide a brief discussion of general data collection and analytical methods used for this project here; more specific methods are described within each chapter. Study sites for this research included Bermuda, Washington, DC, London and surrounding towns in the UK, and the 2014 International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia. I used a variety of data collection methods to triangulate data, a common practice in case study research (Poteete, Janssen, and Ostrom 2010). I conducted 115 interviews with 104 interviewees in person, or over Skype, the phone, or email when needed. Interviewees were identified through initial web-based and document research and subsequent snowball sampling (Bernard 2006); I interviewed 20 actors from global non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 15 actors from Bermudian environmental or social NGOs, 15 Bermudian fishermen, 15 Bermudian civil servants, 25 researchers or contractors involved in LMPA negotiations, eight Bermudian industry actors, one foreign government official, and five otherwise informed individuals. I collected hard-copy and web-based policy documents including laws and regulations, reports, articles, presentations, speech transcripts, maps, meeting minutes, correspondence and promotional brochures and pamphlets (Wright

and Shore 1997). I collected and watched promotional films and one recorded governance meeting related to the proposed LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ, and I attended two LMPA-related events in London. I conducted participant observation during a two-day scientific research cruise in the Sargasso Sea as well as during various ocean-related cultural events in Bermuda. Finally, in order to connect these negotiations "empirically to the politics of decision-making that shape the ideological and practical orientation of institutions for global environment governance" (Brosius and Campbell 2010, p. 247), I participated in a collaborative event ethnography at the IUCN World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia (see Gruby et al. 2015).

I employed constructivist grounded theory to guide iterative data collection and analysis for this research (Charmaz 2014; Glaser and Strauss 2009). Constructivist grounded theory allows new insights to continually emerge throughout data collection and analysis, rather than assuming full a priori understanding of a particular concept or situation. During fieldwork, I reviewed and compared collected data and produced notes drawing connections and relating empirical observations to theory (Charmaz 2014). All interviews were transcribed, and collected data were uploaded to QSR NVivo 11 for qualitative analysis. I used inductive and deductive coding techniques to analyze data for each chapter; I review specific analytical methods such as aspects of process tracing (Chapter 2) and narrative analysis (Chapter 4) within relevant chapters.

This research is ontologically situated in critical realism (Neumann 2014), which allows me to take the biophysical realities of Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea as ontologically real, while understanding that conceptualizations of that reality, and discursive representations of those spaces, are always partial and contingent. Further, in order to "follow" these negotiations across time and space (Peck and Theodore 2012), I had to select particular "fragments" (Tsing 2005), or moments, actors, and processes that revealed these negotiations as territorial processes, while placing less focus on others. These selections reflect my decisions as an informed researcher, and, I argue, add to, rather than detract from, the analysis herein.

1.4 Dissertation Structure and Chapter Contributions

This dissertation is organized using a manuscript format. As described above, it is broadly connected theoretically, topically, and methodologically, and, as a whole, presents a case study of territorial negotiations over proposed LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 each also provide complete, distinct research results and arguments; overlap and connections between these chapters are noted within the chapters themselves.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed overview of negotiations over these two proposed LMPAs and how they interacted across time and space. It traces the territorial practices employed by actors during these negotiations, focusing on the lead-up to, events during, and outcomes of three key moments of conjuncture (Hart 2004) that impacted the

negotiations' trajectory. In particular, the chapter examines how these territorial practices and the interactions between the negotiations contributed to an unexpected territorial outcome in Sargasso Sea conservation policy. More broadly, it provides empirically rich social science research on territorial negotiations exemplifying two mobile policies (LMPAs on the high seas and LMPAs within national jurisdictions), their emergence within particular historical, social, and political contexts, and how they interact. The chapter concludes with implications for understanding changing territorial practices in global oceans governance given trends toward "scaled-up" oceans conservation.

Chapter 3 contributes to human geographic understandings of ocean space and territory by tracing how knowledge about and encounters with the materiality of oceans interact with territorial practices involved in ocean conservation and international policy-making. It examines and reveals tensions in a management process – specifically in the definition and production of the Sargasso Sea as a space to be conserved through map-making. The political boundaries used to territorialize ocean spaces are often negotiated as purely social relations, with little attention to material aspects (Steinberg 2009; Steinberg and Peters 2015). Yet, material ocean spaces include currents, flows, physical forces, interacting life, and constant transformation. This chapter responds to recent calls by human geographers studying oceans to bring ocean materiality back into research on ocean space through the use of a "wet ontology" (Steinberg and Peters 2015;

Anderson and Peters 2014). Following Steinberg and Peters (2015), it uses the concepts of the hydrosphere, liquidity, dynamism, and emergence to examine how the Sargasso Sea was located in geographic space through scientific analysis of data that revealed its complex materiality. It then traces how the Sargasso Sea Alliance (SSA) produced the linear boundaries that define the Sargasso Sea as an Ecologically and Biologically Significant Marine Area (EBSA) and, later, as an area for international collaboration on its conservation. Though the data used to locate the Sargasso Sea demonstrated its mobility and complexity, this chapter shows how policy-making processes calling for clear, legible boundaries produced a simplified and fixed Sargasso Sea that obscures much of this detailed knowledge; it also reveals tensions between the motivations for and the conceptualized practice of conservation in the Sargasso Sea.

Finally, Chapter 4 examines how actors made “symbolic use” of Bermuda’s EEZ by employing territorial narratives to promote particular governance outcomes (Lefebvre 1974, p. 39). Using narrative analysis, it demonstrates how these territorial narratives, which emerged during negotiations over the proposed LMPA in Bermuda’s EEZ, both reveal and reproduce actors’ spatial imaginaries of this space. The chapter establishes Bermuda’s EEZ as a “peopled” seascape and shows how these territorial negotiations resulted in an altered space, despite the lack of regulatory changes governing it.

2. Staking Claims: Territorial Negotiations in Bermuda’s EEZ and the Sargasso Sea

2.1 Introduction

On March 11, 2014, Bermuda, the US, the UK, Monaco, and the Azores signed the “Hamilton Declaration on Collaboration for the Conservation of the Sargasso Sea” in Hamilton, Bermuda (hereafter the Hamilton Declaration). The Sargasso Sea thus emerged as one of a handful of high seas areas in which nation-states have agreed to collaboratively work toward cross-sector conservation. The Sargasso Sea also represents the first such area without a previously existing international convention (e.g. OSPAR¹ and CCAMLR²) or protocol (e.g. SPAMIs are protected under the SPA/BD Protocol³) for use as a foundational governance framework or recognized party within international ocean governance bodies (Freestone and Morrison 2014; Reeve, Rulska-Domino, and Gjerde 2012). Beginning in 2010, the Bermuda government led the Sargasso Sea conservation initiative and expressed its support throughout the negotiating process. Yet, just days before state government representatives gathered to sign the agreement, Bermuda removed its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) from the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration, placing a large hole within the area and reducing

¹ OSPAR refers to the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic, the mechanism through which 15 signatory governments and the EU work collaboratively to govern the north-east Atlantic Ocean.

² CCAMLR refers to the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources; 25 countries are signatories of CCAMLR and 11 additional countries have acceded to it.

³ SPAMIs refer to Specially Protected Areas of Mediterranean Interest; they are protected by the Protocol Concerning Mediterranean Specially Protected Areas and Biological Diversity in the Mediterranean, or the SPA/BD Protocol.

its overall coverage by about 437,000 km².⁴ Another negotiating process over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, during which Bermudians considered designating a large marine protected area (LMPA) within their waters, occurred roughly simultaneously and influenced these Sargasso Sea negotiations. This chapter provides a thick description of the processes related to and actor perceptions of these two parallel negotiations over ocean space. I trace the negotiations over time and detail three moments of conjuncture (Hart 2004) during which actors made key decisions that impacted the trajectory of future negotiations. In so doing, this analysis reveals why and how negotiations over these two large-scale ocean governance proposals interacted and how these interactions contributed to the unexpected outcome in Sargasso Sea conservation policy described above.

For more than a decade, conservationists have called for greater protection of oceans using ecosystem-based management and spatial governance tools (e.g. Communications Partnership for Science and the Sea 2005; IUCN 2003). In 2010, the Parties to the UN Convention on Biological Diversity adopted a Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) target of including 10% of the oceans within MPAs by 2020 (see CBD 2010). In November 2014, delegates at the World Parks Congress reiterated a commitment to even higher levels of protection, recommending that at least 30% of the world's oceans be protected through no-extraction policies, e.g. 'no take' marine reserves (World Parks

⁴ This estimate was provided by Jesse Cleary, Marine Geospatial and Ecology Lab at Duke University.

Congress 2014). State and non-state governance actors have translated these ambitious conservation targets into practice through the designation of LMPAs within states' EEZs and in areas beyond national jurisdiction (the high seas) (Leenhardt et al. 2013; Gruby et al. 2015). Like smaller, traditional MPAs, LMPAs represent bounded oceanic conservation territories, and negotiations over their designation and implementation include territorial practices used by actors to achieve particular territorial outcomes (Chmara-huff 2014). While scholars have debated the ecological effectiveness of LMPAs (Agardy, di Sciara, and Christie 2011; Singleton and Roberts 2014), less research has been published investigating the varied actors and political processes entangled in these new governance regimes (De Santo 2013; Toonen et al. 2013; Gruby et al. 2015). This chapter addresses this gap by presenting an empirically rich study of two such cases of policy negotiation and production, each representing a site of territoriality within the global movement toward large-scale oceans governance (Campbell et al. 2016). Global trends toward designating LMPAs in national EEZs and on the high seas each arguably represent emerging mobile policies, or "favored 'models'" that are transferred across space, though incompletely, often "in bits and pieces" (Peck and Theodore 2010, p. 170). Rather than following these policies as mobile (Peck and Theodore 2012), this analysis presents the intersection of the two mobile policies at a particular site in the Atlantic Ocean and traces the negotiations that occurred as they interacted.

To explore these negotiations and their intersections, I focus on three key conjunctural moments (Hart 2004), or what I call decision-making moments (DMMs), and the events leading up to and following them. These moments represent sites in which actors made key decisions that affected the trajectory of one or both processes. By tracing these negotiations before, during and after the conjunctural moments, and by providing detailed descriptions of the contexts into which these processes emerged, this chapter takes seriously the assertion that environmental negotiations and policies emerge, not in a vacuum, but within particular histories and contingencies (Johnson 2004). It is important to note that, while I make every attempt to describe events as they occurred by triangulating data, some sections of this chapter rely heavily on actor perceptions about how and why negotiations unfolded as they did. Though memories of particular events do not always coincide, these perceptions prove vital to understanding evolving actor relationships, as will be demonstrated in subsequent sections.

The next section of this paper briefly reviews scholarship on territorial practices, process tracing and moments of conjuncture, providing a foundation for how I have approached, analyzed and presented this empirically rich narrative. After describing the methods used for the project, I provide contextual background on trends in global oceans governance and key factors in Bermuda related to its government, economy, social realities, and marine governance. Subsequent sections offer a detailed overview of how policy negotiations concerning these ocean spaces progressed from 2009 until 2015,

paying particular attention to the three key decision-making moments. I then discuss some of the factors that likely contributed to the change in the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration, including actors' use of particular territorial practices and their impacts on the negotiations and actor relations. I conclude by considering implications for the growing trend toward "scaled-up" oceans governance.

2.2 Literature and analytical framework

Scholarship in global environmental governance has revealed the necessity of expanding data collection beyond traditional, single-sited research to the use of multiple sites as a way to understand environmental governance and politics across time, space, and scale (Marcus 1995; Brosius and Campbell 2010; Peck and Theodore 2012). This chapter contributes to global environmental governance research by providing an overview of the emergence of and interactions between two policy negotiations concerning proposed LMPAs in the northwest Atlantic Ocean. Though these LMPA proposals encompassed specific, bounded, overlapping oceanic areas, negotiations over their designation were less contained; the events explored in this chapter occurred over roughly seven years (from 2008 until 2015) and in locations spanning three continents (North American, Europe, and South America).

Human geographers increasingly study ocean spaces to understand emerging territorial practices carried out by state and non-state actors (Chmara-huff 2014; Mountz 2013). MPAs, for instance, present particularly intriguing examples of territorial

practices “through the ways in which they create bounded defensible areas for diverse purposes” (Chmara-huff 2014, p. 12). Chmara-Huff (2014) asserts that, through MPAs, and thus LMPAs, scientists, the state, and/or local community members “call forth territories” as spaces in which or through which to articulate their values (p. 12). Recognizing that territoriality, through the production of space (see Chapter 1), is “always in process” (Massey 2005, p. 11), this chapter examines how territorial practices, on display throughout negotiations and particularly during three key decision-making moments, have and are currently unfolding and interacting in Bermuda and the Sargasso Sea.

As noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2, I define territorial practices as any actions or efforts taken by actors to advance their territorial goals for a space (Mountz 2013). These can include the promotion of territorial narratives tied to that goal, the production or dissemination of evidence supporting that goal, or even strategies used in negotiations, such as engagement with particular actors in specific times and spaces. In negotiations over the governance of the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda’s EEZ, actors used various territorial practices as they worked to achieve their preferred territorial outcomes. Throughout this chapter, I highlight key territorial practices used by actors and discuss their impacts on and implications within these two negotiating processes.

I use aspects of process tracing to follow the emergence, articulation, transformation, and interactions of these two territorial proposals. Process tracing is

useful in case study research because it examines not only what happened, but also how and why it happened in a particular way (Vennesson 2008). Process tracing seeks to understand causality where possible, while allowing the researcher to delve into the context of the process and explore how ideas and relationships form and are articulated (Vennesson 2008). Through process tracing, I seek to understand factors that contributed to particular outcomes of negotiations where possible, while paying attention to relevant context and complexity. Further, Collier (2011) emphasizes the role of detailed description in process tracing to understand how events occur over time; in other words, process tracing “inherently analyzes trajectories of change and causation, but ... fails if the phenomena observed at each step in this trajectory are not adequately described” (p. 823). He compares calling attention to these steps through thorough description with “taking good snapshots” to reveal particular moments (Collier 2011, p. 824). Detailed descriptions of specific moments (in this case, Decision-Making Moments) provide insight into key steps taken during these negotiating processes, allowing me to account for change over time.

In-depth examination of conjunctural moments also allows me to explore how “actors and institutions ... came together at specific historical conjunctures to produce particular policy trajectories” (Gruby 2013, p. 67; Hart 2004). I identified three conjunctural moments (or decision-making moments) during which key events occurred and decisions were made that promoted, allowed, or limited future outcomes.

Examining these decision-making moments in detail provided a window not only into how important decisions were made, but also how those decisions and/or the decision-making process itself may have influenced actor perceptions and relations. For instance, attention to the decision-making structure of or interpersonal interactions within particular decision-making moments can reveal the relative influence of particular territorial practices, such as the use of territorial narratives, and the actors advancing them (Dryzek 2005). As Mosse (2004) argues, “(policy) ideas do not have a life of their own apart from institutions, persons and intentions, but can only be understood in terms of the institutions and social relationships through which they are articulated” (p. 666).

I chose three decision-making moments based on data collected during my first research trip to Bermuda in 2014 (see Table 3) as well as conversations with four key actors after this trip. During these decision-making moments, actors made or contributed to key policy decisions and altered/entrenched relationships that affected future negotiations. Additionally, these decision-making moments represent bounded arenas in which to explore interactions between the two negotiating processes. Though these moments are not the only key moments of interaction and decision-making that occurred during these processes, interviewees noted their relative importance throughout subsequent data collection. Table 2 displays the three decision-making moments and the key policy outcomes that emerged from each. To probe the details of

each decision-making moment, I used targeted interview questions about how actors structured decision-making, what occurred, including the territorial practices employed, and outcomes of each moment, as remembered and experienced by those who participated. As a part of process tracing, this allowed me to “learn and to evaluate empirically the preferences and perceptions of actors, their purposes, ... and their specification of the situations that face them” (Vennesson 2008, p. 233).

Table 2. Decision-Making Moments

Decision-making moment	Event	Key outcomes
Decision-making moment #1	Meeting at Pocantico, Sept. 27-28, 2010	Formation of the SSA; partnership between Pew and Bermuda
Decision-making moment #2	Public Consultation in Bermuda, Sept. – Oct. 2013	Decision about the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ (delayed outcome)
Decision-making moment #3	Signing of the Hamilton Declaration, March 11, 2014	The Hamilton Declaration

The territorial practices employed through the initiation and duration of these two negotiations over oceans governance did not arise in a vacuum (Johnson 2004). Rather, as in other cases, the practices and the spaces they engage reflect particular social relations that emerged within contingent historical contexts (McCarthy 2007). Moore (2005) describes how, even as meanings and geographical boundaries of territories change across time, particular landscapes (or seascapes) evoke overlapping layers of social relations, or “previous sedimentations” that “remain consequential” (Moore 2005, p. 3). With this in mind, I provide relevant details to contextualize these

processes within particular histories to better understand how and why decisions were made and events transpired as they did.

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Data Collection

To understand these negotiating processes, I conducted a case study across multiple, related sites. I collected data, including semi-structured interviews, relevant documents and media, and participant observation notes, over a period of two years and two months (see Table 3 for data collection timeline). Study sites included Bermuda, Washington, DC, London and surrounding areas, and the 2014 World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia. I conducted 115 interviews for this project with a total of 104 interviewees; eleven interviews included more than one interviewee, and I interviewed eighteen key actors more than once to obtain additional details about a policy moment or to conduct a Q sort (see below). Interviewees included government representatives, leaders/employees of Bermudian, UK, and global NGOs and international organizations, scientists, commercial and recreational fishermen, industry actors, and general members of the Bermudian public. I have indicated the role of quoted interviewees where relevant. Note that some interviewees have multiple roles. For instance, one interviewee might be a government official and a member of the Sargasso Sea Commission. Another might be an NGO representative, a recreational fisherman, and a member of the Bermudian public. I describe interviewees here using their primary role; if relevant, I

describe the multiple roles that characterize them. In some instances, I provide no role descriptor if doing so would identify the interviewee, and thus contravene IRB ethical regulations.

Table 3. Study sites and timeline

Research Site	Dates	Time spent
Bermuda	August – September 2014; May – August 2015	21 nights; 89 nights
World Parks Congress, Sydney, Australia	November 2014	7 nights
Washington, DC	November 2015	13 nights
London and surrounding areas	May – June 2016	31 nights
Desk-based interviews	January 2015 – October 2016	N/A

When possible, I conducted interviews in person; others occurred over Skype, the phone, and, in one case, email. Generally, conducting interviews in person is preferred so that the researcher can better detect nuance and build rapport (Bernard 2006). However, given the busy schedules and disparate locations of many of my interviewees, the video-technology afforded by Skype provided a reasonable substitute. I used the phone or email when necessary due to technological limitations or interviewee preference.

I collected a portion of this data as part of a larger project called the Human Dimensions of Large Marine Protected Areas project (see description in Section 1.3). For this larger project, I collected nine Q sorts and post-sort interviews in Bermuda. Q method is a mixed quantitative and qualitative method that seeks “to analyse subjectivity, in all its forms, in a structured and statistically interpretable form” (Barry

and Proops 1999, p. 338-339). We used the sorts and interviews from Bermuda, along with Q sorts and post-sort interviews from Rapa Nui (Easter Island), the Republic of Kiribati, Palau, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands and Guam to conduct a comparative study on perspectives related to LMPAs. Because post-sort interviews in Bermuda often related to the negotiations over the potential LMPA in Bermuda, I included these post-sort interviews in data analysis for this chapter. 106 of my interviews were traditional (i.e. without Q-sort) semi-structured interviews, eight consisted of Q sorts and post-sort semi-structured interviews, and one interview was a combination of a Q sort, a post-sort interview, and a traditional semi-structured interview.

I collected documents including policies, reports, articles, presentations, speech transcripts, meeting minutes, correspondence and promotional brochures and pamphlets. Relevant policies, reports and articles are cited where applicable. I also collected and watched Sargasso Sea promotional videos, videos created for the public consultation about the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, and a recorded Town Hall meeting that took place during the public consultation. Each of these was freely available online. In the UK, I observed a public forum and participated in an invitation-only event about the 'Blue Belt' initiative. Through this initiative, the UK government, with the support of national and global NGOs, seeks to establish marine conservation zones in the UK coastal waters and LMPAs in UK overseas territories. While the LMPA

proposed within Bermuda's EEZ did not emerge from this initiative, these events provided useful context for understanding the UK's role in the governance of Bermuda's EEZ and the high seas Sargasso Sea negotiations. In Bermuda, I participated in numerous ocean-related events, such as the annual Groundswell Lionfish Tournament. Finally, I took part in a two-day scientific research cruise in the Sargasso Sea. Dr. Lisa Campbell also contributed to data collection during this cruise, and collaborated on two weeks of data collection in Bermuda.

To understand the three decision-making moments, I focused data collection on the decision-making structure, descriptions and perceptions of events, including actors' employment of territorial practices, and outcomes. Early data collection provided a sense of the important actors, interactions, and outcomes for each moment; this allowed me to target informational gaps and key factors in later data collection. For example, when exploring the structure of a decision-making moment, I included questions about who organized and led decision-making, the actors involved, and decision-making design (i.e. collective discussion to reach consensus vs. staggered negotiations with actors scattered across space).

Because these decision-making moments already occurred, this research relies heavily on actor memories and perceptions. Where possible, I triangulated data collected through in-depth interviewing, document collection, and media recordings to maximize accuracy in event descriptions. While this limits my understanding of these

events in some ways, exploring these decision-making moments through in-depth interviews also provided “opportunities to excavate the social and political context of decision making, to delve into the ‘reasons for reasons’, and to hand back circulating narratives and proto-explanations for verification, qualification, or rejection” (Peck and Theodore 2012, p. 26). Perceptions of what, how, and why these moments played out may be just as or more important to understanding subsequent occurrences than witnessing these events first-hand.

Finally, I participated in a collaborative event ethnography (CEE) at the 2014 World Parks Congress in Sydney Australia as part of the Human Dimensions of Large Marine Protected Areas project. Using the CEE method, researchers conduct an ethnography of a time-compressed, large-scale event, working together to maximize event coverage and triangulate understanding by continuously discussing observations (Brosius and Campbell 2010). As part of this CEE, Dr. Lisa Campbell, Dr. Noella Gray, Dr. Rebecca Gruby, and I collectively conducted 24 interviews with key global LMPA actors and observed 23 events related to LMPAs (see Gruby et al. 2015). I included one relevant interview from the CEE in analysis for this chapter; additional interviews, participant observation and group interpretation of the event provided insight into existing global oceans governance trends, actors, and relationships, contributing contextual understanding of case-specific data collection and analysis for this project.

2.3.2 Data Analysis

Following data collection, recorded interviews were transcribed, and all data was uploaded into QSR NVivo 11. I used constructivist grounded theory for data analysis (Charmaz 2014). Grounded theory relies on a combination of inductive and deductive coding, allowing themes to emerge as data collection and analysis progress. For example, data collection had revealed the importance of past events such as a fish pot ban in Bermuda to the relationships between key actors; I therefore included a node for this topic before data analysis began. Other themes, such as changes in the rapport between actors, emerged only as analysis progressed. To analyze the three key decision-making moments, I used nodes called "structure," "actors," "descriptions and perceptions," and "outcomes" to understand decision-making and its impacts and triangulate data (Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle 2001). These nodes related to the structure of each decision-making moment (structure), the actors involved in each moment (actors), actors' descriptions and perceptions of what occurred and the territorial practices employed during each moment (descriptions and perceptions), and the outcomes of each moment (outcomes).

This chapter provides a detailed analysis how two oceans governance negotiations interacted over time. When referencing specific sources (i.e. interview quotes or information from documents or policies), I cite them; otherwise this chapter represents my best attempt to reconstruct these negotiations drawing on collective data

sources. For clarity and flow, I also combined information about the DMMs from the “structure” and “actor” nodes into sections called “structure,” below.

2.4 Background and Context

Before diving into the details of what, how and why these negotiations took place, it is important to provide information about the context into which these negotiations emerged. Policy negotiations develop from particular histories and enter into already existing realities and relations (Richmond and Kotowicz 2015; De Santo, Jones, and Miller 2011; Sievanen, Gruby, and Campbell 2013). This section offers key background details about global oceans governance and social, economic, colonial, and marine governance histories in Bermuda that relate to the negotiations explained in the next section. It situates these negotiations in time, context, and, in some cases, place.

2.4.1 Global oceans governance

In recent years, global oceans governance actors including scientists, NGOs, and some states have increasingly advocated for improving the protection of oceans biodiversity by “going big,” or setting aside large oceanic areas for conservation (Campbell et al. 2016; Spalding et al. 2013). This stance has been bolstered by scientific arguments for the importance of ocean health and by global conservation targets requiring the protection of increasingly large swaths of ocean by a specified date (Leenhardt et al. 2013). For instance, the Aichi 11 target calls for the protection of 10% of oceans by 2020 (CBD 2010); more recently, the Promise of Sydney, a document that

emerged from the 2014 World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia, called for highly protective management over 30% of world oceans by 2030 (IUCN 2014). These calls have prompted a rapid and expansive increase in global interest about oceans governance generally, and the use of area-based conservation tools including LMPAs specifically (Rochette et al. 2014; Dunn et al. 2014).

Actors involved in oceans governance include not only nation-states, but also NGOs, industry, scientists, and, to a lesser extent, civil society (Campbell et al. 2016). The rapid increase in LMPA designation has been supported and furthered in many cases by global conservation NGOs and foundations. These organizations often have more targeted resources and political will than do states to carry out activities such as policy development, education and outreach, management, science, watch-dogging, and rapid response (Parmentier 2012). International NGOs have demonstrated their relative influence in creating, disseminating and legitimizing knowledge concerning traditional MPAs for years (Gray 2010). Yet, as Gray, Gruby, and Campbell (2014) contend, seeming consensus around the importance and success of MPA (and likely LMPA) designation between NGOs and other key actors can serve to mask disagreement and limit the opportunity for fruitful discussion of competing interests and alternatives.

In the late 2000s, when the Sargasso Sea initiative was emerging, global oceans governance actors were increasingly using resources to promote the protection of ocean areas in the high seas (Trott et al. 2011). In 2004, the UNGA established the Ad Hoc

Open-ended Working Group to study issues related to the conservation and the sustainable use of marine biodiversity in areas beyond national jurisdiction (hereafter, the Working Group) to explore the possibility of creating a legally binding implementing agreement for high seas governance (Reeve, Rulska-Domino, and Gjerde 2012). Some actors argued that management in ABNJ was both inefficient and ineffective, with large gaps in governance and insufficient coordination among sector-based organizations (Ban et al. 2014); others, however, claimed that existing bodies already provided sufficient mechanisms for effective ABNJ management (see Druel et al. 2012 for a detailed account of discussions). Those promoting an implementing agreement saw it as “the balancing mechanism for decision-making that is currently lacking, and the legal mandate and procedure for incorporating a systematic approach into management planning and decision-making” (Ban et al. 2014, p. 49; Gjerde et al. 2016; Freestone, Varmer, et al. 2014; Reeve, Rulska-Domino, and Gjerde 2011). By 2010, the year that the Sargasso Sea Alliance was officially formed, these actors (some of whom also collaborated through the High Seas Alliance) had begun to pressure the Working Group about moving forward discussions on this implementing agreement.⁵

Area-based tools, including, but not limited to, LMPAs, were also being explored at this time, both in the high seas and within national EEZs. In the high seas, members of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) had agreed upon criteria to recognize

⁵ The UNGA eventually ordered formal negotiations for an implementing agreement to begin in 2015.

ecologically or biologically significant marine areas (EBSAs) and were negotiating the process to identify them through regional workshops (Dunn et al. 2014; Trott et al. 2011). These tools were created as mechanisms to highlight oceans spaces that, according to scientists and conservation advocates, particularly needed heightened protection due to their ecological importance and vulnerability (Campbell et al. 2016; Dunn et al. 2014). In addition, high seas MPAs had emerged through regional agreements; for instance, the OSPAR Contracting Parties agreed to establish six high seas MPAs in 2010 (Ban et al. 2014; Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014). While this and other agreements have demonstrated the possibility of creating MPAs in ABNJ, all designations before the Sargasso Sea relied on existing regional institutions to both create them and work within existing international bodies to manage them (Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014; Reeve, Rulska-Domino, and Gjerde 2012). Thus, through the Sargasso Sea conservation initiative, global actors sought to test the possibility and difficulty of protecting an important high seas area without a pre-existing regional governance body to support it.

Beginning in 2006, the designation of LMPAs within national jurisdictions also began to rise (Gruby et al. 2015). By 2010, Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument, the Mariana Trench Marine National Monument, and the Phoenix Islands Protected Area (PIPA) had been established, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) was up for imminent designation, and global actors had initiated negotiations for various other potential LMPA sites. Two key global NGOs, the Global Ocean Legacy

program of Pew Charitable Trusts and the Pristine Seas program of National Geographic had commenced LMPA work in various locations worldwide. Some scholars characterize this LMPA trend as a “race” to create the largest LMPA (Alger and Dauvergne 2017b; Jones and De Santo 2016).

Given this recent increase in LMPA designation, critical scholars have focused attention not only on their ecological effectiveness, but their political, social, economic, and governance aspects as well (Gruby et al. 2015). While acknowledging the rapid rise in coverage of ocean spaces for conservation, some researchers question how this “push for quantity over quality” relates to their ecological and social effectiveness (De Santo 2013; Spalding et al. 2013; Gray 2010). Concerns about the feasibility of enforcing large ocean spaces and the local impacts of “top down” designation processes have emerged (Richmond and Kotowicz 2015; De Santo, Jones, and Miller 2011; Leenhardt et al. 2013; Sand 2012). Others, however, argue that LMPAs often present relatively minimal social impacts due to their remote locations, and that low enforcement costs based on economies of scale may offset these negative social impacts (Singleton and Roberts 2014). Note, however, that social science research on this nascent trend has only recently begun, and empirical social science scholarship on LMPAs was virtually non-existent in 2010.

2.4.2 Context in Bermuda

Bermuda is a small island territory of the UK located about 1000 km east of North Carolina, USA (Butler et al. 1993). It consists of more than 100 small islands that form a “fishhook” shape and sit atop a surrounding coral reef platform. English sailors travelling to North America on the *Sea Venture* shipwrecked on these reefs in 1609, finding a “paradise” rather than the harsh, unwelcoming landscape described by previous explorers (Jarvis 2010). Immigrants subsequently arrived from Europe, Latin America, Africa, and North America; many brought to the island as slaves or indentured servants. According to the 2010 census, 64,319 people permanently or usually inhabited the 50 km² of land constituting Bermuda (Bermuda Government 2010a). Of these, 54% identified as black, 31% identified as white, and all other respondents identified as Asian (4%), another race (4%), mixed (8%), or preferred not to state their race (<1%).

Note that background information presented in this section draws on both published documents and interview data, and explores themes that were present in interviews; it is not a comprehensive history and/or geography of Bermuda. While some interviewees alluded to these contextual themes, data collection did not consistently focus on their direct impacts on LMPA negotiations. Thus, I do not make any causal arguments about how these themes shaped DMMS; rather, I review the themes and note interviewee perceptions and explanations of these contextual issues throughout the

chapter to highlight the complex realities and histories in which these negotiations emerged.

2.4.2.1 Recent colonial and government history

Bermuda is the oldest of the UK's remaining colonial territories (Connel 1997). As the colonial power, the UK oversees Bermudian foreign relations, internal security and defense through its Foreign Commonwealth Office; a Governor appointed by the Queen resides in Bermuda and maintains British rule, but holds little local political power (Royle 1995). Beginning in the 1960s, Bermudians have considered pursuing independence from the UK numerous times (Clegg 2012). The most recent formal vote on the subject, in 1995, resulted in a clear victory for those opposing independence, with more than 70 percent of voters voting against it (Clegg 2012; Connel 1997). Scholars have noted that many Bermudians have been or remain opposed to independence because the territory has retained relatively high autonomy over its internal governance and can rely on "a degree of political, legal and economic security from the UK" (Clegg 2012, p. 425; Hintjens 1997). Retaining and demonstrating this autonomy emerged as a key issue in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ.

Over the last half century, Bermuda has largely functioned as a two party Parliamentary system. The United Bermuda Party (UBP) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) represented the two major parties from the 1960s – 2011 (Warren 2012). The UBP held continuous power for thirty years after Bermuda's new constitution granted

universal suffrage, from 1968 – 1998. Bermudians voted the PLP into power in 1998, and the party held power until a narrow loss to the then year-old One Bermuda Alliance (OBA) in 2012. The OBA emerged in 2011 through the joining of the UBP and the Bermuda Democratic Alliance (BDA), which had split from the UBP in 2009 due to differing priorities. The change in power from the PLP to the OBA in 2012 occurred during both LMPA negotiations described in this chapter, and influenced the government's role in negotiations over the LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ. In July 2017, the PLP regained power in Bermuda.

2.4.2.2 History and Structure of Marine Governance in Bermuda

As islanders, Bermudians have historically enjoyed a complex relationship with the surrounding oceans. Throughout the 18th century, Bermuda rose as a central maritime economy, connecting nations, markets and cultures across the Atlantic (Jarvis 2010). While its trade and maritime influence has declined since that time, Bermuda has maintained a close relationship with its oceanic environment through continued travel, trade and extractive activities, such as fishing.

Bermuda implemented its first conservation measure to protect marine resources in 1620 with the protection of marine turtles (Bermuda Government 2000).⁶ Throughout

⁶ In 2000, the Bermudian Ministry of the Environment produced an extensive Green Paper reviewing historical and current governance of marine resources in Bermuda (Bermuda Government 2000); subsequently, in 2005, the Ministry wrote a White Paper summarizing this document and overviews current uses, management, and conservation measures in Bermuda's marine environment (Bermuda Government 2005). This brief summary of marine governance in Bermuda derives largely from these texts.

the 1700s, additional regulations limited the use of certain fishing gears; for instance, the government banned fish pot use in 1791. While little changed in marine management during the 1800s, the 1900s brought renewed interest in regulating fisheries. From 1971 – 1972, the government developed the 1972 Fisheries Act, which remains the foundational fisheries regulatory document in Bermuda. The creation of this act included substantial input and participation from commercial fishermen, which contributed to its relatively broad approval and success (Bermuda Government 2000).

However, with the introduction of severe regulations on fish pot use in the 1980s, relations between fishermen and the Fisheries Department became strained (Bermuda Government 2000). The government feared that the continued (often illegal) use of fish pots might catastrophically diminish reef fish populations, and, in turn, the fishing industry, tourism, and “the very fabric of the island itself” (Bermuda Government 2000, p. 4). Minister of the Environment Ann Cartwright DeCouto implemented a complete ban on fish pots in 1990, with *ex-gratia* payouts to commercial fishermen based on recent use and gear submission (Butler et al. 1993). This decision resulted in discontent, and fishermen held demonstrations in front of the Ministry of Environment and Parliament to protest the measure (Bermuda Government 2000). After a Commission of Inquiry issued its findings generally in favor of the fish pot ban, unrest slowly receded. A survey conducted in 2000 indicated general support for retaining the ban among both registered fishermen and the general public (Bermuda Government 2000).

Many of those interviewed for the current project described the fish pot ban as an important point of historical context in understanding marine management in Bermuda. Many interviewees discussed the benefits of this change. One member of the government explained, “A couple decades ago, a very bold and courageous minister decided against much opposition to implement a fish pot ban...much opposition, much rancor, but she stood her ground and we are most grateful today that she did. Because the fish stocks are now coming back” (BDA Interview X10). Another Bermudian citizen described the clear decline in fish abundance based on fisheries data before the fish pot ban (BDA Interview K09). This informant believes that the fish pot ban represents a conservation initiative that worked because it ultimately kept fish stocks from collapsing. While many interviewees, including fishermen, agreed that the fish pot ban helped fish stocks recover, some described a continued relationship of distrust between fishermen and the government. One fisherman stated, “I think the people behind the computer that make the things, the rules and regulations happening in this country, they don’t understand what it takes to – what we have to go through to try to make a living. It kind of makes it hard to, you know” (BDA Interview J86).

As explained above, the Bermudian government functions as a parliamentary system. Governance of the marine environment is divided by sector among various ministries, departments and divisions. For example, as of 2016, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources manages fisheries and other marine resources and

performs ecological and cultural conservation. Previously, these duties were divided between the Department of Environmental Protection (which focused on fisheries and resource management) and the Department of Conservation Services (which focused on conservation). The Department of Marine and Ports Services oversees inshore boat traffic, transportation, and navigation; the Bermuda Shipping and Maritime Authority, which in 2016 replaced the government Department of Maritime Administration, deals with shipping. As this description of regulatory bodies demonstrates, the function, organization of, and personnel within particular ministries related to oceans governance in Bermuda has changed relatively frequently in recent years. While the reasons behind these changes are beyond the scope of this dissertation, some interviewees noted how the lack of continuity in actor roles and processual knowledge impacted the flow and eventual outcomes of the negotiations herein described.

While the structure of regulatory bodies overseeing the marine environment has changed multiple times during the negotiations described in this chapter, other relevant bodies have remained. For example, the Marine Resources Board (MRB) consists of ministerial appointees that advise the Minister of the Environment on any issues related to the 1972 Fisheries Act. In discussing the MRB's purview, one member of the government explained, "It's very broad. They basically give advice on anything marine, to do with the marine environment. But they are not a decision-making board. They are an advisory board" (BDA Interview V49). The Commercial Fisheries Council (CFC)

issues fisheries licenses and determines fishermen's eligibility for benefits. Marine police and fisheries wardens share responsibility for enforcement within the marine environment. Marine police address criminal activities while fisheries wardens focus on environmental regulatory violations (*pers. communication*, Bermudian fisheries warden). Many interviewees for this project noted that the Department of Environmental Protection (in which fisheries wardens worked at the time) was understaffed, underfunded, and, thus, unable to effectively enforce regulations in the inshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ.

Finally, a variety of non-governmental actors play an important, though less direct, role in Bermudian oceans management. For instance, the Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences (BIOS), the Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute (BUEI) and the Bermuda Aquarium, Museum, and Zoo (BAMZ) (a quasi-government organization) each produce research and provide educational experiences and outreach for local Bermudians. Bermudian residents have formed numerous environmental and social non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which have garnered strong political power in Bermuda. As one Bermudian scientist explained, "A lot of the NGOs include people who have the background and the expertise and the education. And so, they push it...Yeah, Bermuda isn't government driven, it's NGO driven" (BDA Interview T89).

While no other interviewees described NGO influence in such strong language, many of them noted that, given Bermuda's small population and condensed land area,

organizations and individual actors have relatively high access to government.

Relational networks span close-knit extended families and communities that often intersect in space. As a Bermudian interviewee explained, “People think about politics usually as kind of far, far away, but you kind of walk down the street and Premiers, former Premiers are like ‘Hey, hey, yeah, yeah, yeah, I know you, oh look at you, how’s your people? You look just like your ma.’ So, it’s not normal” (I43). This relative ease of access to high-ranking oceans governance decision-makers allowed some members of the Bermudian public to influence key governance decisions during these negotiations, particularly in the Sargasso Sea.

2.4.2.3 Economy and the global recession

Bermuda’s economy relies heavily on international business (85% of its GDP), with a much smaller percentage of its GDP deriving from tourism (5%) (Central Intelligence Agency 2017). Agriculture and industry are limited by land area in Bermuda, and most food and other commodities are imported. The Bermudian economy suffered significantly from the 2008 global recession; about 5,000 high-paying jobs disappeared, which negatively impacted household consumption, local markets, and government income from payroll taxes (Central Intelligence Agency 2017). A

Bermudian interviewee explained their perception of the local impacts:

“We had a real social problem in Bermuda. For the first time, Bermuda was experiencing unemployment, something that we had – previously, if you didn’t have a job, it was because you didn’t want one. Now people are being made redundant. Families were being impacted. Bills weren’t

getting paid. And people had never been in that position before. They'd never been in the position where they couldn't feed their kids." (BDA Interview G81)

Another interviewee noted their personal experience, saying, "Anything after 2008, anything that was easy before 2008, [laughs] got pretty difficult afterwards. Just from my perspective as a homeowner and all that stuff. It's like, whoa, I didn't think that things would get this bad" (BDA Interview I52).

By 2015, the Bermudian government also faced over two billion USD of debt and was forced to borrow more that year to maintain operations (Central Intelligence Agency 2017). These economic realities necessarily influenced government decision-making. As one Bermudian interviewee noted when explaining ocean governance negotiations, "Economically there is, you really have to factor in the economic climate, the mounds of debt that the government has right now. They're trying to whittle that down right now" (BDA Interview A09).

2.4.2.4 Social Issues and Divides

Bermuda's history includes slavery, racism, and colonialism (Warren 2012), and these histories continue to influence current and future relations and realities. Many interviewees that participated in this research discussed the role of these and other social and political divides present in Bermudian society. Within these discussions, four key themes emerged, highlighting social divides that may have impacted how some actors related to and made choices during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ

and the Sargasso Sea. These included distrust of outsiders, political party affiliations, race, and class or socioeconomic status.

While Bermudians' distrust of outsiders proved most clearly influential during LMPA negotiations, the other social divides discussed, particularly race and class, related indirectly to these negotiations because of Bermudians' relationships with and perceptions of one another. One interviewee provided his/her assessment of these issues in Bermudian society,

Black, white, other, expat, local, they'll go to the job, do the cordial job thing, and then come five o'clock or whatever, um, everyone separates, and, you know, whites go to their boats, or to their estates, um, blacks go to their neighborhoods or to their associations, their social clubs, and they don't cross paths ... The, areas that you do see crossing paths tends to then become sort of the middle or upper, ... you know, the wealthier tend to have some paths that cross, but it still tends to be a bit of a divide when it comes to like, personal peer group. (BDA Interview Z40)

Another interviewee noted that issues of 'race' in Bermuda extend beyond a 'white' and 'black' dichotomy. For instance, discrimination still exists against white Bermudians descended from particular nationalities (i.e. Portugal) and tensions based on socioeconomic class are apparent both between and within 'racial' categories in Bermuda. As the interviewee explained, "There definitely is a class issue...Bermudians don't talk about the class issue very much. If you speak to people it's always, well not always, but most often along racial lines. And white working-class people get erased" (BDA Interview I43). Bermudians' relations with and perceptions of one another across social divides are more fully explored in the next section.

2.4.2.5 Perceived ocean values and relations

This section conveys some of the themes that arose when I asked interviewees about Bermudians' relationship to oceans. It is comprised of interviewee perceptions of how Bermudians value and engage with oceans; I do not claim that this review is comprehensive or representative of all Bermudians. As in the previous section, I describe these perceived values and relations to provide context and convey the complex histories and relations into which these negotiations entered.

According to many interviewees, most Bermudians know and care little about the oceans that surround them. One Bermudian interviewee stated, "We tend to take things for granted on a small island" (BDA Interview A19), noting that the ocean is always there. Other interviewees explained that the oceans are unknown or, in the case of offshore spaces, inaccessible. Even those that engage in nearshore activities must usually stay at or near the surface and do not venture far offshore. Another Bermudian explained that, "for most people, it's definitely out of sight, out of mind. It's out there, and um, it's almost like there is this element of mystery about it. There could be all these untold treasures out there that we haven't found yet" (BDA Interview A09).

Other interviewees, however, described a connection to and pride about Bermuda's maritime history. One Bermudian expressed enduring ties to the ocean in Bermuda, claiming that it was part of the Bermudian identity (BDA Interview E20). This interviewee discussed a tradition of fathers and uncles passing seafaring skills down to

sons and nephews, a coming of age rite of passage. Another interviewee who had recently relocated to the islands claimed that, “[Bermudians are] very proud of their nautical history and their marine legacy, because, you know, it’s pretty important to them” (BDA Interview D80).

Some interviewees remarked on how the social issues and divides described above play a role in many Bermudians’ perceptions of human-ocean relations. As one Bermudian interviewee explained,

Although Bermuda’s an island, and we’re surrounded by the ocean, because the cost of living is so high, there’s a very particular group of people, affluent, you know, mostly ex-pats, that use the ocean a lot. So, it’s either you fish, or its for leisure. (BDA Interview D78)

The informant further expressed another view that many interviewees related, that the environmental movement is generally seen as “a thing of privilege.” Another Bermudian interviewee explained, “There’s a certain elitism about it because the people who are in the environmental movement come from a certain sort of well-educated, and in some cases, well-off, and so on. And largely white” (BDA Interview W62).

This section has provided a review of major trends in large-scale global oceans governance as well as key political, economic, social and governance issues and histories in Bermuda. It also introduced interviewee understandings of some of these issues and how they might connect with negotiations over oceans governance addressed herein. I further explore how this context and actor perceptions of it relate to these negotiations in the sections below.

2.5 Overlapping Negotiations: Policy-Production through Decision-Making Moments

The following sections trace negotiations over oceans governance in the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ from 2008 to the spring of 2015. These negotiations took place in parallel, and despite attempts by some actors to separate them, interacted.

Interactions occurred throughout the negotiations, but are most clearly highlighted here in the decision-making moments (DMMs). During these negotiations, actors employed diverse territorial strategies to promote particular governance outcomes for Bermuda's EEZ and/or the Sargasso Sea. This overview details each of the three DMMs and provides context by describing the events and actor relations that lead to them; I briefly review key territorial strategies used by actors at the end of each section. Much of the information relayed in this section relies primarily on interview data and provides actor perceptions of events and motivations for particular actions. These perceptions and motivations prove key to understanding why actors made particular decisions, how these negotiations interacted and how particular policies were ultimately produced.

2.5.1 Approaching DMM #1: Emergence of the Sargasso Sea Initiative

At the 2008 World Conservation Congress (WCC) in Barcelona, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA), and the Marine Conservation Biology Institute (MCBI, later renamed the Marine Conservation Institute, MCI) introduced an initiative to highlight high seas areas that warrant enhanced marine conservation (Trott et al. 2011). As part of the launch,

they released a promotional document entitled “High Seas Gems: Hidden Treasures of Our Blue Earth.” The document identifies ten high seas gems that, because of their location in ABNJ, “have been, for too long, neglected by all” (WCPA, IUCN, and MCBI 2008, p. 1). One of these gems was the Sargasso Sea, “the world’s only shoreless sea” (WCPA, IUCN, and MCBI 2008, p. 4). This unique, productive, and vulnerable ecosystem, the booklet explained, is threatened by the harvesting of *Sargassum* for fertilizer and the decline of tuna, marlin and sharks due to direct fishing and incidental catches (WCPA, IUCN, and MCBI 2008).

Thus began the push by global actors to protect the Sargasso Sea by designating it as an area for conservation. In 2009, renowned ocean conservation advocate Sylvia Earle named the Sargasso Sea as one of her high seas “hope spots” in her reception speech for a 2009 TED Prize. That same year, a group of global actors spoke with members of the Bermudian government about Bermuda’s potential involvement in the initiative. Because of Bermuda’s unique location within the Sargasso Sea, some actors suggested that Bermuda could act as the initiative’s state leader and representative in international fora. Further conversations with the Bermudian government commenced, and in early 2010, key actors convened in Bermuda to decide how to proceed.

2.5.1.1 Motivations to protect the Sargasso Sea

Before delving more deeply into the early events that started the Sargasso Sea initiative, this section provides insights into the varied motivations behind actor

participation in this process. In particular, global actors and Bermudians described different reasons for promoting the designation of the Sargasso Sea as a conservation area. Most of the interviewees and document data sources discussed one or more of three key motivations: protecting a unique and/or vulnerable ecosystem based on scientific research, offering various benefits to Bermuda and its citizens, and providing a case to test the ability of current international institutions to designate an area of the high seas for conservation.

Many interviewees, both global and Bermudian, described the importance of protecting the Sargasso Sea because it includes such a unique ecosystem. One interviewee explained that, in asking “What are some of the really unmistakably unique areas in the ocean? ... The Sargasso Sea is one of a number of places that came up...So it wasn't just the Sargasso Sea, but the Sargasso Sea is unmistakably unique, you know it really is” (BDA Interview E91). In 2011, the Sargasso Sea Alliance produced a document outlining nine ecological, cultural and economic factors that contribute to the argument that the Sargasso Sea is a unique area in need of conservation; many interviewees cited this document, often called the “Science Case,” when asked why they promoted protection of the Sargasso Sea (see Laffoley et al. 2011).

In Bermuda, some interviewees discussed the benefits of Sargasso Sea conservation for Bermuda, such as the pride that they felt in Bermuda leading this effort to protect a large high seas area. As one interviewee put it:

“It’s not only going out to the Sargasso Sea. This is that we [Bermudians] have decided to make this area sacred. And you know, it’s a vast, vast area that we’ll never be able to travel, other than in an airplane or in a boat, but we made a decision for this huge body of water, and as every child, woman, man, person, it was our decision to make a difference.” (BDA Interview G81)

Others explained that leading the effort to protect the Sargasso Sea would provide Bermuda with a new platform in international arenas. In other words, as one interviewee explained, “Bermuda sees it as an opportunity to raise its image within the world community” (BDA Interview M22).

For global actors, the attempt to protect the Sargasso Sea also provided a test case for understanding the possibilities and limits of high seas governance within existing bodies and institutions (Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014). Some actors had previously called for the use of Regional Seas Conventions as mechanisms to protect high seas areas such as the Southern Ocean and the northeast Atlantic (Trott et al. 2011); these are managed by CCAMLR⁷ and the OSPAR Convention⁸, respectively. However, as the Sargasso Sea had no such regional management body, conservation advocates decided to promote conservation of this area through existing international competencies. In other words, actors supporting Sargasso Sea protection sought to “break new ground,

⁷ The Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources

⁸ The Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic

by seeking to establish an MPA⁹ in the high seas areas of the Sargasso Sea using the existing legal framework and any existing sectoral bodies that may be able to assist” (Freestone and Morrison 2012, p. 651).

Global actors further specified that the Sargasso Sea effort emerged from related discussions concerning the need for a new, legally-binding implementing agreement to govern the high seas. One of the stated goals in the agenda for a meeting that took place in Bermuda in 2010 was “to discuss how the Sargasso Sea case can be incorporated into existing processes (e.g. CBD meetings: COP10 and various UN meetings) for elevating dialogue on the need for an improved legal framework for protecting high seas areas” (Sargasso Sea Workshop Agenda at BUEI, Feb. 24-26, 2010). As one global actor explained,

“The Sargasso Sea was part of a strategy to create an opportunity in the high seas to enable us to explore existing mechanisms of legislation, under the Law of the Sea. And this is specifically to answer the critics on making more progress generally with high seas conservation who would say, and these will be critical countries, who would say we don’t need any more regulation, you could do anything that you need to do in the existing sectorial arrangements under UNCLOS. And, of course, the issue is you can’t, you’ve got to prove that.” (BDA Interview G42)

Another clarified,

“We said maybe we could do a project that would actually show, to meet the US objections, the idea that we don’t need new institutions because the existing ones already do it. No one has actually tried to do it, so let’s

⁹ While the Sargasso Sea initiative and Alliance were originally formed to promote the creation of a high seas MPA, this terminology has since changed. The Sargasso Sea Commission and Secretariat currently promote conservation measures in the Sargasso Sea, but no longer describe the area as a potential MPA. Note that some interviewees still refer to it as a high seas MPA, despite this change.

see ... It was intended to make it successful, but to show how difficult it was, right? And this would perhaps show some indicators of the sorts of modalities that you would need to include in a protocol, an implementing agreement to the Law of the Sea Convention. So that was the whole purpose of the project." (BDA Interview Q55)

As this section has demonstrated, global and Bermudian actors involved early in the Sargasso Sea initiative had varied motivations for promoting conservation in the Sargasso Sea. These motivations help clarify actors' perceptions of and the territorial strategies they used within future negotiations over Sargasso Sea governance.

2.5.1.2 The Sargasso Sea Initiative

Various members of the Bermudian government and key global actors met at the Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute (BUEI) in February, 2010 to discuss future plans for the emergent initiative. Participants of the meeting agreed to form a Management Committee chaired by Dr. Fred Ming, who then served as Bermuda's Director of Environmental Protection. The committee included six Bermudians and four non-Bermudians and took over leadership of the initiative until the Sargasso Sea Alliance officially formed in September, 2010 (see DMM #1).

As part of her TED wish, Sylvia Earle led a cruise to the Galapagos Islands in April 2010 to raise money for oceans conservation, especially the Hope Spots described during her TED prize speech the previous year. The cruise included activists, scientists and donors. Though unable to send a representative to attend, the government of Bermuda produced a video for cruise attendees asking for support in protecting the

Sargasso Sea. In it, the Premier of Bermuda, Dr. Ewart Brown, invited collaboration, stating:

“This unique open ocean ecosystem is indisputably a fundamental part of the planetary life support system, a floating golden rainforest canopy at sea ... The threats to the oceans have been incrementally accelerating, and something urgently needs to be done to preserve large, relatively healthy ocean ecosystems like the Sargasso Sea ... So, I invite you to work together with us, the people of Bermuda and Dr. Sylvia Earle to raise the bar on what is possible for humanity to achieve and to be a beacon of hope shining over the entire ocean.” (Bermuda Government 2010b)

Through the cruise and other funding outreach, five key donors emerged and agreed to finance the Sargasso Sea initiative: Dr. Richard Rockefeller, Ted Waitt (the Waitt Foundation), Erik H. Gordon, David E. Shaw, and Conn Nugent. Summary notes from the Sargasso Sea Initiative Donors Meeting on June 11, 2010 indicate that, at this point, Bermuda was “fully committed ... The Minister and the rest of the cabinet are very supportive” (Sargasso Sea Initiative Donors Meeting Summary, 11 June, 2010).

Key actors, including donors, Bermuda government representatives, NGO representatives, and scientists, planned to convene for a major meeting at the Pocantico Center in New York at the end of September, 2010 (DMM #1). Minutes from a prior Management Committee meeting held on August 12, 2010, indicate that two key issues had emerged leading up to this meeting. First, discussions had commenced with the UK government to define its role in the Sargasso Sea initiative, given that Bermuda is a UK Overseas Territory. Minutes noted a favorable response; though the UK preferred to continue involvement in Sargasso Sea negotiations, it would consider granting Bermuda

increased independence in decision-making at a later date. Discussions had confirmed, however, that Bermuda would retain authority over the governance of its EEZ (Sargasso Sea Management Committee Meeting Minutes, 12 August, 2010).

The meeting minutes also alluded to the possibility of designating a marine reserve¹⁰, or LMPA, in Bermuda's EEZ. This idea had emerged during the spring or summer of 2010 (interviewees differed or could not remember the exact timing) as a way to demonstrate Bermuda's commitment to conservation. As one interviewee explained,

“So, Bermuda is going to lead this project, this initiative that would show that Bermuda would have some leadership. And if we are looking to protect the Sargasso Sea outside the Bermuda borders, then perhaps we need to be looking inside Bermuda waters ... It made sense at the time.”
(BDA Interview P49)

Interviewees further noted that, during these early discussions, actors had suggested potential designs for this reserve, including creating a ring around the island. However, before the meeting at the Pocantico Center (DMM #1), no definitive design for this potential marine reserve existed. According to meeting minutes, the Management Committee decided to include negotiations about this proposed LMPA as part of Sargasso Sea negotiations, rather than separating the two processes; they did stipulate, however, that Bermuda would retain the authority to make decisions about and govern its EEZ.

¹⁰ Actors often referred to the potential LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ as the marine reserve, the reserve, the MPA, or the Blue Halo. While these carry slightly different connotations, they can be read as interchangeable terms for the purposes of this chapter.

This section has traced early motivations for and events related to an emergent initiative to conserve the Sargasso Sea. Actors had different motivations for promoting Sargasso Sea conservation, with implications for the territorial strategies they chose to employ later in negotiations. Further, actors involved in these early negotiations initially suggested designating a marine reserve in Bermuda's EEZ as a territorial strategy to promote Sargasso Sea conservation. At this early stage, actors hoped to promote conservation in both the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ within a streamlined negotiating process. As the next section concerning DMM#1 demonstrates, growing tensions between actors soon prompted a split between these two negotiating processes.

2.5.2 Decision-Making Moment #1: The Pocantico Meeting

The first DMM consisted of a two-day meeting between representatives from the Bermudian government, donors, scientists, and other key actors from September 27 – 28, 2010, at the Pocantico Center in New York. Multiple interviewees described this meeting as a turning point, or moment of conjuncture (Hart 2004), in negotiations over the governance of the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ. Three key outcomes from this meeting guided future governance negotiations. First, attendees of this meeting made numerous decisions about the functioning and management of the Sargasso Sea initiative moving forward. Second, following the meeting, the Bermuda government extended an invitation to the Global Ocean Legacy (GOL) branch of the Pew Charitable Trusts to "discuss the ways in which Pew might assist Bermuda in formulating and

securing a plan for the EEZ-MPA” (Summary of Primary Points and Decisions Taken, 27-28 September, 2010, Meetings on the Sargasso Initiative, Pocantico, New York).

Third, the meeting resulted in frayed relationships and the erosion of trust between some of the actors. As described in the methods, above, this section reviews the structure of decision-making, actors’ descriptions and perceptions of what occurred and the territorial strategies employed, and the outcomes of this decision-making moment.

2.5.2.1 Structure of the Pocantico meeting

Attendees of the Pocantico meeting included the five main donors, four civil servants in the Bermudian government (including a Permanent secretary, two department directors, and a senior officer), six representatives from global NGOs and the IUCN (an international organization), and a university scientist. These participants voted collectively for Dr. Rockefeller, one of the main donors, to chair the meeting. One of the major goals of the meeting included the official formation of the Sargasso Sea Alliance (SSA), a formal body charged with managing the Sargasso Sea initiative. An early draft of the meeting agenda suggested that additional topics for discussion included issues of SSA governance; the structure of the SSA Executive Committee; funding for paid positions, future meetings, and other logistics; communications and partnerships with other bodies such as the IUCN; and progress toward designating an LMPA in Bermuda’s EEZ and another in the Sargasso Sea. Interviewees noted that this agenda was not strictly followed during the meeting; one interviewee suggested that

some actors had altered aspects of this collectively agreed upon agenda before the meeting began.

Multiple interviewees who participated in this meeting explained that decisions at the meeting were made based on topical discussions, rather than a more structural decision-making tool such as voting. The format encouraged the use of discussion to achieve consensus. One Bermudian interviewee noted that the Permanent Secretary spoke most frequently on behalf of the Bermudian contingent, though others contributed as well. This interviewee clarified that participating Bermudians functioned as a team, and, while no one was discouraged from talking, they deferred to the Permanent Secretary in deference to her higher position in the government.

The invitation of one attendee, a representative from the Global Ocean Legacy (GOL) program of Pew Charitable Trusts, proved particularly contentious. According to many interviewees, one of the donors, a representative from the Waitt Foundation, invited this GOL representative to discuss, and hopefully gain, GOL's assistance in designating an LMPA in Bermuda's waters. As one interviewee explained, "I think it was [the Waitt Foundation representative] that said, 'You know, Pew's done this around the world, they would be good to have on board because they've had experience making these large reserves in other places.' And so, I think that's why they [Pew] got onboard" (BDA Interview C37).

Yet many actors, including the Bermuda government representatives, were not consulted about the decision to invite a Pew representative to attend prior to the meeting. One Bermudian interviewee stated, “I think that [the Waitt Foundation representative] thought he was helping. And he said, ‘You know, we talked about this issue, you know, about Bermuda taking leadership. Look, here is somebody who can help you.’ The problem was it was like sprung on us” (BDA Interview P49). A global NGO representative at the meeting described their frustration about this lack of prior consultation, explaining that, “People like to be asked, there is transparency and inclusiveness” (BDA Interview K81). Some interviewees used stronger language; one global NGO representative stated, “Partly, I think we have to blame [the Waitt Foundation representative] for sort of inviting them [Pew] in through the backdoor...I think [the representative] was far too much focused on the money instead of what is important, which is the trust and the long-term relationships” (BDA Interview J71).

In addition to frustration over the lack of consultation about inviting the Pew representative, interviewees expressed early concern about GOL’s objectives. One global interviewee involved in Sargasso Sea negotiations who did not attend the meeting at the Pocantico Center explained that GOL’s agenda was not compatible with the marine reserve concept for Bermuda’s EEZ that actors had previously discussed.

“Then, without consulting with anybody else that I am aware of, [the Waitt Foundation representative] went to PEW, and it wasn’t that he even went to PEW, he went to their heritage Global Legacy fund [*sic*] ... They had this completely uncompromising, no take zone policy. I was

appalled, I have to say, when I met [the GOL representative], because that was not what we discussed. What we discussed was a more set aside area and not a total no take zone.” (BDA Interview Q55)

This section reveals that, from the meeting’s commencement, some actors felt frustrated due to a perceived lack of transparency, both about the planned meeting agenda and, particularly, about the inclusion of Pew in negotiations.

2.5.2.2 Descriptions and perceptions of the Pocantico meeting

Overall, interviewees described this meeting as a negative experience. “That was a very stressful meeting,” related one Bermudian interviewee (BDA Interview V49).

“That was really [pause], just thrashing out where this initiative was gonna go.” Two global actors who attended the meeting described it as a “blood bath” (BDA Interview W25), and as “one of the most horrible meetings I have ever been at. It was nasty. People I thought were colleagues acted terribly” (BDA Interview K81).

Interviews with a variety of actors revealed diverse perceptions about the motivations and objectives of particular actors during the meeting. Understanding these perceptions, whether accurate depictions of these actors or not, helps clarify how the outcomes of this meeting arose. For example, some actors related that the donors seemed concerned about the Bermudians’ ability and resources to lead the initiative. As one global actor articulated,

“The donors are not people who habitually let the grass grow on their feet, so they expected the Bermudians to come give them a program plan of action. ... And it is true to say they got absolutely nothing. ... The donors and what not were clearly not happy. They had been sold this

story on the boat [in the Galapagos with Sylvia Earle], and they had agreed to put in money, but they expected something to be happening. And frankly nothing was.” (BDA Interview W25)

A Bermudian government representative conveyed their frustration about perceived donor concerns, stating,

“I think one of the concerns of people like [the representative from the Waitt Foundation] is that, you know, we weren’t influential enough to get the attention of the world. ... IUCN wanted to drive the whole thing ... They sort of looked at Bermuda as sort of small size, that we are not internationally renowned in terms of the professional officers. And I think they just wanted a sort of puppet, you know, somebody to say ‘Bermuda is behind this,’ but they really wanted to do all the work.” (BDA Interview P49)

According to some interviewees, this perception of donor concern about Bermudians’ ability to lead in Sargasso Sea negotiations impacted Bermudians’ decision of whether to involve GOL in discussions about designating a Bermudian LMPA. The Bermudian attendees were hesitant to invite GOL’s assistance given GOL’s stated objective of designating a no take zone in Bermuda’s EEZ. Yet, they also feared that the donors might withhold further funding for the Sargasso Sea initiative if they did not invite GOL to assist. One Bermudian government representative explained:

“It was as that point, when the donor group came together, and Pew was in that. Implied was that if Bermuda doesn’t work with Pew, then [the Waitt Foundation] is out, and if [the representative from the Waitt Foundation] is out as the principle primary driver, then his buddies are out too. It all got grouped.” (BDA Interview F01)

Another Bermudian government representative related, “And I think it was made very clear to us that the other members of the group would not play if Pew

couldn't be a part of it" (BDA Interview W62). The Bermudians excused themselves to discuss their options, and ultimately decided to invite GOL's assistance. Yet, as interviewees noted, the Bermudians never expressed a need for GOL to run the negotiations. One explained, "We need them more as a support rather than trying to take over" (BDA Interview P49).

In addition to these perceived tensions between actor groups, relationships among individual actors also deteriorated during this meeting. This deterioration stemmed from the interactions described above as well as strained or heated exchanges between particular people. While I have not described them in detail here, interviewees noted that these interpersonal confrontations and arguments further contributed to an overall erosion of trust during DMM #1.

2.5.2.3 Outcomes

The Pocantico meeting resulted in a new distinction between the negotiations over oceans governance in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. The summary notes from the meeting state:

"The goal of all parties is to gain protected status for the Sargasso Sea as a whole ecoregion, and to conduct scientific analyses and design regulatory regimes that can apply across jurisdictions. Nonetheless, all parties also recognize the legal, political, and financial realities that argue for dividing much of the work between an effort to secure protection of the Sargasso Sea within the Bermudian EEZ and an effort to secure protection of the Sargasso Sea beyond national jurisdictions. Regular and close communication and cooperation will be required." (Summary of Primary Points and Decisions Taken, 27-28 September, 2010, Meetings on the Sargasso Initiative, Pocantico, New York)

One global NGO representative lamented thus separating the two processes, stating that the inclusion of GOL “was totally unnecessary and would have been much better to have an integrated [process] that included that [Bermuda’s EEZ]. So, we are launched into a parallel, you know, disjointed process” (BDA Interview J71).

The Pocantico meeting also resulted in the official formation of the Sargasso Sea Alliance (SSA). The Management Committee was dissolved, and a new, smaller Executive Committee was formed. It included two donors (one functioning as Committee chair), a representative from IUCN, a scientist, and a representative from the Bermudian government. This final member did not attend the Pocantico meeting, but joined the Executive Committee later, as the newly appointed Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Environment, Planning, and Infrastructure Strategy.

Some interviewees noted a relocation of leadership at DMM #1, from within Bermuda to outside of Bermuda. For instance, a global actor involved in the Sargasso Sea negotiations who did not attend the meeting in Pocantico explained that the donors decided to run the SSA through IUCN at this point, rather than through Bermuda. “It was decided that the donors would have it, run it, differently. So, they decided that they wanted someone outside of Bermuda to run it, [and an IUCN representative] offered IUCN. And they said, ‘OK, well, we’ll recruit someone to run this as a separate operation’” (BDA Interview Q55). A global meeting attendee explained that the membership of the new Executive Committee, which included a majority of global

actors rather than a majority of Bermudian actors (as in the Bermuda-led Management Committee described in the previous section), reflected how, “Essentially, the Bermudian team was basically shown the door. And they [the donors] decided that the only way forward from this was to create a very small Executive Committee to progress this” (BDA Interview W25). Finally, a Bermudian government representative further commented on this shift, as well as the change in Bermudian representation, stating: “And that shift [of leadership going out of Bermuda and toward global actors], and you know this, then it went to people who were working internationally already; and they chose the Permanent Secretary because, you know, high decision-maker, higher level in government” (BDA Interview P49).

After conducting five interviews with potential candidates, a hiring committee named David Freestone the Executive Director of the SSA. The Pocantico meeting summary stipulated that one of the functions of the Executive Director would be “to administer the efforts to secure the High Seas-MPA and to maintain liaison with those working on the EEZ-MPA” (Summary of Primary Points and Decisions Taken, 27-28 September, 2010, Meetings on the Sargasso Initiative, Pocantico, New York). The official launch of the SSA, as well as Dr. Freestone’s official introduction as Executive Director, occurred at BUEI in Bermuda in December, 2010 (*The Bermudian* 2011).

In terms of negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ, the Pocantico meeting marked the beginning of GOL’s relationship with the Bermudian government

in discussions about designating an LMPA. The meeting summary expresses the relative responsibility of Bermuda and the UK for establishing this marine reserve. According to the document, the UK had at this point communicated support for an MPA in Bermuda's EEZ, but did not claim responsibility for its monitoring and enforcement. As interpreted by the meeting summary, this "probably represents on the part of the UK both a commitment to self-governance and a disinclination to subsidize the project with ongoing funds" (Summary of Primary Points and Decisions Taken, 27-28 September, 2010, Meetings on the Sargasso Initiative, Pocantico, New York).

Donors committed to provide additional funding toward both the Sargasso Sea initiative as well as the emerging initiative to designate an LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ. They also agreed to fund long-term capacity building in Bermuda, while Bermuda pledged to raise local funds from individuals and businesses. The Waitt Foundation further committed to funding a marine spatial planning (MSP) project in Bermuda's inshore waters.

This section has summarized the concrete decisions for oceans governance negotiations concerning Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea that proceeded from the Pocantico meeting. The final key outcome related by many interviewees was the erosion of trust and degraded personal relationships, as described above. Various interviewees reported feeling offended by the lack of transparency and trust; Bermudians in particular related feeling frustrated by the implication that they "are not good enough to

do this ... You need people to help you" (BDA Interview P49). According to another Bermudian attendee, "It [the Pocantico meeting] all fell apart at the people level. The self-interest of those organizations trumped their interest in actually achieving the overall goal" (BDA Interview F01).

This detailed description of the first DMM highlights how actors' territorial strategies changed during the Pocantico meeting. First, actors consolidated the leadership body managing the Sargasso Sea initiative, changed the make-up of this body from majority Bermudians to majority global actors, and moved it from Bermuda to the IUCN headquarters in Washington, DC. These changes suggest that, though Bermuda still led the initiative officially, global actors had assumed a more substantial role in guiding future Sargasso Sea negotiations. Second, Pew entered negotiations, and global donors committed to fund negotiations over designating an LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ; this step shifts these negotiations from a Bermudian-led process with granted authority from the UK to a process involving global NGO actors and their territorial interests. Finally, while actors had previously worked collaboratively toward Sargasso Sea conservation, they decided to split territorial efforts toward designating LMPAs in the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ during this meeting. These changed territorial strategies, as well as diminished social relationships, influenced negotiations over oceans governance moving forward.

2.5.3 Approaching DMM #2: BASS and the Blue Halo

Following DMM #1, negotiations concerning the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ continued to progress. This section traces the territorial practices used, changing relationships and perceptions related to these negotiations between the end of 2010 and August 2013 (which marks the beginning of DMM #2, the Public Consultation in Bermuda). It focuses largely on the aspects of these processes that took place in Bermuda; further details about the Sargasso Sea negotiations and the SSA will be provided in Section 2.5.5.

2.5.3.1 Promoting Sargasso Sea conservation in Bermuda: BASS

As noted above, the Bermudian government representatives involved in the Sargasso Sea initiative changed soon after the Pocantico meeting. A new Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of the Environment, Planning, and Infrastructure Strategy and a new director of Conservation Services were appointed in the months following the meeting; neither of the new appointees had participated significantly in the negotiations to this point. Further, in 2011, the Department of Conservation Services moved into the Ministry of Public Works, leaving the Department of Environmental Protection with sole oversight over the Sargasso Sea, EEZ, and marine spatial planning (MSP) processes. A Bermudian civil servant described the perceived consequences of this change in a document that the informant produced summarizing the history of EEZ negotiations:

“The mandate of the two departments, DCS [the Department of Conservation Services] and DEP [the Department of Environmental

Protection], while separate are in fact complementary. Resource use and environmental conservation are both needed to reach balanced outcomes in decision making and planning as regards Bermuda's environment – terrestrial and marine. Without these complementary points of view having equal footing in the management of Sargasso Sea Alliance, GOL/Pew, and MSP activities an important and functional dynamic tension (and critical capacity) was removed from the planning process.” (“Information re: marine reserve status and history of effort,” 8 April, 2014)

Despite this shuffling of Bermudian leadership related to the Sargasso Sea initiative, government support for designating the Sargasso Sea as a conservation area remained high. At the official SSA launching at the Bermuda Underwater Exploration Institute, Minister of the Environment Walter Roban stated, “I am happy to announce the Government's commitment to this most worthy international initiative and can confirm that we will do our part to ensure Bermuda plays a leading governmental role in this project” (Strangeways 2010).

Members of Bermudian civil society, particularly numerous local environmental NGOs, threw their support behind the initiative as well. In 2011, ten Bermudian NGOs signed a Mutual Agreement to form a collaborative organization called the Bermuda Alliance for the Sargasso Sea (BASS). According to this Mutual Agreement, signatories (called “partners”) would work cooperatively to “promote community awareness to encourage the Bermuda Government to establish the Sargasso Sea as a MPA” (The Mutual Agreement, 2011, Bermuda Alliance for the Sargasso Sea meeting minutes). In other words, BASS would not only provide education and advocacy about the Sargasso

Sea, but would also serve as a cohesive body to pressure the government, should its enthusiasm for working to conserve the Sargasso Sea diminish. As one BASS member explained,

“BASS came about because environmentalists were excited about the possibility of Bermuda leading an effort to protect the high seas area ... Our main role was to take public awareness and advocacy ... That is the public reason why BASS came to be [laughter]. The private reason, or you know the undisclosed reason, was because government was sitting on their hands and they felt this would push them [government] into appreciating it themselves and doing something positive about it.” (BDA Interview A19)

To promote community awareness and support for creating a Sargasso Sea MPA, BASS members gave presentations about Sargasso Sea efforts, taught classes about the Sargasso Sea, and took students, teachers and other members of the public on short-term research cruises to experience the Sargasso Sea for themselves. Through this outreach, they helped produce the Sargasso Sea as a unique area in need of conservation (Steinberg 2001). They made videos about the ecological importance of the Sargasso Sea (Greenrock. “Bermuda Alliance for the Sargasso Sea (BASS).” Greenrock.org. <http://www.greenrock.org/96-archive/projects/641-bass> (accessed 4 August, 2017)) and distributed fliers advocating its protection (e.g. Figure 1). BASS partners communicated regularly with the SSA, particularly for publication approval. “We were always connected with them [the SSA] in the approval process. Anything that we did, not so much in our education classroom curriculum, because that was very local focused, but certainly any community outreach, we worked together with them” (BDA Interview

G81). BASS held meetings regularly from June 2011 until the summer of 2013 to strategize and coordinate efforts to further promote protection of this space. To encourage transparency, meeting invitees included representatives from partner NGOs as well as representatives from other local NGOs, the Bermuda government, and Pew.



Figure 1: Pamphlet produced and disseminated by BASS to promote Sargasso Sea conservation

2.5.3.2 Clarifying the UK's role in Sargasso Sea and EEZ negotiations

As explained in Section 2.4.2.1, Bermuda is an overseas territory of the UK. As such, the UK government retains authority over foreign relations with Bermuda, and Bermuda needed its permission to officially lead the Sargasso Sea initiative. The UK government allowed Bermuda to accept this leadership role and gave Bermuda the right to negotiate an international agreement concerning Sargasso Sea conservation

commitments according to its own interests. The UK also continued to participate in Sargasso Sea negotiations as an interested party.

In terms of EEZ governance, the UK established an EEZ around Bermuda out to 200 nautical miles (nm) from its coast in 1996, under the authority of UNCLOS (Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda 1996). While a recent study produced no evidence of a legal transfer of this authority from the UK, and specifically the Crown, to Bermuda (Environmental Law Institute 2016), several interviewees referenced a verbal assurance from the UK Foreign Commonwealth Office in 2012 that the Bermudian government had complete authority and discretion over the governance of its EEZ. “Bermuda making a marine reserve was completely up to Bermuda, what they wanted to do; the UK government would support whatever Bermuda wanted to do,” stated one Bermudian interviewee (BDA Interview S56). An interviewee from the UK explained their perception of the extent of the UK’s limited influence:

They [those promoting a marine reserve in Bermuda’s EEZ] talked to me about it, probably hoping that London could be more influential than it could be. My feedback was that it can’t or it certainly wasn’t influential ... I said I’m happy to play a part and participate, and be as helpful as I can be. My advice was that it’s 100% down to Bermuda, if we’re going to win this. (BDA Interview K74)

Thus, interviewees generally understood the Bermuda government to have complete de facto, if not legal, authority over the governance of its EEZ.

2.5.3.3 Promoting a marine reserve in Bermuda's EEZ: The Blue Halo initiative

According to multiple interviewees, the Bermudian government produced a Cabinet Memo¹¹ after the Pocantico meeting, formally inviting Pew Charitable Trusts to discuss how the organization could support the government in national negotiations about creating an LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ. As one government representative explained, "Pew did do up a letter saying that they had experience in assisting with the creation of large MPAs. From the government's standpoint, we thought they were coming to have somebody assist us" (BDA Interview B1). According to this interviewee, as well as many others in Bermuda, it quickly became apparent that Pew's approach was one of advocacy for LMPA designation, rather than assistance in a national consultation process. Yet, as one representative of Pew noted,

We were always very clear about our intentions and our goal of the work that we do is fully protected marine reserves... They're [Bermudians are] the ones that make the law, we don't make the law. We advocate and provide information to why we think what we're proposing makes the most sense, and why we're advocating for it, but ultimately the decision on what they do is theirs. (BDA Interview E31)

In the fall of 2011, Pew began advocating for the designation of an LMPA extending in a ring, or "Blue Halo", around Bermuda. The "no take" Blue Halo would span from 50 nm to the limit of Bermuda's EEZ, 200 nm from the coast. Pew hired two Bermudians as local consultants to lead the on-the-ground initiative full-time. Pew

¹¹ Cabinet Memos are not publicly available; thus, I only heard about, but never saw, this memo.

representatives would run the initiative from Washington, DC with periodic in-person visits to the island.

According to interviewees and journalistic articles from 2011 through much of 2012, Bermudians seemed unified behind the prospect of the Blue Halo. There was little extractive activity occurring between 50 and 200 nm from the coast; according to many interviewees, including fishermen, only one Bermudian long-lining vessel regularly ventured out past the 50 nm mark. A 2012 article in *The Royal Gazette* quotes Chris Flook, one of the two local Pew consultants and the director of the Blue Halo initiative, as saying,

“When I talk to the fishermen, one of the first things they say is ‘This is my job, you can’t cut my legs off’. That is not our intention. We don’t want to stop any current Bermuda activity...We’re not losing anything, we’re just putting something in the safety deposit box, something we don’t use now.” (*The Royal Gazette* 2012)

Proponents argued that the designation would also highlight Bermuda as a conservation leader and could provide increased political clout and influence on an international stage. Further, by rebranding Bermuda as a marine conservation leader, the Blue Halo could, proponents hoped, bring additional tourism to the island.

Blue Halo proponents used these arguments as elements in territorial narratives, promoting Blue Halo designation while also (re)producing Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for conservation. See Chapter 4 for additional detail about these territorial narratives and discussion about their employment as acts of territoriality. To promote these

narratives, and thus Blue Halo designation, Pew employees set up a website, taught about oceans conservation at local schools, and gave interviews for local newspapers and on radio. They collaborated with cultural NGOs for community events and visited highly trafficked venues, such as churches and concerts, to disseminate information. Stickers, shirts and hats, wristbands, and cups gave supporters the opportunity to announce “Blue Halo: I’m a believer” to the community (Figure 2); I saw numerous bumper stickers still displayed during my research visits in 2014 and 2015 (Figure 2). Local environmental NGOs (e.g. Greenrock) and social NGOs (e.g. the Chewstick Foundation) also publicly promoted the vision of the Blue Halo and helped distribute informational material produced by Pew, such as conservation timelines, brochures, and, later, documents outlining the economic, ecological, and cultural benefits of implementing the Blue Halo, upon request (Figure 2). The Blue Halo initiative ran a full-page advertising campaign in a local paper called “Let’s protect our surrounding sea” in 2013 (Figure 3), and high-profile celebrities and oceans conservation activists, such as Sylvia Earle, Richard Rockefeller (Johnston-Barnes 2012b), and Philippe Cousteau (Lagan 2013a) visited the island to voice their support. As quoted in *The Bermuda Sun*, Mr. Cousteau declared: “It’s exciting to think a relatively small island and small population can truly be a global leader and set this legacy forward for the next generation and for the world” (Lagan 2013a).



Figure 2: Blue Halo promotional items



Figure 3: Blue Halo advertisement, *The Royal Gazette*, October 2013

As part of this highly visible campaign to promote the Blue Halo, the local consultants for Pew made clear that that the primary purpose of their job was to inform the public and raise awareness. LeeAnne Hinton, the second local Pew consultant, was quoted in *The Bermudian*: “We are getting the idea of a marine reserve into people’s minds so that are aware of it and ask questions [*sic*]. Then they will hopefully take part in the public consultation” (Border 2012). According to one interviewee, while the Pew consultants provided their opinion about the Blue Halo when asked, they focused on

disseminating information and answering questions in preparation for the government-led Public Consultation.

2.5.3.4 Resistance emerges: Fishing, deep-sea mining and Bermudian sovereignty

As Mr. Flook's *Royal Gazette* quote (above) points out, Bermudian commercial fishermen began voicing concerns about the Blue Halo and its potential impacts on fishing early in negotiations. As local conservation NGO representative related,

“It was also a really tough time to be considering taking away people’s livelihood, like the fishermen. Even though there’s only one fisherman that went anywhere near the Sargasso Sea to do longline fishing, it was still perceived that it was going to take away livelihoods.” (BDA Interview G81)

Yet, fishermen largely expressed their concerns during private or group conversations with Pew employees; resistance to the Blue Halo stayed outside of public debate throughout most of 2012. By the beginning of 2013, however, the divisiveness of the proposed Blue Halo began to emerge. The two most visible groups voicing their dissent included recreational fishermen and the deep-sea mining industry. These groups used a territorial narrative to oppose the Blue Halo, depicting its potential designation as limiting opportunity for economic development in Bermuda’s EEZ (see Chapter 4 for additional detail).

In an April 2013 article in *The Royal Gazette Magazine*, Nick Hutchings, the founder of Ocean Projects Limited, explained that his own preliminary deep-sea exploration gave him confidence that valuable materials, such as phosphates or

polymetallic nodules, may exist within Bermuda's EEZ (*The Royal Gazette Magazine* 2013). Ocean Projects Limited represents the only company with a license to explore Bermuda's seabed for minerals; the company can also request and negotiate a lease with the Bermudian government to exploit such minerals in the future. Given the potential existence of minerals in Bermuda's EEZ, Mr. Hutchings stated, "I suppose you could say we have competing interests with the new Blue Halo initiative that would like to transform a huge section of our EEZ into a marine protected area" (*The Royal Gazette Magazine* 2013, p. 28).

Dr. David Saul, a shareholder in Ocean Projects Limited and former Premier of Bermuda, took this argument further, calling the designation of the Blue Halo "economic suicide" (Strangeways 2013).¹² The phrase "economic suicide" gained substantial traction locally; interviewees often repeated it, either to characterize the Blue Halo or in descriptions of local resistance. Dr. Saul suggested that revenue gained by the Bermudian government through licensing agreements with potential deep-sea mining companies could significantly reduce the national debt (Strangeways 2013). In other words, for some, the mining discussion focused on the potential of finding a valuable asset to leverage in the future, rather than the potential for actual mining. Yet, public discussions about deep-sea mining became extremely heated; as one Bermudian

¹² Note that this reference and subsequent quotes from the Billfish Foundation are dated after the Public Consultation began in September 2013. I included them in this section to promote the logical flow of this narrative. Yet, their inclusion here also highlights that these discursive negotiations over Bermuda's EEZ persisted during and after the Public Consultation, and they continued to influence the two negotiations over oceans governance.

industry actor explained, “I think, you know, fishing, people can get their heads around, but the mining, it, that’s when it [the negotiating process] actually turned quite nasty” (BDA Interview Z30).

As the Public Consultation approached during the summer of 2013, related press and public discussion about the process increased. During this time, Bermudian and foreign recreational fishermen became publicly engaged in discussions about the Blue Halo. One foreign recreational fisherman stated, “Even before the advanced planning process [the Public Consultation] came out, [we thought] hey, we need to get in front of this, and blew the whistle” (BDA Interview N50). Fishermen discussed strategies for opposing Blue Halo designation during angler club meetings, and a US-based organization, the Billfish Foundation, posted a short brochure to their website outlining a marine reserve’s potential to diminish sport fishing in Bermuda (Billfish Foundation 2013). Members of the Billfish Foundation often travel to Bermuda to participate in big-money fishing tournaments. The Billfish Foundation website as well as interviewees noted concerns that the Blue Halo would lead anglers to feel less welcome in Bermuda or preclude fishermen from trolling as they entered and exited Bermuda’s waters. One Bermudian recreational fisherman described the Billfish Foundation’s concern about the Blue Halo, given their previous experiences with a marine reserve in Australia, stating,

“When they [the Billfish Foundation] found out that we were going to possibly have this reserve here, they became interested in it because ... the effects that it had by having a marine reserve in Australia, it shut down a hundred-million-dollar recreational fishery that they had over

there. And they thought that the same thing would happen here.” (BDA Interview O80)

Many interviewees explained that economic arguments opposing the Blue Halo, such as those promoted by fishermen and the deep-sea mining industry, gained traction in Bermuda because of the effects of the economic recession described above (see Section 2.4.2.3). One local conservation NGO member, alluding to less visible arguments raised by commercial fishermen about the potential for developing an offshore fishery, explained how actors’ arguments (in this case, narratives) created a perception that the Blue Halo would limit Bermuda’s economic options. This informant stated,

“It was really about we are taking our options away, the case against [the Blue Halo] was mining and fishing, which are our commercial options. At a time when Bermuda is suffering economically, because we have been very late into the economic downturn. For a long time, we were doing fine, so that is a big part.” (BDA Interviewee Y26)

As suggested in this quote, many interviewees noted that Bermudians began to feel the effects of the economic downturn relatively late, after the Blue Halo campaign had already commenced. Thus, though the government had expressed support for implementing an LMPA early in negotiations, its priorities had changed as well.

Another member of a local conservation NGO described their perceptions of government priorities, noting that “Government is more aligned with – well, we’re on the verge of economic collapse. So, anything that promotes business is good, and then the environment has to take fourth place” (BDA Interview Z67).

In addition to highlighting economic opportunities presented by Bermuda’s EEZ,

Blue Halo opponents also employed a territorial narrative that characterized the Blue Halo as infringing on Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ (see Chapter 4 for further details about how actors produced Bermuda's EEZ). They asserted that Bermudians had the right to decide how to govern their EEZ, without pressure from a foreign organization such as Pew. In the same article noted above, Nick Hutchings described Bermuda as an "[oceanic] territory of over 300,000 square kilometers" and called Bermuda's control over its own EEZ a "gift" from the UK (*The Royal Gazette Magazine* 2013, p. 28). A Bermudian commercial fisherman explained, "This [EEZ] is our sovereign right, this is a birthright to Bermudians, these are our waters. Please don't come in here and tell us what to do. We need to have a stake in what happens here" (BDA Interview G80).

When the government-led Public Consultation concerning the governance of Bermuda's EEZ began in September 2013, arguments promoting and opposing the Blue Halo designation had become increasingly divisive. One local conservation NGO member noted the involvement of fishermen, stating,

"As we were conceiving this idea, this consultation ... there was a lot of press all of a sudden. And the fishermen were getting really vocal. Or some of the fishermen were vocal. And again, fishermen are very non-homogenous. So, you have commercial guys, you have recreational guys, and then you have sort of weekend, they're commercial but they're retired. ... And, there was a lot of ignorance and name-calling." (BDA Interview Z76)

Actors held heated discussions online, responding to news articles or posts on social

media websites, such as Facebook. For instance, multiple interviewees discussed the impact of a public Facebook thread about Pew and the Blue Halo that had accrued over 220 comments from various stakeholders in less than a week and a half. One recreational fisherman explained their perception of the intensity of negotiations, saying, “They were, yeah, they were a little bit hardcore” (BDA Interview O24). Multiple interviewees noted that some Bermudians and organizations were reticent to express support or opposition to the Blue Halo because of fear of backlash.

2.5.3.5 Actor roles: The Bermuda government and Pew

In addition to describing these growing conflicts, many interviewees shared their perceptions about the roles that specific actors played leading up the Public Consultation. These perceptions provide insight into actor relations and actor motivations for making particular choices later in the negotiations. In this section, I review how interviewees perceived the roles of the government and Pew at this point in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ.

Interviewees suggested that the unexpected change in Bermuda’s ruling political party described above (see Section 2.4.2.1) influenced the government’s role in these negotiations. This change in government occurred in late 2012 and led to political uncertainty and a massive reshuffling in the roles of decision-makers and some civil servants. As the Sustainable Development Department prepared to lead the Public Consultation, many interviewees perceived that the government had retreated from its

previous support of the Blue Halo. One local conservation NGO member described how both political parties had shifted their stance over time, stating,

“So, the PLP [Progressive Labor Party] were absolutely for it in the beginning, and then they flip-flopped entirely, did a 360, and they were absolutely against it ... They were no better or no worse than the OBA [One Bermuda Alliance], because they flip-flopped too. Because part of their [the OBA’s election] platform, was that ... we embrace Blue Halo. We’re gonna make it happen. Then, as soon as they got into power, you’ve got people who have different interests ... And so, we saw slowly, the OBA moving away from being very supportive to being super cautious.” (BDA Interview J25)

Other interviewees, however, contended that the One Bermuda Alliance’s (OBA)’s slight victory (they won the majority by two seats in Parliament) led them to avoid politically contentious issues like the Blue Halo; a Bermudian recreational fisherman explained,

“They [the OBA] are not going to do anything to upset the population, you know, because it’s just a marginal area, you know, between PLP [the Progressive Labor Party] and the OBA. That, 10 votes either way could swing it. And they’re not going to do anything to upset anybody.” (BDA Interview O80)

Still others, as noted above, asserted that the new government simply had different priorities than the previous government, particularly given Bermudians’ current economic hardships. A civil servant related that,

“Bermuda had a change in government so you lost [how] ... the process [of designating a marine reserve] started, and the new government said, ‘That’s very nice, but we got to try to save our economy and keep us out of debt,’ and so, they decided, [EEZ negotiations are] not that important.” (BDA Interview F89).

In sum, though their understandings about why differed, interviewees reported a perception that the government had grown less involved in guiding these negotiations over time.

Interviewees also shared their perceptions about Pew's role in negotiations over Bermuda's EEZ. Most Bermudian interviewees, regardless of their role in these negotiations, expressed frustration at Pew's approach to advocating for Blue Halo designation in Bermuda. Some interviewees contended that Pew's marketing strategy was too aggressive and inflexible; as one Bermudian interviewee explained,

"I think that's where it [the Blue Halo] lost. I like the idea that they [Pew] wanted to add support, but at the same time, they didn't seem to know where their limits were ... Or when they were stepping on people's toes, or when it was appropriate to pull back." (BDA Interview C37)

Others noted that the US-based Pew representatives had little understanding of Bermudian culture; one Bermudian industry actor described them as boats running aground on the surrounding coral reefs because they lacked adequate local knowledge (BDA Interview E20). A Bermudian civil servant stated,

"I think Pew did a political miscalculation, despite advice that was given to them. In my view, they tried to basically roll out their way of doing things in Bermuda as they had done in other places, not recognizing the important political differences and cultural differences in Bermuda compared to other places. And it did not work." (BDA Interview X10)

Additionally, interviewees argued that US-based Pew representatives failed to build relationships with local Bermudian actors. For instance, a commercial fisherman expressed frustration that they only engaged with high-level government officials when

they visited the island, rather than meeting with other stakeholders (BDA Interview L01). Interviewees from local conservation NGOs described a similar lack of engagement from Pew; one NGO representative stated,

“I had several conversations with [a US-based Pew representative] and offered our support. And I was turned down mostly. The reason for that was [they] didn't want to pollute the Blue Halo with anything else we were doing. It was not a very friendly relationship.” (BDA Interview Y26)

While interviewees expressed disapproval of Pew's specific approach in Bermuda, many also noted Bermuda's colonial history as influencing general perceptions of Pew. As local NGO member explained, Pew represented

“... this foreign entity coming in and saying, 'For your own good...' And we've already got this colonial thing as well, right? So, it felt like it was remnants of this other super mega wealth structure is coming in and saying 'Look, for your own good, you can't use this space.' And that's what it felt like at the core to a lot of people.” (BDA Interview D78)

This final quote from a Bermudian civil servant summarizes many interviewees' perceptions of Pew's role in these negotiations:

“I would say that they [Pew's Global Ocean Legacy] ended up doing more harm than good...Harm in the general community by polarizing people, but also harm in their cause by basically going to such an extreme that they lost support from some people that might have supported them. And I don't think it helped them that they were seen as a big group coming in. Because Bermudians don't like that.” (BDA Interview V49)

Through the processes and perceptions related in this section, actors involved in these negotiations used key territorial strategies to promote particular governance outcomes in Bermuda's EEZ. For instance, actors promoting Blue Halo designation, and

to a lesser extent, Sargasso Sea conservation employed territorial narratives about the value of conserving these spaces (see Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of the territorial narratives used to promote governance outcomes in Bermuda's EEZ). Pew and BASS used broad education and advertising initiatives to disseminate their messages throughout the Bermudian public. Actors opposing the Blue Halo also used territorial narratives to depict the Blue Halo as limiting economic development in and sovereignty over Bermuda's EEZ. Both local and foreign actors (e.g. the Billfish Foundation) used popular and social media platforms to advocate against Blue Halo designation. Note that two key actors, the UK and the Bermuda government, resisted actively supporting a particular governance outcome in Bermuda's EEZ, and some interviewees reported a less prominent role from the government in guiding governance negotiations. This decrease in government leadership and, perhaps more importantly, its lack of engagement in public discussions, allowed these divisive territorial narratives to dominate public discussions about Bermuda's EEZ, both during and after the Public Consultation.

2.5.4 Decision-Making Moment #2: Public Consultation about Bermuda's EEZ

"Planning for the future of our EEZ is probably one of the most complex and capacious opportunities that the Government and people of Bermuda have ever been presented with" (SDD 2014, p. 1).

The official Public Consultation concerning how to govern Bermuda's EEZ ran from September 3 through October 31, 2013. Bermuda's Sustainable Development

Department (SDD) administered the consultation, and many actors within and outside of Bermuda engaged in territorial practices during the process. These included advocating for particular interests both privately and publicly through print, radio, televised and social (web-based) media, participating in government sponsored events, such as stakeholder focus groups and a Town Hall, and submitting their input to the SDD through surveys and/or written submissions. Some of the media coverage about the Blue Halo, deep-sea mining, fishing and sovereignty concerns were noted in the previous section, and the territorial narratives invoked by those holding these opinions is further explored in Chapter 4. In this section, I describe the structure, major events, territorial strategies used within, and key outcomes of the Public Consultation, or DMM #2. While the SDD released the report entitled, “The Future of Bermuda’s Exclusive Economic Zone: Outcome of the Public Consultation, September 3 to October 31, 2013” (hereafter the Outcome Document), which reviewed findings from the Public Consultation, in the fall of 2014, DMM #2 as discussed here refers only to the official consultation period and input provided to the SDD through stakeholder focus groups and written submissions in the months following this period. The continued process, including the release of the Outcome Document and events stemming from it, will be discussed in Section 2.5.7, below. Though the official decision-making process concerning the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ spanned events described in both sections, I have defined only the official Public Consultation and the following months

as the second conjunctural moment because the outcomes of this period influenced subsequent events related to negotiations over the governance of the Sargasso Sea that occurred before the Outcome Document release.

2.5.4.1 Structure

The Bermuda Cabinet directed the SDD to conduct a Public Consultation about “whether to establish a MR [marine reserve] in the offshore waters of our [Bermuda’s] EEZ and, if so, the size, shape, location and nature of protections” (SDD 2014, p. 2). Multiple interviewees explained that, while the government asked Pew to oversee it, Pew decided against this given their vocal advocacy for the Blue Halo. The Cabinet selected the SDD, a department within the Cabinet itself, to run the Consultation in order to avoid the perception of having a biased process, according to interviewees. The Department of Conservation Services’ mandate, for example, could lead to a perceived bias toward environmental factors; the Department of Environmental Protection’s mandate may suggest a bias toward fisheries and economic factors. As one Bermudian civil servant explained:

“This isn’t just a fisheries matter. This isn’t just an environmental matter. This is a huge national question, a hundred and eighty-six thousand square miles, breadth of questions. How best should we handle this? And, so they, asked [the SDD], who has a mandate to address those kinds of complex, broad issues.” (BDA Interview T71)

In a Ministerial Statement to Bermuda’s House of Assembly, the Minister of Environment and Planning, the Honorable Sylvan D. Richards, explained that the Public

Consultation stemmed from an understanding that efforts to create an area of conservation in the Sargasso Sea would be “enhanced by continuing to demonstrate our [Bermuda’s] commitment to protecting our own waters” (Ministry of Environment and Planning Ministerial Statement 2013). The Public Consultation, he stated, sought to determine whether to create a “no take” marine reserve in Bermuda’s EEZ, and if so, to also design its boundaries. “Respondents will be encouraged to support their position, and those arguments will form a critical part of the overall evaluation” (Ministry of Environment and Planning Ministerial Statement 2013).

The SDD first needed to decide how to structure the Public Consultation; for instance, they needed to disseminate information about the process and governance options to the public and determine what questions to ask and how. According to various interviewees, they identified key stakeholders with a potential interest in EEZ governance and solicited their opinions about the most useful information to provide and the most helpful and relevant questions to ask. As explained above, Pew Charitable Trusts had already begun distributing informational booklets and pamphlets through the Blue Halo initiative. The SDD supplemented these with additional information and outreach. They produced two consultation documents, one outlining the costs and benefits of implementing a marine reserve, and one two-page summary. They performed outreach through a televised discussion between stakeholders, workshops for educators, a Youth Parliament event, and social media posts and discussions. Finally,

the SDD produced two outreach films, a short 3-minute film and a longer 30-minute film featuring ten stakeholders with varied interests in EEZ governance outcomes.

Stakeholders included “people who were strong advocates for a particular outcome. Strong yeses, strong no’s, strong fence-riders. Those who didn’t have a vested interest, but were interested in policy development” (BDA Interview T71). The shorter film shows the stakeholders calling the Bermudian community to carefully consider options and participate in the Public Consultation so that all voices are included. The longer film includes these calls and documents the interests and opinions of the various stakeholders concerning the EEZ and its management.

The SDD invited community members to participate by completing a survey found at the end of the consultation documents; they could submit a hard copy in person or complete the survey online. Members of the Department also randomly selected and mailed a consultation document directly to 2,500 households. Some community members also provided the SDD with separate written submissions explaining their views. Some interviewees indicated frustration that the questions included on different versions of the survey differed; for instance, the longer consultation document asked “Do you think a marine reserve should be established in the offshore waters of Bermuda’s Exclusive Economic Zone?”, while the shorter document inserted the phrase “no take” before “marine reserve.” Others remembered feeling disappointed that the survey options did not include the reserve dimensions

advocated by the Blue Halo initiative, extending from 50 – 200 nm offshore. The options provided included a marine reserve covering $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the EEZ, a marine reserve of the community member's own design with space to explain, or no marine reserve. One civil servant addressed this complaint, saying "The whole thing was that we were supposed to be asking the public whether they think that we should do this or not. And if you've already named it [the marine reserve] and decided how big it's going to be, you're not asking the public" (BDA Interview V49).

After the Public Consultation began and the consultation documents had been disseminated, the SDD decided to broaden the consultation question. Rather than asking specifically about whether to designate and how to design a marine reserve, the question became "What should we [Bermuda] do with our [Bermuda's] EEZ?" According to the Outcome Document, the SDD decided to change the question because "Bermuda wished to view this as a question about the future of the EEZ...This [new question] allowed Bermuda to examine and assess the question of whether or not to establish a MR [marine reserve] as well as consider all other options on the future use of our EEZ" (SDD 2014, p. 3). In discussing the mandate of the SDD, a Bermudian civil servant explained, "Part of sustainability is not just one thing, but sometimes you have to look at how it's interconnected, or how it will influence other ways of life, quality of life. Not just today, but in the past, present, etc. ... Many people were thinking, 'Should we establish a marine reserve?' ... It was too narrow" (BDA Interview Z02).

The SDD solicited additional input by inviting key stakeholders to participate in stakeholder focus groups. Participants explained that, during these gatherings, SDD members asked them to both articulate their opinions and discuss them with one another. The SDD chose stakeholders with strong opinions or interests in the outcome for participation. Some had already publicly expressed a particular viewpoint; others included representatives from government agencies, industries or interest groups that the SDD believed had an interest in the outcome. Still others represented groups or viewpoints that the SDD wanted to explore further.

On October 28, 2013, the SDD organized a two-hour Town Hall style meeting in City Hall. The panel of speakers consisted of four key actors representing various viewpoints, who presented information and arguments for the first hour. Dr. Trott discussed historical and existing regulations governing Bermuda's EEZ; Mr. Flook explained the benefits of designating a marine reserve; Mr. Hutchings related the potential benefits of continuing to allow for extractive activity like deep-sea mining; and Mr. Richard Winchell, president of a local environmental NGO called the Bermuda Zoological Society, proposed using a collaborative approach to reach a governance decision. For the second hour, the audience was invited to comment on the presentations and ask questions of the panelists. 378 people participated by attending in-person, and 720 others viewed the event via live-streaming provided by the local news

outlet, *Bernews*, or by watching the event afterward on the *Bernews* website (SDD 2014, p. iii).

While the Public Consultation officially ended on October 31, the SDD continued to hold focus group discussions until late 2013 and continued to accept written submissions into the spring of 2014. After all data were collected, SDD employees as well as volunteers, interns, students and others worked together to analyze it. They conducted a SWOT analysis and sought to determine the economic, environmental and social costs and benefits of each of the three main choices that they saw emerging. They summarized the data, met about and discussed findings, edited one another's summaries, and, in the fall of 2014, released the Outcome Document reviewing their findings (see SDD 2014).

The SDD also presented these findings and their interpretations of them to the Cabinet. The Cabinet approved the preparation of an RFQ (Request for Quote) by the SDD soliciting bids to conduct an independent economic analysis, which would mark the beginning of a second phase of the Public Consultation process. As explained above, despite the extended Public Consultation Process, the remainder of this section will focus on the events and outcomes of the official Public Consultation that took place in the fall of 2013.

2.5.4.2 Descriptions and perceptions of events and relations

Many interviewees recalled the general atmosphere during the Public Consultation as highly politically charged and chaotic. One Bermudian civil servant related concern about the most vocal actors, saying,

“There’s a lot of reactionary stuff that seemed to take over the discussion ... The frustration, like what the heck is going on in this place? Things take to the airways. You get a lot of—I think people ... they want to have their little moment in the limelight and they don’t understand or haven’t properly researched the issues, and they don’t really think, to be honest, they don’t really know what they’re talking about. But they’re there, blabbing away, and it could do damage though.” (BDA Interview P43)

Another civil servant remembered sensing a distinction among community members that wanted to participate, particularly between those with and without direct access to government officials.

“Ministers were called left, right and center. A whole lot of, here’s why you need to do this, have some more tea and listen to me, we know what’s going on. There was a lot of that going on. Then there was the fear from those who didn’t have that level of comfort to approach the decision makers.” (BDA Interview Z02)

Many interviewees blamed the combative atmosphere felt during this time on the “egos” of various actors. As one Bermudian interviewee put it, “You’ve got to deal with egos at Pew, you’ve got egos at the civil service, you’ve got all these angry fishermen, NGOs spewing up all these different. And it’s like, how do we keep focused and get traction, so that people respond to the Consultation?” (BDA Interview C37). This

allusion to “egos” emerged repeatedly during discussions about the Public Consultation.

When asked whether they thought that the Public Consultation was successful, interviewees reported mixed feelings. For instance, one interviewee from the UK called it a “pretty exemplary consultation” (BDA Interview K74). Others lauded the SDD’s efforts in the process. “They [the SDD] really did try, it appeared to me, to listen to people, and get their ideas, opinions, and that’s how it felt, anyway,” (BDA Interview P43) related a Bermudian civil servant. Still, others, however, felt less sure; one commercial fisherman considered: “Was it effective? Yeah, maybe it was, it seemed like there was a lot of publicity about it. But, you know, how...it lacked trust” (BDA Interview G80).

Many interviewees noted particular aspects of the Consultation process that concerned them. For instance, some interviewees expressed frustration that they only heard extreme opinions and voices during negotiations. One civil servant complained,

“My impression of it would [*sic*] left out moderate people. So, you have fringe people, you have extreme environmentalists. Who are, you know, wouldn’t change ideas, no matter what. Then you had the opposite, which were the sea-bed miners and the bill fishermen, or fishermen who would never change their minds. But the majority of moderate people who were, who wouldn’t participate.” (BDA Interview O28)

Other interviewees felt that the SDD outreach and solicited engagement for focus groups “could have been broader,” involving additional stakeholders and/or those with interests beyond solely environmental or economic ones (BDA Interview D78). A

perceived lack of transparency during the Consultation process emerged as a theme, with one local environmental NGO member asserting that,

“The government’s two failures were lack of control, they took the approach of control, and service. If you go to control mode, you create problems. That control took the form of exclusion, lack of transparency, exclusion of known conversations, sharing of information.” (BDA Interview R61)

One Bermudian industry actor expressed similar frustrations, stating that many key stakeholders, such as the shipping industry, the deep-sea cables industry, and the seabed mining industry, were excluded from early discussions about the Blue Halo and EEZ governance changes that occurred before the official Public Consultation; this lack of inclusion and transparency eroded trust in the process (BDA Interview K09).

Many interviewees also related that they received insufficient information about their options and the decision-making process; others felt that information and inclusion in the process came too late. Another Bermudian industry actor stated,

“Had there been a full engaged discussion and Bermuda rejected or accepted, an informed decision, go right ahead. I would’ve danced in the street...I would’ve been so proud of Bermudians. But they need to be informed first.” (BDA Interview Z30)

A local conservation NGO member noted that, “Sustainable Development came along, and they didn’t make any decisions, they sort of left it up for the public without informing the public properly” (BDA Interview I52). Other interviewees noted that the process felt confusing, with one interested citizen relating that, “They [the SDD] were trying to make the point that it wasn’t an all or nothing decision [through the

consultation documents], but it definitely got cloudy” (BDA Interview X76). According to numerous interviewees, many community members seeking greater clarity at the Town Hall meeting left with more questions than answers. “People were there [at the Town Hall meeting] because they just didn’t even know what was going on. They just wanted to kind of come with some clarity, and it was even more mottled by the end of it” (BDA Interview I52).

Another theme that emerged often during interviews was a perceived lack of adequate debate about EEZ governance options. Public discussions focused predominately on whether to designate a no-take marine reserve; they rarely included additional or more nuanced options. While the SDD tried to address this issue by broadening the Public Consultation’s overarching question, many interviewees felt that the SDD provided insufficient opportunity and time to explore and discuss other options, particularly after the Town Hall meeting. At the Town Hall meeting, according to one civil servant,

“They [the public] had this one opportunity to sit and listen and think and respond. It was too limited. We needed more public forums ... And I think we achieved a lot by having that one good [Town Hall] meeting. But I think the lack of follow through on that was the real limiting thing. I think more should have been done with clearer preliminary assessment of what the Consultation was looking at, is sort of what people said. Let’s talk about it some more.” (BDA Interview Q15)

A local conservation NGO member agreed, stating, “They started public outreach but they only had one meeting, and it was late, after everyone had submitted [their surveys]

... So clearly what was needed was more public conversation and outreach. But that's when it stopped" (BDA Interview Z76). A concerned Bermudian explained that much of the public remained unaware that they could consider options beyond the Blue Halo. "There were different options that everyone was playing with, but, because Blue Halo had such a strong presence, people thought it was an all or nothing decision. So, people grew really vehemently against protecting the entire area" (BDA Interview X76). In sum, despite relatively high participation in the Public Consultation, many interviewees reported feeling confused and frustrated by the end of the process, with the exception of some government employees and highly engaged stakeholders.

2.5.4.3 Outcomes

In addition to reports of high frustration and confusion about the Public Consultation, interviewees related various other outcomes from this process. For instance, many interviewees expressed excitement at the high level of public engagement and participation in a process related to oceans governance. "Although it hasn't been an easy road, it has at least gotten the country talking about this issue" (BDA Interview P49), stated a civil servant. According to another civil servant, "A huge outcome of this was that a lot of people began talking. The education was elevated, a lot of people began talking and appreciating the value of the asset [the EEZ]" (BDA Interview Z02). Young people engaged with the process as well, a big success according to some interviewees. Classes and interested groups wrote submissions, and interns

and volunteers assisted with data processing. In the Outcome Document, the SDD gives some credit for this increased awareness to Pew, stating, “It is the efforts of Pew and their proposal for the establishment of the Bermuda Blue Halo that has arguably inspired the participation of the wider community in the discussion regarding the future of the EEZ” (SDD 2014, p. 4).

Other interviewees, however, saw little or no change in awareness ensuing from the discussion about designating an LMPA. One commercial fisherman, for instance, noted that only those that already engaged with and knew about the ocean participated in these discussions; no one gained additional knowledge (BDA Interview N63). Still other interviewees expressed a limited, but still optimistic view; a local conservation NGO member noted that many in the community now know about the EEZ and its potential. “I think the only thing that really came out of it was that maybe we are aware that it could be ... A lot of people go ‘Wow, we have something special? I didn’t know that’” (BDA Interview M14).

Interviewees also discussed efforts to improve actor engagement with policy negotiations and processes. For instance, Bermudian fishermen came together to form the Fishermen’s Association of Bermuda as a mechanism to more effectively voice their concerns within the Consultation. One member of the Association explained, “In order for us to get any teeth with Sustainable Development, we figured, as a group, we had to come together. I think we had something like 70 or 80 fishermen sign up as members of

this Fishermen's Association" (BDA Interview O80). A civil servant called this "one of the big successes" of the Public Consultation (BDA Interview X22); another exclaimed, "The fishermen got up in arms and they came down there, and boy, I've never seen fishermen so united!" (BDA Interview W62).

Yet, the result most broadly discussed by interviewees from the Public Consultation was an erosion of trust and damaged relationships between actors. This resulted not only from the official Public Consultation events, but also from the public and private discussions between actors described in the previous section. As already noted, many interviewees communicated frustration with Pew's approach. In addition, some interviewees contended that the Public Consultation revealed a lack of government understanding and engagement in a supposedly government-run process.

According to a local NGO member,

It came across where it [Pew] was this organization...the corporations are now the new government. So, it's this corporation of mega wealthy entities or whatever coming in and saying, 'Hey Bermuda you should do this' ...You [government officials] who are supposed to be elected and making yourself informed, are not informed. So how are we supposed to get behind you [the Bermudian government] or these people [from Pew] who seem to be the puppet masters?" (BDA Interview D78)

Others agreed, further noting that the SDD itself was understaffed and, thus, ill-prepared to conduct such a complex Public Consultation:

"Government failed the people on multiple levels in this whole process. They had, they weren't an active partner in public outreach. ... They [Sustainable Development] were late into the job, they only had 3 staff,

including the director ...They didn't have the resources to do a good job."
(BDA Interview Z76)

Interviewees also contended that "the whole [Public Consultation] process caused deep divisions within the community" (BDA Interview B1). It revealed existing rifts between community factions, created new ones, and broke up friendships, both collegial and personal. For example, according to a commercial fisherman, the negotiation demonstrated the community divisions between what the informant termed "eco-extremists" and "eco-mercenaries" (BDA Interview L01). A Bermudian civil servant explained, "It strained friendships, neighbor relations...Like, I nearly stopped talking to one friend. It was that bad" (BDA Interview V49). Some felt wounded by the negotiations, even describing our interviews as "therapy." Many expressed surprise, in hindsight, that the process had led to such community divisions; one Bermudian described it as a "tempest in the teacup" (BDA Interview W92). Interviewees also noted shifting relationships both between and within actor groups during the negotiations. Within the environmental community, for instance, interviewees expressed surprise and frustration at other environmentalists for supporting, resisting, or not vocalizing a clear view about the Blue Halo. One interviewee related their continued frustration about other actors' choices:

"I feel personally, more, how would I describe it... Distant? Or, actually, questioning of my colleagues in the conservation community. I was extremely disappointed that without appropriate due process, some of the environmental NGOs in Bermuda that advocate strenuously for

environmental impact assessment and due process, were advocating that all their members sign up for the Blue Halo” (BDA Interview Z30).

This section has provided an in-depth description of how the SDD carried out the Public Consultation over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ and interviewee perceptions of both this process and related actors. It revealed how actors used territorial strategies to advocate particular governance outcomes; for instance, commercial fishermen joined forces and offered a collective voice in opposition of Blue Halo designation in Bermuda’s EEZ. It also demonstrated how actors’ territorial strategies reviewed in previous sections influenced how this DMM unfolded. For example, while the SDD’s approach to the Public Consultation succeeded in reaching a large number of Bermudians, the lack of government leadership during the process allowed territorial narratives promoted by actors advocating either for or against the Blue Halo to dominate public discussion. Thus, many interviewees reported losing trust in the government and feeling frustrated and confused at the end of the process, due in part to the lack of adequate discussion about alternative options.

2.5.5 Approaching DMM #3: Blurred negotiations

Before and during the Public Consultation over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ, the SSA continued to promote Sargasso Sea conservation both within and outside of Bermuda. This section summarizes the SSA’s international work from 2011 to 2013. It further describes actor relations with the SSA in Bermuda and traces how perceptions of the negotiations over the governance of the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda’s EEZ blurred in

Bermuda. The section closes with an introduction to a key actor group that emerged from the Public Consultation (DMM #2) and influenced the signing of the Hamilton Declaration (DMM #3): the EZZ Stakeholder Caucus.

2.5.5.1 The SSA: Promoting Sargasso Sea conservation internationally

After its official launch in 2010, the SSA began targeted work toward promoting Sargasso Sea conservation within international arenas. As noted in Section 2.5.2.3, an Executive Director and supporting Executive Committee ran the SSA, though Bermuda still acted as the organization's formal leader. The SSA also included a loose network of advisors, such as scientists, environmental NGOs and international organizations, donors, and other interested individuals. Together, these actors followed a two-pronged approach to promote conservation of the Sargasso Sea (Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014). In the short-term, they sought to build an international collaborative effort to encourage Sargasso Sea conservation within existing international and regional oceans governance institutions (e.g. the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT)). They simultaneously advocated for an integrated, global approach to high seas management to conserve the Sargasso Sea in the long-term (Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014).

As leader of the SSA, the Bermuda government served as the state advocate for Sargasso Sea conservation within these international and regional governance institutions. Yet, because Bermuda is a UK overseas territory, the Bermuda government

had to seek permission and clarification from the UK about its rights to engage with these bodies (Freestone, Varmer, et al. 2014). Bermuda's relationship with these bodies varies, as each has a distinct governance structure and relates to the UK, and thus Bermuda, differently. For instance, Bermuda's relationship to the IMO only exists through its territorial relationship to the UK; Bermuda does not enjoy membership privileges (Freestone, Varmer, et al. 2014). However, the UK relates to ICCAT through its membership in the European Union (EU); thus, Bermuda and other UK overseas territories are joint members of this body and can fully participate. One Bermudian civil servant explained the importance of securing the UK's support of Bermuda's role in the SSA, saying, "The relationships with the UK departments were absolutely essential for us to get entry into a number of international groups. And speak on our own...and in some cases, the UK spoke for us ... It [the success of the Sargasso Sea initiative] would not have happened without the UK support" (BDA Interview K33).

To demonstrate the importance of supporting Sargasso Sea conservation to the UK and other actors, members of the SSA and other contributors produced "The Protection and Management of the Sargasso Sea" report in 2011 (Freestone 2014). This document, informally called "the Science Case," provided arguments for protecting the Sargasso Sea using scientific research (Laffoley et al. 2011). Further, in October 2012, the Sargasso Sea was formally declared as an Ecologically or Biologically Significant Marine Area (EBSA) by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), a designation which, the

SSA hoped, would help legitimize the need for Sargasso Sea conservation within international governance institutions (Freestone, Varmer, et al. 2014).

2.5.5.2 Interactions between the SSA and Bermudian actors

During this period of negotiations, from 2010 (the official SSA launching) until 2014 (the signing of the Hamilton Declaration – see Section 2.5.6), global SSA actors regularly visited Bermuda to engage with the Bermuda government and decision-makers. As one Bermudian conservation NGO member noted, “You know, they [the SSA] were great people. And as I say, they did great things with the government. Great relationship building” (BDA Interview G81). However, some interviewees related that, similarly to Pew, the SSA rarely engaged with “ordinary” Bermudians. A Bermudian civil servant explained their perception of this disconnect, stating,

“The other thing that, I think, in my view, hasn’t happened, is that, there hasn’t been a strong connection made with the ordinary people. You know, people don’t really understand what the Sargasso Sea Commission¹³ is. And, some suggestions were offered as to how this could be done, but it remained, the activities of the group remained in the upper echelons of society. And there was not very much penetration to the ordinary people. People knew that there was a Sargasso Sea something going on, and that was about it.” (BDA Interview W62)

Some interviewees thought that, had the Sargasso Sea headquarters remained in Bermuda, as originally planned, key SSA actors might have better understood the

¹³ Note that this and subsequent quotes refer to the Sargasso Sea Commission, the body created after the signing of the Hamilton Declaration, rather than the Sargasso Sea Alliance. Bermudian interviewees often used these titles interchangeably to broadly describe the organization running the Sargasso Sea initiative.

Bermudian context and better communicated with local Bermudians throughout the process. One Bermudian scientist stated,

“I think that one of the big things would have been to actually have the Sargasso Sea Alliance based in Bermuda. That would have been much better. To have a transparent you know, open door office in Bermuda, and to actually engage, like BASS for example, would have been *part* of the Sargasso Sea Alliance. Because I found it very frustrating as a scientist based in Bermuda.” (BDA Interview T89)

As noted in the previous quote, some members of BASS expressed frustration that, given their efforts to promote Sargasso Sea conservation in Bermuda (see Section 2.5.3.1), the SSA had not included them more in governance negotiations (BDA Interview R61). The same scientist quoted above further related that,

“When it first started, the whole Sargasso Sea thing, all of a sudden ... it became extremely secretive. Nobody knew anything about what was going on, and it was very frustrating. It was like, what is this about? You know, here we are, there’s umpteen marine biologists in Bermuda, everybody wants to get involved, everybody is interested, everybody is for it, and mums the word. ... And so that created a bit of just like them, us type of thing. You know?” (BDA Interview T89)

A BASS member noted, “To tell you the truth, considering the amount of effort that the BASS put in ... I couldn’t believe that we were not part of that process – not even invited to the official [Hamilton Declaration signing] ... It was very interesting” (BDA Interview A19).

After the Public Consultation over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ (DMM #2), interviewees explained, BASS largely stopped functioning. One BASS member

contended that the organization folded partially because they felt under-valued by the SSA. The informant explained,

“BASS is largely defunct, through lack of interest. For two reasons. One is, if you’re not, if you don’t feel respected and don’t feel that other people [the SSA] see value, then it is very hard to stay interested. And the other reason is the mess, the Blue Halo mess. Which has divided the members [of BASS].” (BDA Interview Y26)

The interviewee further clarified that some NGOs belonging to BASS “were backing off the Blue Halo idea” at this point, causing divisions. Representatives of these NGOs explained their growing hesitancy to support the Blue Halo: for some, Blue Halo proponents had not convinced them of the need or benefits of the Blue Halo given the potential costs; others noted concern about continuing to publicly promote such a politically contentious issue (see Section 2.5.3.4). To avoid this “mess,” SSA actors attempted to distance the Sargasso Sea negotiating process from negotiations over the Blue Halo.

2.5.5.3 Confusing negotiations in Bermuda

Non-Bermudian SSA members related growing concern about negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ in Bermuda. One key SSA actor, after citing these concerns, stated, “I took the view that this [the Blue Halo] wasn’t any part of our [the SSA’s] project. That’s my view” (BDA Interview Q55). Yet, despite the SSA’s efforts to distinguish their project from negotiations surrounding the Blue Halo, many Bermudians saw them as a single negotiation. As a Bermudian scientist explained:

“All the way through, as a matter of fact ... there was utter confusion between Blue Halo and the Sargasso Sea Alliance ... People were putting everything in one pot. It was, you have to admit that it was pretty difficult to decipher ... [One key SSA actor] said, well, ‘I think there’s reticence against the Blue Halo, and I don’t want to be involved in that.’ And so, in the end, SSA got involved in it [the Blue Halo negotiations] whether they liked it or not.” (BDA Interview T89)

According to a Bermudian civil servant, “So this conversation has flowed, has been complicated for the public to understand, because you are in two conversations going on, sometimes three. Uh, and they just sort of intertwine” (BDA Interview M22). In other words, because the Sargasso Sea and Blue Halo initiatives involved negotiations over the governance of two large, overlapping ocean areas, many Bermudians struggled to decipher their similarities and differences.

Further, some Bermudian interviewees perceived the negotiations, and foreign actors involved in these negotiations, as related. For instance, these interviewees feared that the SSA sought to infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty over its EEZ through the Hamilton Declaration in the same way that, they believed, Pew sought to infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty through the Blue Halo (see Section 2.5.3.4). One civil servant explained how confusion about the two processes related to these growing suspicions,

“‘Somebody was going to come take our rights away from us!’ And I was like, ‘Well, it’s not quite like that.’ That’s where I think the confusion between the two started playing out as well. It could have been, should have been, a better way of releasing the information, or explaining it. Even I’m confused, to tell you the truth, when it comes to the two and what was going on there at the time.” (BDA Interview P43)

Yet, the confusion of these negotiations in the minds of many Bermudians did not, in itself, present a problem for the SSA and its goals. The Bermudian government, as the SSA's leader, was clearly committed to Sargasso Sea conservation and planned to sign the Hamilton Declaration. However, given that the SSA had not built strong relationships in Bermuda beyond government actors, some Bermudian interviewees suggested that SSA members missed the emergence of key local developments related to this confusion that influenced final negotiations over the Hamilton Declaration.

2.5.5.4 The EEZ Stakeholder Caucus

To address the divisiveness that had emerged in Bermuda between Blue Halo proponents and opponents before and during the official Public Consultation (DMM #2), a small group of actors began meeting toward the end of the Public Consultation to discuss additional options for governance of Bermuda's EEZ. They met regularly from October 2013 until January 2014, and a local environmental NGO, the Bermuda Zoological Society (BZS) funded two professional facilitators to lead the first meetings. In a *Royal Gazette* article, participants described themselves as "a group of motivated Bermudians and residents, including scientists, commercial and recreational fishermen, trans-ocean cable operators, mineral prospectors and conservationists, who have come together to provide constructive input to the Sustainable Development Department" (Robson and Zuill 2014). Participants spent time, sometimes hours, in meetings, listening to one another's viewpoints. They hoped, over time, to find common interests and

potential areas for compromise. As one participant explained, “It was about getting the parties to talk to each other and talk to each other and to trust each other. A lot of this is about trust. ... So, it was about creating dialogue” (BDA Interview R50).

The EEZ Stakeholder Caucus initially considered creating a self-administered MPA, or SAMPAs, in Bermuda’s EEZ instead of the Blue Halo. As described above, some actors had voiced concerns that designating the Blue Halo would infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty, particularly given the strong marketing campaign administered by Pew, a foreign organization. One participant alluded to this concern in describing the actors comprising the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus, saying, “Some were quite prepared to be easily led down the garden path and others were, like myself, far more resistant to undue outside influence” (BDA Interview O24). While the group ultimately decided against promoting the SAMPAs idea, this process presented an avenue for stakeholders to converge on a collectively acceptable proposal to submit to the SDD. Interviewees largely contended that the process was successful; one participant explained that,

“We all established that we had a profound, everyone in the room had a profound love of the ocean, and they were all volunteering their time. So, there was something worthwhile here. And they may have had their own agendas coming in, but we looked, we agreed we would look for common ground, we found common ground.” (BDA Interview Z76)

The EEZ Stakeholder Caucus ultimately presented a joint submission to the SDD for consideration in the Public Consultation in January 2014. Though the formal Public Consultation ended in October 2013, as noted above, the SDD continued to accept

submissions after this date. While members of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus reported that they received little feedback about their submission from the government, this group later proved influential in negotiations over the Hamilton Declaration (DMM #3).

This section has traced actor interactions and perceptions prior to the signing of the Hamilton Declaration (DMM #3). It demonstrated that, to promote Sargasso Sea conservation, the SSA focused on international interactions and relations with high-level Bermudian actors, rather than efforts to engage other Bermudian stakeholders. Further, while SSA actors tried to distinguish negotiations over Sargasso Sea conservation from the Blue Halo and negotiations concerning the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, some Bermudians remained confused and unable to separate perceptions of the two processes. According to some Bermudian interviewees, these territorial strategies meant to support conservation of the Sargasso Sea may have allowed suspicious feelings about one foreign conservation organization (Pew) to bleed into suspicions about another foreign conservation organization (the SSA). Finally, this section has described the formation of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus, a subset of which directly influenced negotiations over the Hamilton Declaration, as shown in the next section.

2.5.6 Decision-Making Moment #3: The Hamilton Declaration

“This Declaration is not legally binding and is without prejudice to the existing legal rights and obligations of the Signatories under international law or to the competences of regional and international organizations.”
(*Hamilton Declaration* 2014)

The signing of the Hamilton Declaration represents the final conjunctural moment, or key DMM, in the oceans governance negotiations and produced the unexpected change in Sargasso Sea policy described in this chapter's introduction. This unexpected change occurred when the Bermudian government removed its EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration defined in the Hamilton Declaration just days before international government representatives convened in Bermuda for the signing ceremony (Figure 4). This action both altered the boundaries of this collaborative space and impacted actor relations and perceptions about what this space represented. This section describes not only the signing of the Hamilton Declaration, but also its preparation and the events in Bermuda that led directly to its alteration. It is organized slightly differently than previous sections about DMMs because key aspects of the "moment" in question occurred before the actual signing ceremony took place. The "structure" subsection focuses on the international preparation of and negotiations over the Hamilton Declaration's text. The "descriptions and perceptions" subsection recounts how and why the Bermuda government decided to change the Geographical Area of Collaboration and describes the actual signing of the Hamilton Declaration. As in previous sections, the "outcomes" subsection describes the outcomes of this decision-making moment.

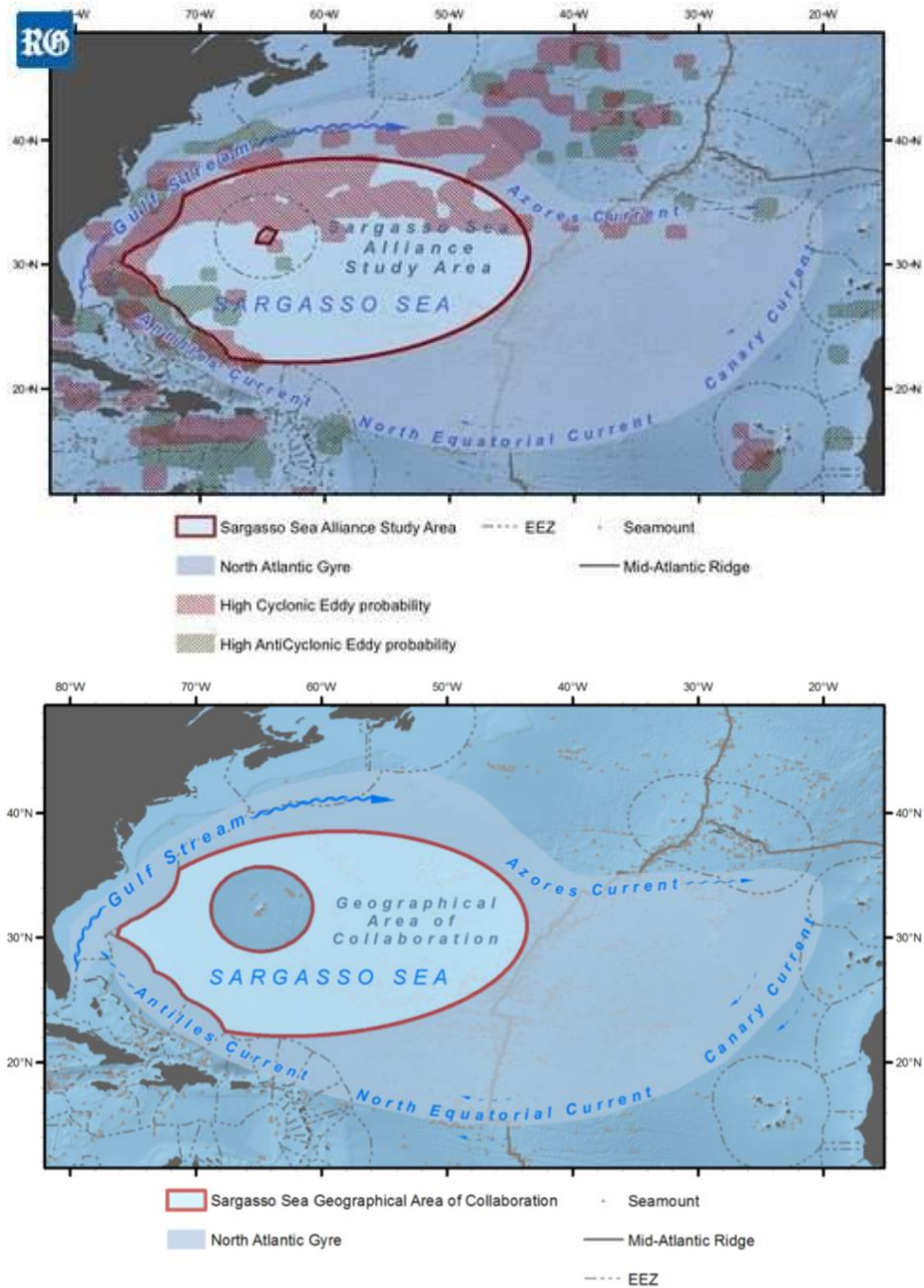


Figure 4: Change to the Geographical Area of Collaboration defined in the Hamilton Declaration. The red boundary lines in the first image define the Geographical Area of Collaboration included in the Hamilton Declaration draft circulated by the Bermuda government two weeks prior to the signing ceremony (Robson and Zuill 2014). The red boundary lines in that second image define the Geographical Area of Collaboration included in Annex I of the final Hamilton Declaration (the Hamilton Declaration 2014).

2.5.6.1 Structure

According to a key SSA representative, at least 17 countries expressed interest in promoting Sargasso Sea conservation at some point during negotiations. These countries included the Azores, the Bahamas, Belgium, Bermuda, Canada, the Dominican Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Monaco, the Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, the US, and the UK. The SSA's legal working group compiled a draft of the Hamilton Declaration and presented it to interested countries during two major negotiating meetings, one in December 2012 and the other in November 2013 (Freestone, Johnson, et al. 2014). Among other things, the Hamilton Declaration would commit signatories to promote Sargasso Sea conservation within international arenas to the extent possible, and establish a Sargasso Sea Secretariat, Meeting of Signatories, and Sargasso Sea Commission (SSC) to collectively guide and manage future collaborative work (*Hamilton Declaration* 2014).

Following the second round of negotiations, the US government requested additional edits to the text that proved controversial (BDA Interview Q55). Given these changes, the European Union (EU) voted to refrain from signing the Hamilton Declaration. The Hamilton Declaration represents a matter of mixed competence, meaning that EU member states must vote unanimously in support of the Hamilton Declaration for any EU member states to sign it. While various EU states thus refrained from signing, the UK ultimately decided to sign the Hamilton Declaration without EU

support. Following these final negotiations, the Bermuda government invited potential signatories, other supporting nations, and major international and regional organizations to Hamilton, Bermuda for the signing ceremony on March 11, 2014.

2.5.6.2 Descriptions and Perceptions

After the SSA had finalized negotiations over the text in the Hamilton Declaration, the Bermuda government issued a press release of the document for review by Bermudians. This occurred less than two weeks before the signing ceremony took place. As one Bermudian civil servant stated,

“After they [the Sargasso Sea Alliance and potential signatories] had done all of their work ... and everything was tied according to what the [Sargasso Sea] Alliance and its partners desired, then it was vetted locally as well. So, local NGOs would have reviewed it and had some input and expressed some concerns. Parliamentarians, politicians, would have gotten involved and expressed some concerns.” (BDA Interview K33)

Some of these concerned actors included members of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus, which had recently submitted its proposal for the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ to the SDD in January 2014. The day after the government released the Hamilton Declaration draft, *The Royal Gazette* quoted Michael Batista, a member of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus, saying, “The influence of the [Sargasso Sea] Commission’s ‘persons of international repute’ could potentially affect access to and national benefit from our sovereign maritime territory and resources” (Robson and Zuill 2014). Some interviewees expressed similar concerns that the Hamilton Declaration would limit Bermuda’s ability to govern and use their own EEZ. One commercial fisherman explained that, despite

claims from the SSA that the Hamilton Declaration would not alter Bermuda's sovereignty over the EEZ, the map revealed by the government seemed to contradict this assertion; it indicated that the EEZ would be included in the Hamilton Declaration's Geographical Area of Collaboration (BDA Interview N63). Other interviewees voiced frustration that the Geographical Area for Collaboration included only Bermuda's EEZ; all other national EEZs that overlapped with the ecological Sargasso Sea area had been excluded (BDA Interview K09) (see the western and southwestern portions of the Geographical Area of Collaboration in both maps in Figure 4). One member of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus remembered, "The question was posed, 'Does, with the Hamilton Declaration, does Bermuda throw its EEZ into the mix?' and this [EEZ Stakeholder Caucus] group, which I was part of, said, 'You know, no.' There's not one other country in the world that's doing that" (BDA Interview Z30).

The next week, another article appeared in *The Royal Gazette* entitled, "Oversight of Bermuda's waters goes to multi-nation 'Commission.'" It began,

"Premier Craig Cannonier is to sign over stewardship of Bermuda's 175,000 square miles of ocean waters that make up the island's Economic Exclusion Zone [*sic*], as well as its territorial waters, to an international commission without the Legislature approving the move, in just one week's time." (Zuill 2014a)

According to various interviewees, this article sparked additional fears within the community. As noted in Section 2.5.5.3, some reported having similar suspicions about the SSA and the Hamilton Declaration to those that they had about Pew and the

potential infringement of the Blue Halo on Bermuda's sovereignty. One member of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus contended that the SSA's lack of public engagement and discussion about the Hamilton Declaration in Bermuda increased the informant's concerns:

"Here's the [Blue] Halo, but it was actually, I think the Sargasso Sea Alliance I think actually was scarier to the local commercial users ... You know, that [the Sargasso Sea Alliance] was lower on the radar. And probably more damaging than the Halo bit ... It's kind of like, here, let's dangle this [the Blue Halo] in front of you and distract you and let this one [the Hamilton Declaration] sneak in the back door ... You look at the Sargasso Sea Alliance, and who was on, who is the Sargasso Sea Alliance gonna affect? Really just one place. All these [international] people are on board for it and pushing for it, but it doesn't affect their shores." (BDA Interview G80)

While some interviewees simply compared negotiations over the Blue Halo to those concerning the Hamilton Declaration, others seemed to confuse or combine the two negotiations, as Section 2.5.5.3 also described. For instance, another member of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus feared that Pew had led the Sargasso Sea negotiations as well, stating,

"They [the SSA] wanted us ... you know to sign the something Declaration, and we couldn't exactly figure out what the Hamilton Declaration was. And basically, what we were doing was signing away our souls. ... PEW was behind all of it, you know, the Sargasso Sea Alliance, and then the Hamilton Declaration is just another form of Pew. You know, they tried all sorts of different angles, but they did not expect to get the opposition they got here [in Bermuda]. ... We basically told them [the SSA], you're playing in somebody else's sandbox." (BDA Interview O80)

A third EEZ Stakeholder Caucus member argued that, while the Bermuda government claimed that the Hamilton Declaration would not impact Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ, Pew had fed the government this misinformation (BDA Interview K09). Further, while some interviewees reported fearing a loss of direct authority over their EEZ, others expressed concern that, because of the Hamilton Declaration, Bermuda may feel pressured to limit extractive activity in its EEZ. The same EEZ Stakeholder Caucus member related concern that, if the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration included Bermuda's EEZ, Bermuda's future implementation of regulations conflicting with Hamilton Declaration goals may cause the territory embarrassment (BDA Interview K09).

In sum, EEZ Stakeholder Caucus members as well as other concerned Bermudians feared that the Hamilton Declaration would limit Bermuda's authority over its EEZ. On March 4, 2014, one week before the Hamilton Declaration signing ceremony, members of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus and others met with four government officials, including Premier Craig Cannonier, to discuss their concerns. According to an EEZ Stakeholder Caucus member, "At the end of the day, um, certain members of the [EEZ Stakeholder] Caucus managed to get an audience with the Premier ... I'm not sure that the representation there was entirely balanced" (BDA Interview O24). After interviewees had shared their views, government officials agreed to address

their fears by altering the Hamilton Declaration. As Bermudian one civil servant explained,

“There was no effort [by the SSA] to try and take over Bermuda’s sovereign rights at all. But there was a fear that there would be and that fear, and because they [members of this concerned group] were not satisfied with the language in the Declaration that indicated that Bermuda, and in the map itself, indicated that Bermuda would not be under the management of somebody other than Bermuda. More language was put into the Declaration to make that absolutely clear.” (BDA Interview K33)

Following the meeting, the Premier, government officials, and members of the EEZ Stakeholder Caucus issued a joint press statement announcing the Premier’s demand that Bermuda’s EEZ be removed from the Geographical Area of Collaboration. As quoted by *The Royal Gazette*, the statement announced that, “The Premier made it very clear that the best interests of Bermuda and her people must be paramount at all times, and no risk of impediment to complete control of our EEZ would be accepted” (Zuill 2014b). Other potential signatories were notified of this change “at the last minute” (Freestone and Morrison 2014, p. 352), and scrambled to obtain their governments’ approval to sign before arriving in Bermuda. The representative from at least country planning to sign the Hamilton Declaration was unable to acquire government approval for the change and, thus, could not sign (BDA Interview Q55).

The signing of the Hamilton Declaration took place over one day. Five countries/territories of the UK signed it (the Azores, Bermuda, Monaco, the UK, and the US), while representatives from six additional countries/overseas territories of the UK

(the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands, the Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden, and Turks & Caicos) attended and expressed their support (Freestone and Morrison 2014). One Bermudian civil servant noted that the variety of actors represented “a very good cross section. In fact, all of the sides of the circumference of the [Sargasso] Sea were represented” (BDA Interview K33). In addition, observers representing five international organizations attended, including IUCN, The Oslo and Paris Commission (OSPAR), the International Sea Authority, the Inter-American Convention for the Protection and Conservation of Sea Turtles, and the Convention on Migratory Species (Freestone and Morrison 2014).

During a press conference following the signing ceremony, an audience member asked Premier Craig Cannonier to explain the removal of Bermuda’s EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. He responded,

“It’s vitally important that we have the opportunity, Bermuda, have a stake and the ability to decide on what happens within our EEZ zone ... which is why the EEZ zone has been excluded from the Sargasso Sea Alliance. And that really is the main point, that the government of Bermuda and the people of Bermuda have the right to say what it wishes to do with its territory, the EEZ zone.” (Bernews 2014a)

Dr. David Freestone, the Executive Director of the SSA, further clarified,

“A number of the Signatories made this point in the discussions, who’ve been involved in the actual negotiation of the Declaration, which Bermuda was as well, of course. It was never the intent of the drafters of that Declaration to actually have any kind of management authority or control in any way really of the EEZ in Bermuda. It’s just that the ecosystem of the Sargasso Sea does include the waters of Bermuda. And that was the intent of including it, but given that it’s created a lot of

misunderstanding, that was why we thought it was clearer to take it out.”
(*Bernews* 2014a)

2.5.6.3 Outcomes

The Hamilton Declaration represents the first non-binding high seas agreement of nations to work through existing international oceans governance bodies to promote conservation of a particular high seas area or ecosystem (Freestone and Morrison 2014). As emphasized in the quote from the Hamilton Declaration beginning this section, and again by Dr. Freestone’s quote above, the Hamilton Declaration has no legal force, but was created as a mechanism through which countries could express their political will, aligning around a common goal to conserve the Sargasso Sea. The Hamilton Declaration establishes the Sargasso Sea Commission (SSC), which is officially based in Bermuda and whose members are selected and appointed by the Bermuda government, to advocate for and support Sargasso Sea conservation while working “in their personal capacity” (Freestone and Bulger 2016, p. 351). It creates the Meeting of Signatories, composed of signatory representatives who advise and guide the SSC, as well as a Sargasso Sea Secretariat to support the SSC and the Meeting of Signatories. At the time of this writing, four additional countries/territories of the UK have signed the Hamilton Declaration since 2014: the British Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, and Canada in 2016, and the Cayman Islands in 2017.

Interviewees generally described the signing of the Hamilton Declaration as a partial success. For instance, a global SSA actor stated, “I would say right now it's what

you would call limited success...So have we protected the Sargasso Sea? No, we haven't, but have we raised awareness? Yes. Have we gone through international goodwill? Yes. But we can't really stop now" (BDA Interview E91). The Hamilton Declaration, in other words, represented a major first step in achieving Sargasso Sea conservation; it expressed an international desire to protect this area and established formal institutional bodies to ensure continued efforts. Other interviewees, however, expressed dissatisfaction with the ultimate outcome; another global SSA actor related, "One of the major disappointments was that we didn't get farther with the EU" (BDA Interview J71). A third reported frustration that the contentious negotiations concerning the Blue Halo had influenced Bermuda's participation in the Hamilton Declaration, as described above (BDA Interview Q55).

Some Bermudian interviewees also expressed disappointment in the Hamilton Declaration, particularly Bermuda's decision to remove their EEZ. One civil servant explained,

"In that diagram [showing the Geographical Area of Collaboration], it looked like Bermuda's EEZ was, it was being considered as a marine protected area. But you know, the thing is that, Bermuda is in the middle of the Sargasso Sea, so it's kind of hard to, like, not be there. Anyway, so yeah, that diagram killed the whole Hamilton Declaration completely." (BDA Interview T89)

Others, however, expressed relief that Bermuda had retained sovereignty, even if only perceived sovereignty, over its EEZ. Another civil servant stated,

“That was the argument by those who wanted to leave the boundary as it was, that you know, the [Sargasso Sea] Alliance doesn’t have any jurisdiction, doesn’t have any authority, so you can’t turn over your sovereignty to an organization that doesn’t have any authority. But I think the perception would have been that you’ve done just that.” (BDA Interview M22)

Finally, a few global interviewees noted more strained relations with Bermudian actors following Bermuda’s decision to remove its EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration, particularly given that the decision occurred with so little time before the signing ceremony. One global NGO representative suggested that,

“If any country changes, a small country changes legislation or a treaty text, and they’re working with countries like the United States and the EU, and big entities like that, days before you’re supposed to come to a signing ceremony, I would think that that potentially would damage your relationship, and doesn’t look good.” (BDA Interview E31)

This detailed account of the signing of the Hamilton Declaration has offered insights not only into what took place, but why and how previous and ongoing negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ influenced the final Hamilton Declaration document. While territorial strategies used by global actors (e.g. producing the Science Case for Sargasso Sea protection and guiding negotiations over Hamilton Declaration text) ultimately led to the signing of the Hamilton Declaration, some Bermudian actors employed other territorial strategies (e.g. extending the territorial narrative about the Blue Halo’s potential infringement on Bermuda’s sovereignty to suggest that the Hamilton Declaration might similarly impact Bermuda’s sovereignty) that led the Bermuda government to alter the Hamilton Declaration and the

conservation territory it defined. The next section provides a brief overview of how the negotiations over Bermuda's EEZ progressed following the Public Consultation (DMM #2) in Bermuda.

2.5.7 Moving forward: “The Future of Bermuda’s EEZ”

Throughout the winter and spring of 2014, the SDD conducted an analysis of feedback collected about the governance of Bermuda's EEZ during the Public Consultation, as described in Section 2.5.4.1. This section traces the outcomes of and subsequent steps taken after that analysis, particularly the territorial strategies employed by the Bermudian government concerning the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. It also reviews general perceptions of the negotiating process and its impacts in Bermuda.

2.5.7.1 The Outcome Document and budget constraints

The SDD publicly released “The Future of Bermuda’s Exclusive Economic Zone: Outcome of the Public Consultation, September 3 to October 31, 2013” (the Outcome Document) on November 5, 2014. The report reviewed public submissions to the SDD during and after the Public Consultation and concluded that insufficient information had been produced through this process to make a decision about the governance of Bermuda's EEZ (SDD 2014) (see Chapter 4 for discussion about the government's use of a territorial narrative to support this conclusion). It called for a “comprehensive economic analysis” of the four main governance options discussed during negotiations,

as defined through the SDD's analysis: the creation of a no-take LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ, development of offshore commercial fishing in Bermuda's EEZ, exploration for valuable deep-sea minerals in Bermuda's EEZ, and extraction of those minerals if found (SDD 2014, p. 2). Some interviewees noted that, given the high public engagement in and conflict over these negotiations during the previous autumn, relatively little public comment emerged after the report's release.

The Cabinet, now under the leadership of Premier Michael Dunkley of the One Bermuda Alliance (OBA) political party, approved creating a request for quote (RFQ) to pursue this analysis (SDD 2014). Yet, in March 2015, the government announced a delay in releasing the RFQ due to insufficient budgetary resources. In a speech to the House of Assembly on March 16, 2015, Premier Dunkley explained, "Unfortunately, for the next fiscal year, the budgeting for the cost of the feasibility study for our EEZ could not be justified when compared with providing for the immediate social and economic needs of our citizens" (Zuill 2015). He cited Bermuda's "need to prioritise what are our urgent needs as opposed to what is desirable" (Bernews 2015). One civil servant explained that the government had recently prioritized cuts to government spending because of growing concern over economic hardship and high unemployment rates in Bermuda (BDA Interview S43). The economic analysis presented an "easy line item" to significantly reduce the budget, according to this informant. During his speech, however, Premier Dunkley clarified that the government had "only deferred the

planning for the study” and would reevaluate its ability to proceed in subsequent years (Bernews 2015). “We are cognisant,” he stated, “of the number of opportunities that Bermuda’s EEZ can yield for its people, both economically and environmentally” (Bernews 2015).

I conducted most of the interviews with Bermudians for this study during the summer of 2015, a few months after the Premier’s announcement. Most interviewees described the state of negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ at that time as “stalled.” A recreational fisherman related, “It’s [the negotiation is] pretty much dead. It just doesn’t really get brought up anymore” (BDA Interviewee J86). “It’s [the Blue Halo has] just fallen off the radar because other priorities have come through,” explained an industry actor (BDA Interview R50). Though many interviewees expressed doubts that negotiations would resume in the future, some referred to the Premier’s promise to revisit the possibility of conducting an economic analysis and moving forward. One civil servant stated that, “The Premier said we don’t have any money to do the studies, so that’s where it is ... I would hope that the Premier sticks to his word. He’s given his word that it’s delayed until they get the money for the studies. That’s all I have to go on” (BDA Interview B1).

2.5.7.2 Stalled negotiations: Government relations and MSP

Section 2.5.4.3 reviews various outcomes that emerged from the Public Consultation, including increased public participation in an ocean governance process,

new forms of public engagement (e.g. through the formation of the Fishermen's Association of Bermuda), confusion and frustration about the process itself, and the erosion of trust and interpersonal relationships. This section reveals two additional outcomes of these negotiations that arose more than a year after the official Public Consultation ended, following the Outcome Document release and the Premier's subsequent budgetary announcement. Specifically, these final events resulted in increased distrust of the Bermuda government by some actors and negative implications for at least one related oceans governance project in Bermuda.

As noted above, interviewees in Bermuda indicated that negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ had stalled in the summer of 2015. While some interviewees, largely Blue Halo opponents, expressed relief or satisfaction at this lack of movement, Blue Halo proponents and other actors interested in changing the governance of Bermuda's EEZ reported frustration. This frustration stemmed first from the government's timeline in releasing results from the Public Consultation. One member of a local environmental NGO remembered waiting for the release of the Outcome Document, stating, "Everyone wanted an answer. And so, there was ongoing public frustration with a lack of action, a lack of any feedback [from the Public Consultation] at all" (BDA Interview Z76); another local environmental NGO member recalled, "Huge amounts of time just disappeared in civil service land" (BDA Interview R61). Other actors expressed growing doubts about the government's credibility given

its perceived reluctance to convey results. One civil servant who was not in the SDD explained their concerns in 2014, before the Outcome Document release, saying “The longer we don’t hear about this [the Public Consultation], it is very disturbing because then you don’t really, you begin to doubt the credibility of all the information. If these are really all the results they got, how come they have been sitting on it for so long? Why are they, what are they hiding?” (BDA Interview F89).

Interviewees also related their frustration about the government’s subsequent decision to delay funding an economic analysis and, thus, move the Public Consultation forward. Some reported “a lot of cynicism about the motives of government” in making this choice (BDA Interview O28). For instance, some interviewees speculated that this decision reflected the One Bermuda Alliance (OBA) party’s fear of losing power to the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). One local environmental NGO member explained:

“They’re [members of the OBA are] in a very political situation because they want to stay in power. And they don’t want to lose to the PLP again ... We’re [Bermudians are] not going to protect anything at this stage. Just in case we offend somebody or it goes wrong, they’re [government members are] just not going to make a decision.” (BDA Interview M14)

Others predicted that the government’s perceived hesitance to make a decision in this case would influence future participation in similar consultation processes. As another member of a local environmental NGO stated, “Because they [the government] haven’t done anything, it sets a precedent for when they want to do another Public Consultation. People are not gonna take them seriously” (BDA Interview C37).

Further, many Blue Halo proponents expressed confusion or dissatisfaction with the analysis conveyed in the Outcome Document. In particular, interviewees noted the perceived mismatch between survey results,¹⁴ which suggested strong support for designating a no-take marine reserve in Bermuda's EEZ, and the Outcome Document's final recommendation to gather additional information about each of the main governance options. One member of a local environmental NGO recalled,

“It just sort of quietly came out one day, that they'd done a report [the Outcome Document], and government decided that, despite the fact that 85% of the people that were asked what they wanted did want a [Blue] Halo of some kind, those people were confused, or didn't know what they wanted for real, or were biased.” (BDA Interview Z67)

The Outcome Document explains that, despite this apparent public support for establishing a marine reserve, the survey results “must be examined in light of the influencing circumstances and the evolution of the discussion through the course of the [Public] Consultation” (SDD 2014, p. 7). These influencing and changing circumstances included the broadening of the Public Consultation question part-way through the process to include additional governance options, the high level of technical, logistical and marketing assistance provided to the Blue Halo through local and foreign organizations and individuals,¹⁵ and use of the same text by many respondents to

¹⁴ For each survey dissemination category reported, including online, onsite hard-copy dissemination, and hard-copy mailouts, at least 86% of respondents voted in favor of designating some form of no-take marine reserve in Bermuda's EEZ.

¹⁵ The Outcome Document noted that, in addition to Pew's participation, another foreign organization produced online surveys to demonstrate local and foreign support for the Blue Halo, local NGOs

explain their support of a marine reserve. While the government had clarified early in the process that the public should not consider the Public Consultation a “vote,” but rather a mechanism to provide feedback to the government (Ministry of Environment and Planning Ministerial Statement 2013), some interviewees still conveyed that “it felt like the people who were against it [the Blue Halo] had more voice, or were weighted more heavily than people who were for it” (BDA Interview X76). Other interviewees, such as this member of a local conservation NGO, suggested that, in the end, foreign organizations had more influence in the Public Consultation than Bermudians:

“The fight was happening on a bigger scale than what we appreciated in Bermuda ... You know, it was a fight between the Pew type organizations, versus the fishing organization of America [the Billfish Foundation] ... You know, that were both vying to get to government’s ear... It’s not really the Bermuda voice that you’re hearing. Which is the really sad, part. Yeah. In fact, if you listened to everything that’s been done, the Bermudian voice has been ignored.” (BDA Interview J25)

In addition to this increased distrust of the Bermuda government’s motives and choices during the Public Consultation, negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ also interacted with discussions about marine spatial planning (MSP) in Bermuda’s inshore waters. As noted in Section 2.5.2.3, the Waitt Foundation, one of the five major donors of the SSA, had committed to fund an MSP project to manage the inshore waters of Bermuda’s EEZ at the Pocantico meeting (DMM #1). Through this project, researchers at the University of California, Santa Barbara had partnered with a Bermudian

disseminated Blue Halo information and promoted the Blue Halo to their members, and one individual collected and returned the majority of onsite hard-copy surveys to the SDD.

coordinator at the Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences (BIOS) to gather input and design a plan. While the Bermudian government initially expressed support for the project, interviewees explained that tension and obstacles rose as conflict related to the Blue Halo and the Public Consultation about the governance of Bermuda's EEZ grew. While some interviewees suggested that tensions stemmed in part from a general distrust of outsiders in Bermuda (see Section 2.4.2.4), many interviewees noted that some Bermudians related, and even equated, Pew and their role in the Blue Halo negotiations to the Waitt Foundation and their role in MSP planning. As one Bermudian interviewee explained,

“One particular group [of Bermudians] that I won't name that has been resistant [to the MSP process] ... their distrust stems around the fact that there is an entity [the Waitt Foundation] funding [it]. ... And they don't trust that based on the whole Blue Halo project. And they don't get past it” (BDA Interview A09).

Given that the Waitt Foundation provides funding for Pew and had worked with Pew previously in negotiations concerning the governance of Bermuda's EEZ (see Section 2.5.2), this perceived relationship between Pew and the Waitt Foundation, according to a global interviewee, was “not surprising, right? Waitt was funding Pew, so they aren't the same thing, but that did make it a little harder to fully separate” (BDA interviewee L91). While MSP negotiations remained much less public than discussions about the Blue Halo and the Hamilton Declaration, interviewees' distrust of the Waitt Foundation and the MSP process sometimes emerged during interviews due to related concerns

about my role in these negotiations, given that the Waitt Foundation provided funding for this research project, which I shared with interviewees when gaining their consent to participate in interviews¹⁶ (see Acknowledgements of this dissertation). Since 2015, the MSP project has presented the Bermuda government with a report conveying results of their work gathering information and targeted input about current and potential management of Bermuda's inshore EEZ; to my knowledge, no further progress has occurred, and the project has concluded.

As of this writing, the Bermuda government has reported no progress in pursuing an economic analysis of the major options discussed during the Public Consultation. No policy changes related to negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ have occurred. Yet, this section has traced how the government employed territorial strategies that influenced relations with and the governance of Bermuda's EEZ through the production of the Outcome Document, the call for an economic analysis to gather additional information, the subsequent announcement about delaying the pursuit of this economic analysis, and the territorial narrative promoted through each of these events that supported this delay of negotiations (see Chapter 4). These territorial strategies led to the lack of change in EEZ regulations; they also resulted in increased distrust of the government by some Bermudians. Further, territorial strategies used by global and local conservation actors to promote the

¹⁶ Note that, beyond contributing funding, the Waitt Foundation did not directly influence the design, results, or analysis of this work.

designation of the Blue Halo in the offshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ influenced related negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's inshore waters.

2.6 Discussion

This chapter has traced the emergence of and interactions between negotiations over the designation of two LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. It has examined the decision-making structures, descriptions, perceptions, and outcomes of three key conjunctural moments during these negotiations, and revealed the territorial practices employed by various actors promoting their interests in the management of these spaces. As this analysis demonstrates, territorial practices can take multiple forms. For instance, some territorial practices involve the discursive production of space and territory (see Section 1.2); in EEZ negotiations, for instance, actors produced and disseminated territorial narratives (see Chapter 4), arguments, and scientific, economic and other evidence that produced Bermuda's EEZ in particular ways to support or oppose the designation of the Blue Halo in Bermuda's EEZ. Other territorial practices include actors' decisions about who and how to engage during negotiations; for example, SSA and US-based Pew actors chose to mostly interact with high-level decision-makers in Bermuda, with less effort focused on building relationships with other Bermudian stakeholders. The above analysis has also shown that these territorial practices may result in, or at least contribute to, intended and/or unintended, as well as expected and/or unexpected, outcomes for and future trajectories of territorial

negotiations. The next section discusses factors revealed in this analysis that contributed to the unexpected and, for some actors, unintended outcome in the Hamilton Declaration introduced at the beginning of this chapter. The following section explores what this case reveals about these two trending, mobile policy tools – LMPAs in national EEZs and the high seas – and how they have, and may continue to, interact. It closes by suggesting implications for scaled-up territorial practices in global oceans governance.

2.6.1 Territorial Interactions: The Hamilton Declaration

Given the early enthusiasm and support for Sargasso Sea conservation shown by global (i.e. donors, high-profile conservation celebrities, and NGOs) and Bermudian government actors (Section 2.5.1), conservation proponents related high early expectations for the successful designation of a Sargasso Sea LMPA encompassing both Bermuda’s EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. Actors involved in the early Sargasso Sea initiative demonstrated further confidence in this process by proposing the designation of a national LMPA in Bermuda’s EEZ, a territorial practice used to support broader Sargasso Sea conservation (Section 2.5.1.2). Yet, Section 2.5.6 provides an in-depth examination of the lead-up to and actual signing of the Hamilton Declaration, including the Bermuda government’s unexpected last-minute removal of Bermuda’s EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration. By tracing the two negotiating processes concerning governance of the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda’s EEZ, this chapter has shown that territorial practices, events, contextual factors, and actor perceptions contributed to

this unexpected territorial outcome. This section reviews some of these contributing factors and suggests how they may have collectively influenced engagement with and understandings of the Sargasso Sea negotiations and the Hamilton Declaration.

Perhaps the most obvious factor that contributed to the unexpected change in the Hamilton Declaration was the confusion and conflation in Bermuda of these two nearly simultaneous negotiations. DMM #1 (Section 2.5.2) marked the beginning of SSA actors' attempts to separate the two negotiations in Bermuda (also see Section 2.5.5.3). Though these actors sought to promote Sargasso Sea conservation by distancing Sargasso Sea discussions from the more divisive Blue Halo, some Bermudian actors confused the two processes as well as the roles of related foreign organizations – i.e. Pew and the SSA. This confusion facilitated the transfer of a territorial narrative concerning the Blue Halo's potential infringement on Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ to negotiations about the Sargasso Sea (Section 2.5.6.2). This narrative transfer, and the concerns about the SSA and the Hamilton Declaration it engendered, contributed to the government's decision to remove Bermuda's EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration.

Other factors either contributed to or allowed Bermudian actors to both accept and promote the idea that the Hamilton Declaration represented a potential infringement on Bermuda's sovereignty. For instance, trust between SSA actors and Bermuda government actors began to erode years before the Hamilton Declaration signing. The exploration of DMM #1 revealed that, at the Pocantico meeting, donors

financing Sargasso Sea conservation invited the Global Ocean Legacy program at Pew to support the designation of an LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ without prior consultation with key actors, including Bermuda government representatives (Section 2.5.2). This contributed to tensions between the Bermuda government and SSA actors. As one Bermuda government actor expressed, "Although they [the SSA] wanted us [Bermuda] to lead it [the Sargasso Sea initiative], they wanted us to take their advice. They give the advice, and we just execute it" (BDA Interview V49).

In addition, the SSA had insufficient rapport with the Bermudian public to offset comparisons between their role in Sargasso Sea negotiations and Pew's role in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. Because SSA actors engaged primarily with high-level decision-makers, most Bermudians knew little about the SSA prior to the government's release of the Hamilton Declaration draft two weeks before the signing ceremony. Though BASS members initially worked to inform the Bermudian public about Sargasso Sea negotiations, the organization had dissipated months before (their final public event took place in June 2013), and few remembered details from their outreach (Section 2.5.5.2). More recently, many Bermudians had participated in the Public Consultation (fall 2013) and witnessed the heated conflict over the Blue Halo and Pew's highly visible advocacy in Bermuda. As described in Section 2.5.4, this conjunctural moment resulted in high distrust of Pew in Bermuda. When the Bermuda government released the Hamilton Declaration draft to the public, some interviewees

recalled viewing the Sargasso Sea negotiations as a “top-down” process led by the SSA, similar to the EEZ negotiations involving the Blue Halo, led by Pew (BDA Interview N63). Thus, the SSA’s failure to convey information to and build relationships with “regular” Bermudians, the temporal proximity of the Public Consultation to the Hamilton Declaration, the perceived similarities between the roles of Pew and the SSA, and Bermudians’ general distrust of “outsiders” (Section 2.4.2.4) likely contributed to Bermudians’ acceptance of, and some Bermudians’ promotion of, the perception that the SSA may attempt to infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty through the Hamilton Declaration.

Many interviewees suggested that the discontinuity in leadership, both within the SSA and the Bermuda government, also influenced the trajectory of Sargasso Sea negotiations. The Pocantico meeting (DMM #1, Section 2.5.2) resulted not only in the intentional separation of negotiations concerning LMPAs in Bermuda’s EEZ and the Sargasso Sea, but also in a shift in the leadership of the Sargasso Sea initiative from majority Bermudians (the Management Committee) to majority non-Bermudians (the SSA Executive Committee). Further, though early Sargasso Sea initiative actors discussed Bermuda as the initiative’s headquarters, the SSA headquarters and Secretariat began and remained in an IUCN office in Washington, DC. As described above, these changes contributed to the frustration and distrust of SSA actors conveyed by some Bermudian interviewees. One Bermuda civil servant, in describing these shifts,

related that SSA actors likely did not intend to hurt relationships or erode trust, only to make Sargasso Sea negotiations more effective and efficient. Yet, this informant noted that, “I don’t buy into that ‘imperialism is out there’ kind of blah blah, [but] actually, it kinda played out that way” (BDA Interview Q54).

While not a territorial practice (which implies a level of actor intentionality), constantly changing leadership in Bermuda also added to confusion in Bermuda about the negotiating processes. As noted above (Sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.5.3.5), many interviewees related that the change in late 2012 of the ruling government party in Bermuda contributed to the government’s shifting stance on and role in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ and the Blue Halo. This overall change, as well as smaller, frequent shifts in the roles of government actors in Sargasso Sea negotiations also led to discontinuity and added strain in these negotiations. One Bermuda civil servant explained that,

“We had things like changing of governments, maneuvering the civil service, and all of these risks effect a process that is being led from the outside. So how do you get engagement of the political politicians every time they change, every time they move, every time they get a new minister? So perhaps you don’t get that so much in the US, Canada or the UK, here we do in this local environment.” (BDA Interview M22)

This discontinuity in government leadership in Bermuda not only facilitated the confusion about the Sargasso Sea negotiations in Bermuda described above, but also diminished the commitment of individual government actors to the process due to the

loss of historical knowledge about the negotiations and the difficulty for the SSA in forging relationships and rapport with changing actors over time.

Another factor that contributed to the unexpected outcome in the Hamilton Declaration relates to the close-knit community in Bermuda and some Bermudians' relatively high level of access to government actors, as described in Section 2.4.2.2. As members of this community and participants in its cultural norms, many interviewees explained that they expected a greater level of engagement from both SSA and Pew actors than they received. "You know, Bermuda's a small place. It's easy to actually go and talk to everybody. You know, you'd have an informal drink with everyone, and life is much better," stated one civil servant (BDA Interview T89). Some Bermudians can also directly access government leaders, as demonstrated by the group of EEZ Stakeholder Caucus members and other concerned Bermudian citizens that met with the Premier and other government officials before the signing of the Hamilton Declaration (Section 2.5.6.2). This access demonstrates that, in Bermuda, the actors who contribute to governance decision-making extend beyond high-level government leaders and may, as in this case, prove surprising to actors unfamiliar with these social and political realities.

This review of the some of the factors and territorial strategies that contributed to the Bermuda government's last-minute removal of its EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration demonstrates that no one territorial practice, factor, actor, or event led to this unexpected outcome. Additional factors likely

contributed to these negotiations as well, whether directly, or indirectly in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ or through general actor relations. As explained in the analysis above, some of these factors include the economic recession and related political pressure due to economic hardship (Sections 2.4.2.3 and 2.5.3.4); Bermuda's increasing national debt (Section 2.4.2.3); social divides across class and race, particularly related to engagement with oceans and environmental issues (Section 2.4.2.5); fishermen's strained relations with and general distrust of the government, particularly following the 1990 fishpot ban (Section 2.4.2.2); and, as noted by several interviewees, general actor "egos" (Section 2.5.4.2)). This list is likely incomplete; governance negotiations are complex and pinpointing each factor that contributes to their trajectories is difficult, if not impossible.

Yet, this analysis and discussion have shown that, despite actors' early expectations for the Hamilton Declaration, negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ influenced negotiations over the governance of the Sargasso Sea and contributed to the removal of Bermuda's EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration. While the two processes included negotiations over overlapping ocean spaces, actors hoped to, and thought they could, separate these two proposed LMPAs because negotiations occurred at distinct jurisdictional levels. Negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ occurred at the national level; the Bermuda government has authority over its EEZ as conveyed by the UK (Section 2.5.3.2). Negotiations

concerning the Sargasso Sea, on the other hand, occurred at the international level, and the Hamilton Declaration confers no legal authority over ocean space to any nation or actor (Section 2.5.6). Yet, the above analysis has demonstrated that this jurisdictional distinction in territorial authority became less important than actors' perceptions of the potential authority conveyed by the representation of the Sargasso Sea in the Hamilton Declaration. These negotiations overlapped not only in the material ocean space itself, but in the social and political spaces in which these negotiations took place – i.e. in Bermuda. This overlap, exacerbated by specific territorial practices such as drawing the boundaries of the Sargasso Sea and producing Bermuda's EEZ through territorial narratives, will be further explained and explored in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. The next section suggests implications of these negotiations and their interaction for understanding the growing LMPA trend in global ocean governance.

2.6.2 Staking Claims and Claiming Stakes of “Scaled-up” Ocean Territories

As discussed in this chapter's introduction, LMPAs designated in national EEZs and the high seas represent mobile policies that actors have increasingly implemented to further conservation and other territorial goals in ocean spaces (Peck and Theodore 2010; Chmara-huff 2014). This analysis contributes to previous research on these policies through an empirically-driven tracing of the negotiating processes and key conjunctural moments concerning two proposed, interacting, and overlapping LMPAs. First, it reveals the importance of understanding the historical, social, political, economic, and

institutional contexts surrounding proposed LMPAs. Given the high level of early support by wealthy donors, global conservation NGOs and organizations, prominent oceans scientists and activists, and the Bermuda government, some actors envisioned creating a management scheme that reached from Bermuda's coast (through MSP) through its EEZ (through the Blue Halo) and out to the boundaries of the Sargasso Sea (through the Hamilton Declaration). This optimistic, comprehensive plan likely reflects these global actors' understanding of international negotiations, in which the decision-makers necessary to reach sufficient agreement about territorial goals for an oceanic area include high-level state (government) and non-state (global) actors (see Gray, Gruby, and Campbell (2014) for discussion of how scalar narratives and governance strategies used to promote high seas marine biodiversity lead global actors to bypass consideration of other actors' interests in these spaces). Further, as explained in Section 2.4.1, some global actors had participated in the drive to increase MPA coverage in oceans for years; this case seemed to represent an easy opportunity to both augment that coverage and increase pressure on the UN to create a high seas implementing agreement (Section 2.5.1.1). Yet, to date (nearly seven years after the Pocantico meeting, or DMM #1), no changes have occurred in the management of Bermuda's EEZ related to any of these initiatives. The contextual and other contributing factors and territorial practices described in the previous section facilitated interactions between all three initiatives that led to this outcome. In their "push for quantity over quality" (De Santo 2013), global

actors perhaps pushed for too much too soon without appreciating the potential influences of changing actor dynamics and context over time.

This case study shows the importance of actor relationships in LMPA negotiations. The erosion of trust (e.g. between SSA actors and Bermuda government actors), the absence of transparency (e.g. between the Bermuda government and the Bermudian public), and the perceived lack of mutual respect (e.g. between BASS and the SSA, and between the SSA or Pew and the Bermudian public) between actors emerged often during interviews and in other data. While, as described above, these strains in actor relationships contributed to particular territorial outcomes in Bermuda's EEZ, this case also demonstrates that LMPAs, even negotiations over proposed LMPAs, can produce effects beyond impacts on ocean spaces and human-ocean relations.¹⁷ Negotiations over proposed LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea negatively impacted relationships between the Bermuda government and the Bermudian people, the conservation community in Bermuda, and personal relationships both within and outside of Bermuda. These impacts suggest that conservation actors involved in LMPA proposals and negotiations should consider the potential impacts of employing these territorial practices in addition to potential outcomes for oceans governance. They also point toward new questions for research in "scaled-up" oceans governance about the roles of state and non-state (e.g. global and local NGOs, donors, and individual citizens)

¹⁷ By human-ocean relations, I refer broadly to how people physically interact with, economically gain (or lose) from, represent, conceptualize, produce, and otherwise engage with oceans, and how, dialectically, oceans (and ocean spaces (Lefebvre 1974)) continuously interact with and (re)produce social relations.

actors in global, international, and national negotiations over LMPAs in altering trajectories and realities beyond those involving only direct human-ocean relations.

This analysis has further demonstrated how actor perceptions can influence LMPA negotiations. While previous sections have related that actors' perceptions of other actors' motivations, interests, or roles influenced actor relations and decision-making, I focus here on actors' perceptions of the proposed LMPAs themselves. The previous section reviews how the territorial narrative portraying the Blue Halo as a mechanism through which Pew could infringe on Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ bled into negotiations over the Hamilton Declaration. Despite the contention by other actors that the Hamilton Declaration had no legal authority over Bermuda's EEZ, some Bermudians perceived the Hamilton Declaration as a tool through which actors could pressure Bermuda, and its decisions regarding the governance of its EEZ, in the future. Arguably, the importance of this perception to the Bermuda government, demonstrated by the removal of its EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration, shows that Bermuda government actors would have felt pressure to govern their EEZ in a manner consistent with the Hamilton Declaration, regardless of whether SSA actors or others applied it overtly or not. Thus, irrespective of the legal authority conveyed by the Hamilton Declaration, the territorial practice of including Bermuda's EEZ in the Geographical Area of Collaboration would have influenced the governance of this ocean

space; this presents an important consideration for existing and future non-binding international oceanic agreements.

Ultimately, this analysis has provided an in-depth, empirical examination of the emergence and interactions between two proposed LMPAs. While their use has increased over time, LMPAs remain nascent and the unexpected outcome produced in the Hamilton Declaration likely also reflects factors related to their newness, at least in part. For instance, the SSA represented the first attempt to conserve a high seas area without an existing regional structure; thus, limited human capacity was spread between promotion and advocacy, negotiations with state actors, building relationships with international governance bodies, and logistical issues of starting an organization and maintaining a funding stream (Reeve, Rulska-Domino, and Gjerde 2012). Further, as a UK overseas territory, Bermuda had rarely engaged in international governance negotiations to the extent demanded by this process. This case thus exemplifies new actor roles and relations being forged by the emergence of LMPAs as well as the opportunities for learning that will likely continue to occur. It also shows that these emerging tools must inevitably contend with existing political, social, historical, institutional, and relational contexts, as well as, at times, with each other.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has traced negotiating processes concerning two overlapping and interacting proposed LMPAs. It offers empirical insights into the varied territorial

practices employed by actors involved in these negotiations and reveals factors that contributed, directly or indirectly, to an unexpected governance outcome in the Sargasso Sea. It has demonstrated that negotiations over LMPAs, themselves emergent territorial tools in global oceans governance, can occur across a fragmented governance landscape that reaches various actors, spaces, relations and spans across time. These far-reaching processes, which emerge within existing contexts, are complex and can produce outcomes beyond specific human-ocean relations. This complexity, and the potential for unexpected and unintended outcomes, should be considered in future proposals and designations of these “scaled-up” governance tools.

3. What is the Sargasso Sea? The problem of fixed space in a fluid ocean

3.1 Introduction

“The ocean is strange. For those of us settled in down-to-earth common sense and facts-on-the-ground science, the ocean symbolizes the wildest kind of nature there is. It represents a contrast to the cultivated land and even, sometimes, to the solid order of culture itself.”

(Helmreich 2009, p. IX)

“The partial nature of our encounter with the ocean necessarily creates gaps, as the unrepresentable becomes the unacknowledged and the unacknowledged becomes the unthinkable.”

(Steinberg 2013, p. 157)

This paper furthers geographic understandings of ocean space by tracing how knowledge about and encounters with the materiality of oceans interact with ocean conservation and international policy. Over the last decade, conservationists have increasingly geared policy efforts toward the use of area-based tools to highlight oceanic areas of particular ecological importance both within and beyond national exclusive economic zones (EEZs) (Dunn et al. 2014). For instance, Ecologically or Biologically Significant Marine Areas (EBSAs), established through the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), call attention to ocean spaces identified as unique, ecologically important or vulnerable. Other examples include some Vulnerable Marine Ecosystems (VMEs), World Heritage Sites, and deep-sea areas of protection.

Human geographers argue that the designation of such areas for conservation represent acts of territorialization defined by social relations (Chmara-huff 2014). For

instance, Neumann (2005) discusses conservationists' employment of the "nature islands" model, which divides land- (and sea-) scapes into spaces "for society" and others "for nature." Zimmerer (2000) argues that protected areas, or "conservation territories," serve to fix political relations between actors, "'containing in space' practices and people by the use of political power" (p. 361). In other words, by bounding and assigning a purpose for a particular space, conservation actors produce that space as abstract, legible, and thus easier to control (Steinberg 2009).

In addition to "solid" entities like organisms, benthic habitats, and particles, ocean spaces include and consist of aqueous materialities, such as currents, flows, physical forces, interacting life, and constant transformation. Recent technological innovation has allowed easier human-ocean material encounters, including greater access to deep-sea resources, increased mobility across and within ocean spaces, and new avenues for measuring and observing the material realities of oceans. Yet, political boundaries guiding oceans governance are often negotiated as purely social relations that have little, if anything, to do with the materiality of oceans as water, animals or molecules with particular spatial relations (Steinberg 2013). Even as ecosystem conservation begins to play a role in conservation discourses, conservationists and policy-makers continue to (re)produce oceans as fixed spatial areas that people may act upon or may harvest within, not as actors themselves that can and do have a role in creating or changing human-ocean relationships and their meanings.

This chapter explores how the boundaries of the Sargasso Sea, which were used to inform an EBSA designation and the area for conservation collaboration defined in an international agreement (see *Hamilton Declaration* 2014), were determined and, eventually, fixed. Using data from floating current meters, satellite imagery, tagged macroalgae, and historical cartographic representations over the past 100 years, scientists produced a picture of the Sargasso Sea that was anything but fixed. Across collection methods, object of study, and time, different data revealed a dynamic ocean space that morphs and is constantly transformed, through the movement of water and living organisms, fluctuations in make-up and composition over regular seasonal and historical (“linear”) time, and shifting perceptions of Sargasso Sea boundaries based on varying values and interests. Yet, when these relatively nuanced representations interacted with a policy-making process that calls for drawing lines and creating clear shapes, data-driven representations based on the materiality of oceans were forced into the fixed constructions of control and legibility that have dominated land-based territorialization for hundreds of years. In other words, by enclosing the Sargasso Sea using simplistic lines on a flat, motionless map, the material ocean is combined with static representations and an abstract understanding of “conservation” and transformed into the “Sargasso Sea,” an object that can be specified, discussed as a whole, and thus made easier to govern. It is made legible (Scott 1998).

I begin with a review of human geographic literature on the social production and territorialization of ocean space. I then review recent calls for oceanic research that “bring[s] geographic theory to the sea, and ... the sea to geographic theory” and explore the concept of a wet ontology (Steinberg and Peters 2015, p. 261). Using this ontology, I trace the production of the “Sargasso Sea” as a space defined in a way that supports its conservation. I conclude with a discussion of policymaking possibilities that may better address and account for oceanic materialities.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Production of space: Oceans as territory

Historically, oceans have been viewed and discursively produced as “blank,” homogenous, blue expanses, empty of defining characteristics (Anderson and Peters 2014; Steinberg 1999). According to Anderson and Peters (2014), this dominant conceptualization of oceans emerged for various reasons. Most people live most of their lives on land, having relatively few experiences on or in oceans. When people do engage with ocean spaces, they often view them from above (as from a ship). This experience gives the impression that oceans are flat and monotonous, rather than complex and dynamic. Society thus largely views ocean spaces as secondary to land spaces, a view that has been historically naturalized through practices of land-based powers conquering seas (Anderson and Peters 2014).

Yet oceans are spaces alive with material and social relations and processes. Ocean scientists continuously reveal, and in so doing represent, the physical and biological materialities of oceans (Lehman 2016). Human geographers have demonstrated that oceans are produced through myriad social relations and forces (see Steinberg 2001; Peters 2013). For instance, Steinberg (2001) traces how society has socially produced global ocean spaces through shifting discourses related to capitalism. Mountz (2013) reveals the sea as a site where sovereignty over space and practice is negotiated through national and international law, trade, and conservation. Despite a dominant perception that they are “remote” and “unpeopled,” even offshore ocean spaces are politically contested and socially relevant (Gruby et al. 2015; Gray 2010; De Santo 2013; Gruby et al., in review).

One way that human geographers seek to understand ocean spaces and how they are produced is by examining practices of territoriality. Borrowing loosely from Steinberg (2009), territoriality refers to the continual reproduction of relations of control and/or authority over the limits and ordering of geographically defined spatial areas. Historically, oceans were seen as “non-territory” (Steinberg 2001, p. 34); early cartographic representations of oceans presented them as spaces “outside” of land-based nation-state territories (Steinberg 2009). More recently, actors have increasingly engaged in, and been recognized as engaging in, ocean territoriality (Chmara-huff 2014). In 1994, the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea divided coastal oceans into discrete sections

such as territorial seas and exclusive economic zones, granting coastal nation-states full or partial authority over specific ocean spaces. Conservation territories, such as marine protected areas (MPAs), serve to define the boundaries between spaces for society and for “nature,” or for potential development and for conservation (Chmara-huff 2014). Given that oceans are often viewed as homogenous and empty of social relations, scientists and conservationists often propose MPAs based on ecological attributes alone. As Chmara-huff (2014) argues, this practice assumes that oceans represent apolitical/asocial spaces that conservation “experts” can fill in based on scientific data.

Processes like globalization, technological innovation, and the emergence of new actors in territorial negotiations (e.g. non-governmental organizations (NGOs), industry, indigenous groups) are transforming traditional, state-centric territorial practices both on land and at sea (Campbell et al. 2016). Human geographers have sought to address these emerging practices and processes. They have revealed, for instance, that mobilities of people, goods, discourses, and power outside and across territorial boundaries can help to stabilize, legitimize, disrupt, or transform territory (Steinberg 2009; Sparke 2005). As Steinberg (2009) argues, bounded spaces are produced through processes of both territorialization and deterritorialization, so that “movement, beyond and across, as well as within a bounded territory, serves to reproduce the territory that is being bounded” (p. 467). Through this movement, territories and their boundaries are continually reproduced and negotiated (Massey 2005).

As demonstrated through these mobility studies, space itself should be understood as a bundle of relations, not an empty container in which people and things find themselves and act out their existence (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986). Space is not a fixed reality, but continuously emerging. Yet, space, particularly cartographically represented space, is often viewed as bounded, divided-up, and naturalized as such, as if it never was, and never could have been, different (Massey 2005). "It is an assumption of coherence which is buttressed by that modernist imagination of space as always already territorialised" (Massey 2005, p. 141). In this conceptualization, place, as a particular segment of space, is seen as localized and static. Because stasis suggests remaining the same, there is no temporal dimension, and any possibility of politics is excluded. Massey (2005) critiques how space is commonly conceptualized in relation to time; it is seen as dead, static, and homogenous while time is mobile and full of possibility. Yet, she argues, space as emergent and relational undermines this view (Massey 2005). A continuously emerging space has no pre-given boundaries or positions.

Human geographers studying oceans have similarly begun to note the need to address the physical emergence and dynamism of ocean spaces to appreciate the continual (re)production of ocean territory. As Steinberg (2013) argues, understanding the dynamic material aspects of oceans serves to de-essentialize assumed binaries such as "relations between space and time, between stasis and mobility, and between human

and non-human actants" (p. 165). The next section provides an overview of how scholars are thus beginning to address the concept of space, and oceans, as emergent.

3.2.2 Calls for a wet ontology

Scholars have called for the use of a different ontology in geographic research concerning oceans to better address oceans as aqueous, fluid, and dynamic (Steinberg 2013; Anderson and Peters 2014; Steinberg and Peters 2015). Anderson and Peters (2014) characterize a fluid ontology as a worldview in which everything is "in flux, changeable, processual, and in a constant state of becoming" (p. 5), as opposed to one where land-space is revered over water and space is viewed as static. This allows a shift toward a language and philosophy of mobility and fluidity – of the world as always becoming, always an unstable moment to be replaced by further becoming (Anderson and Peters 2014). Steinberg (2013) argues that studying oceans as material, dynamic realities, with which humans engage in particular ways and in particular spaces and times, will help reveal not only a more nuanced, relational ocean space, but also "space itself and how it is produced (and reproduces itself) within the dynamics of spatial assemblages" (p. 163).

While the concept of utilizing this new ontology in research is relatively new, some scholars have already engaged in the process. They have referred to such an ontology in slightly different ways: a fluid ontology, a wet ontology, an ontology that takes as central oceans' aqueous materialities. For instance, Anderson (2012) explores the oceans as spaces of connection and convergence through surfers' embodied

encounters with the surfed wave. Bear and Eden (2008) discuss how the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) created a flexible certification process, mirroring reality by taking inevitable emergence and unpredictability into account. The MSC did not impose strict behavioral boundaries because the realities of fishing, the fishers, the fish themselves, geographic spaces, and how all of these relate to one another in specific instances and contexts could not be strictly defined and enforced.

Peters (2012; 2014) discusses how offshore radio pirates and UK actors seeking to control them interacted with the material realities of ocean spaces. Radio pirates needed to remain in international waters to continue broadcasting; yet, Peters (2012) demonstrates that the materiality of oceans cannot be tamed or manipulated, and can at times become overpowering. Materiality of the sea also makes security, at least in terms of enforcement according to exact legal boundaries, difficult (Peters 2014). While tracking technologies of today may alleviate security struggles, at the time of the radio pirates, surveillance and enforcement that relied on the boundary between national and international waters was fraught, messy, and difficult. Peters discusses how oceans present a materiality that is wholly different from land and air. There is a fluid materiality, an impenetrability, and a lack of fixity that makes security in ocean spaces different, and in some instances more difficult, than in other contexts.

Strandsbjerg (2012) demonstrates the importance of materiality in delimiting territory in the Arctic, given the various perceptions and uses of sea ice and liquid

oceans. Negotiations over these differences reveal distinct cartographic understandings of Arctic spaces and the power of final cartographic representations in organizing and producing that space. Noting the co-production of practice and cartographic representation, Strandsbjerg observes that “maritime boundaries that are not defined in terms of a social functionality can only exist on a map and subsequently be enforced at sea through positioning systems that determine the location of a particular activity in relation to the said border” (Strandsbjerg 2012, p. 838). He calls for more studies of how cartography is used to stabilize particular spatialities.

All of these authors, like Anderson and Peters (2014), seek to demonstrate that “the sea is not a material or metaphorical void, but alive with embodied human experiences, more-than-human agencies as well as being a space in and of itself that has a material character, shape, and form” (p. 4). To build on these previous works, I use the wet ontology offered by Steinberg and Peters (2015) as a framework to explore actors’ engagement with the materiality of the Sargasso Sea. Steinberg and Peters (2015) illustrate this ontology using three concepts: the hydrosphere, liquidity, and dynamism.

Conceptualizing oceans as a hydrosphere allows the authors to overcome the “flatness” of an area-based, 2-dimensional space. While depth offers a third dimension, it remains too abstract, calling to mind a fixed grid that presents averaged changes in physical ocean properties. Volume, while opening the grid to invite organisms and water molecules into the picture, still invokes a snapshot in time, a static reality that fails

to capture the continuous fluidity of oceans. The hydrosphere, however, captures the 3-dimensional reach of oceans as well as the complex, interacting forces and relations that are constantly occurring within, through, and beyond them.

The concepts of liquidity and dynamism together provide a sense of the continuous, chaotic movement of oceans. Liquidity refers to oceans as assembled matter that is not understood through predictability, but through chaos. Dynamism refers to oceans as always moving and flowing. Water molecules continuously move through particular points in space, changing their relations to particles, other water molecules, forces, and processes as they go. Liquidity and dynamism together suggest that oceans are in a constant state of emergence. Oceans flow across space *and* time, continually “becoming” so that ocean “places” cannot be pinned down in relation to fixed points or horizontal spaces.

Here, I use a wet ontology to examine *how* and *why* the Sargasso Sea was produced in a particular way. A wet ontology suggests that the Sargasso Sea is a dynamic assemblage “in which mobile human and nonhuman (including molecular) elements and affects are not merely passively consumed but imagined, encountered, and produced” (Steinberg and Peters 2015, p. 256). The water, the ocean itself, is not only traveled upon, used, governed, and understood by humans; the water, the hydrosphere, the liquid dynamic assemblage itself informs and alters human interactions with it and perceptions of it. By highlighting the Sargasso Sea as a “wet” space, I will demonstrate

how conservationists have obscured its “wet” materiality in cartographic representations and how this may, in turn, limit possibilities for appropriate management.

3.2.3 Producing territory through map-making

One of the most obvious and widely used territorial practices is cartography, or map-making. Maps are particular representations of space that are both shaped by and shape power relations as well as understandings of space itself (Steinberg 2009; Harvey 1996). As noted previously, oceans are often viewed by society as apolitical, empty of social relations. St. Martin and Hall-Arber (2008), for instance, argue that social aspects of marine environments, specifically the communities and stakeholders that engage with them and depend on them, are not captured in the increasingly complex planning maps used for marine policy planning and design. Steinberg (2009) argues that the view of oceans as apolitical stems, at least in part, from historical and contemporary cartographic representations of oceans. Even today, world-map cartographers delineate terrestrial territories using lines that indicate borders between nation-states. Yet these same maps rarely depict the territorial bounds in the sea, such as territorial waters or EEZs, leaving oceans as blank, homogenous blue areas.

Maps reflect a particular conceptualization of reality (Steinberg 2009). Thus, they can never be verified. Steinberg (2009) argues that while this contention could bring to mind notions of insidious cartographers, maps simply convey an entanglement of

common perceptions of space with the ideas presented by cartographer(s). Yet, cartography as practice, including the production (e.g. line-drawing, naming, and organization of space) and reading (e.g. from a bird's-eye-view) of maps, does reflect societal hierarchies and social relations (Steinberg 2009). For instance, Scott (1998) contends that states have imposed particular renderings of nature/society through maps (i.e. territorial delineations), defending these renderings by being, in many cases, the only legitimate body that can use force.

In addition to understanding the production and use of maps as political, it is important to note the work performed by maps themselves. While space is emergent and imbued with mobility, maps have historically served to stabilize space, making it appear linear, static, and empty (Steinberg 2009). Maps tame space and fix it in time, "as a surface," to avoid contestations or surprises (Massey 2005, p. 122). Zimmerer (2000) brings this idea to the production of conservation territories, arguing that protected areas are "immanently spatial (and mappable), yet relatively timeless" (p. 364). Biodiversity conservation depends on the fixity of nature, which is underpinned by the need for a stable foundation that can be conserved (Massey 2005; Zimmerer 2000). By mapping these spaces as territories for conservation, they become fixed, and "spatial immobility quietens temporal becoming" (Massey 2005, p. 30).

Maps can also serve as tools to legitimize, or delegitimize, knowledge. Through his examination of a court case involving the valuation of different forms of maps, for

example, Sparke (2005) illuminates the hegemony of Western understandings of mapmaking. He discusses how the maps produced by First Nations people largely through oral history and singing were not upheld as legitimate territorializing practices. Only those maps produced by the state, using textual and visual cartographic methods, were accepted as ways to claim territory. Other actors have utilized countermapping as a way to (re)assert power over space and territory (McCarthy 2007; St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008). St. Martin and Hall-Arber (2008) describe how fishers used countermapping to include their practices, understandings, and social realities in maps representing fishing areas. The practice highlighted the varied spatial experiences of communities of fishers, as well as fishers' understanding of spatial territories within particular communities.

Thus, maps not only reflect societal hierarches and power relations; they can also (re)produce or contest them (Scott 1998). Massey (2005) argues that, in creating space, there is always a negotiation between openness and closure. Depending on the relational assemblages of maps, their producers and their users, maps can stabilize power relations imbedded in the creation of difference and isolation (i.e. through boundaries), limiting possibility in the name of what might happen or based on particular values, interests, and understandings. They can also invite difference, embrace happenstance, and recognize the emergence and chaos of time/space. These processes can happen simultaneously.

Maps, in other words, produce particular spatial realities. This paper investigates the production of the Sargasso Sea through its creation as a place to be conserved, achieved through a mapping process. As noted above, scientists often propose and promote the designation of marine protected areas with little attention to the social relations and realities in oceans (Chmara-huff 2014). By using a wet ontology to “think *with* the ocean as a theoretical tool” (Steinberg and Peters 2015, p. 256), this chapter demonstrates how the material relations and realities of the Sargasso Sea were encountered during the process of map-making. It further reveals how cartographers chose to reflect these relations and realities in maps produced for the policy arena, why they made those decisions, and the potential implications for the future of Sargasso Sea management.

3.3 Methods

To investigate the production of the Sargasso Sea, I draw from data including policy documents, white papers, presentations, published and unpublished maps, output from an oceanographic circulation model, participant observation during a two-day scientific research cruise in the Sargasso Sea, and 15 semi-structured interviews with key scientists, government officials, and NGO and international organization representatives. Data were collected over a nearly two-year period, from November 2014 to August 2016. Field sites for data collection included the 2014 World Parks Congress in Sydney, Australia; Bermuda; Washington, DC and North Carolina in the US; and

London and surrounding areas in the UK. I identified interviewees using the snowball sampling method, whereby key informants were identified, interviewed, and asked to recommend other relevant informants (Bernard 2006). I conducted eleven interviews in person, three over Skype, and one over the phone. I then uploaded transcribed interviews and other data to QSR NVivo 11 Pro software.

Data analysis included deductive and inductive coding of interviews, documents and field notes. Themes such as “producing Sargasso Sea boundaries,” “motivations for Sargasso Sea boundary production,” and “references to oceanic materialities” were derived from the literature reviewed above for use in deductive coding. Through inductive coding, I identified more detailed themes, such as data type (e.g. historical mapping or physical oceanographic data). Where possible, I triangulated information across informants and/or documents. While maps and the oceanographic model were not coded in QSR NVivo, I used them and accompanying descriptions of them to both triangulate other data and to better understand the cartographic process taken to produce final maps of the Sargasso Sea.

3.4 Background

The Sargasso Sea is a body of water in the northern Atlantic Ocean named for the macroalgae (*Sargassum natans* and *Sargassum fluitans*, hereafter *Sargassum*) that aggregates in mats at and near its surface (Freestone 2014; Laffoley et al. 2011) (see Figure 5). *Sargassum* provides essential habitat for numerous endemic and/or vulnerable

species, such as loggerhead turtles, American and European eels, and the iconic Sargassum Angler Fish (Laffoley et al. 2011), and has been called “the golden floating rainforest of the Atlantic Ocean” due to the unique ecosystems present within its waters (Laffoley et al. 2011; Freestone 2014). The Sargasso Sea is the only body of water without outer coastlines, and Bermuda is the only country located within its waters (Freestone and Morrison 2012).

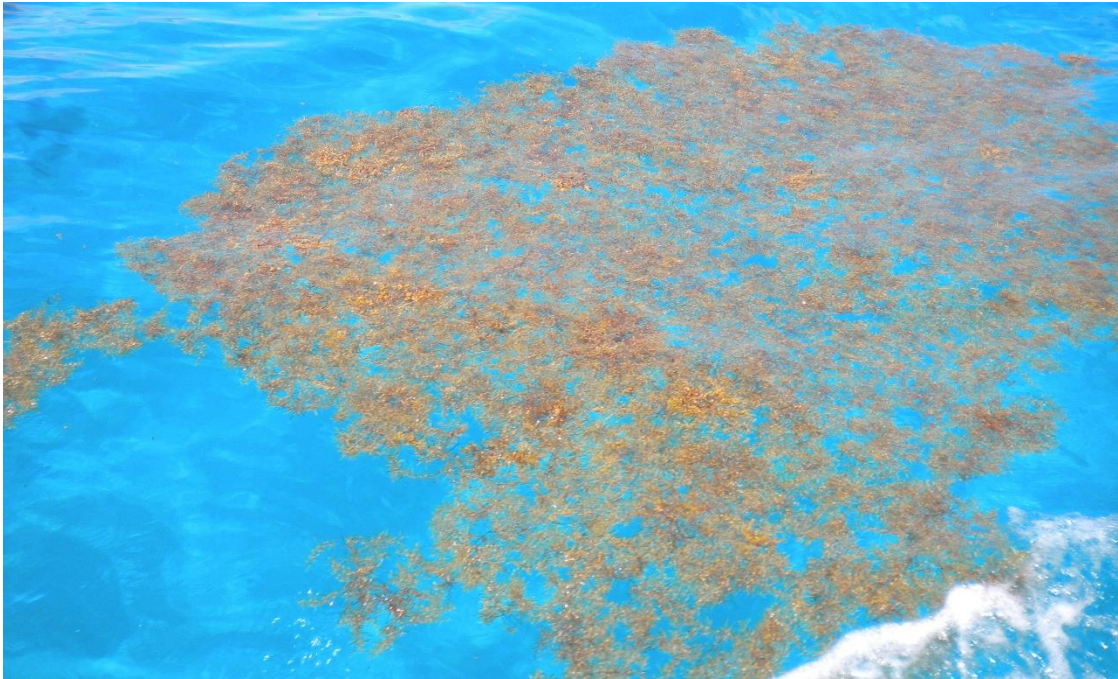


Figure 5: *Sargassum* mat floating off the coast of Bermuda. Photo by Leslie Acton.

In 2010, a group of government representatives, NGOs, scientists, funders, legal experts and other interested actors formally created the Sargasso Sea Alliance (SSA). The SSA, which was led by Bermuda and run through an office located within the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) office in Washington, DC,

sought to promote the conservation of the Sargasso Sea through existing international institutions (Freestone and Morrison 2012). Because the majority of the Sargasso Sea is located in areas beyond national jurisdiction (ABNJ), these institutions include both regional agreements (e.g. regional fisheries management organizations (RFMOs)) and institutions formed through the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (e.g. the International Maritime Organization (IMO)). In 2011, the SSA produced a scientific case arguing for protecting the Sargasso Sea (see Laffoley et al. 2011) and a report summarizing how the Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area was produced cartographically (see Ardron et al. 2011).

The SSA, through the government of Bermuda, formally submitted the Sargasso Sea for consideration as an Ecologically and Biologically Significant Marine Area (EBSA) to a mid-Atlantic regional workshop of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) Secretariat in early 2012 (Freestone 2014). EBSAs are determined through the spatial delimitation of areas exhibiting particular characteristics, including uniqueness, productivity, biodiversity, and vulnerability, to name a few (Dunn et al. 2014). The Sargasso Sea EBSA was adopted at the workshop and formally described as an EBSA at the October 2012 Conference of the Parties (CoP) (Freestone and Morrison 2014).

Between 2012 and 2014, the SSA and interested nations negotiated text for a formal international agreement to promote conservation of the Sargasso Sea. On March 11, 2014, Bermuda, the US, the UK, the Azores, and Monaco became signatories to the

“Hamilton Declaration on Collaboration for the Conservation of the Sargasso Sea” (*Hamilton Declaration* 2014). This agreement signified a collaborative arrangement by nation-states to work toward the cross-sector conservation of this defined oceanic space located in ABNJ (Freestone and Morrison 2014). Soon after the Hamilton Declaration was signed, the SSA was dissolved, and the Sargasso Sea Commission, a group of experts appointed by the government of Bermuda to promote the goals of the Hamilton Declaration, was established. The British Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, and Canada became signatories to the Hamilton Declaration in 2016; the Cayman Islands signed it in early 2017.

3.5 What is the Sargasso Sea?

This section traces how actors engaged with the oceanic materialities of the Sargasso Sea to produce it as a space to be conserved. I then examine in detail how the Sargasso Sea boundaries were negotiated, and eventually defined through mapping. I trace these through the lens of a “wet” ontology as outlined by Steinberg and Peters (2015), paying particular attention to how volume (the hydrosphere), liquidity (time) and dynamism are addressed. Using a wet ontology reveals how and (sometimes) why particular aspects of oceanic material and social realities are included and left out in producing the Sargasso Sea at each step.

3.5.1 Encountering the Sargasso Sea

The Sargasso Sea, as noted above, is unique for its lack of coastal boundaries. With the exception of Bermuda, the Sargasso Sea is composed of and surrounded by open ocean. Thus, while trading vessels, fishing boats, and cruise ships regularly traverse its waters, direct human encounters with the material Sargasso Sea are relatively rare. During early discussions about collaborating to promote Sargasso Sea conservation, a group of international conservationists, donors, and Bermudian government representatives participated in a scientific cruise to the Sargasso Sea, to experience for themselves this space of purportedly massive biodiversity. Recent storms had left few of the large mats of *Sargassum* whole, and the group began to approach the scattered clumps left behind. However, after searching clump after clump for signs of complex ecosystems, they had little to show for their efforts. Eventually, they called on a local Bermudian scientist to meet the boat and try his luck. Upon his arrival, he promptly found a diversity of interesting animals and critters, demonstrating the key role this macroalgae plays within the unique, oligotrophic environment. He showed the group that, by approaching the clumps from above on the boat, they had been scaring animals away from the *Sargassum*. They needed to get *into* the water. By approaching the clumps from underneath, while snorkeling, organisms perceived the threat from below and took cover within the entangled strands of macroalgae. The scientist could then scoop the whole clump into a bucket, bring it aboard, and dig through it to reveal a

surprising variety of life. As one interviewee put it, “That was a huge immerse yourself in it, get it, understand it...it’s not the seaweed sitting there, it’s all the stuff in the seaweed” (BDA Interview W92).

To find the Sargasso Sea they hoped for, cruise participants needed to employ a wet ontology. They needed to understand and embrace the material Sargasso Sea – its volume (hydrosphere), liquidity, and dynamism. The local biologist demonstrated this need through his approach to space. He understood that the organisms that depend on *Sargassum* relate in particular ways to the matter and forces surrounding them. In other words, “humans cannot force power back onto the sea; shaping nature as they might the earth or soil. Rather humans create new relations, ones where because of the materiality of the sea – as motionful, deep, and dynamic; its quality as extraterritorial – they can but harness its qualities, or manipulate its materiality to best effect” (Peters 2012, p. 1252-3).

This story provides an intriguing example of a human-ocean encounter; in order to truly see and understand the oceanic materialities of the Sargasso Sea, cruise participants had to immerse themselves in the ocean, becoming themselves a threat from below to organisms hiding within the algae-ic web that the conservationists seek to conserve. The story also illustrates how particular imaginings of ocean spaces can become highly entangled with the social relations and materialities of oceans. Cruise participants came in search of a particular Sargasso Sea that would be worthy of conservation. They could only experience this Sargasso Sea by using a wet ontology to

engage it. Though this experience was itself partial (they could only experience one moment in one part of the expansive, aqueous Sargasso Sea), it provided cruise participants with the type of encounter needed to produce the Sargasso Sea as a space for conservation.

3.5.2 Locating the Sargasso Sea

While scientific, cartographic and other literatures have referred to an area called the Sargasso Sea for centuries, the Sargasso Sea Alliance felt that the Sargasso Sea had not been adequately defined based on science. They therefore hired two organizations, the Marine Geospatial and Ecology Lab at Duke University (MGEL) and the Marine Conservation Institute (MCI), to define the Sargasso Sea cartographically. To accomplish this, scientists at MGEL and MCI first had to decide to what the “Sargasso Sea” actually referred, for their purposes. What data or attributes should they use to define it and, subsequently, its boundaries? As one interviewee stated, “The first time around was mainly helping put together information, you know, spatial information that would let us draw a boundary around some kind of generalized regions of where the Sargasso Sea might be” (BDA Interview P16). The scientists decided to focus on two key pieces of data – historic understandings of the location of the Sargasso Sea, and oceanic data, including both physical oceanographic features and biological features, mainly *Sargassum* (Ardron et al. 2011). The remainder of this section and Section 3.5.4 summarize the data used as well as the process that produced the maps found in the

final product, “Where is the Sargasso Sea? A Report Submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance” (see Ardron et al. 2011).

3.5.2.1 Historical maps

Scientists at MCI began by surveying archived historic maps depicting the Sargasso Sea dating from the early 1800s. Colleagues provided some of these maps, and they found others in the Library of Congress. For each map, the scientists attempted not only to pinpoint the specific location of the Sargasso Sea, but also to establish the attributes and factors used by cartographers to designate its boundaries. Yet, this process often proved difficult, if not impossible, given the limited information provided with some of the maps they used. When the exact Sargasso Sea boundaries on a particular map were unclear, scientists used cartographic clues, such as symbols depicting *Sargassum*, to estimate cartographers’ intended representation of the Sargasso Sea’s location. They also digitized and geo-referenced each map, correcting for distortion and incomplete spatial knowledge where possible.

Overlaying the Sargasso Sea boundaries provided by these digitized maps revealed the extent to which historic depictions of the Sargasso Sea overlapped. As Figure 6 demonstrates, the overlapping area is relatively small, and the eastern boundaries of the Sargasso Sea vary substantially. Interviewees clarified that this variance may, in fact, make sense. Currents running on the western side of the sea are

much more condensed and clear than the more dispersed currents in the east, due to the Coriolis effect. One interviewee explained,

“If you were actually thinking about things like the Coriolis effect in physics you would actually expect that you would have more variation on the eastern edge boundary than the western edge boundary. So, some of the variability in the maps that you see would actually be because the physical forces that would affect the boundary on one side are going to be weaker than they are on the other side.” (BDA Interview H69)

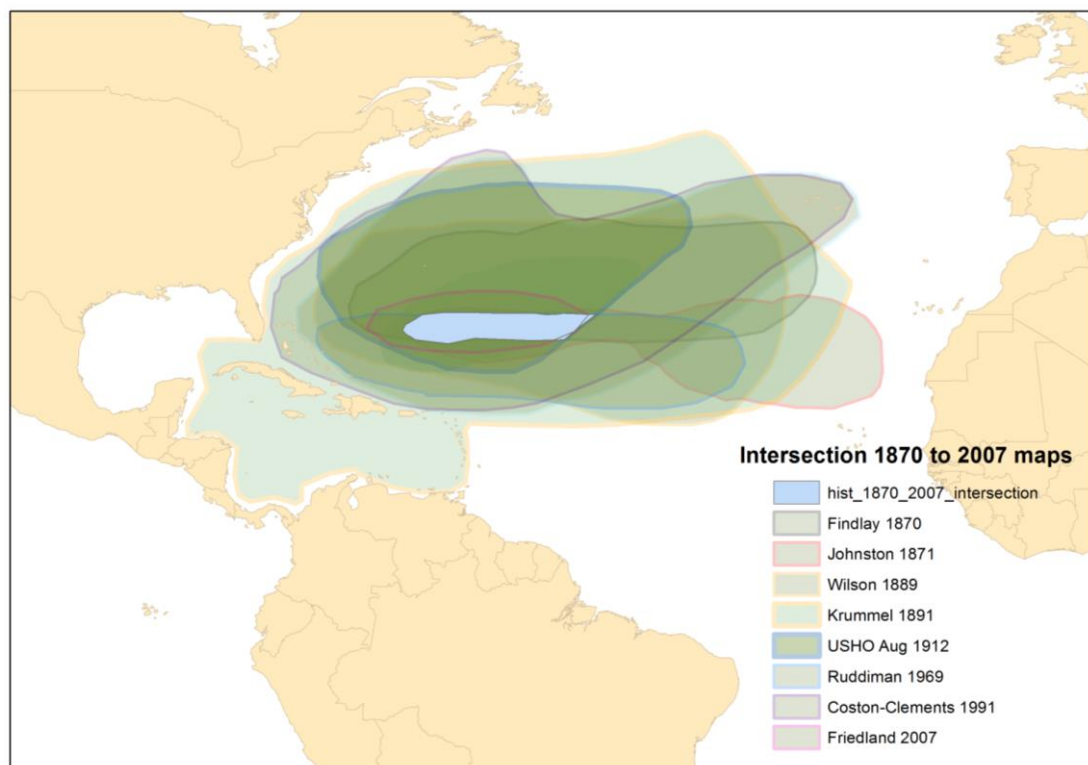


Figure 6: “Historic Mapping.” The light blue shaded area in the lower center of the bounded shapes represents the area where all Sargasso Sea depictions overlap. Source: Ardron, Jeff, Russ Moffit, Sharon Gulick, Pat Halpin, Jason Roberts, Ben Donnelly, Jesse Cleary. “Mapping the Sargasso Sea.” Presentation, Sargasso Sea Alliance Science Meeting, Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences, St. George’s, Bermuda, June 28, 2011.

Figure 6 also shows that cartographic representations of the Sargasso Sea vary across time and season. The apparent shrinking of the Sargasso Sea within the more than century of cartographic records may be due to historical changes in mapping accuracy and strategy, the depletion of *Sargassum* amounts or range, or a combination of both (Ardron et al. 2011). The precision conveyed by the maps changes across sources as well, demonstrating that previous cartographers had grappled with the Sargasso Sea's movement across space and time and how to demonstrate this dynamism. Further, two maps created by the United States Hydrographic Office show distinct Sargasso Sea boundaries in February and August of the same year, 1912 (see Figure 7). This apparent seasonal variance will be further discussed in Section 3.5.4.

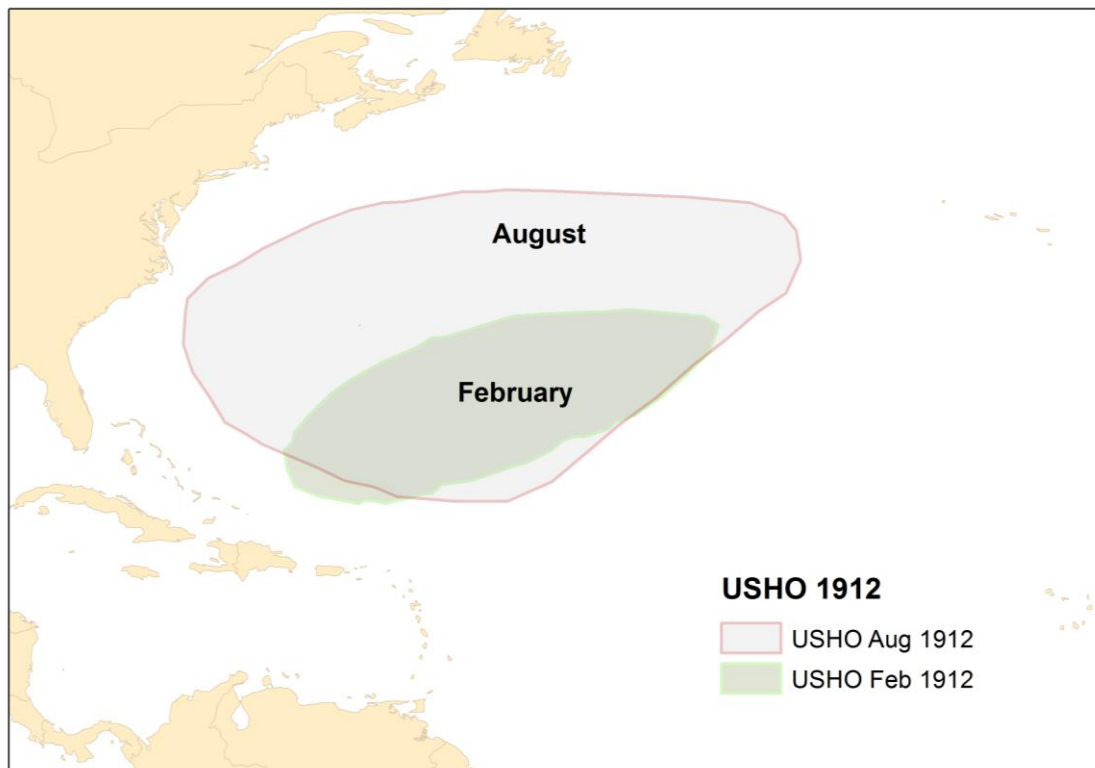


Figure 7: “Historic Mapping: Seasonal Variation.” Source: Ardron, Jeff, Russ Moffit, Sharon Gulick, Pat Halpin, Jason Roberts, Ben Donnelly, Jesse Cleary. “Mapping the Sargasso Sea.” Presentation, Sargasso Sea Alliance Science Meeting, Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences, St. George’s, Bermuda, June 28, 2011.

3.5.2.2 Ecological Data

In addition to historic maps, scientists used data sets approximating the location of various oceanic features as they attempted to define the Sargasso Sea. Ardron et al. (2011) note that both oceanographic (e.g. currents and eddies) and biological (e.g. *Sargassum* and migratory species) features should be considered in developing boundary lines for the Sargasso Sea. I use the same basic categorical division here to describe the collection and use of data. This section outlines the three key data sets and the model of

Sargassum movement used to define the Sargasso Sea using ecological data; the key data sets include drifter data, in situ *Sargassum* observations, and MERIS satellite data.

First, scientists used globally available drifter data to determine where and how currents in the northwest Atlantic Ocean flow and, it was hoped, locate the central gyre. Drifters are used globally to measure and provide data on oceanic surface currents, such as their speed and direction. Currents in the northwest Atlantic Ocean flow in a clockwise oval to create a large gyre that has been described as an approximation of the Sargasso Sea (see Wilber 1987; Niermann 1986). By averaging data from numerous drifters, scientists can gain an approximate understanding of the position, direction and speed of a current over the time during which the drifters are deployed. They can also determine the boundaries of bodies of water, such as a gyre, by noting where nearby drifters move at significantly different speeds or directions; this difference demonstrates the adjacent edges of swift-moving current waters and calmer gyre waters.

For the Sargasso Sea, drifter data provided a clear picture of the western, northern, and southern currents – data demonstrate a distinct difference in drifter velocity and direction within the surrounding currents and the slower, calmer gyre waters (see Figure 8). Yet, the data also demonstrate that currents to the east of the gyre are dispersed and relatively weak, providing little indication of a clear boundary. Scientists noted that some historical depictions showed the Sargasso Sea as a perfect

ellipse. Compared with the drifter data, these representations present an idealized portrayal of the actual material gyre.

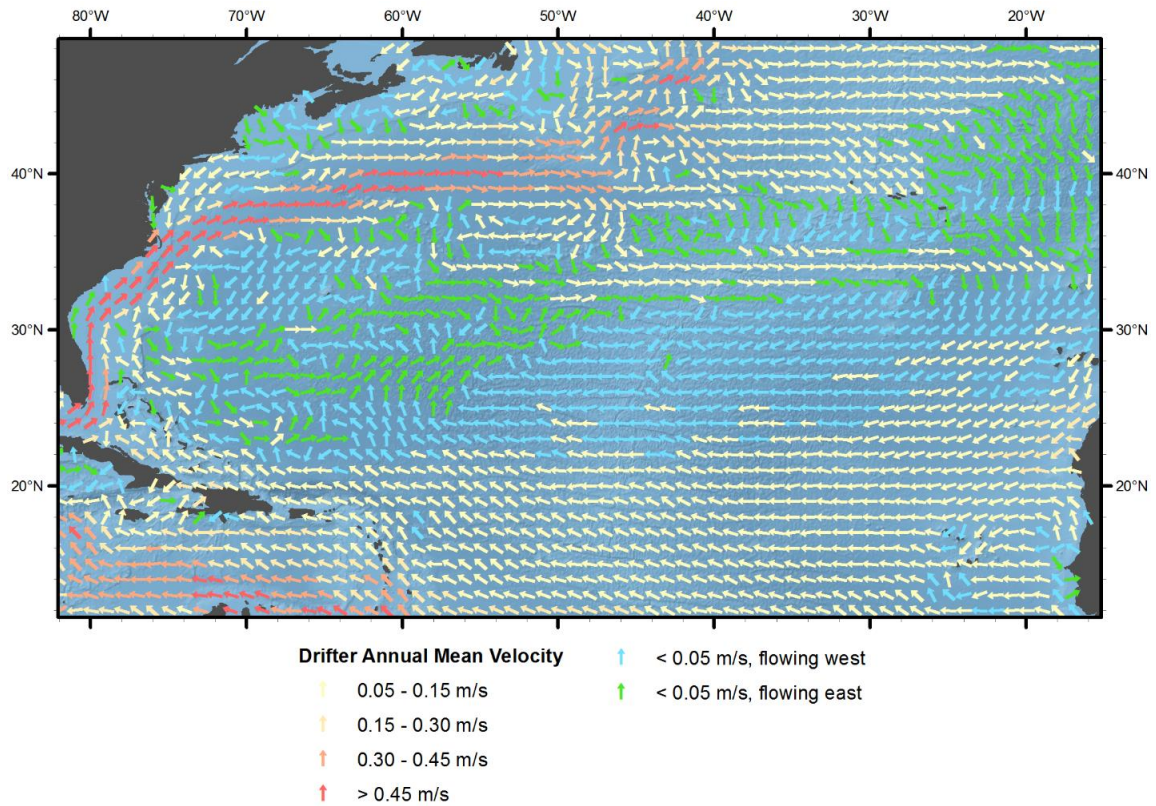


Figure 8: “Drifter annual mean velocity.” Arrows demonstrate the direction of water flow and arrow colors demonstrate the velocity of water flow. Scientists used sharp changes in arrow color and direction to help delimit the northern, western, and southern Sargasso Sea gyre boundaries. Data provided a less clear distinction for eastern currents. Source: Ardron, J., Halpin, P., Roberts, J., Cleary, J., Moffitt, M. and J. Donnelly. 2011. “Where is the Sargasso Sea? A report submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance.” Duke University Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab & Marine Conservation Institute. Unpublished report to the Sargasso Sea Alliance. p. 9. Map updated for this reproduction by the Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab, Duke University.

Satellite remote sensing of sea surface height (SSH) also revealed the location and importance of eddies in the Sargasso Sea gyre. Eddies are small currents that spin off larger currents in a circular motion, creating a mixing of the water in relatively strong currents with adjacent, calmer water. As one interviewee stated,

“It is important to encompass [the mixing due to eddies] because it is so important to the ecology ... [the current] spins off eddies rotating clockwise or counter as it goes around [and] the animals get sucked into it from the outside water and conversely the animals from in here get pushed out.” (BDA Interview W25)

Thus, as another interviewee explained, including the location of eddies “communicates that this area is part of that transition” between strong currents and the central gyre; the boundary between them is not rigid, but fluid and continuously moving (BDA Interview P16).

While the central gyre represents a clear oceanic feature that could be used to define the Sargasso Sea, scientists were also interested in determining where the *Sargassum* was actually located. As Ardron et al. (2011) argue, “At the root to answering the overarching question *Where is the Sargasso Sea?* is the related question: *Where is the Sargassum?*” (p. 19). In particular, scientists wanted to figure out where *Sargassum* aggregated, forming the mats of *Sargassum* that serve as ideal habitat for the unique ecosystems and endemic or vulnerable species described above. They used three sources of information to locate these *Sargassum* aggregations: in situ observational data, satellite imagery and hydrodynamic circulation model output data.

Scientists searched published literature for reports of in situ *Sargassum* observations and digitized and combined these to create an aggregate image (Figure 9). The Sea Education Association (SEA) also provided the scientists with 32 years of in situ *Sargassum* observations recorded by student groups travelling to and from Bermuda and the Caribbean. Given that this image includes unpublished data, I have not displayed it here. While the SEA data demonstrate the spread of *Sargassum* across the northwest Atlantic Ocean, they provide no further clarity on the reach of *Sargassum* in the northeast Atlantic Ocean because the path of the vessels did not extend far enough to the east. Together, these in situ data sets presented an avenue to ground-truth the outputs from modelling, described below.

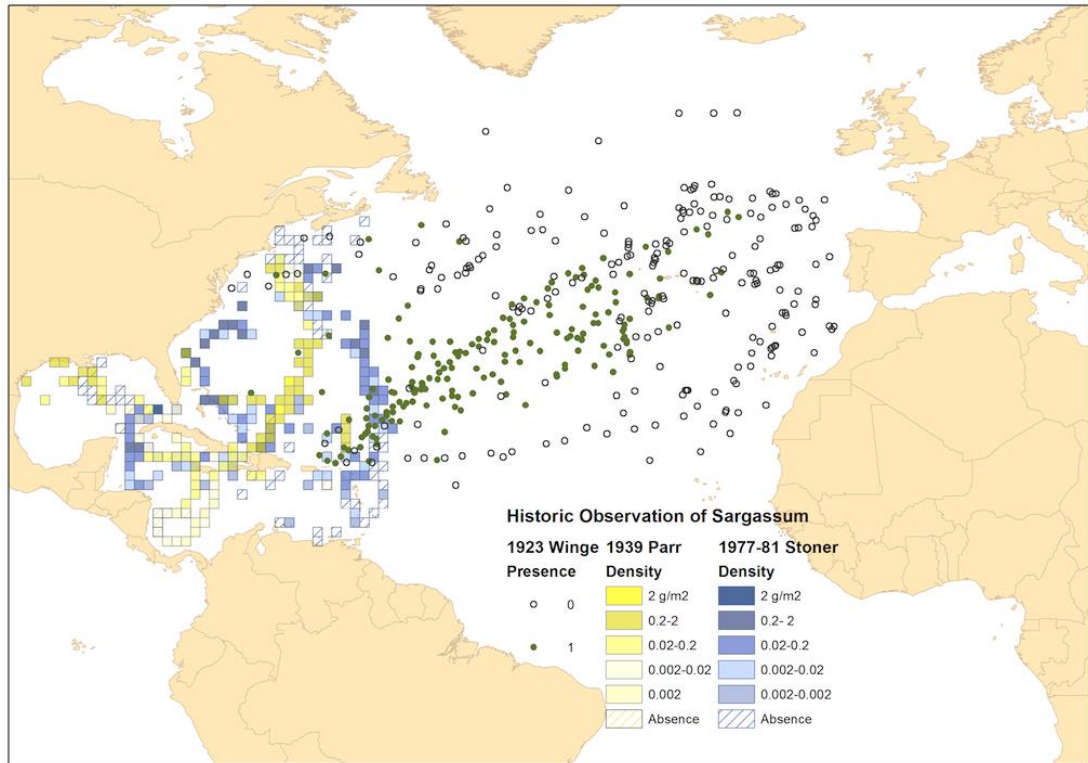


Figure 9: “Historic observations of Sargassum. Digitized from Winge 1923; Parr 1939; and Stoner 1983, Stoner & Greening 1984.” Source: Ardron, J., Halpin, P., Roberts, J., Cleary, J., Moffitt, M. and J. Donnelly. 2011. “Where is the Sargasso Sea? A report submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance.” Duke University Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab & Marine Conservation Institute. Unpublished report to the Sargasso Sea Alliance. p. 14.

Scientists also attempted to determine the location of *Sargassum* itself using remote sensing satellite data. They obtained data from the Medium Resolution Imaging Spectrometer (MERIS) sensor, which detects reflected radiance from the Earth’s (and ocean’s) surface. Scientists were able to obtain and use a modified version of the algorithm proposed by Gower and King (2011) to find reflectance signatures indicating the presence of *Sargassum* spanning from 2002 – 2011. Gower and King (2011) had previously demonstrated that most *Sargassum* in the northern Atlantic Ocean from 2002

– 2008 originated in the Gulf of Mexico, travelled up the east coast of the US in the Gulf Stream, and was finally propelled by winds to the south and west. Scientists working on the Sargasso Sea project for the SSA found a similar pattern when they included data from additional years. Figure 10 shows the flow of this pattern, broken into four general periods. This observed trajectory of *Sargassum* that originates in the Gulf of Mexico and is carried by currents and wind on a somewhat predictable annual route may explain the seasonal variation between August and February captured in the 1912 USHO maps (Figure 7).

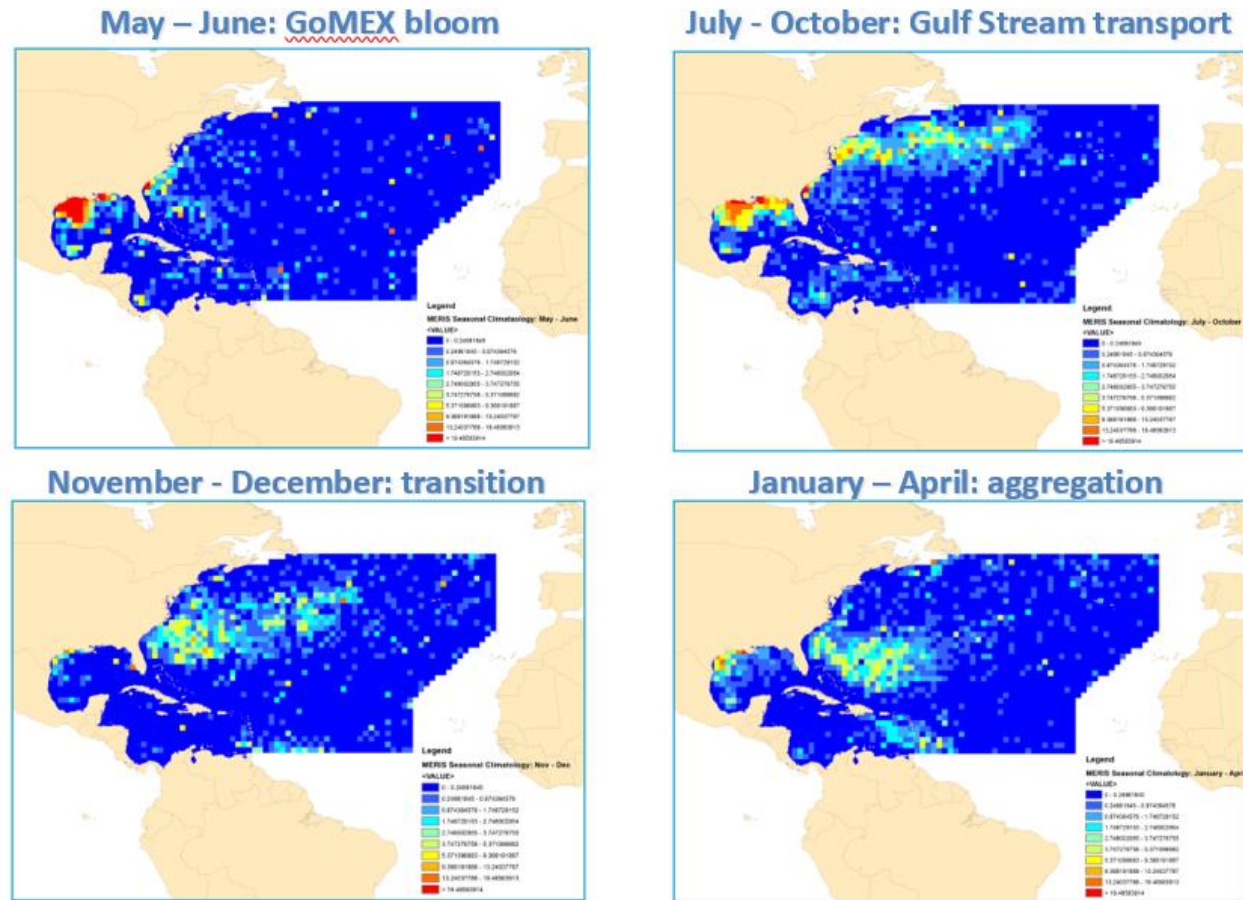


Figure 10: “Remote Sensing.” Warm colors represent higher Sargassum density, with red portraying the highest density. Source: Ardron, Jeff, Russ Moffit, Sharon Gulick, Pat Halpin, Jason Roberts, Ben Donnelly, Jesse Cleary. “Mapping the Sargasso Sea.” Presentation, Sargasso Sea Alliance Science Meeting, Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences, St. George’s, Bermuda, June 28, 2011.

The satellite imagery data did, however, have three key issues. First, the images failed to capture the presence of much of the *Sargassum* found in the north Atlantic Ocean. While *Sargassum* is usually found at or near the water's surface, the MERIS sensor can only detect its presence in high densities. Thus, while the images show large aggregations of *Sargassum*, including the mats for which the Sargasso Sea is famous, the dispersed clumps of *Sargassum* found throughout and beyond the central gyre are often missed by this method. Over time, the very forces that carry *Sargassum* to different parts of the ocean also break it up, transforming the algae from a raft of densely tangled branches into a skeletal, holey remnant. As one interviewee put it, "The thing that you are trying to measure is changing while you are trying to measure it – so that's tricky" (BDA Interview P16).

Second, the original satellite data (daily 1km x 1km) were summarized onto a coarser grid, so that a monthly summary pixel covers 25km² (5km x 5km) (Ardron et al. 2011). Thus, when a pixel is designated as containing *Sargassum*, it has lost specific information, such as the location of *Sargassum* within the pixel, the proportion of the pixel containing *Sargassum*, and changes in *Sargassum* location and proportion across time within a given month. In other words, images produced using MERIS data represent an approximation of *Sargassum* presence, but may not accurately demonstrate its presence in particular areas and at particular times.

Finally, the images depict many spaces as having large amounts of *Sargassum* at specific moments. Yet, some of these spaces that displayed *Sargassum* most clearly, such as in the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf Stream, are not the spaces that the SSA hoped to delineate as the Sargasso Sea. *Sargassum* moves out of the Gulf of Mexico and through the Gulf Stream relatively quickly, eventually settling into the large Sargasso Sea gyre. As one interviewee put it,

“That’s kind of a challenge for us because, in the remote sensing imagery, you could see the *Sargassum* get entrained in the Gulf Stream, but that’s not really the Sargasso Sea, it’s a pipeline to the Sargasso Sea. So, this is where some of the remote sensing became more complicated than you would think. Well really, that’s the fast-moving water of the Gulf Stream, is not what we want people to delineate as the Sargasso Sea.” (BDA Interview H69)

Another interviewee noted,

“We struggled too with this question of, you know, what level of concentration means that you’re ok – you crossed a boundary, now you are in the Sargasso Sea, before you were in the Gulf Stream, and yes there is *Sargassum* here ... but it hasn’t really settled there and it’s not part of the gyre. So, we actually try to go and identify regions in there for different reasons.” (BDA Interview P16)

In addition to locating the central gyre, scientists hoped that using data about the location, movements and interactions of currents would reveal where *Sargassum* travelled and aggregated over time. They created a dispersion model, largely based on data measuring currents, to approximate physical oceanic forces. Because the majority of *Sargassum* in the Sargasso Sea likely originates in the Gulf of Mexico (Gower and King 2011), scientists “released” simulated *Sargassum* from this area and traced its movement

in the model. Yet, ground-truthed observations of *Sargassum* conflicted with the *Sargassum* locations predicted by the models. Figure 11 shows the model's approximation of the location of this *Sargassum* after three years. Scientists realized that their model captured the movement of non-living molecules that do not degrade over time; it did not take the mortality or other biological characteristics of *Sargassum* into account. One interviewee clarified,

“At the very end of that simulation, in the mid-Atlantic in right around the same latitude as Florida, you have this high density ... so the first year or so of the simulation is capturing a lot of where we consider the high density *Sargassum* areas, but if we keep running the simulation farther and farther and farther, it was actually giving us where perfectly simulated particles would go or where plastics would go, but things that are living like *Sargassum* that have their own characteristics may not actually go.” (BDA Interview H69)

To account for this, the scientists modified the model using various *Sargassum* mortality scenarios. With each scenario, they utilized increasingly complex algorithms to better approximate the location of *Sargassum* according to in situ observations and remote sensing data. In one attempted scenario, all *Sargassum* died after a year; in others, a proportion of the simulated *Sargassum* population died incrementally over time. Figure 12 demonstrates the simulated location of *Sargassum* aggregations at the end of one three-year simulation.

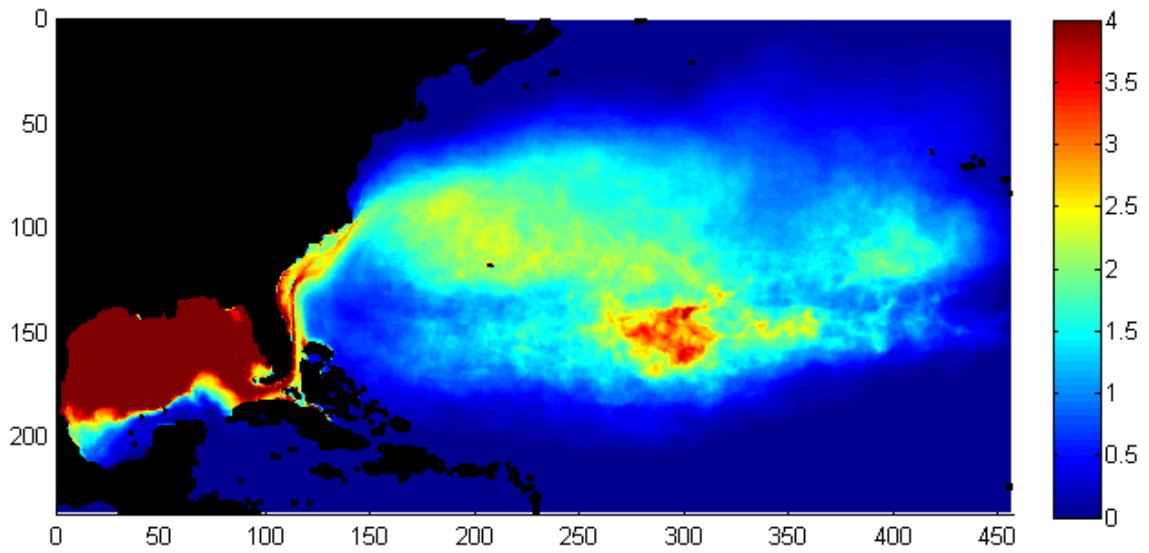


Figure 11: "36-month unconstrained simulation." This figure shows a still image from the first model simulation, without Sargassum mortality. The red area located in the central Atlantic Ocean represents the location of Sargassum after four years. Source: Ardron, Jeff, Russ Moffit, Sharon Gulick, Pat Halpin, Jason Roberts, Ben Donnelly, Jesse Cleary. "Mapping the Sargasso Sea." Presentation, Sargasso Sea Alliance Science Meeting, Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences, St. George's, Bermuda, June 28, 2011.

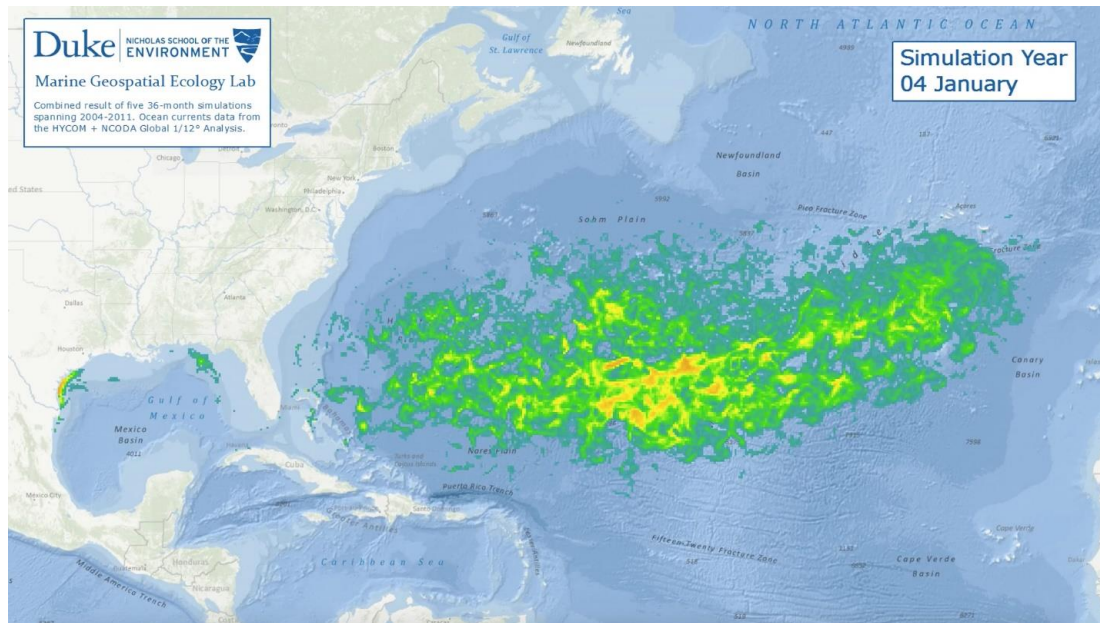


Figure 12: This image shows the location of Sargassum at the end of one three-year simulation of Sargassum movement. Source: Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab, Duke University. Draft animation for presentation.

While the scientists were able to produce increasingly accurate models of *Sargassum* movement and aggregation over time, they decided that additional time and resources would be needed to produce a more sophisticated, and sufficiently accurate, model (Ardrón et al. 2011). To improve accuracy, they recommended incorporating wind effects, the growth of *Sargassum* after its arrival in the Atlantic Ocean and the central gyre, and an altered release location for *Sargassum* in the Gulf of Mexico. Ultimately, the scientists concluded that they had not been able to locate *Sargassum* specifically enough to accurately define the Sargasso Sea. “Without knowing a little bit more about *Sargassum* in the North Atlantic, it will be very hard to delineate the eponymous Sargasso Sea” (Ardrón et al. 2011, p. 19).

Scientists also used a fifth type of data tracing the movements of particularly unique or vulnerable species to ensure that they captured important ecological areas within the defined Sargasso Sea. For example, they utilized research on American and European eel spawning sites, though research is scarce and exact locations remain generally unknown (Ardron et al. 2011). Based on existing literature, however, it seemed that the boundaries ultimately chosen to define the Sargasso Sea (see Section 3.5.4, below) likely captured these sites.

3.5.3 Seeing the Sargasso Sea through a “wet” ontology

By using a wet ontology to conceptualize the Sargasso Sea through the data collection and synthesis described above, we begin to better understand the material Sargasso Sea – as hydrosphere, liquid, dynamic, and always emerging. Note that Steinberg and Peters (2015) include emergence as an aspect of both liquidity and dynamism, not as a separate concept within a wet ontology. I draw it out as a separate concept here because it helps us make sense of and think through this data. Thus, I am not adding something new to the wet ontology, only making emergence more explicit. While I describe each data type below as exemplifying particular aspects of the wet ontology, each one, and the aqueous materialities that it represents and approximates, could be used to reveal each part of the “wet” ontology. I have organized our analysis by the aspects of a wet ontology presented by Steinberg and Peters (2015), but all of the

data sets are connected, not only to each other, but to the overall “wetness” of the Sargasso Sea specifically and the oceans more generally.

The Sargasso Sea as hydrosphere is demonstrated by the use of, and limits of using, satellite imagery to locate *Sargassum*. As explained above, the concept of the hydrosphere encompasses depth, volume, and the multiple forces and movements that bring this three-dimensional space to life. Satellites are able to detect the presence of *Sargassum* through interactions with water and the light reflected back from the water’s surface. Yet, depending on the proximity of *Sargassum* to the surface as well as the extent to which it aggregates or breaks apart, detecting it becomes more or less difficult. Detecting specific surface coverage characteristics is a relatively common limitation when using satellite data; for instance, researchers studying terrestrial contexts with satellite data have described problems with specifying variation in forest cover, land use type, and soil moisture. The hydrosphere, however, complicates satellite detection further; the continuously shifting *Sargassum*, in density as well as hydrospheric space (i.e. across horizontal and vertical space and in relation to other entities), defies these scientific attempts to make its location accessible through satellite technology.

The organisms that depend on *Sargassum* as habitat, such as eels, turtles, and fish, also reveal how the material Sargasso Sea confounds the flat and simplified representations of space often portrayed through maps. Some of these organisms can be found within or around the continuously changing *Sargassum*. Others may inhabit or use

Sargassum as protection for a time, then move to different depths and locations, sometimes migrating across hundreds of miles. Even as these organisms move through 3-dimensional space, the *Sargassum*, water molecules, other oceanic entities, physical forces, and their interactions continuously shift as well; the organisms thus move within, interact with, and transform a space that is itself constantly moving, transforming, emerging. While these organisms encompass a key part of the Sargasso Sea's ecosystem and many actors' motivations for protecting it, their movements and interactions occurring sporadically, cyclically, or over a lifetime demonstrate that the oceanic Sargasso Sea is more than a combination of location, depth, volume; it is hydrosphere.

The drifter data show the liquidity of the Sargasso Sea. The drifters' movements exhibit the currents and forces whose flow defines the central gyre that approximates the Sargasso Sea. Yet, the dispersed, weak currents revealed by data from the eastern Sargasso Sea also demonstrate the difficulties in defining a materially liquid space (see Figure 8). The gyre is not a static structure that is distinct and separate from the surrounding ocean; it is dispersed and integrated with the rest of the ocean. While this reality is more obvious in the eastern part of the gyre, the eddies that continuously form and disappear at the current/gyre boundaries similarly exhibit this flow and connectedness – this liquidity.

Both the historical maps and the in situ *Sargassum* observations indicate the dynamism of the Sargasso Sea. They show the movement of *Sargassum* across space and

time, both through seasonal aggregation cycles as well as through the shifting and diminishing Sargasso Sea area represented cartographically across more than a century (see Figures 6, 7, and 9). The satellite imagery also reveals the Sargasso Sea's dynamism by displaying the continual presence of *Sargassum* within the currents surrounding the central gyre as it flows from the Gulf of Mexico to eventually feed into the Sargasso Sea and beyond (see Figure 10). Though scientists understand that the *Sargassum* moves through these currents, the consistently high concentrations displayed in the currents by the static, two-dimensional snapshots in time complicate the definition of the Sargasso Sea.

Finally, attempts to approximate the Sargasso Sea through modelling revealed it as emergent, as always becoming. These data, and their divergence from ground-truthed observational data, showed both the importance and impossibility of fully understanding the life cycle – the actual location and timing of life and death – of *Sargassum* within this voluminous, liquid, dynamic ocean (see Figures 11 and 12). Other organisms that engage with *Sargassum* are also living, moving, and dying, sometimes because of, leading to, or simply simultaneously with particular moments in the *Sargassum*'s cycle. This dance, while it may follow patterns that could be understood to an extent given more time and resources (as scientists modelling the Sargasso Sea explained above), cannot ever be fully known and predicted - the reality is continuously emerging.

It is important here to note that the scientists involved in this process understood the material “wetness” of the Sargasso Sea, both before collecting the data and as increasingly revealed through data collection and analysis. Indeed, in their final product, “Where is the Sargasso Sea?”, they explain that “choosing a fixed boundary for a body of water that is noted for the fluid, variable and seasonal nature of its constituent parts, is never going to be easy or exact!” (Ardron et al. 2011, p. 18). The representation of ecological data can always only approximate reality. Further, some of the data collection, data analysis, and data sharing techniques used by the scientists to understand the Sargasso Sea are still being developed; innovations in modelling techniques, cost of technology and the politics of information sharing are continuously expanding possibilities for data collection, use, and analysis (Lehman 2016). This reality demonstrates the dynamism and continual emergence (becoming) of human-ocean engagement. It also highlights the inevitable difficulties of defining the Sargasso Sea, especially given the time and resource constraints of the project. As one interviewee stated, “It was all pretty preliminary stuff, and, in a way, it kind of asked more questions than it answered” (BDA Interview E91).

3.5.4 Producing the Sargasso Sea

While their analysis revealed a hydrospheric, liquid, and dynamic Sargasso Sea, the scientists knew that they needed to synthesize the data to define the Sargasso Sea in a policy-relevant way. One interviewee explained, “We were trying to find things that

would be really easy to stand up to the policy arena later, like you can't dispute this, this is a picture of the Sargasso Sea" (BDA Interview H69). While the location of *Sargassum* itself was identified as a key attribute, it proved difficult to define. In situ observations were limited by cruise trajectories. Satellite data lacked clarity and represented static moments, rather than *Sargassum* location over time. Models were incomplete and provided only preliminary analysis. Scientists therefore used oceanographic features, specifically currents (Figure 13) and eddies (Figure 14) to understand the physical movement of water and obtain a relatively clear visual for the location of the central gyre. One interviewee described the process this way,

"It was the *Sargassum* that we were most interested in. Of course, not just the oceanography. Um, but I mean, we went back and forth a little bit ... you know we had the simulation of where [the *Sargassum*] went; that had a limited time span. We had the satellite remote sensing, which had limited ability to detect the *Sargassum* and a limited time span. So, our physical oceanography really helped kind of broaden that to say ok, in general, this is the oceanography here." (BDA Interview P16)

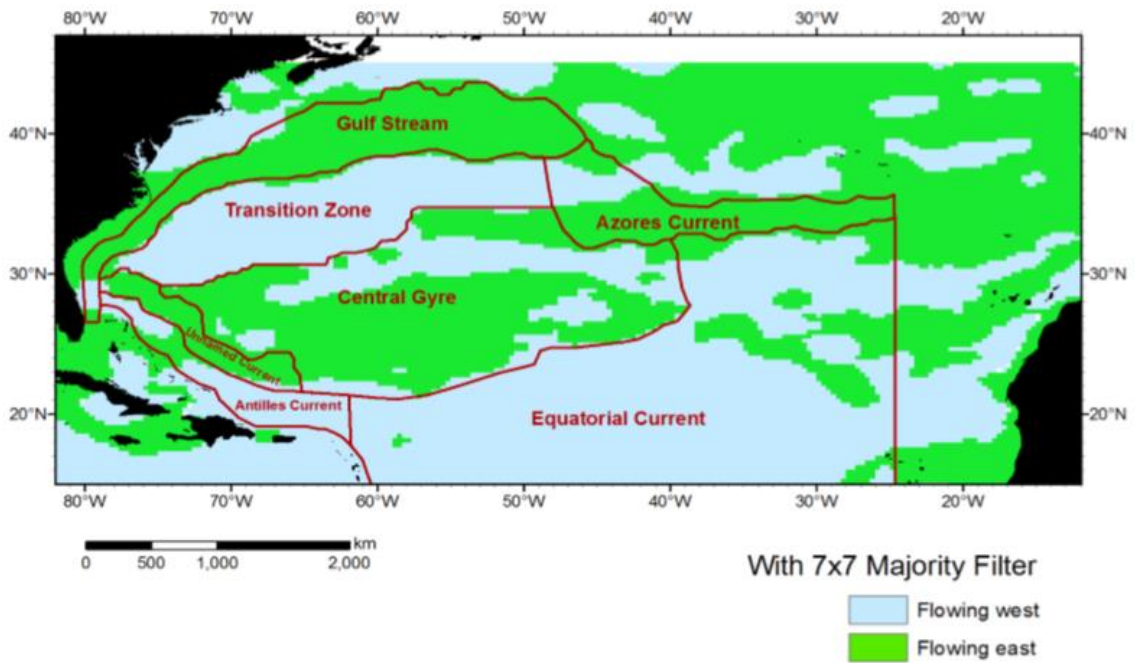


Figure 13: “Preliminary development of possible sub-regions using climatological mean AVISO currents.” Bounded areas represent scientists’ early delimitations of potential subregions for the Sargasso Sea based on currents identified using climatological mean AVISO data. Scientists identified the potential central gyre in the figure. Source: Ardron, J., Halpin, P., Roberts, J., Cleary, J., Moffitt, M. and J. Donnelly. 2011. “Where is the Sargasso Sea? A report submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance.” Duke University Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab & Marine Conservation Institute. Unpublished report to the Sargasso Sea Alliance. p. 13.

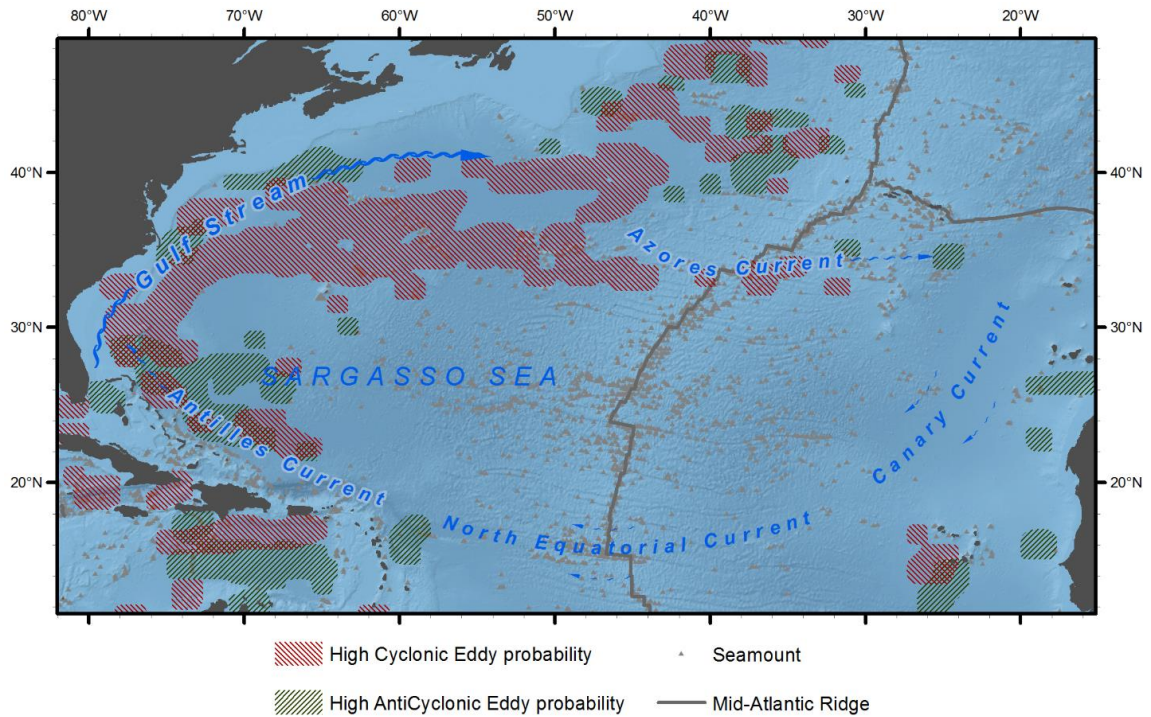


Figure 14: "Eddies." Scientists used the location of eddies to understand the transition areas from currents to the central gyre. Source: Ardron, J., Halpin, P., Roberts, J., Cleary, J., Moffitt, M. and J. Donnelly. 2011. "Where is the Sargasso Sea? A report submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance." Duke University Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab & Marine Conservation Institute. Unpublished report to the Sargasso Sea Alliance. p. 13. Map updated for this reproduction by the Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab, Duke University.

Scientists supplemented this oceanographic information with additional data to produce a map of the Sargasso Sea broken into specific sub-regions (Figure 15). Additional data included not only the *Sargassum* location information, but also general physical oceanographic data such as water temperature and primary productivity. Scientists and some members of the SSA debated which attributes were most useful in defining the Sargasso Sea; some even wondered if additional attributes could be used that had not yet been considered. Scientists tweaked the initial zoned map, smoothing boundary lines to create a simplified representation of the ocean space.

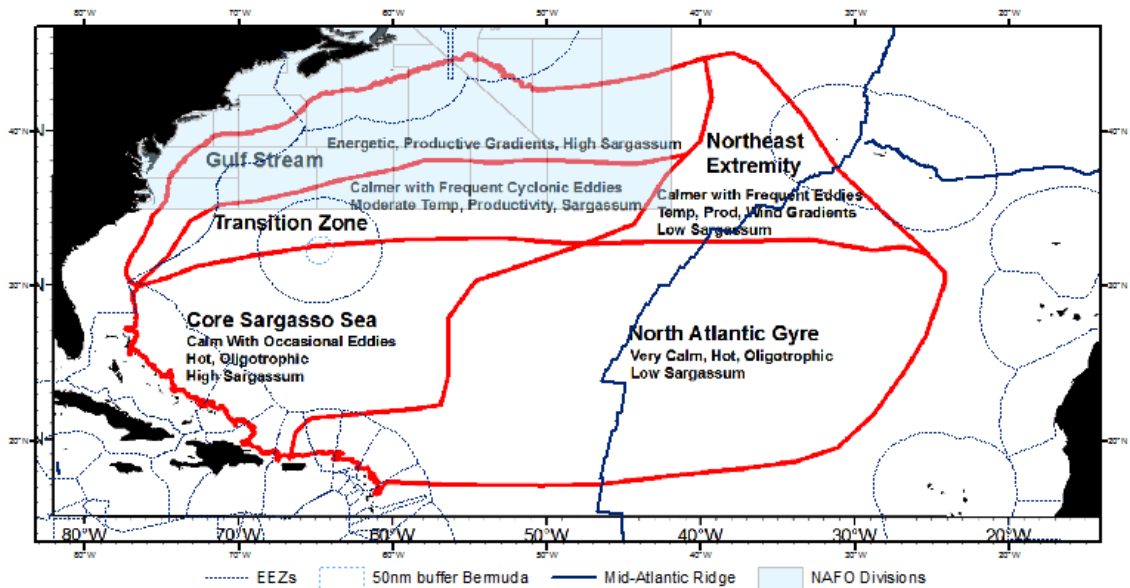


Figure 15: “Original Regions.” This map exemplifies one iteration of scientists’ delimitations of Sargasso Sea sub-regions before the initial submission to the SSA.

Source: Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab, Duke University. Draft presentation material.

Figure 16 displays one of the maps that was initially presented to the SSA for review. The Sargasso Sea area would comprise the rough ellipse in the figure encompassing the Central Gyre, the Antilles Current and Counter Current, the Gulf Stream (GS) transition/eddies, and part of the Azores Current. The central gyre corresponds to the most probable location of most of the Sargasso Sea at any given time, while the transition zones and currents correspond to areas that may include a transitional zone and/or a distinct, but mobile, boundary. As one interviewee explained,

“Our attempt to represent the fuzziness of the boundary was through these kind of regions, right, the evolution of having these kind of transition regions, or – and so at some point it’s kind of like the gyre is always in here, but sometimes it’s in these peripheral regions as well. Depending, because things might move.” (BDA Interview P16)

The scientists/cartographers also reviewed their use of the data sets to create the map, showing the variance of *Sargassum* density across time and space.

Proposed Sargasso Sea area North Atlantic Gyre regions

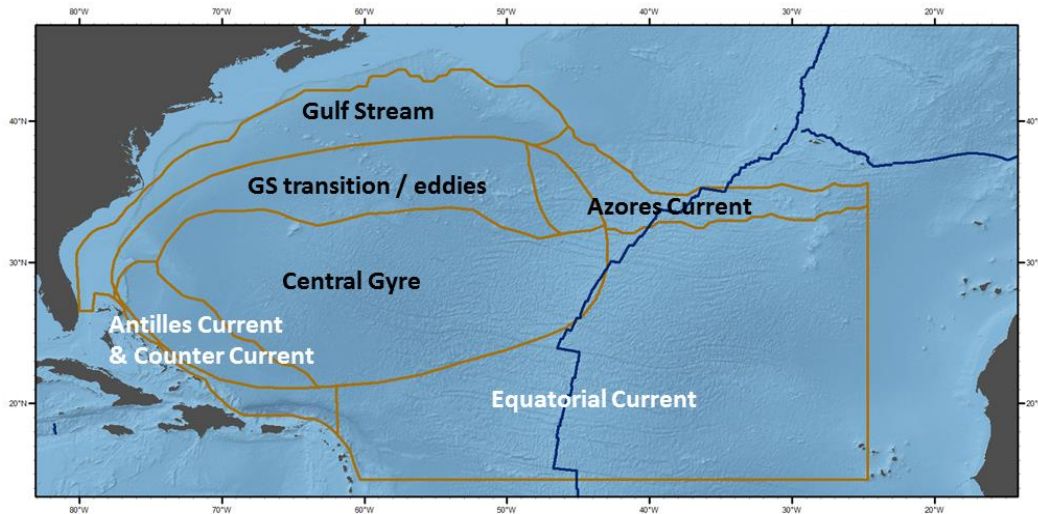


Figure 16: “Proposed Sargasso Sea Area: North Atlantic Gyre regions.” This map shows one of the first proposals to the SSA for the Sargasso Sea area. Source: Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab, Duke University.

The SSA worked for a time with a Sargasso Sea derived loosely from the map depicted in Figure 16. This included a “core area” surrounded by a “broader area,” or “buffer zones” (BDA Interview E91). Ultimately, however, SSA members voiced the need for simplicity and clarity within policy arenas. They wanted a single, clear line demarcating the Sargasso Sea boundary. “There are a number of people [in the SSA] who didn't like the idea of a core area and an outer area, so we dropped that idea and we just drew one boundary” explained one interviewee (BDA Interviewee E91).

Members of the SSA described two key reasons for wanting a simple boundary line demarcating the Sargasso Sea. First, a simple polygon would allow them to clearly

communicate where conservation was needed. As one interviewee noted, “There was kind of a push to create a, to articulate a fairly simplified boundary for the Sargasso Sea for very practical reasons of wanting to be able to have a clear map that showed a simple and not very complex shape that they could say, here’s where the Sargasso Sea is” (BDA Interview U36). This boundary provided an object, a shape to which SSA members and other advocates could point and ask for funding or policy change.

Members of the SSA also explained that they needed to bring clear, simple boundary lines to potential management and enforcement bodies, such as international sectoral institutions (e.g. the IMO) or governments. One interviewee described the potential for tension between a mobile Sargasso Sea and UN management organizations, saying,

“All these currents move, and the eddies spin off. But you can’t go to a government or an international body and say, ‘We’ve got this great idea. There’s this patch of water, it sort of does this and twitches and what not and has all sorts of elements.’ ... This thing moves around, it’s the Gulf Stream. This thing moves around, this thing moves around. But you can’t go to any organization and say, ‘We would like you to recognize the international equivalent of this variable patch of water.’ They all said, ‘Where is it?’ So, we had to essentially delineate it.” (BDA Interview W25)

Other SSA members noted the need to create fixed boundaries because of the stipulations they had heard from particular government agencies. For instance, one member of the SSA stated,

“I love the idea of moving MPAs, or moving protection [*sic*] areas, but that’s the first thing the coast guard told us was straight lines. (Chuckle) Straight lines. Or you just, no support from us. So, we have talked with

virtually all the US government agencies and most of the UK ones. And they say straight lines, because otherwise we can't police it." (BDA Interview Q55)

To be clear, the discussion described above did not occur during one meeting or conversation, but over time. SSA members discussed their options again and again, balancing data, expertise, and sometimes differing perceptions and values. Some interviewees saw this process as useful and congenial; one interviewee stated,

"[The boundary line] is where we all agreed it should be. The basis for the line is, as I said, it's a mixture of science for the major currents, it's a mixture of politics and the EEZs, and it's a mixture of both for the eastern side. And that wasn't difficult to do; you know, everybody accepted that this was a reasonable compromise." (BDA Interview W25)

Others remembered the process as more difficult and complex, as exemplified by this interviewee,

"It was quite difficult. And every second you'd get different people looking at different customs, different ways to define it. If you're looking at the fisheries, you're looking at the latitudes and longitudes, if you're just trying to draw a map, you're looking at the currents. So, it was a really complicated discussion." (BDA Interview X76)

Yet, as one interviewee explained, they kept returning to, and finally settled on, a stable, single boundary. "We've also looked at and discussed, as a group, our science advisory committee and different ones have advised us, and I think bottom line is what we keep coming back to, is a fixed boundary that maximizes on the presence of the *Sargassum*" (BDA Interview T94).

After deciding on the general location and use of a single boundary line for the Sargasso Sea, the scientists/cartographers had to decide how to draw it. A two-dimensional map with a single boundary line can only depict the location of currents, eddies, and aggregated *Sargassum* at particular moments, or snapshots, of time. Thus, creating boundaries that are closely tied to the locations of these attributes would, according to some interviewees, suggest a level of certainty about their location that wasn't there. One interviewee noted,

“There is also an exercise – I mean something to be said about the complexity of what you show versus your certainty in it. And if we were to show the boundary very precise, like lots of vertices [makes a ‘check’ sound], zig, zig. You know, it conveys a certain sense of certainty and precision that’s not necessarily true for something that’s dynamic.” (BDA Interview P16)

Members of the SSA ultimately chose to use a smooth ellipse, rather than tightly adhering to the boundaries suggested by data. This, they reasoned, would be the best way to convey the dynamism and uncertainty about location revealed by their data.

Another interviewee put it this way,

“The Sargasso Sea process, we defined these boundaries, we made these maps and kind of clarified, here’s this generalized boundary for the Sargasso Sea, so it would be a nicely shaped polygon with the understanding that the reality is that the Sargasso Sea is this dynamic, moving shape that’s probably somewhere approximately - there. And maybe goes outside that boundary some years, and maybe stays in it some years, and at any given moment the actual floating mats of *Sargassum* are a much smaller area contained in this big dynamic gyre.” (BDA Interview U36)

The Eastern boundary was particularly troublesome. All data sources showed dispersed and unclear locations that defied the creation of a simple boundary. One interviewee described it as “a very leaky boundary” (BDA Interview E91).

“Nothing drew a line on the east side, honestly. Nothing drew a line. We looked at historical lines, and they were all over the place in the east, and often they didn't even draw an eastern boundary.” (BDA Interview E91)

Members of the SSA decided to bound the eastern part of the Sargasso Sea using the Mid-Atlantic ridge. As no other features, such as currents, eddies, and *Sargassum*, had provided a clear demarcation of where a line could be drawn, using this benthic feature seemed most useful. This also occurred for political reasons – inclusion of the Mid-Atlantic ridge in the Sargasso Sea conservation area might pose additional obstacles in future policy negotiations. Thus, given that the eastern boundary was unclear, it seemed practical to place the line to the west of this feature. One SSA member stated,

“I said, you do realize that it will complicate it enormously because of the Mid-Atlantic ridge. The Mid-Atlantic ridge is full of interesting things on the seabed which is going to get involved with mining, deep-sea mining, and a whole different ball game in terms of international commissions and difficulties in getting any sort of protective zone about it. I don't want to go anywhere near the Mid-Atlantic ridge ... we set barriers and that is the limit of our EBSA and that is the limit of the [Sargasso Sea] Commission's interests.” (BDA Interview W25)

Not everyone agreed on the ultimate placement of the eastern boundary. One SSA member would have preferred that the eastern boundary extended further to the east. Given the uncertainty about boundary placement reflected in the data, this person favored the strategy of encompassing as much space as possible for conservation.

Another interviewee from the SSA noted, “We created this artificial boundary which we call the Sargasso Sea which is only a bit of it. It isn’t the whole Sargasso Sea” (BDA Interview W25).

Figure 17 shows the final Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area adopted by the SSA. After deciding on the proper shape and location of the area, the SSA removed the sections of the area that overlapped with the exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of the US, the Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, and the Dominican Republic (Ardron et al. 2011). As one interviewee explained, the SSA always intended to focus on ABNJ, not waters within national jurisdictions. “We were always talking about areas beyond national jurisdiction, and the only reason Bermuda’s EEZ was the topic of conversation was because [Bermuda was] leading the initiative. So, I am pretty sure they never even approached the US, or any of the Caribbean islands that, yes, part of their EEZs fall within the [area]” (BDA Interview P49).

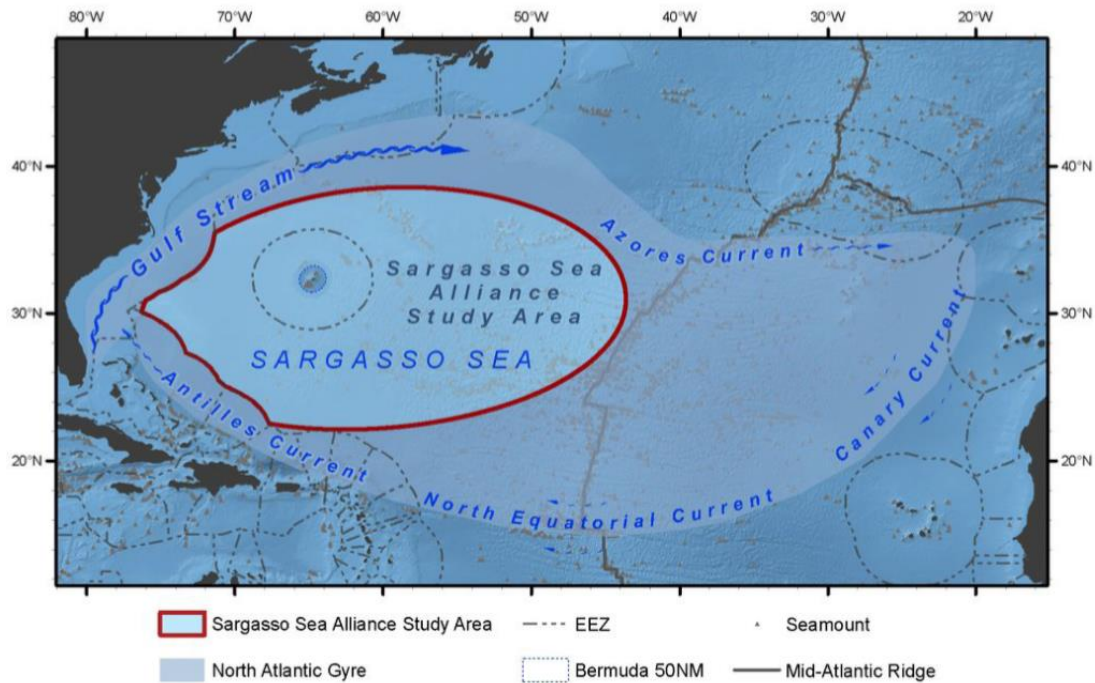


Figure 17: “Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area.” Source: Ardron, J., Halpin, P., Roberts, J., Cleary, J., Moffitt, M. and J. Donnelly. 2011. “Where is the Sargasso Sea? A report submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance.” Duke University Marine Geospatial Ecology Lab & Marine Conservation Institute. Unpublished report to the Sargasso Sea Alliance. p. 6.

The Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area was later used to define the area submitted for consideration as an EBSA. As Figure 18 demonstrates, the EBSA includes a different boundary between Bermuda’s coastlines and the outer limits of its EEZ than the one used for the Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area. According to one interviewee, “It didn’t really make sense [to not include Bermuda’s EEZ] because the ecosystem doesn’t stop at the borders, and you’re talking about the ecosystem. And specifically saying, you know, designating an EBSA doesn’t imply any management strategy” (BDA Interview V49). Actors at the EBSA workshop decided to use this boundary to demonstrate a significant

shift in ecology – the chosen boundary roughly corresponds to the edge of the reef platform surrounding Bermuda. In other words, “Really, the open-ocean ecosystem starts transitioning into shallower ecosystem at the base of the Bermuda seamount” (BDA Interview V49). The actors submitting the area for consideration felt that the area that they proposed, using this altered boundary, best illustrated the location of the vulnerable and unique Sargasso Sea ecosystem.

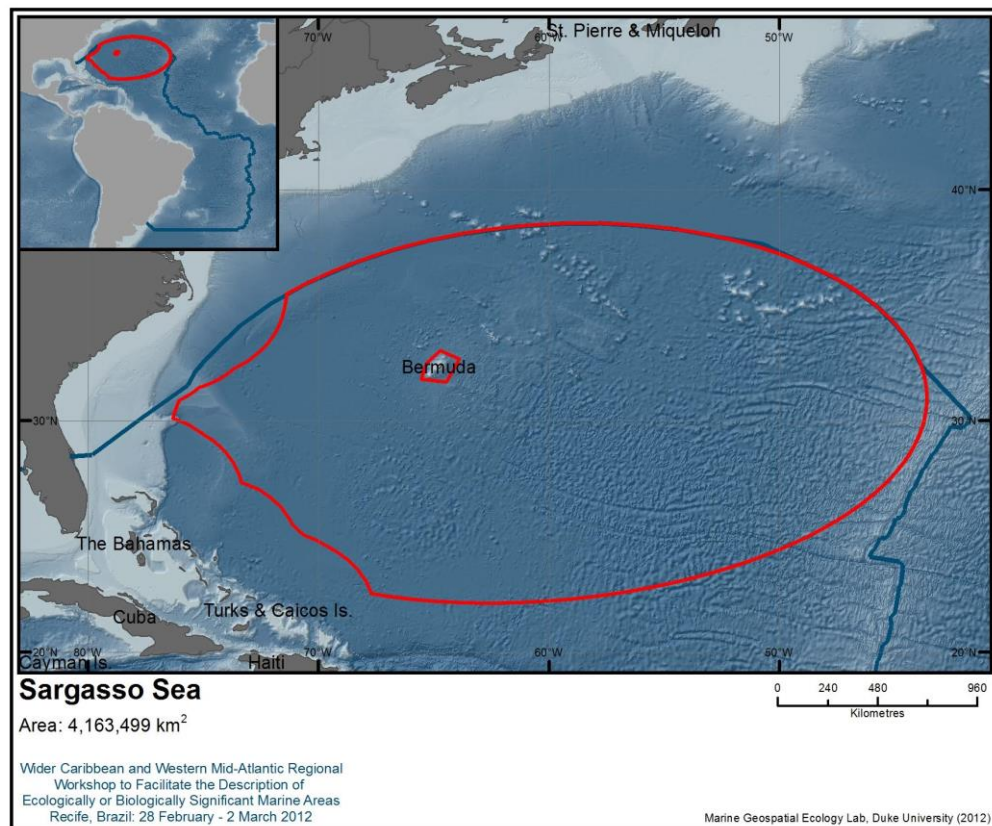


Figure 18: Sargasso Sea EBSA. Source: Report of the Wider Caribbean and Western Mid-Atlantic Regional Workshop to Facilitate the Description of Ecologically or Biologically Significant Marine Areas. 2012. Document UNEP/CBD/SBSTTA/16/INF/7. UN Convention on Biological Diversity, Montreal, Canada. <https://www.cbd.int/doc/meetings/mar/rwebsa-wcar-01/official/rwebsa-wcar-01-sbstta-16-inf-07-en.pdf>.

Yet, the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration adopted in the Hamilton Declaration does not contain any of Bermuda's EEZ (Figure 19). Chapter 2 addressed the complex reasons for this difference, and I will not repeat them here. It is important to note that this inner Sargasso Sea boundary depicted in the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration, as well as the outer Sargasso Sea boundaries tracing national EEZs in the Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area, the Sargasso Sea EBSA, and the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration all represent borders between national and international waters. These spatial delimitations were negotiated and produced as a product of post-WWII international relations; their location has no ecological basis.

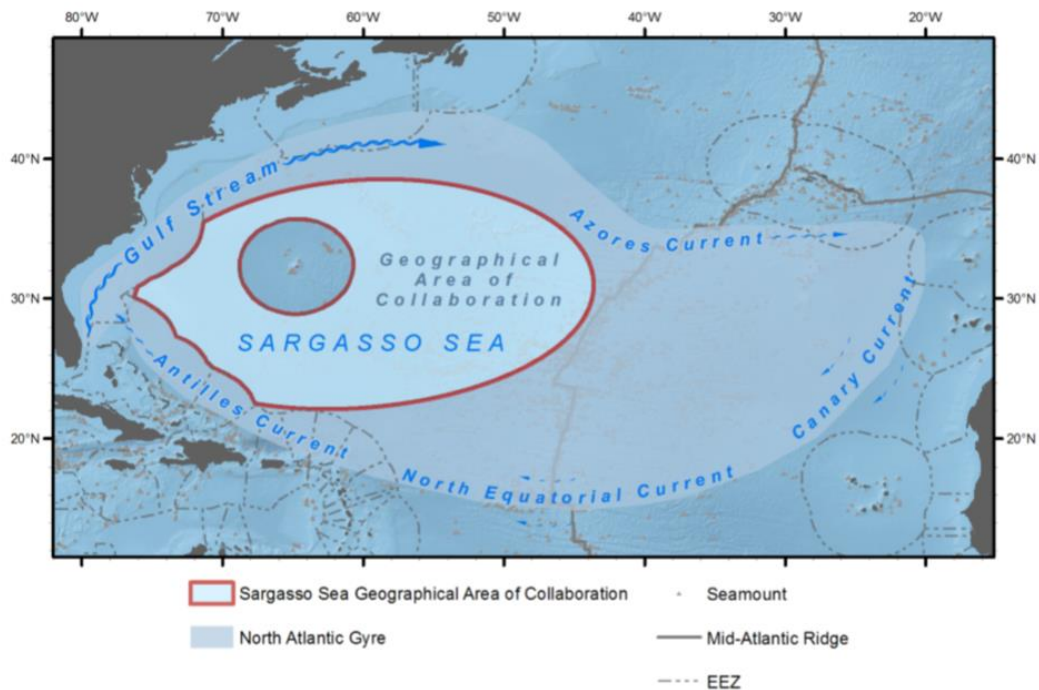


Figure 19: Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration. Source: Hamilton Declaration on Collaboration for the Conservation of the Sargasso Sea 2014, Annex I.

3.6 Discussion

3.6.1 Fixing the Sargasso Sea

“These are fluid boundaries, after all, defined by oceanography and floating aggregations of Sargassum.”

(Ardron et al. 2011, executive summary)

Despite this statement from the mapping report “Where is the Sargasso Sea?”, the Sargasso Sea boundaries ultimately depicted in maps for policy processes were not fluid, but fixed. Rather than portraying the “wet” Sargasso Sea revealed by the scientist’s data, these maps produce a Sargasso Sea that is static, homogenous across time and space, flat, and predictable. As described above, members of the SSA decided to depict it in this way in order to make the Sargasso Sea, specifically the Sargasso Sea as an EBSA (Figure 18) and the Sargasso Sea as the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration (Figure 19), a governable object. Previous experience in policy arenas as well as interactions with enforcement and management actors led them to translate the information provided by this data into a single, homogenous shape with clear, fixed boundaries. This simplification, they argued, would produce the Sargasso Sea as a recognizable place, an object, that future policy-makers, funders, and managers could understand and engage with relative ease. In other words, as Scott (1998) argues, members of the SSA sought to make the Sargasso Sea legible and thus, easier to govern and ultimately conserve.

As outlined in the literature review, previous efforts to territorialize ocean spaces similarly utilized boundaries consisting of clear lines to produce cohesive, legible areas (Steinberg 2009; Chmara-huff 2014). For instance, Chmara-huff (2014) asserts that many marine protected areas serve to define particular oceanic areas as territories for conservation, distinguishing them from surrounding areas viewed as already territorialized for development. The regulations in UNCLOS defining how nation-states can claim territorial waters and EEZs also exemplify this process, defining jurisdiction over oceanic space not by material attributes of the space itself, but by a fixed measurement from the shore. The production of a fixed Sargasso Sea follows this historical precedence seeking to territorialize, or control, ocean spaces through simplification. SSA members argued that producing the Sargasso Sea in this way would ease communication about the Sargasso Sea and its governance and would appease regulatory agencies by allowing for more efficient and tractable management.

Yet, examining the process of producing the Sargasso Sea using a “wet” ontology reveals tensions between the materiality, experience and production of the Sargasso Sea as a place for conservation and the geopolitical processes that produce the Sargasso Sea as legible. Conservationists argue that the Sargasso Sea is both unique and ecologically important largely because of the *Sargassum* itself – the distinctive habitat it provides and the complex ecosystem it supports (Laffoley et al. 2011; Freestone and Morrison 2012; Freestone 2014; Ardron et al. 2011). This *Sargassum*, which itself arguably defines the

ecosystem to be conserved, is fragmented and mobile, continuously shifting across space and time and interacting with other organisms, entities, and oceanic forces. As already discussed, these material realities are not captured in the static, simplistic lines bounding the Sargasso Sea in policy arenas. To conserve the Sargasso Sea, SSA members have advocated for and produced area-based conservation tools – the Sargasso Sea EBSA and the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. In other words, while SSA actors focused on the material realities of the Sargasso Sea, specifically *Sargassum* and its movement, to understand it and produce it as a legitimate place for conservation, they sought to mask the complexity of these realities when producing the Sargasso Sea for policy. They focused instead on the social relations surrounding its governance, which they argued called for fixity, simplicity, and clarity.

To be clear, I do not argue that the justifications given for producing a fixed, simplified Sargasso Sea are unfounded. Complex policy negotiations, particularly among global actors seeking international agreement, often necessitate the communication of information in a clear, concise way that minimizes potential confusion. Most of the interviewees for this chapter have spent years, even careers, engaging in similar negotiations; they intimately understand these negotiating contexts and justified their choices based on substantial personal evidence.

Yet, producing the Sargasso Sea in this way comes at a cost; it limits understanding of this space in policy arenas. One interviewee, in discussing negotiations

over potential EBSAs, noted the mistaken assumptions that can arise in the reading and interpretation of maps, stating,

“That is the dangerous part. And then you also assume that everything is uniform, comprehensive and complete because those are usually just basic assumptions [when looking at a map]. You see a map, you see a bunch of things drawn on a map. You assume the map is complete, it’s comprehensive, and if something is not on the map, it is for a reason. And it could be it wasn’t even considered.” (BDA Interview U36)

In other words, when reading maps, people often assume that the map portrays space comprehensively, or at least depicts a complete, if simplified, representation of that space, including key information. The above analysis exemplifies the error in this assumption. Scientists not only demonstrated that they can track and predict the location of *Sargassum* with increasing clarity, particularly if given more time and resources, but that they can represent this information cartographically with varied detail, ranging from complex animated models to approximated zones.

Such simplification of the information conveyed by these cartographic representations of the Sargasso Sea not only reduces policy-makers’ understanding of this space, but may, in turn, limit how its management is eventually conceptualized. Though neither the Sargasso Sea EBSA nor the Hamilton Declaration authorize regulatory action in the Sargasso Sea, both were produced to support potential conservation management in the future. Thus, the production of the Sargasso Sea as an EBSA and as a Geographical Area of Collaboration will impact how the Sargasso Sea is conceptualized as a space to be conserved in future negotiations. As Steinberg’s (2013)

quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests, failing to communicate key aspects of the Sargasso Sea's materiality through its representation may leave these important characteristics "unacknowledged" by policy-makers. Because consideration of these aspects is then missing from management discussions, regulatory options that may better address conservation of the dynamic, mobile *Sargassum* itself may fail to emerge; these options become "unthinkable." One interviewee described the importance of understanding the dynamic realities of ocean spaces for policy-making this way,

"Looking at the connectivity between coastal and off-shore high seas marine environments. So, it's initially the space but it also helps us understand the key places we need to protect, the movement across ocean basins. And because we are able to start tagging these animals, we can understand what's going on far deeper in the marine environment and start tracking changes. And so that dynamism of the marine environment is going to be absolutely critical as we go forward because we need institutions that can be as adaptable as the information." (BDA Interviewee F80)

This case has demonstrated that SSA actors know and can represent more about the Sargasso Sea's aqueous materiality than the productions of it as fixed suggest. How might producing a Sargasso Sea that more closely relates to this materiality in policy arenas, or making the previously "unacknowledged" acknowledged, support policy-makers in creating the more adaptable institutions discussed by the above interviewee? The next section considers how actors could, and in one case are, producing a more "wet" Sargasso Sea, as well as some of the possibilities for and limitations to governing such a dynamic space.

3.6.2 Producing a “Wet” Sargasso Sea

Scientists have already provided options for cartographically producing a more “wet” Sargasso Sea, as described above. The scientists that created the final Sargasso Sea Alliance Study Area (Figure 17) first proposed using zones to depict the Sargasso Sea as dynamic and heterogeneous across space (Figure 16). While these zones still portray a fixed area, they suggest that the Sargasso Sea is bounded, not by clear lines, but by currents and “transitional” areas where the distinction between a current and the “core gyre” is unclear. Figures 7 and 10¹, though in draft form, provide examples of another mechanism that cartographers could use to represent the mobility of *Sargassum*: seasonal maps. A seasonal map could prove useful if, as some of the data suggest, relatively large or dense aggregations of *Sargassum* move around the gyre in a predictable pattern over time. As discussed in the “Where is the Sargasso Sea?” mapping report, however, scientists would need more time and resources for research to study this movement more closely (Ardron et al. 2011).

Actors have further suggested options for portraying key aspects of oceanic materialities in EBSAs. One interviewee explained that, since the CBD adopted the Sargasso Sea EBSA in 2012, scientists engaged in EBSA creation have taken steps to address confusion among negotiating actors. This confusion stemmed from using fixed,

¹ I do not suggest that either of these figures should be used to represent the Sargasso Sea; they simply exemplify how cartographers could organize data for a seasonal map of the movement of *Sargassum*. As interviewees made clear, these figures depict data points or sets collected using different methods, at specific but distinct times, and across varied time intervals.

static shapes to represent varied oceanic areas, and it has hindered attempts at creating more targeted and adaptable regulatory measures. In response, these scientists identified four categories that would highlight EBSAs' distinguishing features. The proposed categories include fixed, static, single-location EBSAs; grouped or clustered, fixed EBSAs; ephemeral EBSAs, which have fixed locations but changing characteristics across time (e.g. seasonally); and dynamic EBSAs. Cartographers can use color to distinguish between EBSA types, in this way conveying their dynamism/fixity, hetero/homo-geneity across 2-D space, and hetero/homo-geneity across time. The CBD approved the use of these EBSA categories in December, 2016.

It is important to note that each of the options suggested above, while remaining relatively simple, would add complexity to the represented Sargasso Sea. The benefits of adding this complexity should continue to be weighed against the potential costs described by members of the SSA. Yet, the need to categorize EBSAs, described above, illustrates that conveying too little information through maps can also prove problematic. Further, just as evolving technologies and data-sharing structures are transforming the mechanisms through which scientists understand ocean spaces (Lehman 2016), technological innovations and shifting markets have changed how industry actors can and are motivated to engage with these spaces. High seas governance is in flux as well; international actors are currently negotiating the regulatory structure for a potential new implementing agreement to govern areas

beyond national jurisdiction. These changes in human-ocean relations will all require new and creative management solutions from policy-makers.

Scholars have suggested spatial management tools to address these complex material and social realities. For instance, Zimmerer (2000) argues for using "multiple dynamic boundaries" that can shift over time according to both ecological and social changes. While his work refers to terrestrial contexts, policy-makers could apply comparable boundaries to manage the Sargasso Sea. These boundaries could account for seasonal *Sargassum* movement or could provide policy-makers with greater flexibility to address particularly contentious management issues, such as fisheries. Further, managers have begun exploring the potential for dynamic oceans management, or flexible management that couples human activities in marine contexts with real-time, or near real-time data (Maxwell et al. 2015; Lewison et al. 2015). Though managers have only attempted dynamic ocean management in near-shore contexts to date, its continued use suggests the potential development of similar tools for use in offshore, large-scale contexts in the future.

To be sure, utilizing these or similar management tools would add further complexity to already complex negotiating contexts. For instance, as noted by members of the SSA, enforcement of such flexible regulations and mobile spaces would likely prove extremely costly, in terms of both time and resources. However, surveillance technology and access to real-time information through mobile devices is starting to

lower some of these costs and open possibilities. While using these management options in a space like the Sargasso Sea may not seem feasible today, producing a more “wet” Sargasso Sea in policy arenas now could encourage policy-makers to consider these options if/when they become practical.

Finally, though these arguments have suggested the benefits of producing ocean spaces that more accurately depict their “wet” materiality, this case also demonstrates the importance of considering social relations. While conservationists began the process of territorializing the Sargasso Sea because of its unique ecological characteristics, the production of the Sargasso Sea as a territory for conservation inevitably collided with the existing governance structures created through UNCLOS. The *Sargassum*, as demonstrated by the scientists’ data, moves up the Gulf Stream and throughout the central gyre. Yet, the Sargasso Sea EBSA and the Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration are each missing large chunks of the southwestern area due to the removal of national EEZs. The later removal of Bermuda’s EEZ from the Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration created a large hole in the middle of this representation of the Sargasso Sea. Thus, even with the emergence of alternative mechanisms for producing and governing ocean spaces like the Sargasso Sea, existing territorial relations and social realities cannot be ignored.

3.7 Conclusions

“Any large social process or event will inevitably be far more complex than the schemata we can devise, prospectively or retrospectively, to map it.” (Scott 1998, p. 309)

Expanding Scott’s point to include ecological processes as well as social-ecological interactions, the complexity of the Sargasso Sea can never be fully captured and communicated through a map. Yet, in using a “wet” ontology to understand its production, this chapter has revealed that the Sargasso Sea is far more fluid, dynamic, and emergent than its representations as an EBSA and as a Geographical Area of Collaboration suggest. While simplifying the Sargasso Sea may provide benefits in policy negotiations, obscuring its materiality restricts policy-makers’ understanding of the space and may therefore limit possibilities for applying emergent, more appropriate management tools.

4. Contrasting Narratives, Shared Imaginaries: (Re)Producing Bermuda's EEZ as "peopled" space

4.1 Introduction

"I think, for the most part, people in Bermuda would not be affected by the Blue Halo, just because it was so far out to sea." (BDA Interview X76)

This chapter contributes to recent geographic research on the social aspects of large marine protected areas (LMPAs) by exploring territorial narratives used by actors during negotiations over a proposed LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ. To address area coverage targets for global oceans conservation (e.g. Aichi Target 11, described in Decision X/2, CBD 2010), states and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have engaged in a "race" to designate the largest LMPA, often in the EEZs of small island states and territories (De Santo 2013; Jones and De Santo 2016). Gruby et al. (2015) contend that LMPA advocates have previously conceptualized LMPA spaces as having "no people," and, thus, no relevant human dimensions (p. 3). As evidenced by the quote beginning this chapter, actors involved in negotiations over a proposed LMPA (called the Blue Halo) in Bermuda's EEZ revealed similar conceptualizations. Through an analysis of territorial narratives used by negotiating actors and how they reveal spatial imaginaries about Bermuda's EEZ, this chapter demonstrates Bermuda's EEZ as not only "peopled", but lively with social relations.

Through this chapter, I make three arguments concerning the production of Bermuda's EEZ during negotiations over its governance. First, the territorial narratives

that actors employ to promote distinct policy outcomes both reveal and (re)produce actors' spatial imaginaries of the EEZ. Some of the same spatial imaginaries are invoked by actors promoting divergent governance outcomes for Bermuda's EEZ, exposing shared understandings of this space as relational despite different perspectives on how to (re)produce it. Second, actors' use of these territorial narratives reveals the offshore portion of Bermuda's EEZ as a politically active and social seascape. This runs counter to actors' assumption that few would care about this space because, as one interviewee stated, "nobody's ever out there" (BDA Interview Z67); interviewees involved in proposing an LMPA in Bermuda's EEZ remembered holding this mistaken assumption early in negotiations. Finally, this chapter shows that, while no changes in regulatory policy or governance of this space have occurred to date, territorial negotiations have (re)produced and, in some ways, altered Bermuda's EEZ.

In the next section, I review relevant literature on the production of space via territorial narratives and spatial imaginaries. I then provide background information about the two main governance solutions¹ proposed and promoted by actors during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, as well as the government's decision following a public consultation process (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.4); this is followed by a description of the methods that I used to collect and analyze data for this chapter. The next section demonstrates how an analysis of the territorial narratives used

¹ I use the term "solution" in this chapter to clarify how actors' proposed governance strategies relate to the territorial narratives used to promote them. For each narrative, the proposed strategy presents the "best" solution to the articulated problem.

to support each governance solution and the government's decision reveals four shared spatial imaginaries characterizing Bermuda's EEZ. I conclude with reflections on how the social realities of Bermuda's EEZ were revealed and transformed during these negotiations, producing an altered relational seascape, and implications of these changes for understanding Bermuda's EEZ.

4.2 Literature Review

As discussed previously in this dissertation, ocean spaces and territories, including the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ, are socially produced and relational (Steinberg 2009; Lefebvre 1974; Massey 2005). Referring to Lefebvre's (1974) seminal work, Steinberg (2001) argues that the production of space includes uses of and material engagements with space, the promotion of discursive representations of space (e.g. through maps, pictures, or language), and representational space, or "how the space itself has been mobilized as a representational sign and arena of social struggles" (p. 28). Similarly, ocean territory emerges not only through material encounters with or within a bounded space, but also through discursive representations ordering that space in particular ways, and through the (re)production of that space as having particular value or symbolic meaning. This chapter explores the production of Bermuda's EEZ during negotiations over its governance through actors' use of territorial narratives. I argue that, by employing these at times contrasting and at times overlapping territorial

narratives, actors both perform acts of territoriality and reveal shared spatial imaginaries characterizing and highlighting the social complexity of Bermuda's EEZ.

4.2.1 Narratives as discursive practice

Hajer (1995) asserts that narratives, or, in his words, "story-lines," offer "an important form of agency" to actors seeking to frame problems or events in a way that supports their interests (p. 56). Narratives often invoke, and thus (re)produce, more general discourses, or "shared way[s] of understanding the world" (Dryzek 2005, p. 9). Actors use narratives to clarify or give meaning to particular ideas, entities, or experiences; they seek to present a "homogenous" message, so that their expression through language and practice promotes a common understanding of what is occurring, what caused it, and how best to respond (Adger et al. 2001; Roe 1991). Narratives, in other words, can support actors' interests by defining a problem, proposing a solution, and positing what outcomes will occur if that solution is pursued (Roe 1991).

For example, Adger et al. (2001) describe how actors have utilized narratives as rhetorical devices to promote both dominant and populist environmental discourses by making them coherent and easily understood. These narratives present reality within structured stories that position actor groups, entities, and even processes in particular roles. Through their analysis, they demonstrate that dominant environmental narratives portray environmental problems as global in nature and thus in need of large-scale, top-down management solutions that are legible to global actors. Conversely, narratives

used to further populist discourses position global capitalism and management actors and institutions as “villains;” local peoples represent “heroes” who, by engaging in small-scale management practices, more effectively and justly address environmental issues.

Narratives can also “help to define common sense” by framing outcomes as inevitable or describing problems and their solutions as obvious or unquestioned (Dryzek 2005, p. 9; Roe 1991). They reflect particular beliefs and ideologies and often reduce the apparent complexity of problems (Adger et al. 2001; Roe 1991). As actors reproduce these narratives in various situations, they strengthen (or weaken) them, in this way affecting reality. Some, often relatively strong, discourses and narratives are ultimately reflected and reproduced in changes to formal institutions or policies (Sievanen, Gruby, and Campbell 2013; Campbell 2002; Hajer 1995). Yet, narratives can impact society and reality in more subtle ways as well. These impacts are reflected in political negotiations and conflict, social influences, or arguments against narratives promoted by their critics (Dryzek 2005; Campbell 2002).

For instance, Campbell (2007) describes how sea turtle experts used scalar narratives about sea turtle migration patterns and traditional conservation narratives portraying local people as “degrading” nature to promote their (the experts’) own vision of sea turtle protection in a Costa Rican community. By assuming the role of “expert,” these actors frame their vision as the “right” one while simultaneously undercutting

local peoples, their practices in turtle egg harvest, and their management vision as destructive. Campbell also demonstrates how the concurrent employment of a community-based conservation narrative further serves the experts' interests while masking asymmetric power relations. Actors' selective use of narratives impacts both perceptions of and reactions to turtle egg harvest in Costa Rica; but it also exemplifies how even narratives purported to resist hegemonic discourses (see Roe 1991) can be coopted to further promote the interests of the powerful.

Thus, by invoking and reproducing narratives, actors carry out a form of discursive practice that helps shape reality. Attention to the (re)production of narratives as discursive practice serves as a reminder that even the institutionalization of a narrative through policy creation does not imply fixity (Hajer 1995). Actors must continually reproduce and, at times, adjust narratives related to particular contexts for those narratives to remain settled and unquestioned (Hajer 1995; Foucault 1982). Conversely, the power of narratives can remain even when the evidence supporting them is called into question (Roe 1991).

Sometimes, actors employ multiple narratives simultaneously to better support their interests, building off complimentary narratives to co- and re-produce their arguments and address gaps or potential critiques (as demonstrated by Campbell (2007)). Additionally, Tsing (2005) shows how even contrasting narratives produced by different actor groups can not only co-exist, but work together to produce a

conceptualization that achieves each group's divergent interests. The actor groups she describes each understood an Indonesian forest and the community living within it through particular histories and relations, positioning these entities differently within their respective narratives. Yet, because each narrative portrayed a successful community-managed forest, the actors collectively supported emergent human-forest relations while still (re)producing a distinct understanding of reality that fit their history and served their specific interests. Campbell (2002) illustrates a similar phenomenon in Costa Rica, where diverse interest groups coalesce around a narrative supporting ecotourism as an appropriate conservation and development strategy. The next section describes how certain narratives, called territorial narratives, similarly (re)produce reality by purporting or contesting the purpose, organization, and/or boundaries of specific areas.

4.2.2 Narratives as acts of territoriality

As reviewed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.1), oceans have historically been conceptualized and (re)produced as “non-territory,” or static spaces, empty of social relations, with a “negative relationality to the land” (Anderson and Peters 2014, p. 8; Steinberg 2009; Peters 2010). Cartographic representations of oceans have often failed to capture “the complexity of human communities [and] their relationship to locations and resources at sea” (St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008, p. 779). Yet, human geographers have noted that actors are increasingly engaged in the territorialization of oceans, including,

notably, offshore ocean spaces (Mountz 2013; Chmara-huff 2014; Campbell et al. 2016). In particular, actors use marine protected areas (MPAs) to bound oceanic areas for specific purposes, e.g. “a territory for scientific practice; a territory for local people; a territory of the state deployed by managers and experts to both offset and promote the effects of capitalist overconsumption” (Chmara-huff 2014, p. 12). Actors promoting the global proliferation of LMPAs have suggested, however, a preference for proposing LMPAs in offshore spaces because they are too remote for people to use (Gruby et al. 2015). As an interviewee supporting LMPA designation at the World Parks Congress in 2014 noted, “Remote areas are easier, so they’re politically less risky” (pers. comm. 2014). Thus, actors continue to conceptualize these offshore spaces as “unpeopled,” even as they promote new practices of ocean territorialization within them.

Scholars have revealed the use of narratives as one mechanism through which ocean territorialization, particularly territorialization for conservation, is attempted and, at times, achieved (Steinberg 2008; Chmara-huff 2014). For instance, Steinberg (2008) argues that the emergence of an “Overuse Narrative” in US media and oceans policy has helped promote a shift in society’s understanding of and interests in oceans and their governance. This shift is reflected in President Bush’s establishment of what was at the time the largest fully protected MPA in the world, the initial designation that would ultimately become the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument. Further, narratives based on ecological studies describing the long-range migration patterns and

large area habitat needs of particular marine species and ecosystems have led powerful conservation NGOs to promote the use of LMPAs and MPA networks as spatial approaches to oceans governance (Dudley et al. 2014; Chmara-huff 2014). By employing narratives characterizing MPAs in general (rather than specifically LMPAs) as both scientific solutions as well as opportunities for participatory governance and livelihood support, these NGOs and other activists have successfully used MPAs as discursive tools to garner global consensus concerning appropriate, feasible marine conservation solutions (Gray et al. 2014).

In Chapter 2, I noted that actors negotiating the governance of Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea developed and employed narratives related to these spaces as acts of territoriality to promote preferred governance outcomes. I define these territorial narratives as stories with "a beginning, middle, and end" (Roe 1991, p. 288) that position or frame a geographically bounded area as supporting or allowing for particular actor interest(s) through specified relations of control over and organization of that space (Rasch 2014). Territorial narratives, in other words, present a problem concerning current actor relations to a bounded space (e.g. people do not adequately protect this space) and the best solution (e.g. people should implement conservation regulations to protect it). Often, territorial narratives depict perspectives about who has authority over a defined space and how that space should be socially structured or governed as "rational" and obvious, rather than political and contested. The continual reproduction

of dominant narratives can make territorial relations appear unquestioned and coherent, reinforcing the idea of space and territory as already fixed (Massey 2005; Steinberg 2009). In this way, territorial narratives can play a discursive role similar to that of the fixed oceanic boundaries produced in the maps explored in Chapter 3.

Though not often called “territorial narratives” in the literature, human geographers have described various common territorial narratives used to define and assert control over bounded areas for conservation. For example, scholars refer to the traditional fortress conservation or “nature islands” narrative, which positions local people as the “villains” destroying nature and protected area implementation as the solution needed to defend these “natural” spaces from local abuses (Campbell 2002; Pochet 2014; Neumann 2014). Political ecologists and other scholars and activists have historically questioned this narrative as both incorrectly characterizing human-nature relations and producing governance structures that infringe on local people’s rights (Neumann 2014). In response, counter-narratives characterizing these areas, not as spaces of human exclusion, but as spaces to promote sustainable development or community-based management, where people and communities reside within or engage directly with ‘nature’ spaces, have emerged (Sievanen, Gruby, and Campbell 2013; Pochet 2014; Campbell 2002). Through these counter narratives, some actors seek to better address the needs and interests of all stakeholders, with varied results.

This chapter examines territorial narratives employed by actors during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. Some reflect narratives commonly used in discussions about conservation governance, as described above; others relate to unique attributes and relations characterizing Bermuda and its EEZ during these negotiations. These territorial narratives reveal not only particular actors' interests and priorities related to Bermuda's EEZ, but also how they conceptualize the EEZ more generally (Steinberg 2001; St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008). While the employment of territorial narratives does not "telekinetically transform reality" (Davis 2005, p. 611), it can (re)produce particular understandings, or spatial imaginaries, of what that space is or represents. The next section defines spatial imaginaries, as explored in this chapter, and reviews their discursive and performative roles in the production of space (Watkins 2015).

4.2.3 Spatial imaginaries

Various scholars have described the presence of spatial imaginaries (also called imaginary geographies, spatial conceptualizations, etc.) and their role in the production of space (Watkins 2015; Wolford 2004; Davis 2005). Wolford (2004) defines spatial imaginaries as "cognitive frameworks, both collective and individual, constituted through the lived experiences, perceptions, and conceptions of space itself" (p. 410). While some scholars view spatial imaginaries as worldviews (see Watkins (2015) for a review of this literature), Cidell (2011) describes them as discursive constructs that

reflect how actors understand or make sense of existing spatial relations and structures and, in turn, help shape the continued evolution and emergence of those relations and structures in the future. Spatial imaginaries, she asserts, are “neither rigid nor homogenous”; shifting interests of actors holding and/or articulating particular spatial imaginaries can lead to re-conceptualizations of a space and its meaning (Cidell 2011, p. 837). Indeed, in his recent review of human geography research on spatial imaginaries, Watkins (2015) argues that scholars have most often viewed spatial imaginaries through this discursive lens, understanding them as representational discourses that both produce, and are produced by, embodied and conceptual engagements with spaces.

For instance, Cidell (2011) shows how spatial imaginaries reflecting historical territories in suburban Chicago both shift with and influence emerging shipping networks and flows related to globalization. Wolford (2004) examines how spatial imaginaries influenced rural Brazilian farmers' decision to join a resistance movement. She demonstrates that farmers from southern Brazil engaged with the movement because of, and using, their spatial imaginaries, while farmers from northeastern Brazil joined the resistance in spite of long-held spatial imaginaries reflecting labor relations and mobilization. These divergent spatial imaginaries, she argues, are products of the diverse ways that these farmers experience, or live, conceive and perceive of, land; the spatial imaginaries then shape, and continue to be shaped by, the divergent trajectories that the movement took in these places over time.

Watkins (2015) demonstrates that human geographers working with spatial imaginaries have described three different types of spatial imaginaries. He refers to these as place imaginaries, idealized space imaginaries, and spatial transformation imaginaries, and calls for scholars to attend to the distinctions and relations among these different spatial imaginary types in their research. Place imaginaries are commonly or collectively held ideas about a particular bounded space that produce that space as somehow distinctive. They are both formed through and ascribe specific relational attributes to a place. Idealized space imaginaries reflect actors' understanding of certain *types* of spaces, rather than a particular place. They include features or characteristics that this type of space usually has, or ought to exhibit. Finally, Watkins (2015) asserts that spatial transformation imaginaries encompass how actors understand processes of change across space or of a particular bounded space. Examples of spatial transformation imaginaries include processes of gentrification or globalization.

This chapter responds to Watkins' (2015) call to investigate distinctions and relations between these different types of spatial imaginaries by exploring how three idealized space imaginaries and a place imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ were revealed and interacted through actors' use of territorial narratives during negotiations over EEZ governance. Though rarely called spatial imaginaries, human geographers studying human-ocean relations have previously identified commonly held spatial imaginaries of oceans (Steinberg 2001; Campbell et al. 2016). For instance, Steinberg (2001) explains that

ocean spaces are often viewed by actors as spaces of freedom, where restrictions should be limited; spaces for development in which states should invest to accrue benefits; or spaces for conservation in need of stewardship without human interference. Reflecting an understanding of spatial imaginaries (or oceanic representations) as discursive, he further contends that these spatial imaginaries have both co-produced and reinforced one another.

It is important to note that actors need not physically engage with spaces to conceptualize and relate to them (Watkins 2015). Davis (2005) demonstrates how different actors imagine, and in turn discursively and materially produce, Bikini Atoll, though some (e.g. military personnel and potential tourists) have never lived in, or even visited, the islands. Similarly, while some actors relate to Bermuda's offshore EEZ through embodied encounters (e.g. shipping, travelling, or, in one case, regular commercial long-line fishing), many do not. These actors relate to Bermuda's EEZ largely as conceptual space, or as Lefebvre (1974) calls it, representational space. They see Bermuda's EEZ as symbolic of particular ideals, or as reflecting idealized spatial imaginaries that "overlay physical space" with particular meaning (Lefebvre 1974, p. 39). Actors' reliance on abstract conceptualizations of offshore ocean spaces likely reflects the fragility and precariousness of material engagements with and within ocean spaces, as discussed in Chapter 3. Yet space is both material and relational (Lefebvre 1974); the very material attributes of Bermuda's offshore spaces that limit actors'

material engagement with it lead to a shared understanding of Bermuda's EEZ as unknown. This chapter explores how this shared place imaginary reflects these material and relational attributes of Bermuda's EEZ as a specific and actual place, rather than idealized space.

Finally, Watkins (2015) asserts that understanding spatial imaginaries as performative, rather than purely discursive, allows researchers to interrogate how they, and the actors articulating them, create futures or alter trajectories through practice. The concept of performativity does not attribute agency to a particular spatial imaginary or even those (re)producing it, but rather highlights how the enactment, or articulation, of a spatial imaginary within material reality (i.e. beyond a static understanding of linguistic reproduction) contributes to the ongoing emergence of that reality over time (Bialasiewicz et al. 2007). By adopting this view of spatial imaginaries as performative, this chapter demonstrates how the articulation, and hence (re)production, of spatial imaginaries of Bermuda's EEZ (through both the promotion of territorial narratives and, in one case, the enactment of Bermuda's EEZ as unknown) has altered this space as relational over the course of governance negotiations. It reveals commonalities between spatial imaginaries held by actors advocating for divergent governance outcomes, and in so doing, reveals potential opportunities for future governance trajectories that may not otherwise be apparent.

4.3 Background

4.3.1 The emergence of potential EEZ governance outcomes

As described previously in this dissertation, members of the Sargasso Sea initiative initially proposed the concept of implementing a large marine protected area (LMPA) in Bermuda's EEZ as a way to demonstrate Bermuda's commitment to oceanic conservation. Bermuda's EEZ is completely enveloped by the Sargasso Sea (as defined by Ardron et al. (2011)), and the Bermudian government was leading an initiative to promote conservation of this larger area. As most of the Sargasso Sea lies in the high seas, members of the Sargasso Sea initiative hoped that Bermuda's commitment to protect its own waters would encourage the commitment of other nations to collaboratively support Sargasso Sea conservation in international governance arenas.

As a result of a 2010 meeting of the Sargasso Sea initiative (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.2), the Bermudian government agreed to invite a global NGO, Pew Charitable Trusts (Pew), to partner with them in consulting with Bermudian and foreign stakeholders about the potential implementation of this LMPA within Bermuda's EEZ. Over the next year, this proposed LMPA became known as the Blue Halo. The proposed LMPA would consist of a ring around Bermuda's islands within which no "take," or extractive economic activity, could occur. This ring would extend from 50 nm to 200 nm off Bermuda's shore, with the furthest extent coinciding with the outer boundary of Bermuda's EEZ. Pew hired two Bermudian consultants in 2011 to provide information

and promote the Blue Halo's designation to the Bermuda public. These consultants and other proponents of the Blue Halo advocated for the Blue Halo through advertisements, hard copy hand-outs, televised, radio and newspaper interviews, an official website and Facebook page, presentations and booths at various organizations and events, a short film, media outputs from local Bermudian and global NGOs, individual conversations, and the dissemination of "swag," such as bumper stickers, cups, bracelets, and shirts.

In early 2013, actors within and outside of Bermuda began to publicly argue against implementing the Blue Halo. They raised concerns about the future of deep-sea mining, recreational fishing and commercial fishing within the offshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ if the government applied strong regulatory restrictions by implementing the Blue Halo. These actors used television, radio and newspaper interviews, social media such as Facebook, media outputs from global organizations, and individual conversations to advance their case. Their arguments gained traction throughout 2013, and the Blue Halo (also referred to more generally as a "marine reserve") soon became a highly divisive topic.

Thus, before the formal Public Consultation (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.4) began in September 2013, the focal question in public discourse about the governance of Bermuda's EEZ already centered around whether or not to designate the Blue Halo. As Premier Michael Dunkley later reiterated during a speech to the Bermuda House of Assembly on June 6, 2014,

“At that time [the beginning of the Public Consultation] ... the dominant proposal for the future of our EEZ, advocated the establishment of a large, no-take marine reserve in our offshore waters, ... this particular proposal was the subject of major advocacy by the Pew Charitable Trusts, which hired local consultants and mounted a marketing campaign for the ‘Bermuda Blue Halo.’” (brackets added; full speech reproduced in *Bernews* 2014b)

Despite the Sustainable Development Department’s attempt to broaden the focus during the Public Consultation by changing its main question from “Do you think a marine reserve should be established in the offshore waters of Bermuda’s Exclusive Economic Zone?” to “What should we do with our EEZ?” (SDD 2014, p. 3; see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.4.1), the potential Blue Halo continued to dominate public debate. This was verified both by interviewees and public discussions retroactively accessed through newspaper articles and films. The document produced by the Sustainable Development Department relating the Public Consultation’s outcome (hereafter, “the Outcome document”) further confirms this, discussing the high number of people who included the Blue Halo or its dimensions in online survey responses and referring to the promotion of it by numerous local NGOs and two online petitions as “influencing circumstances” in survey results (SDD 2014, p. 7)².

² The Sustainable Development Department reported that 381 respondents to the on-line version of the survey out of 1,023 total respondents who provided justification for their selection indicated a marine reserve extending in a ring from 50-200 nm around Bermuda as their “write in” option and/or as part of their justification. The document did not provide additional numbers or percentages of respondents to other versions of the survey who specifically included the Blue Halo design, though other information presented indicates that they were likely lower. Nonetheless, the significant inclusion of the Blue Halo design in responses to one version of the survey, as well as the continued inclusion of it in broader public discourse and the outcome document itself, indicate that the Blue Halo was the option most often invoked when stakeholders thought about or discussed implementing a marine reserve in Bermuda’s EEZ.

During and following the Public Consultation, a third potential outcome emerged and became dominant: delay making a final decision about EEZ governance pending the completion of an economic analysis of proposed governance options. While this solution was only publicly discussed and strongly considered toward the end of the Public Consultation, it was discursively solidified through the Outcome document and a speech given by Premier Michael Dunkley on June 6, 2014. I consider inclusion of this governance solution important for this chapter even though it was not consistently promoted during the Public Consultation because it reflects the government's ultimate decision and outlines next steps for the negotiation process. This decision, and the document and speech through which it is articulated, ensured that the arguments used to support it have been widely distributed, and have, in turn, (re)produced particular conceptualizations of Bermuda's EEZ. As this chapter will reveal, these (re)productions have altered Bermuda's EEZ in meaningful ways, even though the government has not, to date, changed legislation or formally solicited an economic study to address data gaps.

In sum, this chapter will explore the territorial narratives used to support the implementation of three divergent solutions for the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. I refer to these solutions as (1) designate the Blue Halo, (2) do not designate the Blue Halo, and (3) delay negotiations. While I selected these as the three solutions dominating negotiations, it is important to note that additional options were discussed. For instance,

the survey initially distributed by the Sustainable Development Department suggested three “no take” marine reserves of different sizes, none of which corresponded to the Blue Halo’s dimensions. Additionally, some actors proposed designating a multi-use area; others similarly suggested implementing a Self-Administered MPA (SAMPAs), an option which was publicly explained and discussed at the Town Hall. Of these, the SAMPAs garnered the most public attention. Yet, it entered into public discussions relatively late in the negotiating process, and only a small group of stakeholders collectively committed to exploring this option following the Public Consultation. Therefore, as none of the alternative options were established and reproduced within the negotiations as legitimate and cohesive potential solutions, I have not included the territorial narratives used to support them in this analysis.

4.3.2 Bermuda’s offshore EEZ as “unpeopled”

Similar to the global oceans actors described in the literature review, many actors involved in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ portrayed Bermuda’s offshore EEZ as devoid of people. For instance, those promoting the Blue Halo’s designation explained that the Blue Halo would begin at a boundary 50 nm from Bermuda’s coast because Bermudians were not fishing that far offshore. As one interviewee stated,

“When we were discussing the Blue Halo, we were talking about anything from 50 nautical miles, which most Bermudan fisheries, all of them except for maybe one long-liner, take place within a 50 nautical mile zone. So, the outer donut, no one’s out there. No one really cares, except

for the foreign fishermen, who might come in and fish our EEZ, which isn't allowed anymore." (BDA Interview X76)

Chris Flook, one of Pew's hired Bermudian consultants, further clarified this during the Town Hall at the end of the Public Consultation, saying,

"So that's the reason 50 [nm] was put on the table from the get-go. Because traditionally, it's an unfished area. No one's going out there. You know, why drive past fish to go get fish? So, the idea was make it twice as far as traditionally fished areas like Challenger and Argus, and then you've got that buffer zone to sort of build on a fishery or try new things if need be." (*Bernews* 2013b)

Actors arguing against the Blue Halo similarly described the offshore areas of Bermuda's EEZ as having "nothing going on out there" (BDA Interview O80). Another declared that, "We don't use it. We aren't using it. We never use it. One day we might, but right now we don't" (BDA Interview S56).

Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2.2 makes clear that people, in fact, are not completely removed from this offshore space. Boats carrying fishermen and their crews, tourists, military personnel and imported and exported goods frequently cross the waters surrounding Bermuda. Deep-sea cables crisscrossing this area allow islanders to communicate across vast distances, and a deep-sea mining company owns an exclusive lease to explore the seabed for minerals. Yet, because Bermudians performed little extractive activity in their offshore EEZ during these negotiations, many interviewees viewed this space as too remote for public interest. As this chapter will demonstrate

however, Bermuda's EEZ, including its offshore space, is both politically contested and socially (re)produced – in other words, it is “peopled”.

4.4 Methods

Data collection for this chapter included semi-structured interviews; policy and promotional document collection; and the collection of online and hardcopy media, such as news articles, speech transcripts, a filmed event (a Town Hall meeting), and promotional films. Most of the data used for this chapter were collected in Bermuda or online. However, I referred to data from other field sites (i.e. Washington, DC and the UK) and sources (e.g. interviews conducted over Skype, the phone, or email) to understand who utilized particular territorial narratives and how and why they were employed. See the Introduction to this dissertation for additional details about project data collection methods.

I conducted thematic coding followed by a narrative analysis to identify and analyze the territorial narratives used to produce Bermuda's EEZ during negotiations over its governance. I first coded the data using deductive and inductive coding techniques to identify themes concerning how actors discursively produced Bermuda's EEZ. For instance, preliminary research in Bermuda suggested the presence of various characterizations of Bermuda's EEZ as a space in need of conservation, a space of economic opportunity, a space of freedom from regulations, and a space to articulate national sovereignty. Using grounded theory (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002), I coded for

these initially-identified themes; I then added additional themes as they arose during the coding process.

While I ultimately identified twenty distinct thematic characterizations used by actors to describe Bermuda's EEZ, actors reproduced some more widely and frequently than others. Further, I found that actors referenced some of these characterizations in territorial narratives promoting different, sometimes contradicting governance solutions. For example, actors employed territorial narratives that characterized Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation to support arguments both for and against the designation of the Blue Halo. These common characterizations of Bermuda's EEZ reflect shared spatial imaginaries, which actors both revealed and (re)produced during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ.

I identified four major shared spatial imaginaries during analysis. Actors articulated these spatial imaginaries through territorial narratives promoting each of the three major governance solutions identified in the previous section: to designate the Blue Halo, not to designate the Blue Halo, and to delay further negotiation pending additional data collection. These four shared spatial imaginaries include Spatial Imaginary 1: Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation, Spatial Imaginary 2: Bermuda's EEZ as a space for economic development, Spatial Imaginary 3: Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty, and Spatial Imaginary 4: Bermuda's EEZ as unknown. I will argue that negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ revealed

and/or (re)produced these loosely formed, yet consistent, spatial imaginaries characterizing Bermuda's EEZ in particular ways. Further, as I will explain below, the fourth spatial imaginary differs somewhat from the other three, with important implications for the production of ocean space in Bermuda.

Finally, I analyzed and compared the territorial narratives that revealed these shared spatial imaginaries. I combined analytical methods described in Silver et al. (2015), Dryzek (2005), and Hajer (1995) to unpack these narratives based on six elements. These elements include: the problem to be solved; the best solution to the problem; the mechanism(s), or trajectory, that would most likely, best, or inevitably lead to this solution; the actors identified by and their roles within the narrative; key rhetorical devices used (e.g. visual or literary symbols, metaphors); and the types of actors employing the narrative. While I consistently present the problem, solution, and the actors employing each narrative, for clarity, I have only included those additional elements most often used and/or most clearly characterizing the arguments for each narrative.

It is important to note that most of the interview data used for this analysis necessarily reflects actor opinions, memories, and/or thoughts *after* the Public Consultation had taken place. However, given that most interviews in Bermuda were conducted during (August 2014) or shortly after (summer 2015) the final stages of negotiations, I have used narratives voiced during these interviews as a proxy for how

these spaces were discussed and produced during the negotiations themselves. I also triangulated this data with policy and promotional documents and media produced during the negotiations. Finally, note that, with the exception of the territorial narrative described in Section 4.5.4.3, the government did not use distinct territorial narratives to promote its decision to delay negotiations. Instead, I describe the arguments it used to justify this decision; as discussed below, these arguments did, at times, invoke territorial narratives used by other actors during these negotiations.

4.5 Narratives and Imaginaries: Territorializing Bermuda's EEZ

This section describes various territorial narratives that actor groups utilized to advance the three major governance solutions promoted during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. Similar to the actors described by Campbell (2007) and Tsing (2005) (see Literature Review, above), actors advocating for each of three major solutions often utilized multiple territorial narratives to bolster their arguments and/or attend to perceived weaknesses. The territorial narratives described here each reveal and (re)produce a spatial imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ. While some of these narratives gained more traction than others and/or contributed to the emergence of particular outcomes and trajectories (see Chapter 2), all contributed to directing attention toward offshore space in Bermuda and the (re)production of this space as relational.

The section is divided into four parts, each focusing on the territorial narratives revealing a particular shared spatial imaginary. These parts each contain four additional

subsections. The first three subsections in each part describe the territorial narrative (or, in some cases, the territorial argument) used by actors promoting each of the three main governance solutions that reveal that section's spatial imaginary. As described in Section 4.3.1, above, the territorial narratives described in first two subsections of each part (those promoting or opposing the Blue Halo) were promoted at roughly the same time (before and during the Public Consultation); the third subsection in each part (concerning the government's decision to delay negotiations) emerged after the Public Consultation. The fourth subsection in each part summarizes these narratives or arguments and how they demonstrate that that spatial imaginary is shared across actor groups. This organization emphasizes how actors promoting different governance solutions for Bermuda's EEZ invoke the same spatial imaginaries characterizing the EEZ; it also highlights the similarities and contradictions of the territorial narratives employed.

While I review the most commonly used territorial narratives within this chapter, data revealed many additional narratives characterizing this space. An analysis of all of them is beyond the scope of this chapter. For instance, one territorial narrative portrays Bermuda's EEZ as a space in which the Bermudian government should allow fishermen to practice their trade without constraining regulations (see Steinberg (2001) for further discussion of freedom as a common understanding and symbolic representation of ocean spaces). Through this narrative, fishermen argue that the proposed Blue Halo

would limit their freedoms (the problem), and the government should therefore refrain from implementing it (the solution). However, the spatial imaginary revealed through this territorial narrative (Bermuda's EEZ as a space of regulatory freedom) was not invoked by actors promoting the other two governance solutions (i.e. (1) designate the Blue Halo and (3) delay negotiations). Through this analysis, I seek to highlight where the spatial imaginaries invoked by actors promoting divergent governance outcomes converge. Thus, I have included only territorial narratives employed by actors promoting one of the three main governance solutions that invoke one of the four shared spatial imaginaries identified above.

4.5.1 Spatial Imaginary 1: Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation

4.5.1.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo

Actors advocating the designation of the Blue Halo used a territorial narrative that revealed a spatial imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation. Actors argued that increased oceanic activity threatened the ecological health of global oceans. In Bermuda's EEZ, they contended, illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing by foreign industrial vessels represented the most pressing issue. Actors asserted that implementing the Blue Halo would address this issue by removing the threat through a "no take" regulatory structure. If no resource harvesting was allowed, they argued, managers could more easily identify law-breakers by using satellite imagery and observed incident reports from cruise ships or shipping vessels. By designating a large

portion of its EEZ for conservation through the Blue Halo, Bermuda would become a leader in international marine conservation and a savior of the marine environment for future generations. Actors that employed this territorial narrative included representatives of Pew and its local consultants, members of the SSA, representatives from local Bermudian NGOs (e.g. Greenrock and Chewstick, see Section 2.5.3.3), other Bermudian environmentalists and, early in the negotiating process, Bermudian government representatives.

Actors supported this narrative by using four key arguments and rhetorical devices that characterized Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation: portraying the Blue Halo as a "safety deposit box," highlighting Bermuda's conservation legacy, positioning Bermuda as leader of Sargasso Sea conservation, and invoking the visual imagery and symbolism of a "Blue Halo." Note that, while these arguments and rhetorical devices support designation of the Blue Halo as a conservation tool, they did not directly demonstrate the existence of the purported problem (IUU fishing)³ or the mechanisms through which enforcement would occur. Interviewees often related confusion over what issue the Blue Halo would solve and who would carry out enforcement; thus, though actors advocating for Blue Halo designation attempted to address this confusion at times, this narrative remained somewhat fractured in practice.

³ Preliminary results from a recent study released to Bermudians in January 2017 suggested "no strong seasonal or spatial trends" in illegal fishing based on analysis of Automatic Identification System data collected from 2013-2016 (Johnston-Barnes 2017). Satellite Applications Catapult carried out this study.

First, actors promoting the Blue Halo compared it to a “safety deposit box” that would save Bermuda’s marine resources for future use. The Blue Halo, they argued, would protect Bermuda’s entire EEZ, both its offshore and inshore spaces. As explained in an informational pamphlet produced by the Bermuda Blue Halo organization, the Blue Halo would “form a protective buffer zone to help safeguard Bermuda’s rich innermost marine areas” where most fishing, tourism, and other ocean-related activities take place (Iverson 2012, p. 8). Chris Flook, the director of the Bermuda Blue Halo organization, explained the implications of the Blue Halo (here called simply “a marine reserve”) at the public Town Hall meeting held near the end of the Public Consultation:

“A marine reserve is not something scary. It’s a management tool. Basically, what it does is, we put it in the safety deposit box and then it ensures the integrity of the area should a viable commercial opportunity arise down the line. If we do not protect it and we leave it as a multi-use area, the threat and the pressures will just keep building.” (*Bernews* 2013b)

As with a safety deposit box, actors explained, Bermuda could access the EEZ’s resources at any time by reversing or changing legislation.

Actors promoting the Blue Halo also referred to Bermuda’s historical conservation efforts to demonstrate national precedence for taking this step. The Blue Halo, they argued, would draw international attention to Bermuda’s legacy of prioritizing conservation as the largest marine reserve in the Atlantic Ocean and one of the largest in the world. To emphasize this, The Pew Environment Group created wallet-sized pamphlets entitled, “Bermuda’s Marine Conservation Timeline: A Legacy of

Action.” This pamphlet reviewed conservation regulatory actions taken by Bermuda from 1616 to 2012, then depicted the Blue Halo as “the next step.” Bermudian actors also portrayed the Blue Halo as an extension of existing Bermudian priorities and, further, as a potential source of pride. For instance, one local NGO representative supported implementing the Blue Halo in a local newspaper, stating, “It’s time to step up and do what our predecessors did for the cahow and turtles of Bermuda: protect what is important to us — our natural environment!” (*The Royal Gazette* 2013).

Third, actors referred to Bermuda’s role as the leader of the Sargasso Sea conservation initiative to argue that Bermuda should demonstrate their leadership and commitment to conservation by creating the Blue Halo. They emphasized the difficulty in achieving international buy-in for conserving this high seas area, particularly given that no institutional framework to cooperatively govern the area existed at that time (the Hamilton Declaration has since filled this role). If Bermuda took this first step, other nations would more likely follow suit, demonstrating their own commitment to conservation by signing the Hamilton Declaration. During the Public Consultation, the executive director of the Sargasso Sea Alliance, Dr. David Freestone, wrote an opinion article published by *The Royal Gazette*, stating,

“Next year, the world will be watching Bermuda [when leaders gather there to sign the Hamilton Declaration]. The Hamilton Declaration is designed to demonstrate the leadership of Bermuda in international marine conservation. The current discussions about the establishment of a marine reserve offer a chance for all Bermudians to show the

international community how you are continuing your legacy of leadership in marine conservation.” (Freestone 2013)

Pamphlets produced by the Pew Environment Group and the Bermuda Blue Halo organization describe the importance of conserving the broader Sargasso Sea through detailed descriptions of its unique characteristics. This quote from a two-page pamphlet entitled “Bermuda’s Legacy” exemplifies these descriptions:

“The Sargasso Sea spans an area about half the size of the United States. In the calm within its swirling currents, two species of seaweed grow bubble-like sacs to keep afloat and catch the sun’s rays in a patchwork of dense mats that attract myriad wildlife. This unique habitat results in a complex community of more than 100 species of fish and 145 types of invertebrates. Some of this marine life is incredibly tiny and specialized for this distinct ecosystem. Others, like the white and blue marlin, and flying fish, are found worldwide but come here to spawn, while porbeagle and tiger sharks give birth to their pups in these waters.”

The pamphlet concludes by providing various economic, ecological, and political reasons for implementing the Blue Halo, asserting that “[t]his measure would help maintain the rich and healthy stocks of fish around the island, while serving as a model for other nations in the emerging effort to protect the international waters of the Sargasso Sea. The Blue Halo is a visionary opportunity for Bermuda.”

This final quote relates to actors’ use of symbolism and marketing to depict the Blue Halo in a positive light. The “Halo” imagery and the “I’m a believer” slogan suggested religious parallels. Some interviewees reported simply appreciating the image itself; one Blue Halo proponent explained that “[the] Blue Halo just sounded like a beautiful concept which was easy to understand” (BDA Interview J25). In

complementing this imagery with the other devices described above, this territorial narrative positioned Bermuda as a potential hero, a savior. By implementing the Blue Halo, Bermuda could save its offshore EEZ, buffer its inshore waters, showcase its strong historical conservation legacy, and lead other nations toward Sargasso Sea conservation. As one unidentified member of the audience at the Town Hall meeting stated, “I think this could be the greatest idea Bermuda ever had. To really make a big marine reserve. To set aside not for just us, but for our children, and for our grandchildren. Something so, when they look back, they say, that was really the greatest idea you guys ever had” (*Bernews* 2013b).

4.5.1.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo

Actors that opposed implementing the Blue Halo also employed a territorial narrative that portrayed Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for conservation. This narrative emerged in response to the Blue Halo proposal; the problem addressed through this narrative was the potential designation of the Blue Halo itself, rather than an issue regarding current human-ocean relations or oceans health. Actors argued that implementing the Blue Halo was unnecessary and redundant with current policies and would focus resources and attention away from more pressured inshore areas. Thus, they contended, the government should not implement the Blue Halo. Actors who contributed to this narrative included Bermudians interested in deep-sea mining, Bermudian commercial and recreational fishermen, Bermudian environmentalists and

local conservation NGO representatives, and a US-based recreational fishing organization called the Billfish Foundation.

Much like proponents of the Blue Halo in the previous section, actors using this narrative characterized both the offshore and the inshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ as spaces for conservation. In contrast, however, they asserted that the offshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ were already protected; hence, implementing the Blue Halo was unnecessary. Many interviewees cited the protections in the 1972 Fisheries Act, which states that foreign vessels fishing in Bermuda's EEZ without a license are subject to a substantial fine (*Fisheries Act 1972*). Others argued that few, if any, foreign vessels actually fished in the EEZ. Some actors referred to the 50 nm boundary of the proposed Blue Halo, stating that the lack of substantial Bermudian or foreign fishing activity beyond that mark made the Blue Halo pointless. As one opponent of the Blue Halo asserted, "It don't make sense! It's senseless! Because it's [the offshore EEZ is] protected anyway if I'm not fishing it. You've got one fella that's long lining in the whole area [of the proposed Blue Halo]. One man" (BDA Interview J86). Another stated, "I mean, it is illegal for any unlicensed vessels to fish there. So, in a way, you know, Pew [in trying to implement the Blue Halo] was trying to protect something that's already protected" (BDA Interview G80).

Actors employing this territorial narrative further asserted that the inshore section of Bermuda's EEZ, the part between shore and the 50 nm Blue Halo boundary,

needed better management. This section includes Bermuda's most trafficked fishing spots and the entire reef platform surrounding Bermuda; almost all oceanic activity carried out by Bermudians besides shipping and travel occurs in in this area. Hence, Blue Halo opponents reasoned, any additional management resources should be spent on Bermuda's under-enforced inshore waters. As one interviewee noted, "I firmly personally believed in the platform first, for Bermuda; the Sargasso Sea, for the world" (BDA Interview Z76).

Finally, while many actors opposing the Blue Halo referred to Bermuda's rich history of conservation, they argued that this legacy and the statutes currently regulating Bermuda's EEZ sufficiently demonstrated Bermuda's commitment to conservation. Some of them clarified that they consider themselves "conservation minded;" as discussed above, they wanted EEZ protection, but not in the form of the Blue Halo. Further, the Billfish Foundation released a report concerning the Blue Halo in fall 2013 that stated,

"With a well-established network of MPAs already implemented and a rich history of safeguarding its marine resources, Bermuda should not take the easy road by simply creating a no-take marine reserve. Rather, other options should be explored that allow economically important activities so that Bermuda continues to be recognized for its commitment toward marine conservation" (The Billfish Foundation 2013, p. 14).

This territorial narrative thus portrayed conservation in the EEZ as given and already demonstrated. This, some Blue Halo opponents contended, did not have to contrast with the encouragement of new avenues for economic development.

4.5.1.3 Solution: Delay negotiations

While the Bermuda government did not employ a unique territorial narrative to promote its decision to delay negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, it did argue that, given input collected during the Public Consultation, the final solution should take potential impacts on the marine environment into account and should promote sustainability. The Outcome document states,

"This consultation has highlighted the need to explore the efficacy of designating MPAs in our EEZ, i.e. to consider designating various portions of the EEZ with a suite of varying protections. The choice of protection for a specified area should consider the current state of biodiversity and ecology of the area, potential current and future activities, threats and desired outcomes...Moving forward, it is imperative that any future opportunities within our EEZ be identified and assessed so that a comprehensive management plan, encompassing environmental, social and economic goals and objectives to achieve agreed outcomes, be implemented. Such a plan could include the projected sustainability and viability of both offshore and inshore activities and protections." (SDD 2014, p. 20)

This assertion, like the territorial narratives used to both promote and oppose Blue Halo implementation, positioned Bermuda as having an existing legacy of marine conservation, which constitutes a key aspect of Bermuda's identity. In a speech to Bermuda's House of Assembly on June 6, 2014, Premier Michael Dunkley highlighted this legacy, saying,

"As members will know, ... Bermuda has a long and impressive record of marine and terrestrial conservation ... The current regulatory framework already includes significant protections and permissions over the EEZ. In addition, Mr. Speaker, ... we fully recognise and appreciate that Sunday, June 8, is 'World Oceans Day,' and in that vein, it should be

acknowledged that Bermuda's environmental stewardship has attracted global recognition and our leadership with respect to Ocean Conservation was appropriately demonstrated recently when we hosted the multi-national signing of the 'Hamilton Declaration' regarding the protection of the Sargasso Sea." (as quoted in *Bernews* 2014b)

Note that, through his speech, Premier Dunkley highlighted aspects of the territorial narratives used by actors promoting each of the first two governance solutions. He alluded to Bermuda's conservation history and its role as leader of the Sargasso Sea conservation initiative; he also referred to the regulations already governing Bermuda's EEZ.

4.5.1.4 Summary

The territorial narratives described in the first two subsections above each present a problem with current or potential relations with Bermuda's EEZ, a proposed solution to that problem, as well as arguments for why and/or mechanisms for how the proposed solution would solve this problem. The territorial argument revealed in the third subsection uses aspects of these two territorial narratives to argue that the governance of Bermuda's EEZ should promote sustainability and address the potential environmental impacts of considered governance solutions. Table 4 reviews the elements included in these territorial narratives and arguments.

Table 4: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as space for conservation

Elements of territorial narratives	Proposed Solution		
	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations
Problem to be solved	Declining oceans health, mainly through IUU fishing	Blue Halo is unnecessary, takes resources from inshore waters	Hybrid of first two columns
Best Solution	Designate the Blue Halo	Do not designate the Blue Halo	Delay Negotiations; Solution should promote sustainability
Mechanisms leading to or arguments for this solution	Easy enforcement, Bermuda’s conservation legacy	Off shore is already protected; Resources should focus on inshore waters	N/A
Actors and their roles in the narrative	Bermuda as Sargasso Sea conservation leader, Bermuda as hero	Bermuda as demonstrated conservation leader	Bermuda as demonstrated conservation leader
Key rhetorical devices	“safety deposit box,” Blue Halo symbolism and source of pride	N/A	N/A
Actors employing the narrative⁴	Pew, the SSA, local NGOs (e.g. Greenrock and Chewstick) and environmentalists, Bermudian government representatives	Deep-sea miners, commercial and recreational fishermen, local NGOs and environmentalists, the Billfish Foundation	Bermuda government

⁴ Note that, while I have listed general actor groups in each table for simplicity, this does not imply that all actors comprising that actor promoted a particular territorial narrative. For instance, while “Bermudian government representatives” is listed as an actor group that employed a territorial narrative promoting Blue Halo designation, not all Bermudian government representatives did so. In other words, actors within actor groups are not homogenous, and actor groups included in these summary tables should not be read as inclusive.

In the first narrative, the Blue Halo will protect Bermuda's EEZ from threats posed by foreign fishing vessels by keeping them out. While the Blue Halo would also prohibit Bermudians from performing extractive activity in this space, this mattered little because so few Bermudians travelled past 50 nm to fish. Given that the Blue Halo would also contribute to Bermuda's conservation legacy, help Bermuda lead international conservation efforts in the Sargasso Sea, and protect resources in Bermuda's inshore waters, this territorial narrative portrayed implementing the Blue Halo as the obvious choice for governing Bermuda's EEZ.

Actors promoting the other territorial narrative argued that implementing the Blue Halo was unnecessary, given existing regulatory structures. If the government wanted to protect the EEZ for Bermudians, they contended, it should focus its resources on the more pressing and relevant management issues in Bermuda's nearshore waters. To support this narrative, they clarified that opposing the Blue Halo, a conservation initiative, did not imply an anti-conservation ideology; rather, Bermuda had already demonstrated its commitment to conservation, and implementing the Blue Halo would be unnecessary and reckless.

The use of these territorial narratives, along with the arguments provided by the Bermudian government to delay negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ, reveal that the actors promoting each governance solution invoke an idealized spatial imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ: that it is a space for conservation. This reflects an

idealized spatial imaginary, rather than a place imaginary, because it demonstrates actors' conceptualizations of what a Bermudian ocean space should represent. In each of the territorializing practices used to promote these three governance solutions, actors argue that conservation is, and has always been, a priority in Bermuda; its EEZ should reflect this aspect of Bermuda's identity. Further, actors promoting each solution emphasized the need for conservation in both inshore and offshore waters. Though proponents and opponents of the Blue Halo disagreed about where to focus these efforts, all actor groups agreed that effective management of the EEZ required additional resources for conservation. Thus, despite promoting different solutions for (re)producing Bermuda's EEZ as space for conservation, these actors shared this idealized spatial imaginary about how Bermuda should relate to its EEZ and what its EEZ should represent.

4.5.2 Spatial Imaginary 2: Bermuda's EEZ as a space for economic development

4.5.2.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo

To support Blue Halo designation, Blue Halo proponents also utilized a territorial narrative that imagined Bermuda's EEZ as a space for economic development. These actors included Pew and its Bermudian consultants, local and other global environmental NGO representatives, Bermudian government actors, and actors from the tourism industry. They asserted that the Blue Halo would present a mechanism for strengthening Bermuda's recently weakened economy (see Chapter 1, Section 2.4.2.3 for

details about the impacts of the global economic recession in Bermuda). “The Economic Impact of the Bermuda Blue Halo,” an informational document produced by Pew’s Global Ocean Legacy and distributed within Bermuda, cited increasing job loss and a relatively high unemployment rate in Bermuda at the time of the assessment, in 2012 (Iverson 2012). Actors promoting Blue Halo designation asserted that it would improve Bermuda’s economic situation in three ways: by revitalizing Bermuda’s historically strong draw as a tourist destination, by rebranding Bermuda as an ecotourism destination, and by attracting scientific research and researchers to the island.

First, interviewees explained that, as Bermuda became focused on international business over the last two decades, its income from tourism had decreased significantly. Chris Flook, one of Pew’s two on-island consultants, described the potential impact of the Blue Halo at the Town Hall meeting held during the Public Consultation,

“It’s been seen time and time again in the fact that the travelling market is changing and people want to go to places that are doing it right.... This is how we get back into the tourism game. We shut the door on tourism a little while ago, we had those two pillars, international business and tourism, they’re very wobbly. Thinking about a third pillar at this point, we need to fix the two pillars we’ve got. This is very quick way of fixing that pillar.” (*Bernews* 2013b)

Another interviewee advocating for Blue Halo designation noted that, “I think there was a clean blue environmental image that would have benefitted Bermuda and given it a makeover as a tourist destination, a brand if you like” (BDA Interview K74). The informational pamphlet on economic impacts provided by Pew speculated that, given

sufficient marketing and media exposure, tourism in Bermuda could increase by 1 or 2%, contributing millions of dollars to Bermuda's GDP (Iverson 2012).

Actors further contended that the Blue Halo would attract participants in the growing global ecotourism market. As the largest marine reserve in the Atlantic Ocean, it would pique travelers' interests as a country that takes marine conservation seriously. As one interviewee stated,

"From a tourist point of view...it's a good publicity thing for Bermuda. Because if you are choosing from 7-8 different destinations for where to go, and they're all about the same – oh, I want to go to Montego Bay, or this, or Bermuda, and what have you, but then you happen to read an article. Hey, do you know that Bermuda just made the largest nature preserve in the North Atlantic? Really? Oh, that sounds wonderful. You don't want to go there? Sure, why not! That is the turning point that it took, because it gave us a good thing. Look what Costa Rica did." (BDA Interview M14)

By re-branding Bermuda as a leader in marine conservation, the Blue Halo, actors contended, would help improve international perceptions of Bermuda. Senator Michael Fahy, representing the then opposition or minority political party⁵, was quoted in *The Royal Gazette*, stating, "The benefits [of the Blue Halo] will be enormous including the ability to market Bermuda as an environmental haven ... We [the One Bermuda Alliance (OBA)] support this initiative wholeheartedly" (Johnston-Barnes 2012a). Another quote from Chris Flook further illustrates this possibility by asking, "We [Bermuda] have

⁵ Note that this article was published before the general elections held at the end of 2012. After these elections, the One Bermuda Alliance (OBA) took power from the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

always been seen as a tax haven – how about a marine haven?” (as quoted in Lagan 2013b).

Proponents of the Blue Halo also discussed its potential to support the economy by attracting global conservation scientists and scientific research (e.g. see Iverson 2012). Scientists, they reasoned, could collaborate with faculty at the Bermuda Institute of Ocean Sciences (BIOS) and other local scientists to study the Sargasso Sea; they could hold regular conferences and workshops about marine science in Bermuda. For instance, in a blogpost for the *Bermuda Sun* entitled “Why support for Blue Halo should be a no-brainer: Leading the world on marine research could be our elusive third pillar,” Jeremy Deacon contended,

“It [the Blue Halo] could make Bermuda a world centre for marine research and I have been told that there are some serious players out there who are interested in setting up research projects here. Imagine the conference opportunities, imagine the potential for a marine college or marine centres, and imagine the employment and construction opportunities.” (Deacon 2014)

Given this and the tourism potential it presented, the Blue Halo is portrayed as the rational governance solution, a “no-brainer.”

4.5.2.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo

“Against this backdrop [of economic hardship] we [Bermudians] are being invited to participate in a public consultation process as part of a move to transform a huge section of our exclusive economic zone [EEZ] into a marine reserve [MR] which would put any commercial activity ‘out of bounds’” (Hutchings 2013). In this quote from

an article in *Bernews*, Nick Hutchings, the founder of a Bermudian-based deep-sea mineral exploration company, exemplifies the problem posed in another territorial narrative employed by Blue Halo opponents. This narrative, which reveals actors' understanding of Bermuda's EEZ as a space for economic development, asserts that Bermuda should not designate the Blue Halo because it would limit the pursuit of commercial interests in the offshore spaces of Bermuda's EEZ. Pursuing these interests, actors argued, could revitalize Bermuda's economy. In other words, similar to the narrative described in Section 4.5.1.2, above, the problem addressed by this narrative is the potential for Blue Halo designation rather than a concern about existing economic activity or prospects in the offshore EEZ. By not implementing the Blue Halo, actors contended, Bermuda could diversify its economy through two key industries: deep-sea mining and offshore commercial fishing. Further, the Blue Halo would hurt existing revenue sources from recreational fishing and the deep-sea cables industry.

Various actor groups employed this territorial narrative, including Bermudian commercial fishermen, Bermudians involved in extractive and environmental industry, Bermudian and foreign recreational fishermen, the Billfish Foundation (i.e. the US-based recreational fishing organization), and Bermudian government civil servants and officials. Many interviewees further noted that they perceived hesitation in government and some environmental NGO actors to refute or minimize proposals that could

contribute to economic growth, given the current economic climate. As one interviewee who was neither for nor against designating the Blue Halo explained,

“They [the government] realized that this is an economic climate where it’s all about jobs, jobs, jobs, and anytime somebody comes up saying, ‘Oh, I have a potential new industry here that could create jobs and bring overseas investment into the country,’ I think the government is really hesitant to say anything critical about that kind of situation.” (BDA Interview A09)

While some interviewees from these actor groups confirmed this perceived pressure, government officials also discussed the importance of hearing all points of view during the Public Consultation, particularly from actors without the connections or resources to publicly promote their arguments.

Opponents of the Blue Halo asserted that, in order to promote economic growth, Bermuda needed to diversify its economy. The Blue Halo, they argued, would restrict opportunities to explore the development of industry in Bermuda’s EEZ. One interviewee opposed to designating the Blue Halo stated,

“When ninety, eighty-eight percent [of the economy] is supported by international business here. And then the reinsurance, you got a small part that is tourism. So, it’s very fragile, economically fragile in that regard. So, to shut off those other potential opportunities [by designating the Blue Halo], even if they’re never ultimately realized, is, that’s the one thing I think that really, really just split the groups, and it became quite volatile after that.” (BDA Interview Z30)

As this quote demonstrates, actors promoting this territorial narrative portrayed Bermuda as economically vulnerable, both currently and in the future. Another Blue Halo opponent wondered,

“Why go there? Why not just leave that open to be able to responsibly make use of the resource? If it’s there in the future, and if we need it, because we may need it. We can’t always rely on international business. And tourism is dead. So, what is left out there for us?” (BDA Interview O24)

The leader of the opposition political party at the time (the now ruling Progressive Labor Party (PLP)) also publicly supported “developing our Exclusive Economic Zone for Sea-Bed mining [a billion dollar a year industry], Aquaculture, and Offshore Fishing, to create new jobs, diversify our economy, and create new revenue streams.” (*Bernews* 2013a).

The first mechanism proposed by actors to improve Bermuda’s economy through use of its EEZ was deep-sea mining. Some actors who used this territorial narrative contended that, if the Blue Halo was not designated, the government could require interested mining companies to pay to extract minerals from their EEZ, then further tax any harvested minerals. This revenue could contribute to economic stability and help pay off Bermuda’s debt. Alluding to this possibility, Dr. David Saul, a previous Premier of Bermuda, wrote an opinion piece for *The Royal Gazette* calling the Blue Halo “economic suicide”; Blue Halo opponents often referred to this article and phrase when employing this territorial narrative (Saul 2013). As one interviewee, in discussing national debt, noted, “We knew the economic situation, we knew. And there was, there’s an element of if you look now, there might just be millions, maybe billions of something on the sea floor. It could help get us out of that” (BDA Interview X22). Others asserted

that the mere possibility of harvestable minerals in the EEZ would increase Bermuda's financial ratings, allowing them to leverage investment funds. A Blue Halo opponent explained this concept,

“And the Blue Halo, foreigners were about to tell Bermudians, who were now in debt, that although you might be able to pay off your debt by mining. That's 200 miles out ... Me, wearing my finance hat still, I am well aware of Bermuda's debt and it doesn't have any gold, or Canada's mineral wealth, it has nothing. So how could you sustain a AA rating if you went out and borrowed money? You can't. ...In Bermuda to say no mining within 200 miles is so dumb to an island that has no natural resources, no population really to talk about, and is in debt. So, it's absolutely ridiculous in my opinion.” (BDA Interview W37)

Several interviewees further noted that, in order to convince potential investors to invest in deep-sea mining exploration, mining companies must have access to the entire EEZ. Because the location of any valuable minerals remains unclear, limiting access to most of the EEZ through the Blue Halo would likely hurt investment potential.

Blue Halo opponents also promoted the development of a longline commercial fishery in the offshore waters of Bermuda's EEZ. This fishery, they asserted, could sustain existing or future fishermen's livelihoods if needed. One interviewee opposing the Blue Halo questioned,

“Why am I supposed to give mine [my EEZ] away? Because I'm not using it? I'm not utilizing it, so I'm going to give it away. But it don't mean that my great grandchildren, there will be nothing else in the [inshore] plateau to catch, they might have to go offshore to make a living out of it all.” (BDA Interview J86)

Others argued that developing the long-line fishery now could open an alternative market for fishermen as well as provide job opportunities to operate a potential shore side processing facility. Another Blue Halo opponent explained,

“And we figured it was viable to proceed with the limited offshore fishery. Not so much purse seining, but you know, long lining on a small basis. So, we needed that area [the offshore EEZ] to be able to catch whatever few fish we could catch. You know sustainable, for food source here.... We looked at, in the event that a long line fishery was established here, then it’s an area where we could create jobs, possibility. Um, you know shore side facilities. Gotta be manned. You know, processing of the fish, because the boats that catch them, most are not processing boats. So, it was creation of jobs, possibility in that area.” (BDA Interview O80)

To legitimize the potential for developing a long-line fishery in Bermuda’s offshore waters, interviewees often cited a long-line study published by the Bermudian government in 2010 as evidence that it could emerge in the future. This study argues that, while some local fishermen could in theory increase long-lining through a “joint commitment from industry (fishers), resource managers (government), and the purchasing sectors” (Trott, Trott, and Pitt 2010, p. 26), it will “likely be restricted to being one component of a handful of diversified local commercial fishing operations” (p. 25). While some interpreted this finding as evidence that developing a long-line fishery was possible, other interviewees cited this study as evidence that a long-line fishery is not currently economically viable.

Further, opponents of the Blue Halo asserted that creating the Blue Halo could deter recreational fishermen participating in fishing tournaments from visiting the

island. Recreational fishermen, they argued, contributed a significant amount to Bermuda's current economy, and losing their business could exacerbate the island's economic issues. A popular US-based publication, *Marlin Magazine*, published an article arguing that "the important socioeconomic benefits of sport fishing in Bermuda...[had] been vastly overlooked in the consultation process" and that implementing a no-take marine reserve, or Blue Halo, in Bermuda would prove detrimental to Bermuda's economic health (Cox 2013). The Billfish Foundation also published a booklet explaining the Blue Halo's potential effects on sport fishing in Bermuda. It stated,

"The 'lock-out' philosophy of a no-take marine reserve could give the perception to visiting anglers that fishing in Bermuda is becoming more difficult and could deter visiting vessels because many of them fish while on their transit to Bermuda from the US or other countries." (The Billfish Foundation 2013, p. 13)

The Foundation posted this booklet on their website, under an advisory reading, "Bermuda – Potential Marine Reserve Could Stop Fishing in the Blue Marlin Capital" and an image of Bermuda with a thick red line surrounding it (see "Bermuda – Potential Marine Reserve" 2013). One Blue Halo opponent explained that recreational fishermen, often called anglers, have options for possible fishing destinations. Many visiting fishermen like to drop a line and fish on their way in or out of Bermudian waters; taking this option away may encourage them to fish elsewhere. Another Blue Halo opponent contended,

"Just a perception of a closed zone could have detrimental impacts on the fishing community, both charter and, you know, private operations

coming from the [United] States.... Anglers have a lot of options, they can go anywhere in the world. If you want to close your waters to them, it's your own fault when you lose that economic input." (BDA Interview N50)

Actors opposing the Blue Halo also discussed how the Blue Halo could limit another existing, and potentially growing industry: laying and maintaining deep-sea cables. One Blue Halo opponent explained how this industry could help the Bermudian economy,

"If you created the legislative framework to say open for business with cable corridors, you could get more systems coming in using Bermuda as a hub ... So it was about trying to create some economic benefit, you know, it wasn't just about protecting the infrastructure that's here for those people that need submarine cables, but also creating an industry which could be a new industry for Bermuda. Because Bermuda's saying, well, we've got reinsurance, insurance, what's next? ... It's about using your location as a revenue opportunity." (BDA Interview R50)

Many interviewees described how the Blue Halo would create difficulties in laying and/or servicing deep-sea cables. These difficulties could stem from limited access to the cables due to the Blue Halo's "no take" regulatory system or the increased paperwork and resources that the Blue Halo would necessitate. While some, like the interviewee quoted above, noted that creating an area through which cables could run, called a cable corridor, might allow cable laying even with the Blue Halo, the difficulties of maintaining them within the Blue Halo's regulatory structures was often raised.

In addition to these mechanisms for achieving economic development through Bermuda's EEZ, Blue Halo opponents used another rhetorical device to promote this

territorial narrative. To contrast with the hopeful image of a Blue Halo, these actors began referring to the Blue Halo as “economic suicide” (as described above) and as a Blue Noose. In a *Royal Gazette* article, a local fisherman explained that the marine reserve, or Blue Halo, would constitute “a noose on our necks” by preventing fisheries from expanding offshore (Johnston-Barnes 2013). Another Blue Halo opponent explained,

“There is a tradeoff that has to be made if you want this Blue Halo, which is called a Blue Noose, as far as we were concerned, not a halo. Because you know, we thought that it would strangle the development of the resources for future generations. You need to protect them but you also need to develop them at the same time.” (BDA Interview R50)

4.5.2.3 Solution: Delay negotiations

The Bermudian government again used the territorial narratives promoted by proponents and opponents of the Blue Halo to argue that Bermuda’s EEZ should be a space for economic development. In other words, it asserted that, given the feedback collected from the Public Consultation, the governance solution for the EEZ ultimately chosen should represent the most economically beneficial outcomes for Bermuda. The Outcome document from the Public Consultation states that “both positions [those for and against creating a marine reserve, or Blue Halo] and those in between promoted major financial and social benefits potentially accruing to the Bermuda economy” (SDD 2014, p. 1). It later continues,

“The decision on the most appropriate way forward for this asset [Bermuda’s EEZ] should reflect a solid understanding of the impact on

key economic indicators such as the potential for attracting direct foreign investment; enabling local investment and economic stimulus; spawning local entrepreneurship; creating jobs for Bermudians; contributing to our GDP; diversifying our economic base and model; strengthening our international profile; and increasing our global competitiveness” (SDD 2014, p. 2).

Each of these economic indicators was included in one or both of the territorial narratives described in the previous two subsections. Further, in announcing the government’s call to carry out an economic analysis to compare the major proposals promoted during the Public Consultation, the Premier noted that,

“an appropriate economic analysis of each [proposal] will be the next step ... The assessment will project the future economic potential that our EEZ represents and will provide the Government and people of Bermuda with the information required for an advanced level of consultation toward an informed decision on the future of this vast national asset.” (as quoted in *Bernews* 2014b)

By recommending an economic analysis as the next step in negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ, the Bermudian government demonstrated their desire to utilize Bermuda’s EEZ for future economic development.

4.5.2.4 Summary

The two territorial narratives portrayed in this section each offer solutions for solving Bermuda’s economic problems. In the first territorial narrative, actors depicted the potential Blue Halo as an avenue for revitalizing Bermuda’s tourism industry and rebranding the island as an ecotourism destination and a hub for scientific research. These opportunities, they argued, could provide jobs and bring in significant revenue to

bolster the economy. Blue Halo opponents also addressed Bermuda's weakened economy, but proposed the opposite solution to address it. While they opposed implementing the Blue Halo, these actors offered alternative mechanisms for strengthening Bermuda's economy, including both current and potential future avenues to utilize Bermuda's EEZ for national economic benefit. The promotion of this territorial narrative by actors from diverse industries, as well as government and NGO actors' reluctance to oppose proposals for economic opportunity given Bermuda's weakened economy, helped this narrative gain significant traction during negotiations. Table 5 summarizes these territorial narratives and the government's territorial argument reviewed in this section.

Table 5: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for economic development

Elements of territorial narratives	Proposed Solution		
	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations
Problem to be solved	Bermuda’s weakened economy	Blue Halo would limit economic opportunity	Hybrid of first two columns
Best Solution	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations; solution should maximize economic benefits
Mechanisms leading to or arguments for this solution	Revitalize tourism, rebrand Bermuda, attract marine science research and events	Hurt deep-sea mining and commercial fishery prospects and current recreational fishing and deep-sea cable industry	Conduct independent economic evaluations of proposed governance options
Actors and their roles in the narrative	N/A	Bermuda as economically vulnerable	N/A
Key rhetorical devices	Blue Halo is a “no brainer”	Blue Halo as “economic suicide” and “Blue Noose”	N/A
Actors employing the narrative	Pew, local and global NGOs and environmentalists, Bermuda government representatives, Bermuda tourism industry	Commercial and recreational fishermen, the Billfish Foundation, local extractive and environmental industry, Bermuda government representatives	Bermuda government

Actors promoting each of the major three governance solutions for Bermuda’s EEZ used territorial narratives or arguments that depicted Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for economic development, revealing this conceptualization as a shared idealized spatial

imaginary. In other words, each presented Bermuda's EEZ as a mechanism for promoting economic stabilization and/or growth. The strong promotion of the territorial narratives during negotiations, as well as the government's decision to proceed by requesting an economic analysis of key options, reflects a national focus on the weakened Bermudian economy at the time of these negotiations. While they supported different solutions for engaging with and utilizing Bermuda's EEZ to encourage economic opportunity, this section demonstrates that each actor group conceptualized Bermuda's EEZ as a space for economic development, now or in the future.

4.5.3 Spatial Imaginary 3: Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty

4.5.3.1 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo

This section begins with the territorial narrative promoted by Blue Halo opponents that depicts Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty, rather than the narrative promoted by Blue Halo proponents. I have switched the order of the narratives to ensure logical flow: the narrative employed by Blue Halo opponents emerged before, and led to, the narrative employed by Blue Halo proponents. Blue Halo opponents who used this territorial narrative included local and foreign industry actors (including actors from each of the four industries described above: deep-sea mining, commercial fishing, recreational fishing, and deep-sea cable laying and maintenance), representatives of conservation NGOs and organizations, and Bermudian government officials.

These actors asserted that, by promoting the Blue Halo, a powerful foreign NGO, The Pew Charitable Trusts, was trying to control Bermuda's EEZ. One actor who was neither for nor against the Blue Halo, explained the Bermudian public's relationship with Pew this way,

"So, when a group comes in and says, 'Wait a minute, we want you to exclude 96% of that asset, and do nothing with it, don't even go out there, and if you do that, it's gonna be wonderful, wonderful for you because you're gonna get all these benefits' ... And people [Bermudians] saw it as – and this is a Bermuda thing – people saw it as outsiders coming in trying to tell us what to do with our own assets. Start there, you're finished." (BDA Interview X10)

Thus, actors argued, implementing the Blue Halo would take away Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ. Bermudians had already demonstrated their commitment to conservation through their historical legacy, they asserted; the implication by foreign actors that Bermuda was not sufficiently protecting its waters was insulting. When asked if he believed that Bermuda should protect any part of its EEZ on the "Bermuda's Marine EEZ Zone" Public Consultation Video produced by the SDD, Craig Trott, an "Environmental Health Officer and Commercial Fisherman" asked,

"Who is it being protected from? The stewardship driven fisherman who wants to impart stewardship to everyone? Or are you protecting it from our children? Yeah? Because if we raise our children in the ways of stewardship, then I don't think any environmentalist, or any naturalist, or any nature lover anywhere can point an accusing finger at our country or this, and saying that, hey, these guys are bad stewards." (Bermuda Government 2013)

The Blue Halo, opponents asserted, infringed on Bermudian sovereignty and should, therefore, not be designated.

Blue Halo opponents used three key arguments and rhetorical devices to support this territorial narrative: they positioned Pew as an outsider and therefore untrustworthy; they presented the concept of a “Bermuda” solution as way for Bermudians to re-assert sovereignty; and they represented Bermuda’s EEZ as a recently received, valuable “gift.” In this territorial narrative, actors emphasized that Pew represented a foreign company pushing their own interests in Bermuda. As discussed in Chapter 2, many interviewees described their discomfort given this perception. Bermuda is a small island, they argued, and Bermudians already feel pressure from the two powerful entities on either side of the Atlantic Ocean: the US and Europe. As one interviewee, a conservationist who was unsure about designating the Blue Halo, explained,

“There is a general feeling in Bermuda anyway that we don’t need anyone from overseas to come in and tell us what to do. There is political anger over [our] government money spent on overseas consultants, you know. It’s like, this thread that goes through the island. So now one of the issues seems to be Pew, ... that they are an outside entity driving this and telling Bermuda what to do which just emotionally people don’t like.”
(BDA Interview A19)

Some actors further suggested that Pew was manipulating Bermudians. This argument positioned Bermuda, particularly local industry actors, as victims within the territorial

narrative. A Blue Halo opponent described their perception of Pew's marketing solutions and interactions in Bermuda,

"There was a trust factor there. They [Pew] are sending a lot of lobbyists here, they're sending lawyers here. I mean, saying, how are we gonna do this? I think the PR campaign was excellent ... And now all of a sudden, the guys with a stake in the industry are painted as, you know, unethical users of the resource just because this other picture has been painted. And if we oppose it, we're the enemy in a sense." (BDA Interview G80)

To address this issue, Blue Halo opponents contended, Bermuda should choose an EEZ governance proposal conceived and collectively chosen by Bermudians. This would avoid any actual or perceived control over Bermuda's sovereign oceanic space by foreign actors. For instance, one audience member at the Town Hall meeting during the Public Consultation stated, "If we design a solution, it has to be a Bermuda solution. We can't rely on foreign partners to tell us how" (*Bernews* 2013b). Nick Hutchings, a panelist who presented during the Town Hall, further reasoned,

"The objective of creating a single-use no-take marine reserve [the Blue Halo] was set three years ago. Only now, well after the fact, are Bermudians being consulted. ... Fortunately, it's never too late to do the right thing. Because we live in a diverse community, we will have diverse resource management objectives. Developing a multi-use resource management plan that balances the social, economic, and conservation needs of Bermuda based on community objectives would appear to me to be the logical way forward." (*Bernews* 2013b)

Actors further bolstered the argument that Bermudians should design their own governance structure by portraying Bermuda's EEZ as a "gift," a word used by many interviewees. Bermuda, they argued, represents the only UK overseas territory with the

rights to govern its own EEZ, as proclaimed by the Governor in 1996 (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3.2). Several interviewees explained that this argument particularly resonated with many Bermudians, including government officials, because they had not known about the existence of or Bermuda's sovereignty over its EEZ before this negotiating process began. One interviewee who opposed the Blue Halo asked,

“Why shouldn't a lonely rock in the middle of a huge pond be able to benefit from something that we, unlike all other overseas territories, actually have sovereignty over ourselves? ... We have autonomy and complete control over [the EEZ] ourselves and that is an incredible thing, and it's an opportunity that we should not be throwing up barriers to.”
(BDA Interview O24)

As described in Chapter 2, this territorial narrative about maintaining sovereignty over Bermuda's EEZ transferred to negotiations concerning Sargasso Sea conservation as well. A headline from the *Royal Gazette* exemplifies concern about the inclusion of Bermuda's EEZ in the Sargasso Sea Geographical Area of Collaboration, stating, “Oversight of Bermuda's waters goes to multi-nation ‘Commission’” (Zuill 2014a). The article quotes Michael Batista, the vice president of the Bermuda Anglers Club, as stating, “We are considering the inclusion of our entire EEZ in what effectively amounts to an international memorandum of understanding on marine stewardship, without having defined our own EEZ management and conservation plan first” (Zuill 2014a). According to multiple government actors, while the EEZ's inclusion in the Area of Collaboration would not have legally infringed on Bermudian sovereignty over that

space, the perception that it might do so necessitated its removal. One such actor explained,

“I think it is important to note that the government specifically required that Bermuda’s EEZ be excluded from the area under the auspices of this Sargasso Sea Commission. ... The government wanted to retain at least the public perception that we are responsible for our own exclusive zone and we weren’t turning that over to some other organization. I think that could have been a criticism that you know the SSA now has [or] is telling us what to do with our EEZ.” (BDA Interview M22)

4.5.3.2 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo

In response to this territorial narrative portraying the proposed Blue Halo as an infringement on Bermuda’s sovereign rights to govern its EEZ, another territorial narrative emerged depicting the Blue Halo as a mechanism for Bermuda to assert sovereignty over its EEZ. Blue Halo proponents argued that Bermuda, an overseas territory, has the opportunity to demonstrate its strength and decisiveness at an international level. One Blue Halo proponent contended,

“It’s [the Blue Halo is] not about fisheries management or any of that, this is diplomacy. This was literally above everything else profiting Bermuda, the whole concept was a diplomatic win for Bermuda, a rebranding for Bermuda, not just a tax haven, a high seas marine protected place. Represented at the UN, a huge act of sovereignty.” (BDA Interview F01)

This narrative differs slightly from the previous territorial narrative asserting that designating the Blue Halo would position Bermuda as an international conservation leader. Rather than portraying Bermuda’s EEZ as a space to encourage other nations to promote Sargasso Sea conservation, this narrative depicts it as a space to demonstrate

Bermuda's authority, despite being an overseas territory. Pew and its Bermudian consultants, local conservation NGO representatives and a government civil servant advocated for Blue Halo designation using this narrative.

Some actors contended that the Blue Halo could more effectively assert Bermuda's control over its EEZ by keeping foreign fishing vessels from entering and harvesting within it. As one Blue Halo proponent stated,

"It's ours. We – I think the Bermudian mentality should be well why would you let foreigners in? Why would you let Argentinian fishing, Chilean fishermen in and why would you let the Nicaraguans in to our local fishing waters? Don't let them fish for free, and to take whatever they want and have horrible fishing practices." (BDA Interview M14)

Others argued that protecting the offshore EEZ from any extractive activity demonstrates Bermuda's authority over resources both now and in the future. A quote from Chris Flook, one of Pew's local consultants, exemplified this argument:

"It [the Blue Halo] is a complete assertion of sovereignty – by making this marine reserve, what we are saying is, we are not using it now, we are going to lock it off and hopefully it's going to be in as good shape or better should a viable business opportunity come down the road." (Lagan 2013c)

Given its late emergence in the negotiating process, Blue Halo proponents did not utilize this territorial narrative for as long or as often as the two territorial narratives described above.

4.5.3.3 Solution: Delay Negotiations

The Bermudian government utilized territorial narratives that had emerged previously during the negotiating process to argue that, regardless of the solution ultimately chosen to govern Bermuda's EEZ, it should demonstrate Bermudian sovereignty over this space. In this case, the government predominantly used aspects of the Blue Halo opponents' territorial narrative to support this contention. For instance, in the Outcome document produced after the Public Consultation, the government asserted that Bermuda should identify a "Bermudian" solution for EEZ governance, stating, "Notwithstanding the differences on the issues and the varied stakeholder submissions, there is good consensus from the public on the need for a made-in-Bermuda approach to the EEZ and its future" (SDD 2014, p. 4). The Premier, during his June 6, 2014 speech to the House of Assembly, further emphasized the need to select a governance solution that is "made-in-Bermuda." He also highlighted the removal of Bermuda's EEZ from the Hamilton Declaration, noting that "this administration was careful to ensure that the management and administration of our EEZ was not included in the Hamilton Declaration..... [sic] as there is more work to be done on our EEZ" (as quoted in *Bernews* 2014b). In each of these quotes, the government not only describes Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty, but seeks to demonstrate its authority in relation to other actors. In noting the importance of a "made-in-Bermuda approach" in the Outcome document, the Sustainable Development Department implies

that the source of a proposal, not necessarily the proposal's quality or prospects, could make it undesirable. Further, in alluding to the removal of Bermuda's EEZ from the Hamilton Declaration, the Premier reminds the audience of the government's previous actions to protect Bermuda's EEZ from actual, or at least perceived, outside control.

4.5.3.4 Summary

The two territorial narratives reviewed in this section reveal that actors shared another idealized spatial imaginary: Bermuda's EEZ is a space to demonstrate Bermudian sovereignty. The first territorial narrative positions foreign conservation actors, first Pew and, later, the Sargasso Sea Alliance, as powerful and untrustworthy outsiders seeking control over Bermudian territory. To maintain their authority over their recently recognized "gift," Blue Halo opponents argued that Bermuda should select a "Bermuda solution" to manage it. Conversely, Blue Halo proponents asserted that Bermuda's decision to designate the Blue Halo would itself demonstrate Bermudian sovereignty over a large ocean space. Table 6 reviews the territorial narratives and arguments described in this section.

Table 6: Territorial narratives and arguments depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty

Elements of territorial narratives	Proposed Solution		
	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations
Problem to be solved	Bermuda has limited sovereignty as an overseas territory	Blue Halo would infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty	Non-Bermuda governance solution would infringe on Bermuda’s sovereignty
Best Solution	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations; Solution should demonstrate sovereignty over EEZ
Mechanisms leading to or arguments for this solution	Blue Halo would demonstrate Bermuda’s sovereignty over EEZ	Bermudians should conceive and choose EEZ governance solution	“Made-in-Bermuda” governance solution, Hamilton Declaration demonstrated sovereignty
Actors and their roles in the narrative	N/A	Pew (and later SSA) as untrustworthy outsiders; Bermuda resource users as victims	Bermuda has final authority over EEZ governance
Key rhetorical devices	N/A	Sovereignty over EEZ as a “gift”	N/A
Actors employing the narrative	Pew, local NGOs, a Bermuda government representative	Commercial and recreational fishermen, the Billfish Foundation, local industry, local NGOs and environmentalists, Bermuda government representatives	Bermuda government

The two territorial narratives and the government’s arguments for delaying negotiations together demonstrate that the actors promoting each solution not only

conceptualized, but valued, Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty.

While they proposed different mechanisms for demonstrating their sovereignty through EEZ governance, they showed the pride that many Bermudians felt in having the authority to access those mechanisms, despite being a UK overseas territory. As noted above, many Bermudians only learned about their relationship to the EEZ through these negotiations; thus, though the desire to demonstrate their sovereignty and independence existed before these negotiations began (see Chapter 2), this shared idealized spatial imaginary about Bermuda's EEZ largely emerged through them.

4.5.4 Spatial Imaginary 4: Bermuda's EEZ as an unknown space

In contrast to previous sections, this section demonstrates how the territorial narratives employed by actors involved in Blue Halo negotiations revealed a place imaginary, rather than an idealized space imaginary (Watkins 2015). As discussed in the literature review, place imaginaries refer to conceptualizations of particular bounded areas (in this case, Bermuda's EEZ) and include distinctive material or relational attributes about the place itself. In other words, place imaginaries refer to perceived characteristics of a particular space, rather what a type of space should represent or provide. Here, territorial narratives reveal that actors involved in negotiations over Bermuda's EEZ perceived this space as unknown.

4.5.4.1 Solution: Designate the Blue Halo

Some actors advocating for Blue Halo designation employed a territorial narrative that portrayed Bermuda's offshore EEZ, particularly its ecological and oceanographic characteristics and complexity, as unknown (relative to inshore spaces). Through this narrative, they invoked the precautionary principle, arguing that, if Bermudians waited for better or complete understanding of these characteristics to protect their offshore EEZ, this "relatively unknown" (BDA Interview Z02) space may have already endured irreparable damage through overfishing or other extractive activities. As one Blue Halo proponent discussing the potential for developing an offshore long-line fishery asserted,

By my parameters it's a matter of measuring things. And if you don't know what's there, you can't measure it. So, I'm not going to accept that you should have more fish out of your EEZ if you can't tell me if that's a good thing or a bad thing in terms of the stock assessment. Or in terms of what it does to your reef or in terms of other stuff. They [Bermudians] haven't a clue. They really don't know what they've got. (BDA Interview X69)

However, Blue Halo proponents rarely used this narrative; it emerged in data more often through descriptions of the argument by other actors than directly from Blue Halo proponents. For instance, one interviewee noted,

"We have very little knowledge of what's going on in the open ocean. We have a bit more information about what's happening at the [inshore] banks because they are fished... There are people who are willing to say that, because we don't know anything about it [the offshore EEZ], let's assume that there's nothing out there that we need, ... we need to be

protecting and so forth, and so let's just give it away, or just tie it up."
(Bermuda Interview W62)

Further, at the Town Hall meeting during the Public Consultation, Dr. Tammy Trott, a government civil servant and one of the meeting's panelists, stated,

"So, the same way that spatial management measures have been used to protect vulnerable coral reef ecosystems in inshore waters, they are now being applied to offshore habitats and ecosystems. These protected areas have been less studied than those inshore and the benefits are still not fully known. However, ecosystems, as you just saw, are complex. And some argue that, by the time we figure out the relationships between species and the benefits of offshore marine protected areas, it could be too late for the oceans." (*Bernews* 2013b)

While they rarely employed this territorial narrative, Blue Halo proponents, as well as Blue Halo opponents and interviewees who were unsure about designating the Blue Halo, did often lament the relative lack of ecological and oceanographic knowledge about the offshore EEZ compared with knowledge about the inshore EEZ. As one interviewee explained, "We don't even know what is out there ... because there hasn't been enough research done to it. ... Our fisheries only get their numbers from our fishermen. From their statistics" (BDA Interview M14).

4.5.4.2 Solution: Do not designate the Blue Halo

Actors opposing the Blue Halo, on the other hand, often used a territorial narrative to argue against Blue Halo designation that concerned a lack of knowledge about two key characteristics of Bermuda's EEZ. First, insufficient knowledge existed about the material resources available in the offshore EEZ; thus, opponents contended,

the government should not prevent Bermudian access to, or exploration of, these potentially valuable resources. For instance, one opponent of designating the Blue Halo argued that insufficient data existed about the presence of deep-sea minerals and pharmaceuticals in the offshore EEZ (BDA Interview L01). Even if researchers had established a resource's presence in the EEZ, this interviewee asserted, they knew little about its amount or quality. Similarly, referring to Dr. David Saul's public comments about potential deep-sea mining, another Blue Halo opponent related, "Dr. Saul brought up about the unknown [deep-sea minerals]. I asked [a Blue Halo proponent] what is out there. If we close it [the offshore EEZ] down, we'll never know" (BDA Interview V82).

Second, Blue Halo opponents asserted that the Bermudian government should not designate the Blue Halo until they understood more about the economic opportunities presented by the EEZ. Though these economic opportunities relate to the presence, quality, and quantity of resources in the EEZ, as described above, this unknown aspect concerned human relations with, and potential human benefit from, the EEZ, rather than its material composition. For instance, the "Bermuda's Marine EEZ Zone" Public Consultation Video produced by the SDD depicts Dr. David Saul, the former Premier of Bermuda, stating, "The exclusive economic zone around Bermuda has the potential for earning Bermuda millions, no I'll correct that, billions. So, the economic zone for Bermudians is something that we should really know about and study" (Bermuda Government 2013). Here, while the physical presence of deep-sea minerals

would prove important in providing the earnings discussed by Dr. Saul, he is also referring to the potential for those minerals to produce a monetary benefit to Bermuda. Another opponent of designating the Blue Halo expressed concern about the risk of missing an opportunity presented through deep-sea mining, saying,

“But then you got those that are also interested in Deep-sea Mining. We don’t know what’s there. We don’t know. Until the research is done, we’ll never know. In the meantime, we turn around and turn it into a marine reserve, chances are it will be like that forever. It will be done and it’s as big as this table, and we’ll never be able to recover. You know, so it could be oil down there. We don’t know what is there. We don’t know how that area is going to benefit us.” (BDA Interview O80)

Actors employing this territorial narrative included Bermudian commercial and recreational fishermen, extractive and environmental industry actors, representatives of local NGOs, and civil servants. This territorial narrative relates to the territorial narrative depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as a space for economic development, described above. Both narratives focus on the potential for pursuing commercial activities in Bermuda’s EEZ. Yet, one narrative asserts that that these activities should be allowed because Bermuda’s EEZ represents, or should represent, a space for economic development (an idealized spatial imaginary). The other argues that key aspects of Bermuda’s EEZ are unknown (a place imaginary). Actors employing this narrative argued that Bermuda should not limit access to the EEZ, and thus potential access to valuable resources, by implementing the Blue Halo until more is understood.

4.5.4.3 Solution: Delay Negotiations

The Bermudian government also employed a territorial narrative depicting Bermuda's EEZ as unknown, or insufficiently known, to support their decision to delay negotiations over its governance. The Public Consultation, the government argued, had produced insufficient or unreliable information concerning both material aspects of the EEZ as well as how different proposals for engagement with the EEZ might result in economic and social benefits for Bermuda. The government could not make a satisfactorily informed decision without this information, and it would delay further discussions until the information was obtained. To achieve this, it proposed conducting an economic analysis of the projected costs and benefits associated with the major activities suggested during the Public Consultation. These included implementing a marine reserve similar to the Blue Halo, attempting to develop an offshore fishery, and exploring for and/or extracting valuable minerals from the deep-sea (SDD 2014). In his speech to the House of Assembly, Premier Dunkley asserted,

“This assessment will project the future economic potential that our EEZ represents and will provide the Government and people of Bermuda with the information required for an advanced level of consultation towards an informed decision on the future of this vast national asset.” (as quoted in *Bernews* 2014b)

To support this solution, the government argued that it still lacked information to support the pursuit of various activities in Bermuda's EEZ. The Outcome document stated, “This first phase of consultation did not include the level of rigour now

understandably being requested by the public” (SDD 2014, p. 4). The government, in other words, needed more data. Specifically, the Outcome document called for more thorough understanding of the economic potential of deep-sea mining and the development of an offshore fishery. For instance, to better understand the potential of the offshore fishery, it solicited additional information about local and global markets, risk, and how to define success. Further, through the Outcome document, the government noted the need for additional information about material aspects of the EEZ. Specifically, it cited insufficient understanding of benthic regions as well as the biodiversity, migratory species, and fish stocks present in pelagic waters.

“Despite its long existence, its proximity and its intrigue, relatively little is known about our EEZ ... Bermuda’s EEZ is a largely unexplored territory, where more scientific information is being gathered and even more remains outstanding. Expanding our knowledge base of this asset should aid our policy makers in their quest to determine its potential and to prepare a future management plan.” (SDD 2014, p. 13)

The government also supported its decision to delay negotiations by referencing a perceived lack of confidence in the quality of data that had been provided. In his speech, the Premier discussed these perceptions, saying,

“Mr. Speaker, this One Bermuda Alliance administration contends that this opportunity is of such significance that perceptions of biased and unreliable information, shallow due diligence and subjective assertions ought not to be relied upon to make such an important decision.” (as quoted in *Bernews* 2014b)

As further stated in the Outcome document,

“At this stage, the supporting data is too weak to provide the basis for sound long-term decision making ... Based on the range of views submitted regarding the way forward for our EEZ, the level of confidence with current knowledge, and the current data gap, it is premature to establish a firm or definitive position on the future of the EEZ at this time.” (SDD 2014, p. 1)

Thus, the government argued, it needed to obtain additional knowledge about the EEZ before further negotiations could commence.

4.5.4.4 Summary

The three territorial narratives examined in this section reveal that actors who promoted different governance solutions for Bermuda’s EEZ shared a place imaginary about this space: it is unknown. While the unknown EEZ characteristics highlighted by each territorial narrative differed somewhat, together, they demonstrate actors’ concern about the risk introduced by implementing particular governance solutions in this unknown space. For instance, the territorial narrative used by some Blue Halo proponents emphasized the relatively unknown ecology and oceanography of Bermuda’s EEZ. This lack of knowledge about the material aspects of the ocean led to uncertainty about how these aspects might relate to existing and potential human activity in this space; actors, thus, asserted that Bermuda should designate the Blue Halo to protect its EEZ and avoid potential harm. The territorial narrative employed by Blue Halo opponents similarly called attention to unknown material aspects of Bermuda’s EEZ. These actors, however, voiced concern that closing access to these potential resources by implementing the Blue Halo risked removing economic opportunities and

perpetuating Bermuda's economic problems unnecessarily. Finally, the government's territorial narrative highlighted both insufficient knowledge about material aspects of the EEZ as well as insufficient or unreliable information about "the future economic potential" of the EEZ for Bermuda. The government opted to delay negotiations until it obtained more information to avoid the risk of basing this governance decision on inadequate knowledge concerning both material and relational characteristics of Bermuda's EEZ. Table 7 summarizes the territorial narratives described in this section.

Table 7: Territorial narratives depicting Bermuda’s EEZ as an unknown space

Elements of territorial narratives	Proposed Solution		
	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations
Problem to be solved	Activity in Bermuda’s offshore EEZ might irreparably damage it	Blue Halo would limit economic opportunity	Insufficient knowledge about material ocean and potential economic and social benefits
Best Solution	Designate	Do not designate	Delay Negotiations; Conduct economic analysis of options
Mechanisms leading to or arguments for this solution	Ecology and oceanography is unknown, should protect before too late	Insufficient knowledge about material resources and economic potential	Insufficient knowledge and perception of untrustworthy data
Actors and their roles in the narrative	N/A	N/A	Government as provider of appropriate knowledge
Key rhetorical devices	N/A	N/A	N/A
Actors employing the narrative	Actors describing logic of Blue Halo proponents	Commercial and recreational fishermen, local extractive and environmental industry, local NGOs, Bermuda government representatives	Bermuda government

This shared place imaginary relates to actors’ early conceptualization of Bermuda’s offshore EEZ as unpeopled. Because of its material realities as remote and difficult to engage, relatively little knowledge exists about both material and relational aspects of Bermuda’s EEZ. Yet, this shared place imaginary demonstrating actors’

concern about choosing the correct governance solution for Bermuda's EEZ, as well as the territorial narratives and arguments described above, demonstrate that Bermuda's EEZ, even its offshore EEZ, is indeed a social, a "peopled," space. Further, through these negotiations, the relational aspects of Bermuda's EEZ, at least, have become more known. In the final section, I will briefly explore these ideas and some implications of this analysis.

4.6 Discussion

This chapter has demonstrated that actors promoting divergent solutions for the governance of Bermuda's EEZ invoked four spatial imaginaries about this space. Analysis revealed these shared spatial imaginaries through attention to the territorial narratives and arguments that actors employed to advocate for their preferred governance solution. This section considers how actors' use of territorial narratives represent territorial practices, then reviews what these territorial narratives revealed about how actors conceptualize Bermuda's EEZ through spatial imaginaries. It discusses how this analysis of territorial narratives, spatial imaginaries, and proposed solutions demonstrates how actors performed, and ultimately altered Bermuda's EEZ by articulating spatial imaginaries through territorial narratives; finally, it suggests what this analysis reveals about territorial practices in evolving oceans governance.

4.6.1 Representing Bermuda's EEZ

This chapter has demonstrated that actors used territorial narratives to represent, and thus (re)produce, Bermuda's EEZ. Through these territorial narratives, actors guided understanding about how the EEZ should be governed by presenting their preferred governance strategy as a solution to a particular problem. To requote Hajer (1995), territorial narratives offered actors "an important form of agency," allowing them to shape negotiations over the EEZ by directing discussions toward their own interests, and away from the interests of others. For example, opponents of the Blue Halo used a territorial narrative about Bermudian sovereignty to focus attention on Pew Charitable Trusts and their role as an outsider organization. Through the narrative, they engendered distrust in Pew, and thus the Blue Halo, by portraying Pew as attempting to infringe on Bermuda's authority over its EEZ. Ultimately, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, this narrative also bled into negotiations over Sargasso Sea governance, leading to a similar distrust in the SSA and their motives and resulting in the removal of Bermuda's EEZ from the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration.

Actors also used narratives to ascribe meaning to particular ideas and experiences (Adger et al. 2001; Roe 1991), such as the Blue Halo's potential economic value (for proponents) or costs (for opponents) in light of the economic downturn experienced by Bermudians during these negotiations. At times, actors promoting opposing governance solutions wove similar ideas into stories, or narratives, to argue

for divergent outcomes. For instance, both proponents and opponents of the Blue Halo used narratives exhibiting pride in Bermuda's conservation legacy. Yet, while proponents asserted that Bermudians should continue this legacy by designating the Blue Halo, opponents represented the Blue Halo as unnecessary given that this legacy already demonstrated Bermuda's commitment to conservation. Actors also used elements of their territorial narratives to present particular solutions as obvious and uncontested (Dryzek 2005; Roe 1991). For instance, while Blue Halo opponents portrayed the Blue Halo as "economic suicide," proponents described it as a "no brainer." One territorial narrative depicted the need to reject suggestions from foreign actors as unquestioned or common sense, arguing that the Blue Halo was untrustworthy because of its association with an outside entity and that the selected governance solution should be "made-in-Bermuda."

Some of the territorial narratives reviewed in this chapter reflect the traditional conservation narrative and counter-narratives described in the literature review above. For instance, Blue Halo proponents' narrative arguing to remove extractive activity from Bermuda's offshore EEZ through "no take" Blue Halo regulations resonates with the traditional fortress narrative that seeks the protection of "natural" spaces by removing people and their "destructive" activities (Campbell 2002; Pochet 2014). In this case, however, because local Bermudians almost never engage in extractive activity in this space currently, the narrative portrays foreign fishermen, rather than local people, as the

“villains” who must be kept out. Further, aspects of the sovereignty narrative used by Blue Halo opponents resemble the community-based narrative often used to counter the traditional fortress conservation narrative by promoting local empowerment and actor cooperation (Campbell 2002; Pochet 2014). While Campbell (2007) describes how powerful global actors coopted this narrative to further their interests, in Bermuda, Blue Halo opponents used it to resist the interests of, or even cooperation with, foreign actors.

Actors’ use of these territorial narratives during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ has demonstrated that even proposed marine protected areas “call forth territories,” or at least territorial practices seeking to define a bounded space (Chmara-huff 2014, p. 12). While the Blue Halo or a similar LMPA has not been designated (or formally rejected) to date, actors employed narratives to produce or reproduce the meaning of or people’s relations to Bermuda’s EEZ. Some of these territorial narratives maintained public strength even with little or questionable evidence to support them; for instance, opposing actors often questioned the narratives purporting large economic benefits from the Blue Halo (through tourism) and from deep-sea mining, as well as the viability of developing an offshore fishery. Importantly, the Bermuda government revealed the limited power of these narratives to dictate governance decisions in the short-term by delaying negotiations until it gathered additional information about these potential benefits. Yet, as discussed below, actors’ use of these territorial narratives has exposed and articulated understandings of and

relations with Bermuda's EEZ, altering this space in meaningful ways despite this lack of policy change (Davis 2005; Dryzek 2005).

4.6.2 Imagining Bermuda's EEZ

The territorial narratives and arguments employed by actors during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ revealed four shared spatial imaginaries: three idealized space imaginaries and a place imaginary (Watkins 2015). The three shared idealized space imaginaries emerged through actors' characterization of Bermuda's EEZ as representational space (Lefebvre 1974), or as symbolic of a current or future benefit for Bermuda. For instance, through the territorial narratives and argument described in Section 4.5.1, actors portrayed Bermuda's EEZ a space of conservation; in other words, actors shared an understanding that Bermuda's EEZ should be conserved or protected. Proponents of the Blue Halo argued that the Blue Halo could best conserve the EEZ; opponents contended that the offshore EEZ was sufficiently regulated and the inshore EEZ needed further protection. The government, though undecided about implementing the Blue Halo or any marine reserve, agreed that EEZ governance should include attention to environmental impacts and sustainability. Thus, each narrative included an assumption that the conservation of Bermuda's EEZ, in some form, is important. Section 4.5.2 similarly demonstrates that each actor group imagined Bermuda's EEZ as space for economic development, though through different means; actor groups further invoked a shared imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ as a space to

demonstrate sovereignty through the territorial narratives and argument reviewed in Section 4.5.3.

Actors promoting different governance solutions also shared a place imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ as unknown. Rather than portraying the EEZ as symbolic of or providing a particular ideal or benefit, this place imaginary refers to particular material and relational attributes of the EEZ itself. Through territorial narratives concerning Bermuda's EEZ, interviewees and other actors discussed particular ecological attributes (e.g. fish, ecosystems, interactions), resource attributes (e.g. quantity and quality of valuable minerals), and economic attributes (e.g. markets for fish or valuable minerals within Bermuda and global markets) of this place. In so doing, they demonstrated that they imagine this particular place, both the material offshore EEZ and how it relates to people through markets, as unknown.

In addition to revealing these four shared spatial imaginaries, this chapter also answers Watkins' (2015) call to examine how different types of spatial imaginaries relate. In this case, the shared place imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ as unknown served to support one of the shared idealized space imaginaries, though which idealized space imaginary it supported differed. Blue Halo proponents argued that, given that the ecology and oceanography of Bermuda's EEZ is unknown, Bermuda should protect the EEZ by implementing the Blue Halo. Thus, for Blue Halo proponents, imagining Bermuda's EEZ as unknown supported the idealized space imaginary that Bermuda's

EEZ is a space for conservation. Blue Halo opponents and the Bermuda government similarly connected this place imaginary to the idealized space imaginary that Bermuda's EEZ is a space for economic development. Because the material and relational potential of Bermuda's EEZ to produce economic benefits for Bermuda through extractive activity remain unknown, these actors argued, the Blue Halo should remain undesignated until more information has been gathered. This use of the unknown place imaginary to support particular idealized space imaginaries may suggest the relative import that actors placed on one idealized space imaginary over others.

Further, the spatial imaginaries discussed in this chapter were not only revealed through, but also helped shape, the territorial narratives used by actors to advocate for particular governance solutions. In other words, these shared spatial imaginaries at times provided the impetus to create and promote a particular territorial narrative. For instance, after noting the success of the territorial narrative used by Blue Halo opponents that portrayed Bermuda's EEZ as a space to enact sovereignty, actors promoting the Blue Halo created a territorial narrative to demonstrate that designating the Blue Halo would also, or better, accomplish this goal. These actors understood the importance of demonstrating that the Blue Halo would not only (re)produce Bermuda's EEZ as a space for conservation and economic development, but also as a space to demonstrate sovereignty if they wanted their solution to gain traction.

In revealing these shared spatial imaginaries, this chapter contributes to scholarship on human-ocean relations in three ways. First, while the shared idealized spatial imaginaries held by these actors are unsurprising given previous scholarship concerning actors' commonly held values and interests related to ocean spaces (Steinberg 2001; Campbell et al. 2016; Chmara-huff 2014), this chapter has provided an empirical examination of these imaginaries based on actor interviews and in-depth, case specific data and revealed how they relate to territorial practices in oceans. Second, while scholarship often depicts actors promoting divergent governance solutions as advocating for conservation, economic development or another ideal (e.g. sovereignty) over the others, this chapter has demonstrated that actors hold these spatial imaginaries in concert. Actors arguing for Blue Halo designation conceptualize Bermuda's EEZ as not only a space for conservation, but also as a space to encourage economic development in Bermuda and to demonstrate Bermudian sovereignty. Blue Halo opponents and the Bermudian government also view Bermuda's EEZ as a space in need of conservation, a space of economic opportunity, and a space to enact Bermudian sovereignty. These spatial imaginaries, in other words, are not mutually exclusive in this case; actors used territorial narratives to promote different governance outcomes that reproduced each of these spatial imaginaries as an important characterization of Bermuda's EEZ.

Finally, by analyzing territorial narratives and spatial imaginaries concurrently, this analysis has revealed the commonalities between, rather than solely distinctions across, interest groups. While Chapter 2 provided an example of how consensus between global level actors can mask disagreement over LMPAs in practice (as suggested in Gray, Gruby, and Campbell 2014), this chapter demonstrates that, despite actors' stark disagreement over their preferred governance solution, they share multiple imaginaries of Bermuda's EEZ. In particular, the three idealized space imaginaries reveal that actors involved in these negotiations held similar hopes about what Bermuda's EEZ did or could symbolize for Bermuda. As explained in the final section, when negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ resume, the "sediments" (Moore 2005) of the territorial narratives employed and these spatial imaginaries that they revealed will likely remain. This analysis suggests that, if Bermudians hope to identify a "made-in-Bermuda" approach to EEZ governance, attention to these shared spatial imaginaries may present an opportunity for finding common ground moving forward.

4.6.3 Performing Bermuda's EEZ

This discussion has thus far depicted the territorial narratives employed by actors during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ and the spatial imaginaries that they revealed as representations of or ways of imagining Bermuda's EEZ. Yet, by answering Watkins' (2015) call to conceptualize spatial imaginaries as

performative, this chapter suggests that the articulation of shared spatial imaginaries through the promotion of territorial narratives not only (re)produced Bermuda's EEZ, but altered actors' relations with it, and thus the space itself (Lefebvre 1974), as well. For example, understanding spatial imaginaries as performative gives the shared place imaginary of Bermuda's EEZ as unknown new meaning. In delaying negotiations due to insufficient knowledge about the EEZ, the government continues to perform the implications of this spatial imaginary, prioritizing it and the risk it implies above actors' other spatial imaginaries, including those idealized space imaginaries described here. Though its adoption of this solution suggests that negotiations will continue eventually, the government has produced Bermuda's EEZ as an unknown and unsettled space through these negotiations, arguably territorializing it through inaction.

Further, as described in Chapter 2, many interviewees noted that these negotiations resulted in increased public knowledge about and attention to Bermuda's EEZ. Though no significant changes in the governance of or material interactions with the offshore spaces of Bermuda's EEZ have occurred to date, this lack of institutional change does not mean that the space, and actors' relations to it, remain unchanged (Dryzek 2005). Through articulations of Bermuda's EEZ as a space to demonstrate sovereignty, actors employing territorial narratives in these negotiations have produced Bermuda's EEZ as a contested space, vulnerable to the territorial practices of others. For many interviewees promoting the Blue Halo, Bermuda's EEZ now represents a missed

opportunity to demonstrate sovereignty and national pride through conservation.

Interviewees opposing the Blue Halo also reported new conceptualizations of the EEZ, as a space of hope for economic opportunity and a space through which Bermuda has already demonstrated its sovereignty through the Hamilton Declaration. This analysis shows that, through alterations in actors' spatial imaginaries of an ocean space, here Bermuda's EEZ, actors involved in negotiations over a proposed, undesignated LMPA can territorialize that space as conceptualized, which will likely impact future negotiations over its governance.

Finally, this chapter demonstrates that even offshore ocean spaces, such as Bermuda's offshore EEZ, can represent active social and political seascapes. As discussed above, both actors involved in these negotiations as well as actors promoting offshore LMPA designation more generally have asserted that a lack of physical engagement with these spaces implies a lack of interest in them; to repeat a quote from a Bermudian interviewee, "... No one's out there. No one really cares" (BDA Interview X76). Yet, though few actors currently engage with Bermuda's offshore EEZ through the physical extraction of resources, actors involved in these governance negotiations demonstrated strong relational ties to this space. This empirical analysis has revealed one mechanism through which actors articulate these relations to offshore spaces during onshore negotiations: using territorial narratives promoting particular governance

solutions that show how they perceive, conceive, and value those spaces, through spatial imaginaries.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that offshore ocean spaces, though remote and less accessible to people physically, can present “peopled” spaces to which actors hold deep, varied, and evolving relational ties. Further, as demonstrated through this case, actors promoting divergent governance solutions in these remote spaces may share multiple spatial imaginaries concerning what these spaces should or currently do symbolize. As actors continue to propose LMPAs, or otherwise seek territorial changes in offshore spaces, understanding and addressing already established or emerging actor relations to these ocean spaces will prove invaluable to achieving governance outcomes upon which actors with varied interests can agree.

5. Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated the territorial processes involved in and the territorial practices used by actors during negotiations over two proposed, overlapping LMPAs in the Atlantic Ocean. Actors employed these territorial practices to achieve particular governance outcomes in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea, and, through these practices, revealed, (re)produced, and, at times, altered ocean space and ocean territory. Results from this research contribute both to growing understanding of LMPAs as trending tools in global oceans governance as well as human geographic theory on transforming processes of territoriality in ocean spaces. The next section reviews key findings from Chapters 2, 3, and 4 and how they relate to the project's overall research questions. The following section presents the contributions of this dissertation to scholarship and suggests avenues for future research.

5.1 Key Findings

1. *What territorial practices do actors use in negotiations over large marine protected areas?*

Actors used multiple, varied territorial practices to promote their desired territorial outcomes in negotiations over proposed LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea. As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, I define territorial practices broadly, as practices employed by actors to create, defend, or resist the emergence and/or (re)production of territories. These territorial practices can include actors' material engagements with physical space as well as actors' more "abstract"

engagements with that space (Vandergeest and Peluso 1995), through what Lefebvre (1974) calls “representations of space” and “representational space.”

Chapter 2 identifies numerous territorial practices employed by actors during LMPA negotiations. These include diverse activities, from the dissemination of information and promotional material (e.g. Pew’s advocacy of and the Billfish Foundation’s opposition to the Blue Halo in Bermuda) to engagement with certain types of actors rather than others (e.g. the SSA’s engagement with high-level decision-makers during Sargasso Sea negotiations). The chapter demonstrated how particular territorial practices led to shifts in the trajectory of negotiations. For instance, territorial narratives promoted during negotiations over Bermuda’s EEZ produced this space as both valuable and vulnerable to foreign pressure concerning its governance. Further, the SSA’s decision to largely engage with high-level decision-makers in Bermuda during Sargasso Sea negotiations left many Bermudian interviewees doubtful about the goals and role of the SSA. Thus, when the Bermuda government released the map of the Geographical Area of Collaboration of the Sargasso Sea in preparation for the signing of the Hamilton Declaration, these existing narratives concerning Bermuda’s EEZ and doubts about the SSA led to concerns about Bermuda’s retention of sovereignty over its EEZ if it remained within the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. In other words, territorial practices used to promote governance outcomes

regarding two distinct, but overlapping proposed LMPAs interacted, contributing to an unexpected territorial outcome in the Sargasso Sea.

Chapter 3 focused on the territorial practice of map-making, tracing how scientists and SSA members produced the Sargasso Sea as an EBSA and as a bounded Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. Despite the Sargasso Sea's fluid, dynamic, and emergent materiality revealed through data collection and early cartographic translation, actors simplified and smoothed the mapped Sargasso Sea into a legible, governable object (Scott 1998). Chapter 4 highlighted actors' employment of territorial narratives, a key territorial practice used during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ. These territorial narratives "helped define common sense" (Dryzek 2005, p. 9) concerning the proposed Blue Halo LMPA by presenting a problem, positioning actors in particular roles, and, ultimately, promoting a preferred governance outcome by portraying it as the obvious, unquestioned solution to the problem (Roe 1991).

2. How do these territorial practices produce ocean space?

Chapter 2 demonstrated that many of the territorial practices employed by actors involved in negotiations over proposed LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea contributed, directly and/or indirectly, to (re)producing these ocean spaces. In some cases, these territorial practices affected particular tools or mechanisms used to produce the ocean space. For instance, in their meeting with the Bermudian Premier and other

high-level government actors, a small group of concerned Bermudians argued against including Bermuda's EEZ in the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. This territorial practice contributed to the removal of Bermuda's EEZ from the Hamilton Declaration map and text, which produced the Sargasso Sea as a space to promote conservation through international collaboration. The internal boundary of the new Geographical Area of Collaboration of the Sargasso Sea thus represents a jurisdictional boundary, rather than the ecological boundary reflected in the Sargasso Sea EBSA. Despite the expectations and hopes of actors involved in early Sargasso Sea negotiations, the Geographical Area of Collaboration serves to reinforce jurisdictional territorial boundaries and deemphasize the ecological connectivity of the *Sargassum*-based ecosystem.

In other cases, actors' territorial practices influenced the negotiations, and, in turn, the production of ocean space, less directly by altering the trajectory of one or both of these territorial processes. For example, Pew's highly visible advocacy campaign to promote Blue Halo designation interacted, according to interviewees, with Bermudians' distrust of "outsiders," historical user limits to the access of marine resources (e.g. the 1990 fish pot ban) (Section 2.4.2.2), as well as perceptions of conservation as an "elite" issue (Section 2.4.2.5). This territorial practice, while not the only factor that led to a lack of policy change in Bermuda's EEZ, raised the visibility of governance negotiations over Bermuda's EEZ and engendered distrust in Pew's motives for promoting the Blue Halo.

In other words, Chapter 2 demonstrated that not only territorial practices, but their interactions with historical, political and social context and existing, emerging, and changing actor relations contributed to the production of space in this case.

Chapters 3 and 4 revealed how specific territorial practices, including the mapping of the Sargasso Sea (Chapter 3) and the promotion of territorial narratives concerning the governance of Bermuda's EEZ (Chapter 4), contributed to the production of the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ, respectively. Scientists and SSA members collaborated to produce a fixed, homogenous, flat, and simplified Sargasso Sea that belied its more complex, "wet" materiality. Representations of the Sargasso Sea served to fix this ocean space (Lefebvre 1974; Scott 1998), masking key material aspects such as its volume, dynamism, and emergence. Yet, this chapter also demonstrated that, despite actors' attempts to define and stabilize the Sargasso Sea, negotiations over and changes to its boundaries continued, through its production as an EBSA and, later, as a Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration. As the SSC promotes conservation of the Sargasso Sea through international governance bodies and discussions concerning a new high seas implementing agreement, negotiations over interactions with and within and the organization of this space will be ongoing. This case thus supports that assertion that territorial processes are never complete and that territory is always emergent.

The promotion of territorial narratives provided actors with “an important form of agency” during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ (Hajer 1995, p. 56). Through these narratives, actors ascribed meaning to ideas and events concerning Bermuda’s EEZ and negotiations over its governance, and presented particular solutions or relations as given or evident. In other words, actors’ use of territorial narratives “fixes” Bermuda’s EEZ, similarly to how the maps produced by cartographers “fix” the Sargasso Sea. The narratives make the “correct” governance outcome for Bermuda’s EEZ, and thus the “correct” manner in which actors should conceptualize and engage with this space, appear clear and uncontested. Further, through territorial narratives, actors invoked idealized spatial imaginaries of Bermuda’s EEZ that produced it as a space through which to achieve particular ideals (e.g. conservation, economic development and sovereignty); as Levebvre (1974) asserts, they revealed the symbolic meaning, or representational spaces, of Bermuda’s EEZ. The Bermuda government took this one step further, performing the territorial narrative of Bermuda’s EEZ as unknown and thus producing this space as both unknown and unsettled.

3. *What do these territorial practices reveal about these ocean spaces and human-ocean relations?*

The chapters comprising this dissertation each contribute to growing scholarship demonstrating that ocean spaces, even offshore ocean spaces, are not “unpeopled,” but produced through and productive of myriad social relations (Gruby et al. 2015; Peters

2013; Richmond and Kotowicz 2015). Chapter 2 revealed that negotiations over two “scaled up,” yet distinct governance proposals for oceans conservation can interact, sometimes in unexpected ways and with unintended territorial outcomes. Global actors attempted to separate Sargasso Sea and EEZ processes based on their seeming jurisdictional divisions. Yet these negotiations interacted not only through overlapping physical ocean space, but also through the social and political overlap of the negotiations in Bermuda. Attempts to discursively separate the processes fell short; indeed, these attempts contributed to confusion about the two processes and the roles of Pew and the SSA and facilitated the transfer of the sovereignty narrative from negotiations over Bermuda’s EEZ to negotiations over the Sargasso Sea.

Further, the territorial practices used by global actors to promote the territorialization of both the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda’s EEZ for conservation exemplified the mechanisms through which non-state actors are seeking to broaden their territorial influence over both national and high seas ocean spaces. Yet, viewing these proposed LMPAs as not only territories for conservation, but also territories of resistance (Chmara-huff 2014), this case also demonstrated the limits of non-state actor influence in the face of state actors’ articulation of their sovereignty. Chapter 2 also showed how LMPA negotiations can exhibit impacts beyond the production of and human relations with ocean spaces by influencing, for example, actor relations and future governance and conservation initiatives. For instance, negotiations over the

LMPA proposed in Bermuda's EEZ resulted in deteriorated relationships between the Bermuda government and the Bermuda public, as well as between NGOs and individuals within Bermuda's environmental community. Further, distrust of the Waitt Foundation following Blue Halo and Sargasso Sea negotiations contributed to the failure of later attempts to implement marine spatial planning (MSP) in Bermuda's inshore waters.

Chapter 3 revealed tensions between the materiality, experience, and production of the Sargasso Sea as a place for conservation and the map-making processes that simplify and fix it for governance. While actors justify their cartographic choices as necessary for policy-making, the outcome, I argue, may limit the potential for policy-makers to utilize new oceans management techniques or better fit regulations to oceanic realities, particularly given current negotiations over transforming high seas governance structures. Finally, actors' territorial narratives promoted during negotiations over the governance of Bermuda's EEZ revealed that actors advocating for different governance outcomes invoked four shared spatial imaginaries characterizing Bermuda's EEZ (Watkins 2015) (Chapter 4). Actors (re)produced these seemingly divergent conceptualizations of Bermuda's EEZ through complementary territorial narratives. The (re)production and performance of these spatial imaginaries demonstrated that, contrary to some interviewees' assertion that "nothing has changed" from these negotiations, negotiations over proposed LMPAs contribute to the production and alteration of ocean

space and human-ocean relations. Though no formal regulatory changes have, or will likely, occur in Bermuda's EEZ, governance negotiations revealed and produced it as a space for conservation, economic development, and sovereignty, and ultimately performed it as an unknown space through (the lack of) policy changes.

5.2 Contributions and Future Directions

"MPAs have a goal of changing human activity, ... they invoke certain social relations about the control of space." (Chmara-huff 2014, p. 12)

This dissertation has shown negotiations over the designation of two proposed, overlapping LMPAs in the Atlantic Ocean to be complex, fragmented territorial processes that reach across space, actors, jurisdictional scale, and time. Given the recent push toward and proliferation of LMPAs in both national waters and on the high seas, it presents a timely contribution to understanding how LMPA negotiations produce ocean space and reveal and alter territorial processes in marine contexts. Actors involved in negotiations over proposed LMPAs in Bermuda's EEZ and the Sargasso Sea promoted desired territorial outcomes by employing numerous, diverse territorial practices, in turn revealing deep interests in and connections to these offshore spaces. Territorial practices related to LMPA negotiations not only produce new ocean territories (e.g. the Geographical Area of Collaboration in the Hamilton Declaration), but alter territorial relations to and conceptualizations of ocean spaces (as demonstrated by the revelation and (re)production of spatial imaginaries characterizing Bermuda's EEZ in Chapter 4). These changes emerge within and relate to the historical, economic, social, political,

institutional, and relational contexts into which LMPAs are proposed (Chapter 2).

Further, while research limitations necessitate the bounding of this case study, and thus, this dissertation's contribution to the production of these spaces, both the materiality of and ongoing negotiations over the Sargasso Sea and Bermuda's EEZ reveal these spaces, and LMPAs more generally, as always emergent, never completely fixed or static territories.

Further research on the diverse territorial practices used by actors to advocate for desired territorial outcomes during negotiations over LMPAs would contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how LMPAs are promoted and resisted in particular contexts. For example, more empirical research should focus on when and how LMPAs, and actors involved in related negotiations, interact with one another or other territorially bounded ocean spaces (e.g. interactions between LMPAs and Regional Fisheries Management Organizations). This work could include continued research on the Sargasso Sea, following the Sargasso Sea Commission's interactions with existing regional and sectoral governance bodies. Further, additional research is needed on the diverse territorial practices employed during the proposal of and negotiations over high seas LMPAs, particularly given current negotiations that could potentially transform high seas governance. This research could reveal not only a greater diversity of actor interests in high seas ocean spaces than is currently recognized, but also additional

mechanisms through which unexpected obstacles, limitations, or opportunities might emerge.

This dissertation has also contributed to increasing scholarship in human geography on the emerging territorial processes transforming global oceans governance and, more broadly, human relations with offshore ocean spaces (Chmara-huff 2014; Campbell et al. 2016; Steinberg and Peters 2015). While many actors materially engage with Bermuda's offshore EEZ and the Sargasso Sea through activities such as shipping, fishing, or working with deep-sea cables, negotiations over the LMPAs proposed in these spaces occurred mainly onshore, and most of the actors involved in these negotiations rarely if ever visited the physical spaces themselves. Yet, despite actors' limited material connection to them, and thus limited ability to physically enact their territorial rights and interests within them, they used more "abstract" mechanisms – representations of space (e.g. maps, narratives, reports, and photographs) and representational spaces (e.g. spatial imaginaries characterizing Bermuda's EEZ as symbolic, as space "for" a specific purpose) – to (de-, re-)territorialize these ocean spaces, revealing their diverse interests in them. In other words, actors' efforts demonstrated that their interests in the control over, regulations structuring, and boundaries defining these ocean spaces were deeper and more diverse than actors involved in the early Sargasso Sea initiative expected (Chapter 2) and than traditional conceptualizations of these offshore spaces as "unpeopled" suggest. By broadening the

investigation of territorial practices to include the negotiating strategies and discursive representations used by onshore actors to produce offshore spaces, this dissertation reveals the myriad mechanisms through which actors are promoting their interests in large, “remote” ocean spaces through, and in resistance to, LMPAs. Continued research on the social and political realities of offshore ocean spaces is warranted.

Finally, Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation have furthered human geographic theory on territoriality and the production of space through the use of a “wet” ontology to study human-ocean interactions (Steinberg and Peters 2015) (Chapter 3) and through engagement of the relationship between territorial narratives and spatial imaginaries (Chapter 4). Employing a “wet” ontology to understand the aqueous materiality of the Sargasso Sea revealed tensions with, and potential limits of, policy-making strategies traditionally used in global oceans governance to simplify and fix ocean spaces. Further empirical engagement with this scholarship highlighting the relationship between the social and political aspects and aqueous materialities of oceans and their governance would present new avenues for understanding human-ocean relations. Chapter 4 exemplified how analysis of actors’ promotion of territorial narratives revealed shared spatial imaginaries of Bermuda’s EEZ. This analysis not only contributed to theory concerning the mechanisms through which space, particularly offshore space, is produced, but also highlighted potential opportunities for negotiations over the governance of Bermuda’s EEZ moving forward. Future research concerning territoriality

in offshore and otherwise “under-accessed” spaces (e.g. underground) would benefit from similar analyses relating territorial practices with spatial imaginaries.

References

- Adger, W. Neil, Tor a. Benjaminsen, Katrina Brown, and Hanne Svarstad. 2001. "Advancing a Political Ecology of Global Environmental Discourses." *Development and Change* 32 (4): 681–715. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00222.
- Agardy, Tundi, Giuseppe Notarbartolo di Sciara, and Patrick Christie. 2011. "Mind the Gap: Addressing the Shortcomings of Marine Protected Areas through Large Scale Marine Spatial Planning." *Marine Policy* 35 (2). Elsevier: 226–32. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2010.10.006.
- Agnew, John. 1994. "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory." *Review of International Political Economy* 1 (1): 53–80.
- Alger, Justin, and Peter Dauvergne. 2017a. "The Global Norm of Large Marine Protected Areas: Explaining Variable Adoption and Implementation." *In Press*, 1–31. doi:10.1002/eet.1768.
- — —. 2017b. "The Politics of Pacific Ocean Conservation: Lessons from the Pitcairn Islands Marine Reserve." *Pacific Affairs* 90 (1): 29–50.
- Anderson, Jon. 2012. "Relational Places: The Surfing Wave as Assemblage and Convergence." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30 (4): 570–87. doi:10.1068/d17910.
- Anderson, Jon, and Kimberley Peters. 2014. "'A Perfect and Absolute Blank': Human Geographies of Water Worlds." In *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, edited by Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Ardron, Jeff, Pat Halpin, Jason Roberts, Jesse Cleary, Russell Moffitt, and Ben Donnelly. 2011. "Where Is the Sargasso Sea? A Report Submitted to the Sargasso Sea Alliance." *Sargasso Sea Alliance Science Report Series*. http://sargasso.nonprofitsoapbox.com/storage/documents/No2_WhereistheSS_LO.pdf.
- Ban, Natalie C., Nicholas J. Bax, Kristina M. Gjerde, Rodolphe Devillers, Daniel C. Dunn, Piers K. Dunstan, Alistair J. Hobday, et al. 2014. "Systematic Conservation Planning: A Better Recipe for Managing the High Seas for Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Use." *Conservation Letters* 7 (1): 41–54. doi:10.1111/conl.12010.

- Barry, John, and John Proops. 1999. "Seeking Sustainability Discourses with Q Methodology." *Ecological Economics* 28 (3): 337–45. doi:10.1016/S0921-8009(98)00053-6.
- Bassett, Thomas J, and Denis Gautier. 2014. "Regulation by Territorialization: The Political Ecology of Conservation & Development Territories." *EchoGéo* 29 (29): 0–7. doi:10.4000/echogeo.14038.
- Bear, Christopher, and Sally Eden. 2008. "Making Space for Fish: The Regional, Network and Fluid Spaces of Fisheries Certification." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9 (5): 487–504. doi:10.1080/14649360802224358.
- Bermuda Government. 2000. "Green Paper: Marine Resources and the Fishing Industry in Bermuda."
- — —. 2005. "White Paper: The Marine Environment and the Fishing Industry in Bermuda."
- — —. 2010a. "2010 Census: Population and Housing." Hamilton, Bermuda.
- — —. 2010b. "Sargasso Message for the TED cruise from the Premier of Bermuda - April 2010." Vimeo video, 04:29. Posted [April 13, 2010]. <https://vimeo.com/10911346>.
- Bermuda Government, Sustainable Development Department. 2013. "Bermuda's Marine EEZ Zone, Oct 25, 2013." YouTube video, 28:56. Posted [October 25, 2013]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2wme4jBjvY>.
- Bermuda Government, Ministry of Environment and Planning, Office of the Minister. 2013. *Ministerial Statement to the House of Assembly by the Honorable Sylvan D. Richards, Minister of Environment and Planning*. 7 June, 2013.
- "Bermuda – Potential Marine Reserve Could Stop Fishing in the Blue Marlin Capital." 2013. The Billfish Foundation. October 24. <http://www.billfish.org/advocacy/bermuda-marine-reserve/> (accessed August 6, 2017).
- The Bermudian*. 2011. "Saving the Sargasso Sea." March 16.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology*. 4th ed. Lanham: Altamira Press.

- Bernews. 2013a. "Looking at seabed mining around the world." July 25.
- — —. 2013b. "Video Replay: Town Hall Meeting on Marine EEZ." Ustream webcast, 02:15:59. Posted [October 28, 2013]. <http://bernews.com/2013/10/live-webcast-town-hall-meeting-on-marine-eez/>.
- — —. 2014a. "Sargasso Sea Hamilton Declaration Signing, Mar 11 2014." YouTube video, 09:37. Posted [March 11, 2014].
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lpDsHDsYrtI>.
- — —. 2014b. "Premier: Additional Consultation on Marine EEZ." June 6.
- — —. 2015. "EEZ study delayed due to 'budget restraints.'" March 16.
- Bialasiewicz, Luiza, David Campbell, Stuart Elden, Stephen Graham, Alex Jeffrey, and Allison J. Williams. 2007. "Performing Security: The Imaginative Geographies of Current US Strategy." *Political Geography* 26: 405-422.
doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.12.002
- Billfish Foundation. 2013. "Potential Impacts of Bermuda's Marine Reserve on Sportfishing Tourism: The Need to Explore Other Options."
- Border, Karen. 2012. "A Halo of Hope." *The Bermudian*, November 26.
- Brenner, Neil, and Stuart Elden. 2009. "Henri Lefebvre on State, Space, Territory." *International Political Sociology* 3: 353-77.
- Brosius, J Peter, and Lisa M Campbell. 2010. "Collaborative Event Ethnography: Conservation and Development Trade-Offs at the Fourth World Conservation Congress." *Conservation and Society* 8 (4): 245. doi:10.4103/0972-4923.78141.
- Butler, James N., James Burnett-Herkes, John A. Barnes, and Jack Ward. 1993. "The Bermuda Fisheries. A Tragedy of the Commons Averted?" *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 35 (1): 6-33.
doi:10.1080/00139157.1993.9929067.
- Campbell, Lisa M. 2002. "Conservation Narratives in Costa Rica: Conflict and Co-Existence." *Development and Change* 33 (1): 29-56. doi:10.1111/1467-7660.00239.
- — —. 2007. "Local Conservation Practice and Global Discourse: A Political Ecology of Sea Turtle Conservation." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97 (2): 313-34. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.2007.00538.x.

- Campbell, Lisa M., Noella J. Gray, Luke Fairbanks, Jennifer J. Silver, Rebecca L. Gruby, Bradford A. Dubik, and Xavier Basurto. 2016. "Global Oceans Governance: New and Emerging Issues." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 41 (1): annurev-environ-102014-021121. doi:10.1146/annurev-environ-102014-021121.
- Caron, David D., and Stephen Minas. 2016. "Conservation or Claim? The Motivations for Recent Marine Protected Areas." *TLI Think! Paper 36/2016* 36. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2835172>.
- CBD. 2010. "Decisions Adopted by the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity in its Tenth Meeting" (Decision X/2, Annex IV).
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2017. "Bermuda." *The World Factbook*. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bd.html>.
- Charmaz, Kathy. 2014. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Chmara-huff, Fletcher. 2014. "Marine Protected Areas: Territorializing Objects and Subjectivities." *EchoGéo* 29: 1–16.
- Cidell, Julie. 2011. "Distribution Centers among the Rooftops: The Global Logistics Network Meets the Suburban Spatial Imaginary." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35 (4): 832–51. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00973.x.
- Clegg, Peter. 2012. "Independence Movements in the Caribbean: Withering on the Vine?" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50 (4): 422–38. doi:10.1080/14662043.2012.729728.
- Collier, David. 2011. "Understanding Process Tracing." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44 (4): 823–30. doi:10.1017/S1049096511001429.
- Communications Partnership for Science and the Sea. 2005. "Scientific Consensus Statement on Marine Ecosystem-Based Management." https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/e58a91_66758942b496492f9dd86b4538e58e8a.pdf.
- Connel, John. 1997. "Bermuda: Aberrant or Exemplary Case?" *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 86 (341): 37–50.
- Corson, Catherine. 2011. "Territorialization, Enclosure and Neoliberalism: Non-State Influence in Struggles over Madagascar's Forests." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (4): 703–26. doi:10.1080/03066150.2011.607696.

- Cox, Andrew. 2013. "Bad plan for Bermuda: A no-take zone is not the way to go." *Marlin Magazine*, December 30.
- Davis, Jeffrey Sasha. 2005. "Representing Place: 'Deserted Isles' and the Reproduction of Bikini Atoll." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95 (3): 607–25. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.2005.00477.x.
- De Santo, Elizabeth M. 2013. "Missing Marine Protected Area (MPA) Targets: How the Push for Quantity over Quality Undermines Sustainability and Social Justice." *Journal of Environmental Management* 124 (July). Elsevier Ltd: 137–46. doi:10.1016/j.jenvman.2013.01.033.
- De Santo, Elizabeth M., P. J. S. Jones, and A. M. M. Miller. 2011. "Fortress Conservation at Sea: A Commentary on the Chagos Marine Protected Area." *Marine Policy* 35 (2). Elsevier: 258–60. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2010.09.004.
- Deacon, Jeremy. 2014. "Why support for Blue Halo should be a no-brainer: Leading the world on marine research could be our elusive third pillar." *The Bermuda Sun*, February 7.
- Druel, Elisabeth, Julien Rochette, Raphaël Billé, and Claudio Chiarolla. 2012. "A Long and Winding Road: International Discussions on the Governance of Marine Biodiversity in Areas beyond National Jurisdiction." *IDDRI Studies* 07/13: 42.
- Dryzek, John S. 2005. *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dudley, Nigel, Craig Groves, Kent H. Redford, and Sue Stolton. 2014. "Where Now for Protected Areas? Setting the Stage for the 2014 World Parks Congress." *Oryx* 48 (4): 496–503. doi:10.1017/S0030605314000519.
- Dunn, Daniel C., Jeff Ardron, Nicholas Bax, Patricio Bernal, Jesse Cleary, Ian Cresswell, Ben Donnelly, et al. 2014. "The Convention on Biological Diversity's Ecologically or Biologically Significant Areas: Origins, Development, and Current Status." *Marine Policy* 49 (November). Elsevier: 137–45. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2013.12.002.
- Environmental Law Institute. 2016. "Legal Context for Nearshore Marine Spatial Planning in Bermuda."
- Fisheries Act 1972*. Bermuda 1972:76. Laws of Bermuda, Title 25, Item 8. Available at <http://libguides.wvu.edu/c.php?g=418946&p=2855160>. (accessed August 5, 2017).

- Foucault, Michel. 1982. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* 8 (4): 777.
doi:10.1086/448181.
- Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec. 1986. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16 (1): 22–27.
- Freestone, David. 2013. "Leadership on marine conservation has to begin at home." *The Royal Gazette*, October 19.
- — —. 2014. "The Sargasso Sea Alliance: Working to Protect the 'Golden Floating Rainforest of the Ocean.'" *Environmental Policy and Law* 44 (1–2): 151–58.
- Freestone, David, and Faith Bulger. 2016. "The Sargasso Sea Commission: An Innovative Approach to the Conservation of Areas beyond National Jurisdiction." *Ocean Yearbook Online* 30 (1): 80–90. doi:10.1163/22116001-03001005.
- Freestone, David, David Johnson, Jeff Ardron, Kate Killerlain Morrison, and Sebastian Unger. 2014. "Can Existing Institutions Protect Biodiversity in Areas beyond National Jurisdiction? Experiences from Two On-Going Processes." *Marine Policy* 49 (November). Elsevier: 167–75. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2013.12.007.
- Freestone, David, and Kate Killerlain Morrison. 2012. "Current Legal Developments, The Sargasso Sea: The Sargasso Sea Alliance: Seeking to Protect the Sargasso Sea." *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 27 (3): 647–55.
doi:10.1163/15718085-12341240.
- — —. 2014. "Current Legal Developments: The Sargasso Sea. The Signing of the Hamilton Declaration on Collaboration for the Conservation of the Sargasso Sea: A New Paradigm for High Seas Conservation?" *The International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* 27 (3): 647–55. doi:10.1163/15718085-12341240.
- Freestone, David, A Ole Varmer, B Meredith, C T Aulani Wilhelm, D M Theodore, E Jeff Ardron, and F Sara Maxwell. 2014. "Place-Based Dynamic Management of Large-Scale Ocean Places: Papahānaumokuākea and the Sargasso Sea." *Stanford Environmental Law Journal* 33 (2): 191–248.
- Freidberg, Susanne. 2001. "On the Trail of the Global Green Bean: Methodological Considerations in Multi-Site Ethnography." *Global Networks* 1 (4): 353–68.
doi:10.1111/1471-0374.00020.
- Gjerde, Kristina M., Lora L. Nordtvedt Reeve, Harriet Harden-Davies, Jeff Ardron, Ryan Dolan, Carole Durussel, Sylvia Earle, et al. 2016. "Protecting Earth's Last Conservation Frontier: Scientific, Management and Legal Priorities for MPAs

- beyond National Boundaries." *Aquatic Conservation: Marine and Freshwater Ecosystems* 26: 45–60. doi:10.1002/aqc.2646.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 2009. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Transaction Publishers.
<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=rtiNK68Xt08C&pgis=1>.
- Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda. Proclamation. "Proclamation Establishing an Exclusive Economic Zone for Bermuda, GN 407/1996." *Bermuda Laws*. (10 June, 1996).
<http://www.bermudalaws.bm/Laws/Consolidated%20Laws/Proclamation%20Establishing%20an%20Exclusive%20Economic%20Zone%20for%20Bermuda.pdf>
- Gower, J. F. R., and S. A. King. 2011. "Distribution of Floating Sargassum in the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean Mapped Using MERIS." *International Journal of Remote Sensing* 32 (7): 1917–29. doi:10.1080/01431161003639660.
- Gray, Noella J. 2010. "Sea Change: Exploring the International Effort to Promote Marine Protected Areas." *Conservation and Society* 8 (4): 331. doi:10.4103/0972-4923.78149.
- Gray, Noella J., Rebecca L. Gruby, and Lisa M. Campbell. 2014. "Boundary Objects and Global Consensus: Scalar Narratives of Marine Conservation in the Convention on Biological Diversity." *Global Environmental Politics* 14 (3): 64–83. doi:10.1162/GLEP.
- Gruby, Rebecca L. 2013. "Scale Matters: Institutional Dynamics and Scalar Politics of Conservation Governance in the Pacific Islands." Duke University.
- Gruby, Rebecca L., Luke Fairbanks, Leslie Acton, Evan Artis, Lisa M. Campbell, Noella J. Gray, Lillian Mitchell, Sarah Bess Jones Zigler, and Katie Wilson. In review. "Conceptualizing Social Outcomes of Large Marine Protected Areas." *Coastal Management*.
- Gruby, Rebecca L., Noella J. Gray, Lisa M. Campbell, and Leslie Acton. 2015. "Toward a Social Science Research Agenda for Large Marine Protected Areas." *Conservation Letters* 0 (0): 1–11. doi:10.1111/conl.12194.
- Hajer, M. A. 1995. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton Declaration on Collaboration for the Conservation of the Sargasso Sea*. 2014.

- Hart, Gillian. 2004. "Geography and Development: Critical Ethnographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (1): 91–100. doi:10.1191/0309132504ph472pr.
- Harvey, David. 1996. *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Helmreich, Stefan. 2009. *Alien Ocean: Anthropological Voyages in Microbial Seas*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hintjens, Helen M. 1997. "Governance Options in Europe's Caribbean Dependencies: The End of Independence." *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 86 (344): 533–47.
- Hutchings, Nick. 2013. "Opinion column on future of marine EEZ area." *Bernews*, October 21.
- IUCN. 2003. "Durban Action Plan."
<http://danadeclaration.org/pdf/durbanactioneng.pdf>.
- — —. 2014. "The Promise of Sydney."
http://www.worldparkscongress.org/about/promise_of_sydney.html.
- Iverson, Thomas. 2012. "The Economic Impact of the Bermuda Blue Halo: An Exploratory Assessment."
- Jarvis, Michael J. 2010. *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Johnson, Craig. 2004. "Uncommon Ground: The 'Poverty of History' in Common Property Discourse." *Development and Change* 35 (3): 407–33.
- Johnston-Barnes, Owain. 2012a. "Fishing proposal is at odds with Blue Halo project, charges OBA." *The Royal Gazette*, Feb. 27.
- — —. 2012b. "Bermuda can lead the way." *The Royal Gazette*, June 6.
- — —. 2013. "'A noose on our necks': Veteran fisherman Alan Card calls Bermuda Blue Halo plan 'a major mistake.'" *The Royal Gazette*, October 24.
- — —. 2017. "Study finds low risk of illegal fishing," *The Royal Gazette*, January 31.

- Jones, P. J S, and Elizabeth M. De Santo. 2016. "Viewpoint - Is the Race for Remote, Very Large Marine Protected Areas (VLMPAs) Taking Us down the Wrong Track?" *Marine Policy* 73. Elsevier: 231–34. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2016.08.015.
- Jørgensen, Marianne W., and Louise J. Phillips. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Kipfer, S., P. Saberi, and T. Wieditz. 2012. "Henri Lefebvre: Debates and controversies1." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (1): 115–34. doi:10.1177/0309132512446718.
- Laffoley, D d'A., H S J Roe, M V Angel, J Ardon, N R Bates, I L Boyd, S Brooke, et al. 2011. *The Protection and Management of the Sargasso Sea: The Golden Floating Rainforest of the Atlantic Ocean. Summary Science and Supporting Evidence Case. Sargasso Sea Alliance*.
- Lagan, Sarah. 2013a. "Cousteau Champions Blue Halo." *The Bermuda Sun*, August 8.
- — —. 2013b. "Marine reserve: Could it attract an influx of eco-tourists and marine scientists?" *The Bermuda Sun*, October 25.
- — —. 2013c. "Marine reserve: What if opportunity knocks?" *The Bermuda Sun*, October 25.
- Leenhardt, Pierre, Bertrand Cazalet, Bernard Salvat, Joachim Claudet, and François Feral. 2013. "The Rise of Large-Scale Marine Protected Areas: Conservation or Geopolitics?" *Ocean & Coastal Management* 85 (December). Elsevier: 112–18. doi:10.1016/j.ocecoaman.2013.08.013.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *The Production of Space*. Maiden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lehman, Jessica. 2016. "A Sea of Potential: The Politics of Global Ocean Observations." *Political Geography* 55. Elsevier Ltd: 113–23. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.09.006.
- Lewis, Rebecca, Alistair J. Hobday, Sara Maxwell, Elliott Hazen, Jason R. Hartog, Daniel C. Dunn, Dana Briscoe, et al. 2015. "Dynamic Ocean Management: Identifying the Critical Ingredients of Dynamic Approaches to Ocean Resource Management." *BioScience* 65 (5): 486–98. doi:10.1093/biosci/biv018.
- Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography In/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95–117.
- Massey, Doreen. 1992. "Politics and Space / Time." *New Left Review*, 65–84.

- — —. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Maxwell, Sara M., Elliott L. Hazen, Rebecca L. Lewison, Daniel C. Dunn, Helen Bailey, Steven J. Bograd, Dana K. Briscoe, et al. 2015. "Dynamic Ocean Management: Defining and Conceptualizing Real-Time Management of the Ocean." *Marine Policy* 58: 42–50. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2015.03.014.
- McCann, Eugene, and Kevin Ward. 2012. "Assembling Urbanism: Following Policies and 'Studying Through' the Sites and Situations of Policy Making." *Environment and Planning A* 44 (1): 42–51. doi:10.1068/a44178.
- McCarthy, James. 2007. "States of Nature: Theorizing the State in Environmental Governance." *Review of International Political Economy* 14 (March 2015): 176–94. doi:10.1080/09692290601081244.
- McCay, Bonnie, and Svein Jentoft. 1998. "Market or Community Failure? Critical Perspectives on Common Property Research." *Human Organization* 57 (1): 21–29. doi:10.17730/humo.57.1.372712415k227u25.
- Moore, Donald. 2005. *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place, and Power in Zimbabwe*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mosse, David. 2004. "Is Good Policy Unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice." *Development and Change* 35 (4): 639–71. doi:10.1111/j.0012-155X.2004.00374.x.
- Mountz, Alison. 2013. "Political Geography I: Reconfiguring Geographies of Sovereignty." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (6): 829–41. doi:10.1177/0309132513479076.
- Neumann, Roderick P. 2014. *Making Political Ecology*. London: Routledge.
- Niermann, U. 1986. "Distribution of Sargassum Natans and Some of Its Epibionts in the Sargasso Sea." *Helgolander Meeresuntersuchungen* 40: 343–53.
- Parmentier, Remi. 2012. "Role and Impact of International NGOs in Global Ocean Governance." *Ocean Yearbook* 26 (June): 209–29.
- Peck, Jamie, and Nik Theodore. 2010. "Mobilizing Policy: Models, Methods, and Mutations." *Geoforum* 41 (2). Elsevier Ltd: 169–74. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.01.002.

- — —. 2012. "Follow the Policy: A Distended Case Approach." *Environment and Planning A* 44 (1): 21–30. doi:10.1068/a44179.
- Peters, Kimberley. 2010. "Future Promises for Contemporary Social and Cultural Geographies of the Sea." *Geography Compass* 4 (9): 1260–72.
- — —. 2012. "Manipulating Material Hydro-Worlds: Rethinking Human and More-than-Human Relationality through Offshore Radio Piracy." *Environment and Planning A* 44 (5): 1241–54. doi:10.1068/a44413.
- — —. 2013. "Regulating the Radio Pirates: Rethinking the Control of Offshore Broadcasting Stations Through a Maritime Perspective." *Media History* 19 (3): 337–53. doi:10.1080/13688804.2013.817838.
- — —. 2014. "Tracking (Im)mobilities at Sea: Ships, Boats and Surveillance Strategies." *Mobilities* 9 (3): 414–31. doi:10.1080/17450101.2014.946775.
- Pochet, Fanny. 2014. "Discourse Analysis of Nature Conservation Policies in Africa: A Beninese Case Study." *EchoGeo* 29 (November 2014): 2–15. doi:10.4000/echogeo.13964.
- Poteete, Amy R., Marco A. Janssen, and Elinor Ostrom. 2010. *Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons, and Multiple Methods in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rasch, Elisabet Dueholm. 2014. "'Ecotourism, Not Mining, in Palawan!': Territorial Narratives on the Last Frontier." In *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un)comfortable Bedfellows*, edited by Bram Buscher and Veronica Davidov. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Reeve, Lora Nordtvedt, Anna Rulska-Domino, and Kristina M Gjerde. 2012. "The Future of High Seas Marine Protected Areas." *Ocean Yearbook*, 1–18. doi:10.1073/pnas.1015782108>.6.
- Richmond, Laurie, and Dawn Kotowicz. 2015. "Equity and Access in Marine Protected Areas: The History and Future of 'Traditional Indigenous Fishing' in the Marianas Trench Marine National Monument." *Applied Geography* 59. Elsevier Ltd: 117–24. doi:10.1016/j.apgeog.2014.11.007.
- Robson, Adrian and Rebecca Zuill. 2014. "Bermuda to host Sargasso Sea meeting." *The Royal Gazette*, February 28.

- Rochette, Julien, Kristina Gjerde, Elisabeth Druel, Jeff A Ardron, Alicia Crow, Patrick N. Halpin, Linwood Pendleton, Kristian Teleki, and Jesse Cleary. 2014. "Delivering the Aichi Target 11: Challenges and Opportunities for Marine Areas beyond National Jurisdiction." *Aquatic Conservation: Marine and Freshwater Ecosystems* 24 (Suppl. 2): 31–43. doi:10.1002/aqc.2507.
- Roe, Emery M. 1991. "Development Narratives, or Making the Best of Blueprint Development." *World Development* 19 (4): 287–300.
- The Royal Gazette*. 2012. "This is truly Bermuda's time to shine." January 23.
- — —. 2013. "Greenrock says: Code Blue – Time to speak up about protecting our marine life." October 3.
- The Royal Gazette Magazine*. 2013. "Is Blue the New Green?" April.
- Royle, Stephen A. 1995. "Economic and Political Prospects for the British Atlantic Dependent Territories." *The Geographical Journal* 161 (3): 307–21.
- Sand, P. H. 2012. "Fortress Conservation Trumps Human Rights?: The 'Marine Protected Area' in the Chagos Archipelago." *The Journal of Environment & Development* 21 (March): 36–39. doi:10.1177/1070496511435666.
- Saul, David. 2013. "Misguided thinking and economic suicide." *The Royal Gazette*, October 2.
- Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SDD. 2014. "The Future of Bermuda's Exclusive Economic Zone: Outcome of the Public Consultation, September 3 to October 31, 2013." Hamilton.
- Sievanen, Leila, Rebecca L. Gruby, and Lisa M. Campbell. 2013. "Fixing Marine Governance in Fiji? The New Scalar Narrative of Ecosystem-Based Management." *Global Environmental Change* 23 (1). Elsevier Ltd: 206–16. doi:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2012.10.004.
- Silver, J. J., N. J. Gray, L. M. Campbell, L. W. Fairbanks, and R. L. Gruby. 2015. "Blue Economy and Competing Discourses in International Oceans Governance." *The Journal of Environment & Development* 24 (2): 135–60. doi:10.1177/1070496515580797.

- Singleton, Rebecca L, and Callum M Roberts. 2014. "The Contribution of Very Large Marine Protected Areas to Marine Conservation: Giant Leaps or Smoke and Mirrors?" *Marine Pollution Bulletin* 87 (1–2). Elsevier Ltd: 7–10. doi:10.1016/j.marpolbul.2014.07.067.
- Spalding, Mark D, Amy Milam, Claire Fitzgerald, and Lynne Z Hale. 2013. "Protecting Marine Spaces: Global Targets and Changing Approaches." In *Ocean Yearbook*, edited by A. Chircop, S. Coffen-Smout, and M. McConnell, 27:213–48.
- Sparke, Matthew. 2005. *In the Space of Theory: Postfoundational Geographies of the Nation-State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- St. Martin, Kevin, and Madeleine Hall-Arber. 2008. "The Missing Layer: Geo-Technologies, Communities, and Implications for Marine Spatial Planning." *Marine Policy* 32 (5): 779–86. doi:10.1016/j.marpol.2008.03.015.
- Steinberg, Philip. 1999. "The Maritime Mystique: Sustainable Development, Capital Mobility, and Nostalgia in the World Ocean." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (4): 403–26. doi:10.1068/d170403.
- — —. 2001. *The Social Construction of the Ocean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- — —. 2008. "It's so Easy Being Green: Overuse, Underexposure, and the Marine Environmentalist Consensus." *Geography Compass* 2 (6): 2080–96. doi:10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00173.x.
- — —. 2009. "Sovereignty, Territory, and the Mapping of Mobility: A View from the Outside." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99 (3): 467–95. doi:10.1080/00045600902931702.
- — —. 2013. "Of Other Seas: Metaphors and Materialities in Maritime Regions." *Atlantic Studies* 10 (2): 156–69. doi:10.1080/14788810.2013.785192.
- Steinberg, Philip, and Kimberley Peters. 2015. "Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces: Giving Depth to Volume through Oceanic Thinking." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33 (2): 247–64. doi:10.1068/d14148p.
- Strandsbjerg, Jeppe. 2012. "Cartopolitics, Geopolitics and Boundaries in the Arctic." *Geopolitics* 17 (4): 818–42. doi:10.1080/14650045.2012.660581.

- Strangeways, Sam. 2010. "Island to Serve as Base for Sargasso Sea Alliance Initiative." *The Royal Gazette*, December 7.
- — —. 2013. "Saul: Blue Halo project would be economic suicide." *The Royal Gazette*, October 2.
- Toonen, Robert J, T 'Aulani Wilhelm, Sara M Maxwell, Daniel Wagner, Brian W Bowen, Charles R C Sheppard, Sue M Tai, et al. 2013. "One Size Does Not Fit All: The Emerging Frontier in Large-Scale Marine Conservation." *Marine Pollution Bulletin* 77 (1-2). Elsevier Ltd: 7-10. doi:10.1016/j.marpolbul.2013.10.039.
- Trott, Tammy M, Sheila A Mckenna, Joanna M Pitt, Arlo Hemphill, Frederick W Ming, Philippe Rouja, Kristina M Gjerde, Billy Causey, and Sylvia A Earle. 2011. "Efforts to Enhance Protection of the Sargasso Sea Efforts." *Proceedings of the 63rd Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1-5 November, 2010*, 282-288. Marathon, FL: Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute.
- Trott, Tammy M, Craig Trott, and Joanna M Pitt. 2010. "Pelagic Longline Fishing in Bermuda's Exclusive Economic Zone."
- Tsing, Anna. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vandergeest, Peter, and Nancy Lee Peluso. 1995. "Territorialization and State Power in Thailand." *Theory & Society* 24 (3): 385-426. doi:10.2307/658074.
- Vennesson, Pascal. 2008. "Case Studies and Process Tracing: Theories and Practices." In *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, 223-40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wagner, Danial. 2013. "Big Ocean: A Shared Research Agenda for Large-Scale Marine Protected Areas."
- Warren, Kristy. 2012. "A Colonial Society in a Post-Colonial World: Bermuda and the Question of Independence."
- Watkins, Josh. 2015. "Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions." *Geography Compass* 9 (9): 508-22. doi:10.1111/gec3.12228.
- WCPA, IUCN, and MCBI. 2008. "High Seas Gems: Hidden Treasures of Our Blue Earth."

- Whittemore, Robin, Susan K Chase, and Carol Lynn Mandle. 2001. "Validity in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Health Research* 11 (4): 522–37.
- Wilber, R. Jude. 1987. "Plastic in the North Atlantic." *Oceanus* 30 (3): 61–68.
- Wolford, Wendy. 2004. "This Land Is Ours Now: Spatial Imaginaries and the Struggle for Land in Brazil." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94 (March 2015): 409–24. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.2004.09402015.x.
- World Parks Congress. 2014. "A Strategy of Innovative Approaches and Recommendations to Enhance Implementation of Marine Conservation in the next Decade."
<http://worldparkscongress.org/downloads/approaches/ThemeM.pdf>.
- Wright, Susan, and Cris Shore. 1997. *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. New York: Routledge.
- Zimmerer, Karl S. 2000. "The Reworking of Conservation Geographies: Nonequilibrium Landscapes and Nature-Society Hybrids." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (March 2015): 356–69. doi:10.1111/0004-5608.00199.
- Zuill, Rebecca. 2014a. "Oversight of Bermuda's waters goes to multi-nation 'Commission.'" *The Royal Gazette*, March 4.
- — —. 2014b. "Premier orders island EEZ out of Hamilton Declaration." *The Royal Gazette*, March 5.
- — —. 2015. "'Social needs' given priority over EEZ study." *The Royal Gazette*, March 16.

Biography

Leslie Acton was born on December 15, 1983 in Charlotte, North Carolina. She received a B.S in Biology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2006, with a minor in Chemistry. She also earned a Master of Environmental Management degree from Duke University in 2012. She received a research award from the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, two Graduate Research and Training Awards from the Duke University Center for International Studies, and a Duke University Summer Research Fellowship for the summer of 2016. Her work has been published in the journals *Global Environmental Politics* and *Conservation Letters* as well as the book *Understanding Society and Natural Resources: Forging new strands of integration across the social sciences*. She is a member of the Association for American Geographers.