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Fish Catch Composition of Artisanal and Bottom Trawl Fisheries in Malindi-Ungwana Bay, Kenya: A Cause for Conflict?

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Abstract — Artisanal and shrimp bottom trawl fisheries in Ungwana Bay compete for fish resources and this has resulted in unresolved conflict over several decades. Landings of artisanal fishers (2009-2011) and bottom trawl catches (2011) were sampled to compare fish species composition and abundance according to area (inshore; offshore) and season (northeast monsoon - NEM, southeast monsoon -SEM) and identify the species contributing most to catch overlap. The diversity of fish catches was greater in trawl (223 species) than artisanal samples (177) in both seasons. The diversity and catch rates were greater in artisanal samples during the NEM, when most fishing occurs. The diversity was greater in trawl samples during the SEM, when productivity is higher. The offshore trawl catch composition differed from the inshore trawl and artisanal samples; the shared species in the latter two categories were Galeichthys feliceps, Pellona ditchela, Johnius amblycephalus, Leiognathus equulus, Pomadasys maculatus, Lobotes surinamensis and Otolithes ruber. Trawl samples contained smaller-sized fish of the shared species than artisanal samples. A shrimp fishery management plan (2010) bans trawling closer than three nautical miles from the coast, and introduces closed fishing seasons and gear modifications, but has not been fully implemented. The artisanal fishery is expected to grow and active management is crucial to reduce resource user conflict.

INTRODUCTION

Malindi-Ungwana Bay in Kenya (hereafter called Ungwana Bay) is a species-rich ecosystem in the tropical Western Indian Ocean where fisheries exploit a variety of crustacean, teleost, elasmobranch and mollusc species. An artisanal fishery in the bay dates back to the 9th century, coinciding with the rise of East African Indian Ocean trade with Arabia, Persia and India (Fulanda, 2003). Artisanal fishers use traditional and more modern fishing techniques such as collecting by hand and the use of hand and long lines with baited hooks, seine, cast and gillnets, and traps of various designs (Munga et al., 2014). Recent estimates place the number of fishers in the bay at >3000, with around 1000 fishing craft ranging from dugout canoes used near the shore to large dhows for open sea fishing (Government of Kenya, 2014). The number of artisanal fishers in Ungwana Bay is expected to increase as a result of population growth (Government of Kenya, 2014). Catches of the fishery comprise a multi-species mix of demersal fishes (50% by weight), pelagic fishes (28%), sharks and rays, octopus and squid, shrimps, lobsters and crabs (Government of Kenya, 2010a; Munga et al., 2012, 2014). This species mix is typical of artisanal fisheries in the south west Indian Ocean (SWIO) (Jiddawi & Ohman, 2002; van der Elst et al., 2005).

Ungwana Bay also supports an industrial bottom trawl fishery for penaeid shrimps, active since the early 1970s (Fulanda et al., 2011; Munga et al., 2012), and similar to the trawl fisheries on Sofala Bank (Mozambique) and Tugela Bank (eastern South Africa), and in the Rufiji Delta (Tanzania) and western Madagascar (Fennessy & Everett, 2015). Fulanda et al. (2011) describe the Ungwana Bay trawl fleet and fishing gear in detail. Briefly, they comprise steel double rig or outrigger trawl vessels (12-41 m long), towing otter nets and beam trawls, and fitted with blast freezers and freezing holds. Trawl catches include shrimps and a large bycatch of fish, sharks, rays, crustaceans and other invertebrates (Fennessy et al., 2004, 2008). Although some of the bycatch is retained and sold, most has low commercial value and is discarded overboard. Discarded fish are mostly dead or damaged by barotrauma, exposure to air or being crushed in the trawl net.

The shrimp trawl bycatch in the SWIO has been estimated at 80 000 to 120 000 t annually (Fennessy *et al.*, 2004; Keleher, 2005). Fish discards in Ungwana Bay weighed 1.5 to 7 times more than the retained shrimp (Fulanda et al., 2011; Munga et al., 2012). Mwatha (2005) recorded more than 90 fish species in catches retained by Ungwana Bay shrimp trawlers, of which the Sciaenidae, Sillaginidae, Mullidae and Pomatomidae (all demersal), Sphyraenidae and Scombridae (pelagic) represented the highest biomass. In the same study, the Leiognathidae and Dasyatidae (demersal), Clupeidae and Carcharhinidae (pelagic) contributed more than 43% to the discarded fishes. Juveniles of Otolithes ruber, Johnius sp. (both Sciaenidae), and Pomadasys sp. (Haemulidae) made up 25% of trawl discards by mass; these are important demersal species in the artisanal fishery (Munga et al., 2012).

Shared fishing grounds, catch composition and gear interaction in artisanal and trawl fisheries has given rise to resource user conflict since the early 1990s, despite a regulation that trawlers may only operate beyond three nautical miles (nm) from the shore (formerly five nm; Government of Kenya, 2010a; Munga et al., 2012). This conflict is exacerbated by factors such as weakly defined harvest strategies, an increasing number of artisanal fishers, entanglement of fishing gear and trawl discard practices (Fennessy et al., 2004; Fulanda et al., 2009, 2011). Biodiversity and conservationbased indicators show Ungwana Bay to be ecologically degraded, with a reduced biomass across trophic levels, including shrimps and fish (Swaleh et al., 2015). Reduced artisanal catches and escalating human reliance on the sea for food security led to a commercial trawl ban in 2006 (Munga et al., 2012). The trawl fishery resumed in 2012 but the spatiotemporal management strategy of Ungwana Bay remains under review.

Initiatives to reduce bycatch have been limited or sporadic in the region, and poorly enforced (see Fennessy *et al.*, 2004, 2008). In Kenya, trawl companies are encouraged to land (instead of discard) fish bycatch to satisfy the demand for fish in local markets (FAO, 2007). The overall objective of this study was to evaluate the conflict between the artisanal and bottom trawl fisheries in terms of overlapping fish species composition, and the key commercial species captured by the two sectors. Specific aims were: a) to compare the species composition of artisanal and bottom trawl catches according to area (inshore, offshore) and season (northeast monsoon - NEM, southeast monsoon - SEM); and b) to identify key species that result in the conflict between the two fishing sectors.

METHODS

Study area and field sampling

Ungwana Bay (2°30'- 3°30'S; 40°- 41°E) extends about 200 km along the shoreline of Kenya and has a total trawlable area of about 11 000 km² (Fig. 1). Fisheries are centered around



Figure 1. Map of Ungwana Bay, Kenya, showing the groupings of trawl transects in the Sabaki (A) and Tana (B) inshore area, and the offshore area (A & B offshore). Figures on the map indicate the transect number and depth stratum respectively, e.g. 1-2 means transect number 1 in depth stratum 2. Transect 1-1 was incomplete and hence excluded from the survey data. Artisanal catches were sampled at Malindi, Ngomeni and Kipini.

the Tana and Sabaki River estuaries and their shallow offshore banks (see Kitheka, 2013; Kitheka *et al.*, 2005). Mangrove forests, patchy reefs, islets, sandy shores and tidal flats are important habitats in the bay. Weather patterns are dominated by large scale pressure systems of the western Indian Ocean, and the dry northeast monsoon (NEM; October to March) and wet southeast monsoon seasons (SEM; April to September) (McClanahan, 1988).

Shore-based catch assessments of artisanal fisheries were conducted in 2009 (June, November, December), 2010 (March, June, September), and 2011 (March, July, September) at Malindi, Ngomeni and Kipini (Fig. 1). Fortynine visits were made and 84 random day-time catches were sampled. All fish in the samples were identified and measured.

Shrimp bottom trawl surveys were undertaken in January and February (13 days) and May and June (11 days) in 2011, using a leased shrimp trawler (25 m length, 146 t gross register displacement) and trawl net (44.3 m length; 70 mm mesh size in the body and 45 mm in the cod-end; 22.5 m head rope length). Trawls were dragged roughly parallel to the shore, for 1 h at 2.5 knots. The position and depth was recorded at the start and end of each trawl. Totals of 36 (NEM, covering 507.7 nm2) and 41 (SEM, covering 546.4 nm²) trawls were sampled during the two surveys.

Samples of catches were treated in a manner similar to shore-based samples but, if large, the catch was randomly subsampled. The total catch of each species was calculated by multiplying the subsample by a factor needed to arrive at the total catch weight (see Stobutzki *et al.*, 2001; Tonks *et al.*, 2008).

Data analyses

Measures of diversity (species richness, S; Shannon-Wiener diversity index, H') were compared between samples of the artisanal and trawl catches (inshore and offshore areas) for the NEM and SEM seasons using ANOVA. Multivariate, non-metric, multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) was used to identify whether area or season affected the composition of the trawl and artisanal catches based on their BrayCurtis similarity using PRIMER v6 (Clarke & Warwick, 2001). Two-way ANOSIM was used to further assess their spatial and seasonal similarity. The species that contributed most towards dissimilarity were identified using two-way SIMPER analysis. The body size of shared fish species was compared using two-way ANOVA or Kruskal-Wallis in STATISTICA v. 7 to assess whether artisanal and trawl fisheries catch similar life stages.

The swept area (a, nm²) of each trawl was calculated as:

$a = D \times h \times X$

where *D* is the distance covered in nm: $D = 60 \times \sqrt{(Lat1 - Lat2)^2 + (Lon1 + Lon2)^2 \cos 0.5^2 (Lat1 + Lat2)}, h$ is the head-rope length (m) and X the fraction of head-rope length equal to the swept path-width (set at 0.5; Pauly, 1980; Sparre & Venema, 1998).

Bycatch rates were calculated as catch (C, kg) divided by the time spent trawling (t, hours) and converted to catch-per-unit-area (CPUA, kg.nm⁻²) by dividing by the swept area: (C/t) / (a/t) = C/a)

Total biomass (B, kg) was calculated from:

$$B = \frac{(\overline{C/a}) \times A}{X_1}$$

where C/a is the CPUA of all trawls, A is the overall area under investigation and X = 0.5.

Two-way ANOVA, followed by the post hoc Tukey HSD test, was used to test for differences in trawl bycatch rates (kg.h⁻¹) according to area and season. Artisanal fishery catch rates (kg.fisher⁻¹.h⁻¹) were compared between seasons using ANOVA.

RESULTS

Catch composition in the trawl and artisanal samples

Trawl samples contained 223 species; 158 in the NEM and 161 in the SEM. Artisanal catches comprised 177 species; 148 in the NEM and 90 in the SEM samples. Species

richness (S) of artisanal catches was higher in NEM (avg. 12 per sample) than SEM (9) samples. For trawls, S was higher for the SEM (18 inshore; 20 offshore) than the NEM (17 and 15) samples (Fig. 2a). The Shannon-Wiener diversity index (H') for the artisanal catches was higher for the NEM (avg. 1.7 per sample) than the SEM (1.6), while the H' for inshore and offshore trawls was higher for the SEM (2.3 in both cases) than the NEM (1.7 and 1.8) samples (Fig. 2b).

S differed significantly between the artisanal and bottom trawl samples (two-way ANOVA: p < 0.05) but not between seasons, nor was the fishing sector × season interaction significant (p > 0.05, Table 1). *H*' differed



Figure 2. Comparison of a) mean species richness (\pm SE) and b) and Shannon-Wiener diversity index for artisanal, inshore and offshore trawl bycatches during the northeast and southeast monsoon seasons in Ungwana Bay.

Table 1. Two-way ANOVA comparing fish species richness and Shannon-Wiener diversity for fishing by	/-
catches (artisanal versus trawl), season and interactions (sector × season) in Ungwana Bay (p-values in bol	d
are significant).	

			Species richness (S)		Shannon-Wiener diversity index (H')	
Factors	Df	Error Df	F	p-value	F	p-value
Fishing sector	2	149	14.718	<0.001	6.794	0.002
Season	1	149	0.834	0.363	8.178	0.005
Fishing sector × Season	3	149	2.726	0.069	5.089	0.007



Figure 3. Non-metric MDS plots showing the composition of fish catches in Ungwana Bay a) for the artisanal, inshore and offshore trawl fishing sectors and b) per season (NEM and SEM) in combined artisanal and trawl bycatches. Dotted lines separate artisanal from trawl bycatches.

	Average abundance		Average dissimilarity	Contribution (%)	
Species	Offshore trawl bycatches	Artisanal catches			
Bothus mancus	11.96	0.10	5.62	5.67	
Trachinocephalus myops	11.91	0.00	5.49	5.54	
Lobotes surinamensis	0.00	7.52	3.79	3.83	
Lutjanus fulviflamma	0.02	5.85	3.05	3.08	
Callionymus gardineri	7.34	0.00	2.96	2.99	
Galeichthys feliceps	0.08	5.20	2.87	2.90	
Psettodes erumei	0.06	6.41	2.86	2.89	
Pellona ditchela	0.66	4.09	2.71	2.74	
Peocilopseta natalensis	4.94	0.00	2.63	2.66	
Otolithes ruber	0.29	3.90	2.31	2.33	
Leiognathus lineolatus	5.18	0.03	2.25	2.27	

Table 2. Two-way SIMPER analysis of species contributing most to the dissimilarity (bold values) in the abundance of bycatches (%) in offshore trawl versus artisanal catches in Ungwana Bay, Kenya, showing the percentage contribution of bycatch fish species that yielded an average dissimilarity of 99.0%.

significantly between the fishery sectors and seasons, and for the fishing sector × season interaction (p <0.05, Table 1). Post hoc pairwise comparisons confirmed higher *S* and *H'* for the trawl than the artisanal samples in both seasons (p <0.05).

The non-metric MDS plots distinguished a difference between the species composition of artisanal and trawl samples (Fig. 3a) and suggested a seasonal effect (Fig. 3b) (two-way ANOSIM: R = 0.317, p = 0.001 and R = 0.088, p = 0.003, respectively). Pair-wise comparisons confirmed that inshore trawl samples differed from those harvested offshore (R = 0.631, p = 0.001), but not from artisanal samples (R = 0.066, p = 0.09). Offshore trawl samples also differed from artisanal samples (R = 0.460, p = 0.001). The dissimilarity was attributed to abundant Bothus mancus, Trachinocephalus myops, Callionymus gardineri and Leiognathus lineolatus in offshore samples, versus abundant Lobotes surinamensis, Lutjanus fulviflamma, Galeichthys feliceps, Psettodes erumei and Pellona ditchela in artisanal samples (two-way

SIMPER, Table 2). A seasonal dissimilarity between the artisanal and trawl samples was attributable to an abundance of *G. feliceps*, *P. ditchela*, *B. mancus*, *Thryssa vitrirostris* and *T. myops* in the NEM, and an abundance of *P. erumei* in the SEM samples.

Seven common species explained the similarity between artisanal and inshore trawl samples (Table 3). Six out of the seven species had a smaller mean body size in trawl than in artisanal samples (p < 0.05, Table 4). *Lobotes surinamensis* and *Leiognathus equulus* were larger in NEM than SEM samples (p < 0.05, Table 4).

Catch rates and biomass

Trawl bycatch rates and biomass were significantly higher in inshore than offshore samples, and were also higher during the SEM than the NEM (Table 5). Although not significant (ANOVA, p = 0.103), artisanal catch rates were marginally higher in the NEM than the SEM (1.3 versus 0.9 kg.fisher⁻¹.h⁻¹).

Species	Average abundance	Average similarity	% contribution)
Inshore trawl bycatches			
Galeichthys feliceps	14.65	5.27	22.59
Pellona ditchela	9.12	2.79	11.97
Johnius amblycephalus	6.68	1.95	8.35
Leiognathus equulus	3.54	1.30	5.57
Pomadasys maculatus	4.05	1.10	4.71
Otolithes ruber	2.36	0.84	3.61
Lobotes surinamensis	0.95	0.22	0.96
Artisanal catches	-		
Lobotes surinamensis	7.52	1.40	14.98
Galeichthys feliceps	5.20	0.80	8.61
Pellona ditchela	4.09	0.70	7.45
Otolithes ruber	3.90	0.58	6.23
Pomadasys maculatus	2.50	0.30	3.17
Leiognathus equulus	1.24	0.13	1.44
Johnius amblycephalus	1.15	0.12	1.33

Table 3. Two-way SIMPER analysis of species contributing most to the similarity in bycatch abundance (%) between inshore trawl (within a similarity of 23.3%) and artisanal catches (within a similarity of 9.3%) in Ungwana Bay, Kenya.

Table 4. a) Mean total lengths ($cm \pm SE$) of the most abundant shared fish species in artisanal and trawl samples in Ungwana Bay (pooled data per gear type, irrespective of season) and b) seasonal comparison of fish size (pooled data per season, irrespective of gear type). P-values in bold are significant.

a) Species	Artisanal	Trawl	N/Error Df	Statistic	p-value
Galeichthys feliceps	39.8 ± 1.3	20.5 ± 0.3	357	227.171	<0.001
Johnius amblycephalus	14.4 ± 1.8	11.4 ± 2.2	228	51.819	<0.001
Pellona ditchela	14.8 ± 0.4	13.6 ± 0.1	787	8.272	0.004
Lobotes surinamensis	56.2 ± 0.9	55.1 ± 1.7	298	3.045	0.082
Otolithes ruber	24.3 ± 0.3	18.9 ± 0.2	380	165.400	<0.001
Leiognathus equulus	12.5 ± 0.2	13.3 ± 0.1	448	19.218	<0.001
Pomadasys maculatus	21.9 ± 0.6	12.9 ± 0.1	289	299.596	<0.001
a)Species	NEM	SEM			
Galeichthys feliceps	25.8 ± 0.7	24.4 ± 0.7	357	0.129	0.719
Johnius amblycephalus	11.9 ± 2.5	11.8 ± 2.2	228	0.960	0.328
Pellona ditchela	14.4 ± 0.4	14.0 ± 0.1	787	0.002	0.968
Lobotes surinamensis	59.4 ± 1.3	53.2 ± 1.0	298	12.823	<0.001
Otolithes ruber	21.4 ± 0.3	20.9 ± 0.3	380	1.093	0.296
Leiognathus equulus	13.4 ± 0.2	12.7 ± 0.1	448	13.349	<0.001
Pomadasys maculatus	17.1 ± 0.4	16.6 ± 0.5	289	2.857	0.910

Table 5. Mean (\pm SE) fish bycatch rates (kg.h⁻¹) and biomass (kg.nm⁻²) per trawled area (inshore and offshore) and season (NEM and SEM) in Ungwana Bay. Bycatch rates differed according to area (p <0.001) and season (p = 0.042). Biomass differed according to area (p <0.001) and season (p = 0.044) (Kruskal-Wallis test).

Area	Season	Bycatch rate kg.h ⁻¹	Biomass kg.nm ⁻²
Inshore	NEM	123.5 ± 54.5	8,565.9±3,781.5
Inshore	SEM	106.5 ± 17.5	$7,\!427.5 \pm 1,\!221.6$
Offshore	NEM	6.2 ± 1.9	631.3 ± 210.0
Offshore	SEM	56.9 ± 19.3	$4,\!067.4 \pm 1,\!306.7$

DISCUSSION

The objectives of this study were to evaluate the conflict between the Kenyan artisanal and bottom trawl fisheries in terms of overlapping species composition, and to identify the key shared species of commercial importance. A priori assumptions were that trawling would be less selective than artisanal gear (i.e. higher S and H' values), that biomass would be lower offshore than inshore, near the productive Tana and Sabaki River estuaries (see Munga et al. 2013), and that season would affect species diversity in catches of both fisheries because of fluctuations in sea conditions and biological productivity (McClanahan, 1988; Fulanda et al., 2009). We also assumed that species composition of offshore trawl catches would differ significantly from those in trawls in inshore waters and artisanal catches, because of depth and habitat preferences, and different exploitation levels.

We obtained higher *S* and *H'* values for trawl (223 fish species) than artisanal samples (177) in both seasons, thus confirming that trawling was less selective than artisanal gear. Trawl nets can catch most organisms in their path, whereas some artisanal gear, such as hook and line, seine or gillnets, are more likely to select specific species or size classes (Gobert, 1994; McClanahan & Mangi, 2004). In this study, trawl catches were sampled onboard fishing vessels immediately after emptying the trawl net onto the deck, and therefore all species were taken into account. Artisanal fishers prefer certain species, but only a few species are considered inedible (Davies et al., 2009; Mangi & Roberts, 2006). Most of the catch would therefore have been retained and sampled at landing sites. Nevertheless, some sorting and discarding may have occurred at sea, potentially biasing the S and H' downwards. Even though the sampling method may thus have introduced some bias (i.e. comparing unsorted trawl samples with sorted artisanal samples), our results manifested a highly diverse catch composition typical of tropical shrimp trawl fisheries. This nonselective nature of shrimp trawling has been widely criticized (Jones, 1992; Hall 1996; Kelleher, 2005).

Both the S and H' were higher during the NEM in the artisanal fishery when most fishing takes place (Fulanda et al., 2009). Artisanal catch rates were also higher during the NEM. This reflects the effect of adverse sea conditions during the SEM on fishing activities that rely on small craft. Conversely, the fish bycatch of trawlers was more diverse during the SEM, and this confirms trends from long term catch data for Ungwana Bay (Mwatha, 2005; Munga I., 2012). Increased nutrient input and productivity in the bay, resulting from elevated discharge of the Tana and Sabaki Rivers during the rainy SEM, are the most likely factors driving the increase in species composition during the SEM (Kitheka, et al., 2005; Kitheka, 2013). The trawl catch rates and total biomass were also higher during the SEM, signifying seasonally increased abundance or higher catchability (see Fulanda et al., 2011; Mwatha, 2005).

Trawl bycatch rates and biomass were lower offshore than inshore where productivity is higher near the Tana and Sabaki River estuaries (see Kitheka, 2013; Kitheka *et al.*, 2005). It is unlikely that the offshore biomass was lower due to depletions caused by trawling, because most trawling occurs inshore, near the river outflows, where shrimps are more abundant (Munga *et al.*, 2013). The most common fish bycatch species in offshore samples were *Bothus mancus, Trachinocephalus myops, Callionymus gardineri* and *Leiognathus* *lineolatus*; this differed significantly from the most common species in the artisanal and inshore samples (see Table 2). Similarity in the artisanal and inshore trawl fish composition was attributable mainly to their common abundance of *Galeichthys feliceps*, *Pellona ditchela*, *Johnius amblycephalus*, *Leiognathus equulus*, *Pomadysis maculatus*, *Lobotes surinamensis* and *Otolithes ruber*. This similarity was indicative of overlap in resource use patterns, such as targeting similar fishing areas, depths or habitats. These species are commercially important to artisanal fishers and are also, on occasion, retained and landed by the trawl fishery.

The average size of the above species in trawl bycatches was mostly smaller than in artisanal catches. This trend appears to be a result of gear selectivity, rather than a seasonal effect (see Table 4). The hypothesis that juveniles are more abundant during the SEM, when they are caught in large numbers by trawlers, was not be supported by the seasonal size comparison (except for *L. surinamensis* and *L. equulus*). Rather, it is more likely that trawl nets (mesh size 45-70 mm) retain smaller fish than those regularly caught by artisanal fishing gear.

The seven fish species most exploited in Ungwana Bay are G. feliceps, P. ditchela, J. amblycephalus, L. equulus, P. maculatus, L. surinamensis and O. ruber. with demonstratable resource user overlap. Therefore they are the most likely subject of conflict between the artisanal and trawl fishing sectors. Fennessy et al. (2008) reviewed initiatives to reduce the prawn trawl bycatch in Kenya; these initiatives included a combination of turtle excluder devices (TEDs) for shrimp trawlers, a minimum inshore trawling distance (set at five nm), closed seasons, restrictions on nocturnal trawling, and the closure of the Ungwana Bay shrimp trawling grounds for several years. These measures have been introduced at various times, either as legislation or, intermittently, as permit conditions. Compliance has generally been poor and, thus, management initiatives have largely been ineffective in preventing conflict

A new shrimp fishery management plan (Government of Kenya, 2010b) limits shrimp trawling to further than three nm from the shore (previously five nm). The management plan further incorporates a closed season for the trawl fishery (November to April) which coincides with the recruitment of shrimps onto offshore banks, and with spawning of fish species caught as trawl bycatch (Mwatha, 2005; Munga et al. 2013; Nzioka, 1979). The trawl closure also falls within the main artisanal fishing season during the NEM, and will reduce some physical conflicts such as gear entanglement and market competition. Bycatch reduction devices (BRD) fitted to trawl nets that allow the escape of smallsized and juvenile fishes have not been given sufficient attention, and their testing and successful deployment may further mitigate conflict. The direct benefits of BRDs to users may include reduced catch processing times, improved product quality, improved catch rates and reduced fuel consumption (e.g. Broadhurst 2000; Broadhurst & Kennelly 1997; Salini et al., 2000). Artisanal fishing effort is expected to increase in Ungwana Bay (Government of Kenya, 2014) and the implementation and enforcement of the existing management plans are therefore crucial if conflict is to be reduced.

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