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Pacific food systems The role of fish and other aquatic foods for





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The role of fish and other aquatic foods for nutrition and health

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Executive summary

Fish and other aquatic species play key ecological roles in the Pacific's exceptionally biodiverse ocean. The cultures, livelihoods, food and incomes of Pacific Island nations are intertwined with ocean ecosystems. The majority of Pacific Islanders live close to the coast, where harvesting, exchanging and eating fish and other aquatic foods are a part of daily life. Access to healthy coasts and oceans is foundational to the human right to culturally appropriate foods. And so for Pacific Islanders, the production, distribution and consumption of fish and other aquatic foods are central to livelihoods, income generation, and cultural and social identity.

Rates of fish consumption amongst some Pacific Island nations and populations are among the highest in the world. Yet while such high consumption of fresh fish would suggest a healthy diet there are several trends that mean many people do not experience diverse diets and good nutrition. Fish consumption in the Pacific region differs across demographic groups and, overall, is on the decline. The Pacific is experiencing a decline in public health, in part, because of the transition away from local, and towards globalized food systems – which, in turn, is driven by an increasingly cash-based economy and easy access to cheap, highly processed, nutrient-poor, imported foods. Because of shifts in broader dietary patterns, Pacific Islanders are struggling with the triple burden of malnutrition: undernutrition, micronutrient deficiencies and overnutrition.

Fish and other aquatic foods provide a rich source of micronutrients, omega-3 fatty acids and lean protein. These nutritional qualities are a necessary complement to the carbohydrate-rich diets among Pacific Islanders. Evidence shows that when fish and other aquatic foods are eliminated from diets, people do not get enough of these nutrients to meet their nutritional requirements.

Realizing and maintaining the full nutritional and health benefits of fish and other aquatic foods is important for many Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the Pacific Islands. To realize this potential, action is needed to ensure that a diverse range of fish and other aquatic foods remains or becomes increasingly accessible and affordable for all women, men, youths, children and infants. To address the Pacific's malnutrition epidemic, a suite of structural, institutional, societal and individual changes is needed to transform the Pacific food system toward better nutrition.

Although fisheries and coastal resource management are useful entry points to improve nutrition, it is necessary to complement these initiatives with a suite of intersectoral interventions that address all upstream determinants of malnutrition, such as access to healthcare and education. The diagnosis and recommendations provided in this report consider nutrition improvements that fisheries can realize, alongside the complementary intersectoral actions that are also needed to improve nutrition and health among Pacific Islanders.

This report is intended for actors, policymakers and funders concerned with improving food and nutrition security with fisheries as an entry point. It is equally valuable for food system, agricultural, health and nutrition actors who are seeking to protect and enhance the benefits that fish and other aquatic foods provide to a diversity of nutrition goals.

This report has been developed from an extensive review of published scientific articles and technical reports, as well as interviews and consultations with 17 experts. It also draws upon insights from the Pacific Food System regional dialogues, which were held in the lead-up to the United Nations Food Systems Summit 2021. Here, we have distilled seven priority recommendations to guide programming, policy and investment decisions in the Pacific Islands (Figure 1):

- 1. Safeguard fish and other aquatic foods for sustainable healthy diets: Recognize fish and other aquatic species not only as a biodiversity asset and a critical economic commodity, but also as integral to Pacific Island food and nutrition security.
- 2. Invest in multisectoral collaborations for nutrition: Integrate activities, policies and actions related to fish, other aquatic foods and fisheries within wider nutrition, health and food system initiatives. This can be supported by convening intersectoral working groups and dialogues that span all levels of society and different sectors, specifically water, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, health and trade.
- 3. Protect aquatic ecosystems to ensure a continuous supply of biodiverse fish and other aquatic foods for diets: When resources are managed sustainably and remain accessible for human consumption, aquatic ecosystems and natural resources provide the foundation for a healthy and resilient food system for Pacific Island nations now and into the future.
- **4. Raise awareness of the nutritional and health benefits of eating fish and other aquatic foods:** Employ both targeted and mainstreamed awareness raising, within education and health information provision, to improve knowledge on the nutritional qualities and health benefits of eating fish and other aquatic foods as part of an overall healthy diet.
- 5. Design nutrition-sensitive strategies that serve women and also children during the first 1000 days of life: Although fish consumption is *on average* high in Pacific Island nations, many women, children, and people living further inland do not eat enough fish and are deficient in the nutrients that fish contain, such as omega-3 fatty acids, vitamin A, iron, zinc and calcium. Awareness, education and behavior change (e.g., purchasing, consumption, preparation) are needed to help ensure that all women and children are sufficiently well nourished and eating the portion sizes required to meet their nutrient needs.
- 6. Develop and deliver food preservation techniques appropriate for fish and other aquatic foods to fill seasonal, economic and geographic shortfalls: Establish or improve preparation and preservation techniques and promote the development of new culturally and socially acceptable fish-based products. Together, these two measures will increase affordability, reduce loss and waste, improve product safety and lengthen shelf life, which can help extend supply chains to inland populations or fill seasonal shortfalls.
- 7. Strengthen trade and supply chains toward nutrition outcomes: Evaluate the inward gains and outward losses of nutrients that result from importing and exporting fish, aquatic foods and other foods. This evaluation could inform shifts in the governance of fisheries and food trade toward supply chain configurations that retain foods with the rich nutrient profiles within the region, and toward people experiencing nutritional vulnerability that Pacific Islanders need. Governments continue to generate income from fisheries access agreements and fish exports, such as through export taxes or rent acquired from high-seas tuna license fees there are substantial opportunities to establish and refine distributive mechanisms that better direct public funds toward upstream determinants of health that support nutrition outcomes.

Figure 1. Seven recommended actions to improve the contribution that fish and other aquatic foods make toward transforming Pacific food systems for greater nutritional outcomes.

7 ACTIONS TO BOOST NUTRITION IN PACIFIC FOOD SYSTEMS



Source: Adapted with permission from Farmery, A.K., Scott, J.M., Brewer, T.D., Eriksson, H., Steenbergen, D.J., Albert, J., Raubani, J., Tutuo, J., Sharp, M.K. and Andrew, N.L. 2020. Aquatic foods and nutrition in the pacific. Nutrients 12:1–22. doi: 10.3390/nu12123705

The foundations and transitions of nutrition in the Pacific

The cultures, livelihoods, food and income of the 22 small island states of the Pacific Islands are intertwined with the ocean (Hau'ofa, 2008). Pacific Island nations possess large ocean spaces, relative to their small land areas, and Pacific Islanders enjoy a diverse, culturally rich and unique ocean-based way of life. Fish consumption in some Pacific nations ranks among the highest in the world, though with significant variation between and within countries (FAO, 2014). The Pacific Ocean houses the highest levels of marine biodiversity in the world, and a subset of these species support small-scale coastal fisheries that supply local diets as well as large-scale fisheries that export migratory species into international markets (Bell *et al.*, 2009; Charlton *et al.*, 2016). The predominantly rural populations engage heavily in small-scale and subsistence agriculture systems (Gillett and Tauati, 2018). As such, the cultures and societies of the Pacific Islands celebrate a rich tradition of local food production, and both marketing and social food exchange are a foundation of the resilience of local food systems and the food and nutrition security of rural and urban populations (Bogard *et al.*, 2021; Ferguson *et al.*, 2022).

As a result of globalization and urbanization over the past 50 years, the Pacific Island region is experiencing a transition from a subsistence economy to a cash-based economy (Campbell, 2020). Traditional foods and practices, which have been embedded in cultural obligations of reciprocity and kinship over time, remain key elements of the contemporary food system and are critical to meeting subsistence needs (Andrew *et al.*, 2021). However, traditional diets, based on local, wild-caught fish, tree crops and root vegetables, are now competing with an increasing abundance of cheap, ultra-processed, imported foods (Plate 1) (Hughes and Lawrence, 2005; Sievert *et al.*, 2019). This nutrition transition, as defined by Popkin *et al.* (2020), has led the societies of Pacific Island nations to experience the triple burden of malnutrition:

- **Undernutrition** is when a person is unable to eat enough food necessary for energy, growth and health, which can lead to potentially irreversible conditions such as stunting.
- **Micronutrient deficiencies** occur when a person, despite getting enough energy from their diet, has insufficient levels of vitamins and minerals, which can lead to conditions like iron-deficiency anemia.
- **Overnutrition** is when excess or imbalanced dietary energy intake can lead to overweight, obesity and diet-related noncommunicable diseases such as Type II diabetes and cardiovascular disease (Global Nutrition Report, 2020).

In the Pacific Islands, these three forms of malnutrition often coexist within the same community, and sometimes even within the same household. It is not uncommon for a household to have a child with stunted growth, a woman with a mineral deficiency and a woman or man with a diet-related noncommunicable disease (Hughes and Marks, 2009; FAO, 2021).

High rates of malnutrition are a persistent public health concern in the region. For example, rates of anemia are high among Pacific Islander women, and high levels of stunting continue to occur in children in Papua New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (Global Nutrition Report, 2020). Although national nutrition surveys in the Pacific Islands are scarce, emerging evidence indicates that dietary quality is low (Thow, 2016; Goris *et al.*, 2017; Farrell *et al.*, 2019; Horsey *et al.*, 2019; O'Meara *et al.*, 2019; Albert *et al.*, 2020; Farmery *et al.*, 2020) and that the diets of many Pacific Islanders could be deficient in iron, zinc, calcium and vitamin A (FAO, 2019 and, 2020a; Eme *et al.*, 2020; FAO and SBS, 2020; EPPSO *et al.*, 2021; FAO and SPC, 2021; KNSO *et al.*, 2021).



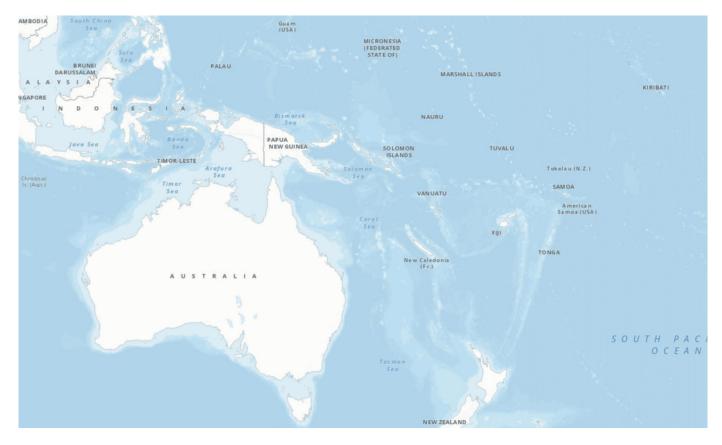
Plate 1. The nutrition transition in the Pacific Islands from a traditional diet based on local fish, roots and tubers, and vegetables (left) to a diet of highly processed, imported foods that are often high in energy and low in nutrients (right).

Food system and environmental and demographic change

At the center of the nutrition challenge in the Pacific Islands is a "broken" global food system that perpetuates high rates of malnutrition and environmental degradation (Willett et al., 2019). Despite contributing less than 3 percent of global greenhouse emissions (FAO et al., 2009), the region is at the frontline of the impacts of climate change. Because of this, Pacific Island nations experience more intense, rapid or expansive soil salination, ocean warming, sea-level rise, acidification and extreme weather, including droughts and cyclones – all of which reduce food and nutrition security (Charlton et al., 2016; WFP and SPC, 2018). Many Pacific Islanders rely on wild or cultivated foods for diet quality (Bogard *et al.*, 2021), and rural households that grow their own food have higher dietary diversity in some contexts (O'Meara et al., 2019). Yet local supplies of fish and other aquatic foods, vegetables and fruits still cannot meet domestic demand. Demand in the region outpaces supply for several reasons: climate change impacts, prioritization of production for international markets, production challenges and population growth (Bell et al., 2009; Charlton et al., 2016; McIver et al., 2016; Campbell, 2020). Over the past 50 years, although agricultural production in the region has increased, per capita production of fruit, vegetables and fish has declined (Andrew et al., 2021). As a result, the Pacific Islands are becoming more reliant on imports, which tend to be highly processed foods that are high in energy and low in nutrients (Thow et al., 2011; Santos et al., 2019). The increase in consumption of these foods is directly associated with the region's epidemic of diet-related noncommunicable diseases (DiBello et al., 2009; Hughes and Marks, 2009; Snowdon and Thow, 2013).

Pacific Islands

In this report, we consider the Pacific Island region to consist of the 22 island countries and territories served by the Pacific Community (SPC) (Figure 2, Box 1). Over 95 percent of Pacific Islanders live within 10 km of the coast, many within just a few kilometers, the exception being Papua New Guinea, where half of the population lives more than 5 km inland (Andrew *et al.*, 2019). In coastal communities, harvesting fish and other aquatic foods from nearshore environments is a common activity (Cisneros-Montemayor *et al.*, 2016). Coastal fisheries provide between 50 percent and 90 percent of animal-source protein for Pacific Islanders (Bell *et al.*, 2009) and contribute on average about 50 percent of cash flowing into all Pacific households, according to a study from 2015 (SPC, 2015). The consumption rates of fish and other aquatic foods in Pacific Island nations are among the highest worldwide – with rural coastal people consuming between 47 and 126 kg per person annually (FAO, 2014). This far exceeds the global average of 20 kg. However, with the introduction of imported foods, such as chicken and low-quality red meat, fish consumption is on the decline, especially among urban populations (Eme *et al.*, 2020; FAO and SBS, 2020; FAO and SPC, 2021).





Source: UN. 2022. Web-services. In: Geospatial, location data for a better world. Apia. Cited 15 December 2022. www.un.org/geospatial/mapsgeo/webservices

Fish and other aquatic foods

Animal-source foods are a compact and efficient source of micronutrients and protein that is easier to absorb compared with plant-source foods (Murphy and Allen, 2003). They are also one of the only sources of dietary vitamin B12, highly bioavailable iron and preformed vitamin A (Murphy and Allen, 2003). Within this food group, fish and other aquatic foods are important because they provide high concentrations of omega-3 fatty acids, a diverse range of minerals and vitamins, and lean protein per energy unit (Hicks *et al.*, 2019; Byrd *et al.*, 2021). They are one of the few natural food sources rich in both omega-3 fatty acids and iodine. These two nutrients alone are essential for brain development, childhood survival, cardiovascular system health, healthy pregnancy and safe delivery, and a healthy nervous system and thyroid (Kawarazuka and Béné, 2011; Charlton *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, when animal-source foods such as fish are eaten with vegetables, the protein and heme iron they contain enhance the absorption of zinc (Sandstrom *et al.* 1989) and nonheme iron (Michaelsen *et al.*, 2009; Consalez *et al.*, 2022) from the vegetables.

Nutrition-sensitive fisheries and agriculture

To achieve the UN SDGs, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) recommends that all strategies to develop or "transform" food systems need to adopt an approach that positively influences nutrition – often called a "nutrition-sensitive approach" (Table 3) (FAO, 2015a and, 2017). Ultimately, this recognizes that food systems need to provide sufficient nutritious food in a way that improves the health of humans while limiting damage to the environment. Compared with nutrition-specific approaches, nutrition-sensitive actions, policies and initiatives address the underlying determinants

of nutrition. These determinants include patterns and adequacy of agricultural, fisheries and forestry production, social safety nets, gender equality, women's empowerment, and education, as well as access to water, sanitation and hygiene, and healthcare (FAO, 2018).

To conform with a nutrition-sensitive approach, food system actions, policies and initiatives need to align with international guidelines for sustainable healthy diets (FAO and WHO, 2019) and culturally appropriate traditional food systems. They must also align with regional or national food-based dietary guidelines, which for the Pacific Islands region are the Pacific Guidelines for Healthy Living (SPC, 2018).

From the outset, nutrition-sensitive approaches should have clear, logical pathways for an action, policy or initiative to improve nutrition. From design and inception, these approaches must determine how, where and for whom change will be measured and the degree of change an intervention is seeking and is able to detect. Monitoring and evaluating such approaches require explicit nutrition indicators, for which guidance, definitions and methodologies are available. These include indicators such as dietary diversity scores, nutritional adequacy of diets, nutritional status of individuals, and anthropometric measurements that indicate status and changes in stunting, wasting, overweight and obesity (FAO, 2015b). Step-by-step examples of designing nutrition-sensitive approaches in the Pacific Islands context exist and can be used as a guide (Albert and Bogard, 2015).

Scope, methods and audience

In the seven sections that follow, we outline opportunities for research, investment, initiatives and policy changes that fit the contexts of the Pacific Islands nations in terms of food system characteristics, fish and aquatic food systems, and nutritional challenges. These recommendations would increase nutrition sensitivity and leverage the opportunities that fish and other aquatic foods provide toward improved nutrition and health. We recognize that transforming food systems and making gains in nutrition and health require complementary policies, programming and activities that span all types of foods and food system components. Nonetheless, the diagnosis and recommendations outlined here consider fish and other aquatic foods as an entry point that should be accompanied by complementary cross-sectoral changes at local to international levels.

This report provides diagnoses and recommendations that, if addressed, can help achieve the ambitions laid out in the UN Decade of Action on Nutrition (2016–2025), the UN Food Systems Summit 2021, the UN Decade of Ocean Science for Sustainable Development (2021–2030) and the International Year of Artisanal Fisheries and Aquaculture (2022). It was developed based on a review of published scientific articles and technical reports. The review was complemented with semi-structured interviews and follow-up discussions with diverse fisheries, nutrition, development and health experts, who all hold expertise and substantial experience in the Pacific Island region. Discussions and outcomes of the Blue Pacific Food System dialogues, held in preparation for the 2021 UN Food Systems Summit, also contributed to the report.

The expert interviews and the structure of this report were framed using (i) FAO's "Nutrition-sensitive agriculture and food systems in practice" (2017), (ii) FAO and WHO's "Sustainable healthy diets – Guiding principles" (2019) and (iii) the SPC's "Pacific guidelines for healthy living (2018). This report contributes to FAO's Hand-in-Hand Initiative under its Programme Priority Area Better Nutrition. It is intended to complement (i) the dialogues from the Regional Blue Pacific Food Systems (ii) the SPC's "A New Song for Coastal Fisheries – Pathways to Change" (2015) and (iii) the UN Food Systems Summit 2021.

This report is intended for people, organizations and funders focusing on oceans and fisheries and concerned with improving food and nutrition security. It is equally valuable for food system, agricultural, health and nutrition actors, as well as policies and investments. It provides rationale and guidance on how to protect and enhance the benefits of fish and other aquatic foods for nutrition and health.

Safeguard the natural aquatic resource base for domestic consumption to contribute to sustainable healthy diets for Pacific Islanders

The Pacific Ocean is the foundation of identity, culture, food and wealth for people of Pacific Island nations (Figure 4) (Hau'ofa, 2008). It boasts one of the richest marine ecosystems on Earth, which provide the foundations for nature-based solutions to safeguard coastal communities from climate change (Brodie et al., 2013). However, climate change and broken food systems that perpetuate high rates of environmental degradation (Farrell et al., 2020) impair the goods and services the ocean provides to communities (Bell et al., 2009; Mclver et al., 2016). And ocean warming and acidification threaten the integrity of coral reefs, where many biodiverse aquatic foods are found (Brodie et al., 2013). Moreover, the climate-driven redistribution of tuna stocks away from the exclusive economic zones of Pacific Islands nations means that almost half of these countries will experience a drop in tuna-related revenue (FAO et al., 2009; FAO and SPC, 2012).

Fish and other aquatic foods are unique in that they are both nutritious (Hicks *et al.*, 2019; Byrd *et al.*, 2021) and, if appropriately managed (FAO, 2015c), often more environmentally sustainable than land-based animal-source foods because they have a lower carbon production footprint (Clark *et al.*, 2019; Hallström *et al.*, 2019). Because of the multiple benefits of fish consumption for both human and planetary health, international guidelines recommend eating fish and other aquatic foods as part of a sustainable healthy diet (Box 1) (HLPE, 2014; FAO and WHO, 2019; Willet *et al.*, 2019; Ahern *et al.*, 2021).

If national development focuses too heavily on the sale of fish for international export (Cohen *et al.*, 2019; Belton *et al.*, 2020; Bennett *et al.*, 2021), this can inadvertently threaten the right of local populations to culturally appropriate food (Béné *et al.*, 2010; HLPE, 2020). Sustainability encompasses more than just the carbon footprint of foods. It also means that food systems need to provide culturally appropriate foods in a manner that is economically and socially feasible for future generations (Downs *et al.*, 2020; HLPE, 2020).

Over the past 50 years, there has been a heavy focus on Pacific Island fisheries as a source of income. This has led to the highest value fish and other aquatic foods, especially tuna, being exported to international markets (Gillett and Tauati, 2018) or diverted toward the tourism



A woman holds cooked, locally caught reef fish, Santupaele village, Western Province, Solomon Islands.

sector, impairing local food and nutrition security (Bell *et al.*, 2013). As rural economies increasingly become monetized, proportionally more fish is sold out from urban areas and less is kept for home consumption (Gillett and Tauati, 2018). This means that local supply is often inconsistent, of variable quality and highly priced, especially in urban areas, in comparison with low-quality imported animalsource foods (Snowdon and Thow, 2013).

In the Vava'u Declaration (2007) and "A new song for coastal fisheries – Pathways to change" (2015), Pacific Island leaders committed to supporting the development of innovative approaches to address declines in coastal fisheries resources and related ecosystems, especially in the face of population growth and increased demand (SPC, 2015). However, more work is needed to ensure that "fish as food" (Bennett *et al.*, 2021) is appropriately integrated into the wider food system development plans. This will ensure that all Pacific Island countries today and into the future can harness the nutritional benefits of both coastal and offshore tuna fisheries (Bell *et al.*, 2009). Given the importance of fisheries for sustaining livelihoods, this requires investments in incentives to diversify opportunities and livelihood streams to remove pressure on the coastal fisheries (SPC, 2015).

Box 1. Low trophic level fish and other aquatic foods and women fishers

To mitigate the environmental impacts of food production, it is important for people to eat a variety of low trophic level aquatic foods, such as small-bodied fish species, shellfish (particularly filter-feeding bivalve mollusks) and aquatic plants (Ahern *et al.*, 2021). There is a wide variety of fish and other aquatic foods, such as seaweed, mussels, oysters and clams, that are often overlooked in terms of their nutrient potential for sustainable healthy diets. Seaweed is a term used to broadly describe marine algae. This includes the most consumed forms, red, brown and green algae, which are all commonly found growing in nearshore areas and contain high levels of iron, calcium, vitamin A and fiber (Butcher *et al.*, 2020). Bivalve mollusks, such as mussels, mangrove oysters and clams, are good sources of omega-3 fatty acids, zinc, iron and vitamin B12 (Farmery *et al.*, 2020). These low trophic level aquatic foods, which are often more accessible for marginalized populations, provide an affordable and sustainable option to fill nutrient gaps. On top of all this, increasing consumer demand could also provide opportunities for marginalized women fishers to generate income, as well as include their voices and priorities in resource management decisions.

Innovation: Current consumption rates of low trophic species such as small-bodied fish species, shellfish and aquatic plants could be increased in the Pacific Islands. To maximize the development and nutritional impact of these species, like seaweed, consumption rates need to increase and technical support is required to build capacity and enterprise within appropriate coastal communities, especially with women, to ensure sufficient supply (Swanepoel *et al*, 2020).

Peer-to-peer training between Pacific Islander women across different countries could be an effective method for celebrating culturally local foods, sharing knowledge and building capacity within the region. For example, Kiribati has potential to increase seaweed farming capacity but does not have a history of eating large amounts of seaweed. A recent project helped facilitate peer-to-peer training by flying women seaweed farmers from Samoa to Kiribati to teach the basics of seaweed harvesting, processing and recipe preparation for consumption (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2020). The project was positively received by Kiribati women. One described how "watching the Samoan women allowed me to learn, understand and remember the knowhow; they show me it is so easy" (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2020). The training also allowed local women to learn about what edible seaweed exists in Kiribati and which could be developed and form part of the diet for their families.

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Invest and engage in multisectoral and crossscale collaboration for improved nutrition by integrating fisheries initiatives within the wider nutrition, health, education and food system policy, planning and developments. Improving nutrition requires investing in multiple sectors to meet the needs of all people, especially the most nutritionally vulnerable. However, policy actions on food, health, agriculture, fisheries and climate are typically managed in isolation - an organizational approach that is inherently unsuited to managing complex food systems (FAO, 2018). There is a strong need to build capacity and platforms for intersectoral dialogue, policy and action among different organizations and government departments in the Pacific Islands (Mahmudiono et al. 2019; Brugere et al., 2021).

Although addressing cross-sectoral links between government departments is critical, it is equally important to improve dialogue and planning across levels, particularly between governments, community groups (Andrew et al., 2020; Datta, 2021; Eriksson et al., 2021) and the private sector to provide a collaborative approach that is more likely to achieve longer-term sustainable results to improving food and nutrition security and public health. This is critical to ensure tradeoffs are not made between sectors, or one food sector (e.g. agriculture) does not impact the other (e.g. fisheries). This also includes collaborating with marginalized groups to tap into traditional knowledge and strengths of local communities, while fostering ownership and grassroots innovative change. Global analysis has shown that aquatic food systems are more equitable when policies and mechanisms focus explicitly on transparency, accountability and equitable representation of communities, particularly those vulnerable to malnutrition and political and economic marginalization.



Processed food for sale at a local store in Gizo, Western Province, Solomon Islands.

Improved data can help Pacific countries harness the nutritional potential of local foods to address the triple burden of malnutrition (Box 2). Current data can also help different sectors identify entry points for interventions to achieve common goals. First, addressing these data gaps requires cross-sectoral and cross-level approaches. High quality data on locally produced foods and intrahousehold consumption patterns would ensure that Pacific Island nations are able to match locally available nutrient-dense foods with public health concerns by refining dietary guidelines to improve public health – now and into the future. Data gaps to address include (i) the nutritional composition of locally grown foods, (ii) what foods are being consumed, when and by whom, (iii) the sources of those foods and the characteristics of the food environments that influence food choices, and (iv) food handling and preparation skills on how to retain nutrients (Farmery *et al.*, 2020; Bogard *et al.*, 2021).

Box 2. Data gaps in fish and other aquatic foods

For policymakers to understand which local foods to promoted in order to safeguard biodiversity and diet diversity, better data is needed (Santos *et al.*, 2019; Farmery *et al.*, 2020; Byrd *et al.*, 2021). Globally, over 3000 types of fish and other aquatic foods are eaten as food (Golden *et al.*, 2021b), and each species has a substantially different nutrient profile (Hicks *et al.*, 2019; Farmery *et al.*, 2020; Bernhardt and O'Connor, 2021). However, data on the nutrient composition of many inland and marine species is missing, with composition available for only 25 percent of aquatic species consumed worldwide (Byrd *et al.* 2021).

Innovation: The Pacific Nutrient Database (SPC *et al.*, 2020) is a new food composition table database to help link food consumption data with the nutrient composition of local foods eaten in the Pacific. Both the Pacific Nutrient Database and the Household Income and Expenditure Surveys provide important data for analyzing diets and the potential of local foods to fill nutrient gaps.

Regular national nutrition surveys for each Pacific Island nation are needed to better quantify which foods are consumed, as well as their quantities and seasonality. It is important that data is collected within households in order to analyze the nutritional needs of each member, especially nutritionally vulnerable groups such as women and young children (FAO, 2015b).

It is also important to collect data on the consumption of individual foods. For example, reporting aquatic food consumption at the broad category of "fish" makes it difficult to evaluate the nutritional contribution of different species (Farmery *et al.*, 2020). Currently, only Fiji conducts a regular national nutrition survey, so support and technical capacity may be required to do so in the other 21 Pacific Island countries. Such surveys can also contribute valuable information on the sources from which foods are acquired (Bogard *et al.*, 2021).

Notes

[FAO] Food and Agriculture Organization. 2015b. Compendium of indicators for nutrition-sensitive agriculture. Rome: FAO.

Farmery, A.K., Scott, J.M., Brewer, T.D., Eriksson, H., Steenbergen, D.J., Albert, J., Raubani, J., Tutuo, J., Sharp, M.K. and Andrew, N.L. 2020. Aquatic foods and nutrition in the pacific. *Nutrients* 12:1–22. doi: 10.3390/nu12123705

Hicks, C.C., Cohen, P.J., Graham, N.A.J., Nash, K.L., Allison, E.H., D'Lima, C., Mills, D.J., Roscher, M., Thilsted, S.H., Thorne-Lyman, A.L. and MacNeil, M.A. 2019. Harnessing global fisheries to tackle micronutrient deficiencies. *Nature* 574:95–98. doi: 10.1038/s41586-019-1592-6

Santos, J.A., Mckenzie, B., Trieu, K., Farnbach, S., Johnson, C., Schultz, J., Thow, A.M., Snowdon, W., Bell, C. and Webster, J. 2019. Contribution of fat, sugar and salt to diets in the Pacific Islands: A systematic review. *Public Health and Nutrition* 22:1858–71. doi: 10.1017/S1368980018003609

[SPC] Pacific Community. 2021. 13th SPC Heads of Fisheries Meeting: Synthesis of COVID-19 impacts on fisheries and aquaculture in the Pacific Information Paper 5. Noumea, New Caledonia: SPC.

Bernhardt, J.R. and O'Connor, M.I. 2021. Aquatic biodiversity enhances multiple nutritional benefits to humans. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 118:1–11. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1917487118

Bogard, J.R., Andrew, N.L., Farrell, P., Herrero, M., Sharp, M.K. and Tutuo, J. 2021. A typology of food environments in the Pacific region and their relationship to diet quality in Solomon Islands. *Foods* 10(11):2592.

Byrd, K.A., Thilsted, S.H. and Fiorella, K.J. 2021. Fish nutrient composition: A review of global data from poorly assessed inland and marine species. Public Health Nutrition 24:476–86. doi: 10.1017/S1368980020003857

Recommendation 3: Protect natural resource supplies of biodiverse fish and other aquatic foods for diverse diets

Natural resources, including biodiverse fish and other aquatic foods, provide the foundation for healthy and resilient food systems in the Pacific Islands, supporting diverse diets and resilient food supplies – now and into the future. For optimal health and well-being, it is important to eat a variety of different food groups every day, including foods that strengthen the body and provide energy and protection (SPC, 2018). Moreover, because each food provides a different range of nutrients, it is important to eat a variety within each food group for optimal nutrition (Frison *et al.*, 2011; Fanzo *et al.*, 2013; Bernhardt and O'Connor, 2021).

Biodiversity is associated with food and nutrition security and higher dietary diversity in both

low- and middle-income countries (Jones, 2017), including those in Asia and the Pacific (Alva et al., 2016; O'Meara et al., 2019). In Solomon Islands, for example, the cultivated food environment is the source of 73 percent of fruit and 63 percent of vegetables, while the wild food environment, including the ocean, provides 72 percent of seafood acquired nationally (Bogard et al., 2021). Similarly, indigenous smallholder farming households in rural Fiji exhibited higher household dietary diversity if they had access to high farm diversity and wild food sources, including traditional fishing grounds (O'Meara et al., 2019). Moreover, biodiversity of wild foods is critical for the resilience of local food systems so that they can better withstand shocks like COVID-19 and climate extremes (Troell et al., 2014; Béné, 2020; Love et al., 2021).



Salted and dried fish, the Kingdom of Tonga.

While fish and other aquatic foods belong to the animal-source food group, their nutrient profile is substantially different from terrestrial meat (Golden et al., 2021b). Eating a diversity of fish and other aquatic food species can broaden the range of nutrients in the diet (Bernhardt and O'Connor, 2021). In the Pacific Islands, more than 300 species of finfish and a range of invertebrate species and plants are harvested for consumption by smallscale fishers (Andrew et al., 2020). Pelagic small fish and bivalves, in particular, are high in iron, zinc, and vitamins B12 and A (Figure 3) (Farmery et al., 2020). Moreover, because pelagic small fish are often eaten whole, with the bones, they are a rich source of calcium (Farmery et al. 2020). The foundation for maintaining supplies of diverse

aquatic foods for local consumption is to protect local access and use rights and to strengthen resource stewardship through co-management and community-based participatory ecosystem planning (Albert and Bogard 2015; Tilley et al., 2019a; Andrew et al., 2020). Attention needs to include women and youths in decision-making processes so that they do not inadvertently experience reduced access to resources (Lawless et al., 2019; Mangubhai and Lawless, 2021). Because coastal fisheries resources face natural limits to productivity, employing fish aggregating devices (FADs) to disperse fishing pressure and shifting fishing to high turnover, highly nutritious coastal species can increase access to aquatic foods (Box 3) (Albert et al., 2014; Tilley et al., 2021).

Box 3. Fish aggregating devices (FADs) and fisheries co-management

Innovation: Nearshore, anchored FADs are a technology that can reduce pressure on reefs and support the food and nutrition security of artisanal fishing communities by making oceanic fish stocks more accessible to coastal small-scale fishers (Bell *et al.*, 2009). As a result, FADs can protect the biodiversity of nearshore marine resources while improving the livelihoods and diets of small-scale fishers. There is ample evidence of the positive impacts FADs have on catch rates in the Pacific (Sharp, 2011).

Notes

 Bell, J.D., Kronen, M., Vunisea, A., Nash, W.J., Keeble, G., Demmke, A., Pontifex, S. and Andréfouët, S. 2009. Planning the use of fish for food security in the Pacific. Marine Policy 33:64–76. doi: 10.1016/j.marpol.2008.04.002
Sharp, M. 2011. The benefits of fish aggregating devices in the Pacific. SPC Fish Newsl. Nournea, New Caledonia: SPC.

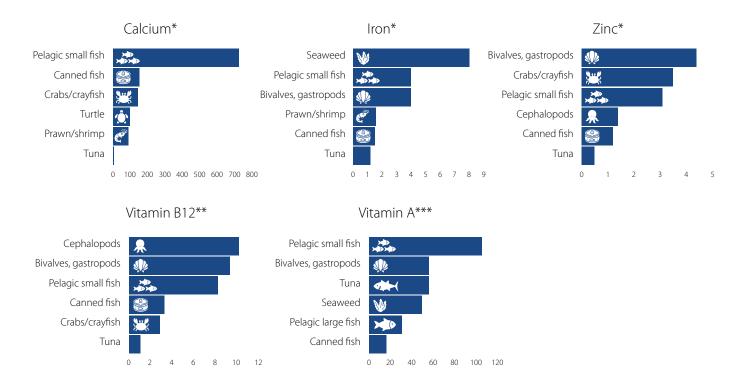


Figure 3. Micronutrient content of different fish and other aquatic foods in the Pacific Islands.

*mg/100 g raw, edible parts, **ug/100 g raw, edible parts, ***ug RAE/100 g raw, edible parts

Source: Authors' elaboration.

To slow or reverse the trend in declining fish consumption, it is critical for nutritionsensitive initiatives to promote consumption of fish and other aquatic foods as part of an overall healthy diet because they are rich in easy-to-absorb micronutrients, omega-3 fatty acids and lean protein.

For generations, the people of the Pacific Islands have benefited nutritionally from eating fish and other aquatic foods as part of a healthy traditional diet (Charlton et al., 2016; SPC, 2018). These foods can reduce the incidence and likelihood of micronutrient deficiencies, diet-related noncommunicable diseases, thyroid conditions and cancer (Charlton et al., 2016). In a recent assessment, Pacific Islander household diets had, on average, adequate levels of vitamin B12 because of the high rates of fish consumption in Samoa (FAO and SBS, 2020), Solomon Islands (FAO and SPC, 2021), Kiribati (KNSO et al., 2021) and the Marshall Islands (EPPSO et al., 2021). Moreover, in Solomon Islands vitamin B12 intake was more likely to be adequate and iron intake was highest in fishing households compared with the rest of the population, though anemia is still a public health concern in fishing communities, especially for women and children (FAO and SPC 2021).

In Samoa, adults who eat traditional diets based on local fish and other aquatic foods, roots and tubers, green leafy vegetables and fruits are less likely to develop inflammatory-related conditions such as obesity or type-2 diabetes compared to those who adopt western diets (DiBello et al. 2009). In part, this is likely because the anti-inflammatory effects of omega-3 fatty acids in fish and other aquatic foods are protective for heart health (Mozaffarian and Rimm, 2006; Del Gobbo et al., 2016). Eating fish at least once or twice a week reduces the risk of coronary death by 36 percent and total mortality by 17 percent (Mozaffarian and Rimm, 2006). In French Polynesia, high consumption of fish, shellfish and cassava is also associated with lower risk of thyroid cancer (Cléro et al., 2012a and 2012b). This demonstrates how the nutrients in fish and other aquatic foods make them an important part of dietary approaches to reduce the risk of diet-related, non-communicable diseases during the nutrition transition currently underway in the Pacific Islands (Box 4) (Bell et al., 2009; Charlton *et al.*, 2016).



Seaweed and mud crabs for sale in a rural Pacific Island market.

Box 4. Nutrition education to increase consumer demand for local foods

It is important that nutrition-sensitive initiatives promote the health benefits of eating local traditional foods while simultaneously increasing supply (Barker, 2015). Although highly nutritious, some local foods can be overlooked because they are regarded as "low status" foods, are not preferred or are not recognized as sources of nutrition (Goebel *et al.*, 2014). In Solomon Islands, women reported eating only three out of 10 nutritious green leafy vegetables that were locally available (Albert *et al.*, 2020). In Kiribati, despite high food and nutrition insecurity, consumption of widely available seaweed was low (Butcher *et al.*, 2020) because people did not know which seaweed types are edible (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2020).

Celebrating local traditional foods through innovative public health campaigns has the potential to increase demand for locally produced foods (Cvitanovic *et al.* 2016; Vermeulen *et al.* 2019), increase supply and reduce loss and waste (Underhill *et al.*, 2017). Combined with effective monitoring, evaluation and adaptation, Behavior change communication interventions have also been shown to improve child feeding practices and nutritional status (Bhutta *et al.*, 2013; Ruel *et al.*, 2018).

Innovation 1: Nutrition education needs to take a whole village and household approach (O'Meara *et al.* forthcoming). Historically, nutrition education has focused on women. This has inadvertently increased the burden of responsibility women hold for both their own nutrition and other household members, which can worsen women's well-being. Because of the influence that men have on village and household decisions, their nutrition knowledge could have a positive impact on maternal and child diet diversity. As such, it is important that all members of a household and community are included in nutrition education initiatives (Ambikapathi *et al.*, 2021).

Innovation 2: Practical food literacy skills are important to help more people eat nutritious local foods (PIFR, 2021). The Pacific Food Revolution is a region-wide project that aims to promote local healthy food through a reality television show that showcases Pacific Islanders cooking and demonstrating dishes, made with local foods, that are unique to their country and culture. This approach is working to develop the perception that local foods are "trendy," with viewers from Tonga, Samoa, Vanuatu and Fiji reporting a shift in their diets toward more local foods in 2020 (AusAID and NZAid, 2021). Pacific Island viewers described an appreciation for practical skills such as the cooking techniques and recipes demonstrated on the show and the corresponding website.

Similar desires for practical recipe development and documentation were also highlighted in a recent seaweed value chain project in Kiribati (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2020). In places where fish consumption is high, like the Polynesian islands, nutrition education is also important, such as the Kiribati Fish for Life Campaign, to raise people's awareness about the nutritional and health benefits of eating fish and other aquatic foods.

Notes

Cvitanovic, C., Crimp, S., Fleming, A., Bell, J., Howden, M., Hobday, A.J., Taylor, M. and Cunningham, R. 2016. Linking adaptation science to action to build food secure Pacific Island communities. *Climate Risk Management* 11:53–62. doi: 10.1016/j.crm.2016.01.003

Albert, J., Bogard, J., Siota, F., McCarter, J., Diatalau, S., Maelaua, J., Brewer, T. and Andrew, N. 2020. Malnutrition in rural Solomon Islands: An analysis of the problem and its drivers. *Maternal and Child Nutrition* 16:1–12. doi: 10.1111/mcn.12921

[[]AusAID and NZAid] Australian Agency for International Development; New Zealand Agency for International Development. 2021. Highlights from the Pacific Island Food Revolution Year 3 Impact Assessment. Canberra, Australia: AusAID; Auckland, New Zealand: NZAid.

Barker, M. 2015. Developmental origins, behaviour change and the new public health. Journal of Developmental Origins of Health and Disease 6. doi: 10.1017/S2040174415001312 Bhutta, Z.A., Das, J.K., Rizvi, A., Gaffey, M.F., Walker, N., Horton, S., Webb, P., Lartey, A. and Black, R.E. 2013. Evidence-based interventions for improvement of maternal and child nutrition: What can be done and at what cost? Lancet 382:452–77. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(13)60996-4

Butcher, H., Burkhart, S., Paul, N., Tiitii, U., Tamuera, K., Eria, T. and Swanepoel, L. 2020. Role of seaweed in diets of Samoa and Kiribati: Exploring key motivators for consumption. Sustainability 12. doi: 10.3390/SU12187356

Goebel, R., Taylor, M. and Lyons, G. 2014. Feasibility study on increasing the consumption of nutritionally-rich leafy vegetables by indigenous communities in Samoa, Solomon Islands and Northern Australia. Canberra, Australia: Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research.

O'Meara, L., Williams, S., Mooney, J., Hickes, D. and Brown, P. Forthcoming. Food security of indigenous food- producing households: Gendered perspectives from rural Fiji. **Ruel, M.T., Quisumbing, A.R. and Balagamwala, M.** 2018. Nutrition-sensitive agriculture: What have we learned so far? *Global Food Security* 17:128–53. doi: 10.1016/j. gfs.2018.01.002

Swanepoel, L., Tioti, T., Eria, T., Tamuera, K., Tiitii, U., Larson, S. and Paul, N. 2020. Supporting women's participation in developing a seaweed supply chain in Kiribati for health and nutrition. Foods 9. doi: 10.3390/foods9040382

Underhill, S.J.R., Zhou, Y., Sherzad, S., Singh-Peterson, L. and Tagoai, S.M. 2017. Horticultural postharvest loss in municipal fruit and vegetable markets in Samoa. Food Security 9:1373–83. doi: 10.1007/s12571-017-0734-7

Vermeulen, S., Park, T., Khoury, C., Mockshell, J., Béné, C., Thi, H., Heard, B. and Wilson, B. 2019. Changing diets and transforming food systems. CCAFS Working Paper no. 282. Wageningen, The Netherlands: CGIAR.

Prioritize and target interventions in ways that increase consumption of fish and other aquatic foods in ways that prevent malnutrition among the most nutritionally vulnerable, especially for women and children.

In the Pacific Islands, maternal and child undernutrition remains a major health concern, especially during the first 1 000 days of life (Box 5) (Victora et al., 2021). Recently, the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated malnutrition, further deepening the socioeconomic inequalities that determine its prevalence. In women of reproductive age, high rates of anemia, which is a condition often related to low iron consumption, is found throughout the Pacific Islands and is slightly lower (30 percent) than the global average (32 percent) (Global Nutrition Report, 2020). Also, high rates of stunting are found in children under 5 years old in Papua New Guinea (50 percent), the Marshall Islands (35 percent), Solomon Islands (32 percent) and Vanuatu (29 percent) compared with the global average (21 percent). This is concerning because maternal and child malnutrition has profound lifelong and intergenerational consequences for individuals, communities and nations (Victora et al., 2008 and 2021; Leroy et al., 2020). In Pacific Island nations, fish and other aquatic foods can help address nutritional deficiencies in both women and children (Figure 4) (Hicks et al., 2019; Farmery et al., 2020; Byrd et al., 2021). One example

is the risk of stunting is lower when rates of fish consumption are high (Headey *et al.*, 2018; Marinda *et al.*, 2018). Another is the vital importance of omega-3 fatty acids in fish and other aquatic foods for healthy brain development. According to a large systematic review, women who ate 113 g or more of seafood per week during pregnancy gave birth to children with an average increase of 7.7 intelligence quotient points (Hibbeln *et al.*, 2019). Eating fish also improves the nutrient content of breastmilk, which is the source of nourishment for infants during the exclusive breastfeeding period from birth to 6 months of age (Kuipers *et al.*, 2005; Martin *et al.*, 2012; Yakes *et al.*, 2015; Fiorella *et al.*, 2018).

However, national averages of fish consumption mask inequities in the consumption and distribution of fish and other aquatic foods relative to nutritional need. The nutritional benefits of fish and other aquatic foods are not always reaching the most nutritionally vulnerable groups in Pacific Island nations, such as pregnant women, young children and infants (Albert et al., 2020; Farmery et al., 2020). For these groups, increasing fish consumption as part of a healthy diet will lead to better nutrition and health outcomes (Byrd et al., 2022). Currently, diet quality in women and children is low in some Pacific Island nations, including Solomon Islands (Horsey et al., 2019; Albert et al., 2020; Farmery et al., 2020), Vanuatu (Farmery et al., 2020) and Kiribati (Eme et al., 2019). Notably,



For sale at a rural Pacific Island market, diverse species of fish captured from coastal waters.

despite women in urban centres in Kiribati having higher dietary diversity, there were more nutrient deficiencies there than in rural populations because portion sizes of nutrient-rich foods, such as fresh fish, were insufficient to meet nutrient needs (Eme *et al.*, 2020). This illustrates the limitation of diet indicators in correlating with nutrition status, and so there is still a need for better quantitative information on both dietary diversity and nutrient adequacy from diets (Albert and Bogard, 2015).

Box 5. The first 1 000 days of life

The critical window of growth for a child occurs during gestation, exclusive breastfeeding and complementary feeding (Adu-Afarwuah *et al.*, 2017). During this time, the baby requires the highest ratio of nutrients per bodyweight compared with any other life stage (Dewey, 2013). If the child does not receive sufficient nutrients, permanent damage to cognition and growth can occur, and they can become stunted (Leroy *et al.*, 2020). Later, the child could struggle to do well at school and at work, reinforcing the cycle of poverty (Victora *et al.*, 2008). Maternal and child health are foundational to equitable and sustainable national development, and world leaders, including those in the Pacific Island nations, have committed to ending all forms of malnutrition (UN, 2015).

Notes

Adu-Afarwuah, S., Lartey, A. and Dewey, K.G. 2017. Meeting nutritional needs in the first 1000 days: A place for small-quantity lipid-based nutrient supplements. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 1392:18–29. doi: 10.1111/nyas.13328

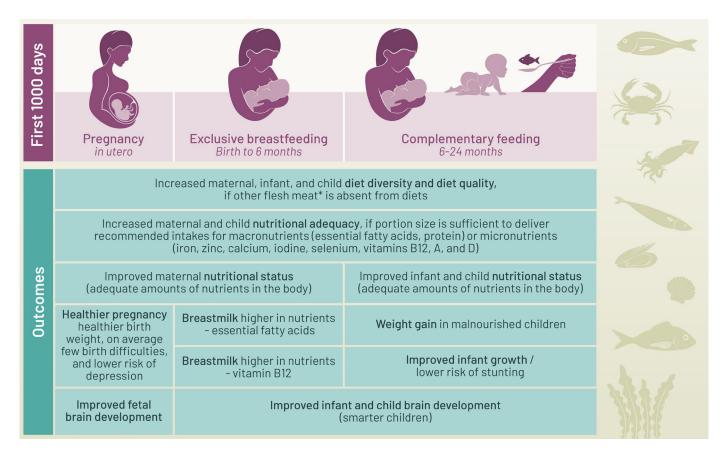
Dewey, K.G. 2013. The challenge of meeting nutrient needs of infants and young children during the period of complementary feeding: An evolutionary perspective. Journal of Nutrition 143:2050–54. doi: 10.3945/jn.113.182527

Leroy, J.L., Frongillo, E.A., Dewan, P., Black, M.M. and Waterland, R.A. 2020. Can children catch up from the consequences of undernourishment? Evidence from child linear growth, developmental epigenetics, and brain and neurocognitive development Advances in Nutrition 11:1032–41. doi: 10.1093/ADVANCES/NMAA020 [UN] United Nations. 2015. Transforming our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. New York: UN.

[UN] United Nations. 2015. Transforming our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. New York: UN.

Victora, C.G., Adair, L., Fall, C., Hallal, P.C., Martorell, R., Richter, L., Sachdev, H.S. and the Maternal and Child Undernutrition Study Group. 2008. Maternal and child undernutrition: Consequences for adult health and human capital. Lancet 371:340–57. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(07)61692-4

Figure 4. Key stages of the first 1 000 days of life (from conception to when a child is two years of age), and the dietary, nutritional and health impacts from eating fish and other aquatic foods (strength of evidence for the impacts varies



Source: Adapted with permission from Byrd, K., Shieh, J., Mork, S., O'Meara, L., Atkins, M., Pincus, L. and Thilsted, S. 2022. *Fish and fish-based products and nutrition and health in the first 1 000 days: A systematic review of the evidence from low and middle income countries*. doi: 10.1093/advances/nmac102

Recommendation 6: Develop and deliver food preservation techniques appropriate for fish and other aquatic foods to fill seasonal, economic and geographic shortfalls

Develop fish supply chains and innovative fish-based products to reduce food loss and waste, increase shelf life, enhance distribution to inland communities, and fill seasonal food and nutrition insecurity gaps.

The Pacific Island nations enjoy tropical weather year-round, with two seasons: a warm, humid period from November to April and a cool, dry period from May to October. Subsistence fishers generally fish several times a week and often consume or sell their catch to other community members on the day it is caught. During unfavorable weather events or fishing bans, a lack of cold storage because of poor infrastructure and expensive electricity can lead to seasonal food insecurity (WFP, 2016).

Moreover, external shocks such as COVID-19-related mobility restrictions have exacerbated challenges faced in accessing fish (Box 6) (SPC, 2021; Ferguson *et al.*, 2022). This highlights the need to focus on enhancing storage, processing and distribution of local foods to improve food and nutrition security (Farrell *et al.*, 2020). Reducing fish loss and waste by developing supply chains and infrastructure, as well as innovations in cold chain technologies, processing and storage facilities, can improve fish availability while contributing to nutritional quality (Box 7) (Thilsted *et al.*, 2016).

Some researchers have suggested increasing consumption of offshore fish (including in canned forms) relative to coastal fisheries might alleviate pressure from nearshore ecosystems (Bell *et al.*, 2009). The concern is that shifting diets from a diversity of aquatic foods to just one can lead to a decline in diet quality, even if fish consumption rates are maintained or even increased (Bogard *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, it is important that Pacific Island food systems also preserve a diversity of fish and other aquatic foods and increase equitable distribution to vulnerable populations, such as those inland.

There is substantial potential to increase knowledge of how fish and fish-based products circulate between and among local regions, and the factors that influence fish distribution. This understanding could illuminate opportunities to extend fish distribution to those who do not have adequate access to fish (SPC, 2015).

Box 6. Resilience to shocks and learning from the COVID-19 pandemic

Over the years, the Pacific Island food system has become increasingly vulnerable to shocks (Farrell *et al.*, 2020). Worryingly, the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on local incomes and remittances means that some families struggle to afford imported foods (Eriksson *et al.*, 2020; Farrell *et al.*, 2020; Sutcliffe *et al.*, n.d.). Moreover, mobility restrictions and curfews associated with the pandemic have decreased or, in some cases, cut the amount of time fishers can be at sea in half, further exacerbating household food insecurity (Lau *et al.*, 2020; Sutcliffe *et al.* n.d.). During the early days of the pandemic, many Pacific Island countries distributed seeds and encouraged families to plant kitchen gardens to promote food self-sufficiency (Sherzad, 2020). Some countries also provided technical advice on low-cost options for solar drying vegetables to make cassava flour and dark green leafy vegetable powders (FAO, 2020b).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted food supply chains, recent research has shown how important local farms and fisheries were for providing nutritious food for Pacific Islanders (Ferguson *et al.*, 2022). However, complete reliance on subsistence or local food sources can threaten food security, as demonstrated by the importance of imports to fill temporary food shortages when cyclones destroy local food crops (WFP, 2016; Ferguson *et al.*, 2022). This highlights the importance of harnessing the synergistic effect of long and short supply chains to ensure food system resilience and food and nutrition security during future shocks.

Continuing Box 6

Notes

Eriksson, H., Ride, A., Boso, D., Sukulu, M., Batalofo, M., Siota, F. and Gomese, C. 2020. Changes and adaptations in village food systems in Solomon Islands: A rapid appraisal during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. Honiara, Solomon Islands: WorldFish.

[FAO] Food and Agriculture Organization. 2020b. Preserve your own food: Promoting healthy eating through home food processing and preservation. Rome: FAO. Farrell, P., Thow, A.M., Wate, J.T., Nonga, N., Vatucawaqa, P., Brewer, T., Sharp, M.K., Farmery, A., Trevena, H., Reeve, E. 2020. COVID-19 and Pacific food system resilience: Opportunities to build a robust response. Food Security 12:783–91. doi: 10.1007/s12571-020-01087-y

Ferguson, C.E., Tuxson, T., Mangubhai, S., Jupiter, S., Govan, H., Bonito, V., Alefaio, S., Anjiga, M., Booth, J., Boslogo, T. 2022. Local practices and production confer resilience to rural Pacific food systems during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Marine Policy* 137:104954.

Lau, J., Sutcliffe, S. and Hungito, W. 2020. Lived experiences of Covid-19: Impacts on an atoll island community, Papua New Guinea. Townsville, Australia: James Cook University. Sherzad, S. 2020. Impacts of COVID-19 on the food systems in the Pacific small island developing states (PSIDS) and a look into the PSIDS responses. Rome: FAO. 1–15. Sutcliffe, S., Lau, J., Barnes, M., Mbaru, E., Wade, E., Muthiga, N., Hungito, W., Muly, I., Wanyonyi, S. and Cinner, J. In review. COVID-19 policy impact pathways and feedbacks: A food systems analysis in small-scale fishing communities.

[WFP] World Food Programme. 2016. Tropical Cyclone Winston food security and livelihoods recovery needs assessment. Suva, Fiji: WFP.

Box 7. Low-cost methods to preserve fish

Innovation: Low-cost capture fisheries and preservation methods can help fill food and nutrition security gaps. This is particularly important in contexts where food scarcity is widespread and cyclical. Seasonal shortages would benefit from improvements in processing methods such as fish drying and smoking, which not only preserve but also concentrate nutrient contents (Byrd *et al.*, 2021). In Kiribati and the Marshall Islands, for example, traditional fish drying practices could be fostered to promote household food and nutrition security and develop innovative fish-based products, such as tuna jerky or fish sausages (FAO, 2021b). Preserving fish in reusable jars has also been trialed. This method can be less expensive and have a lower environmental footprint than home-canning fish, though the process could introduce large amounts of sugar, salt or preserving agents (FAO, 2021b). Although fish drying might not be as common in other Pacific Island nations, promoting low-cost jarring or homemade solar drying options could be key strategies for promoting low-cost, hygienic preservation options (FAO, 2020b). In some villages, community-controlled fish storage, like a community freezer, might help. However, it is important that such an option be solar-powered to eliminate reliance on electricity, which can be expensive.

Notes

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Box 8. Canned fish

Pacific Islanders are increasingly eating more canned fish (FAO and SPC, 2021) because of urbanization, changing preferences, lack of refrigeration, and constraints on women's use of time (Albert *et al.*, 2020). In areas with limited opportunities to fish or grow crops, canned fish is important for food and nutrition security (Charlton *et al.*, 2016). In places where drinking milk is low, canned fish is also a good source of calcium, especially if it is a small species that can be consumed whole with the bones. However, the nutritional value of canned fish varies widely because of added ingredients like salt, sugar and oil. To ensure the health of Pacific Islanders, it is important to provide canned fish products that align with acceptable levels of added ingredients, as per the Pacific Dietary Guidelines (SPC, 2018). Moreover, high trophic level pelagic fish often contain mercury, which can have negative effects on the brain development of a fetus. In general, it is safe for a pregnant woman to eat two to three servings per week of these fish, such as shark, swordfish or tuna (FSANZ, 2014). This is especially so if the species (e.g. tuna) is also high in omega-3 fatty acids, which are anti-inflammatory and help offset the oxidative effect of mercury (Strain *et al.*, 2015).

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Notes

Assess the nutrient flow of imported and exported food products and the effect on the health of food environments. Retain fish and other aquatic foods for local consumption, and develop intraregional supply chains to ensure equitable distribution to all Pacific Islanders.

Global trade can distribute more diverse foods at lower prices, but this does not always result in improved food and nutrition security or diet quality in certain contexts (Béné et al., 2010; McCorriston et al., 2013). Indeed, import dependent markets in the Pacific Islands region have resulted in unhealthy market-based food environments, driving increased consumption of highly processed foods (Evans et al., 2003; Burkhart et al., 2021; O'Meara et al., forthcoming). Moreover, diet quality in some Pacific Island contexts appears to be higher among rural, subsistence-based households that have access to land to grow food, and coastal communities with access to traditional fishing grounds (O'Meara et al., 2019; Bogard et al., 2021) compared with urban populations that depend on markets.

During nutrition transitions, replacing traditional foods with poor quality imported foods is avoidable. In the Maldives, for example, trade regulations and food policy interventions have restricted imports of Western food (WHO, 2017a), and it appears to have supported a more balanced diet of local foods in the country supplemented with high quality imported foods. This could have contributed to its lower rates of cardiovascular diseases per capita compared with other small island developing states that embraced trade liberalization (Golden *et al.*, 2021a). In addition to policy interventions, an important element in making a positive dietary transition is harnessing the energy, creativity and moral force of grassroots movements, such as extended kinship networks, traditional leaders, churches, municipal authorities or diaspora networks.

Transformation of food systems should not suggest or lead to loss of traditional practices. Innovations can be reassertions of earlier, potentially better adapted institutions and technologies, such as local management of fisheries, and growing root crops that survive cyclones and saline water intrusions, as well as diverse multi-tiered agroforestry systems (Andrew *et al.*, 2021).

Although Solomon Islands' tuna cannery does distribute locally canned tuna within the Pacific Island region (IFC, 2016), much of the local canned fish is traded to high-income countries for monetary value (Gillett and Tauati, 2018). From a public health perspective, this is problematic because it means that local, nutritious fish, like South Pacific tuna, are traded out of



Fish and fresh produce at the market in Kavieng, the urban centre of New Ireland Province in Papua New Guinea.

the region while less expensive, nutritionally poor foods, such as noodles and white flour, are imported. This results in a "nutrient trade deficit" (Hicks *et al.*, 2019; Nash *et al.*, 2022) while also increasing the environmental footprint of the global food system (Béné *et al.*, 2010).

Although some Polynesian islands rely heavily on income from leasing the high seas to international fishing companies (Gillett and Tauati, 2018), the sale of fish does not always result in improved nutrition outcomes for local fishing households (Béné *et al.*, 2010). This is especially so when poor quality imports saturate market-based food environments (Thow *et al.*, 2011; Bogard *et al.*, 2021; Burkhart *et al.*, 2021). Some outward sale of fish might be necessary to ensure that government is able to provide essential public services like healthcare and education, which are important upstream determinants of nutrition and health. However, it is also important to ensure that sufficient fish is retained for local consumption (Béné *et al.*, 2010; Hicks *et al.*, 2019; Golden *et al.*, 2021a; Nash *et al.*, 2022).

Compared with nutrition and climate change commitments, which are voluntary, trade policies controlling exports and impacts, and taxes on low quality foods are legally binding, making them a strong instrument to leverage change within food environments (Box 9) (Friel *et al.*, 2020). This highlights how important it is for the Pacific Islands to implement import standards to reduce the influx of highly processed, nutrient-poor foods, while simultaneously supporting local production and intraregional trade among Pacific Island nations (Thow *et al.*, 2011 and 2014; Golden *et al.*, 2021a).

Box 9. Making good use of taxes and subsidies

If regulated effectively, government taxes and subsidies have the potential to build healthier food environments in the Pacific Islands (Burkhart *et al.*, 2021). For example, taxing negative externalities can serve as double-duty fiscal policies to reduce environmental footprints while raising revenue to fund policies that promote nutrition and health (WHO, 2017b).

Fiscal policies, especially in small island low- and middle-income countries, must be carefully considered and monitored, as subsidies for economic development can be inefficient, costly and inadvertently encourage exploitation of natural resources, leading to negative environmental impacts (Anglada *et al.* 2019). However, these countries need to be considered differently, compared with large land-based continents, because of their unique vulnerabilities and capacity constraints (UN, 2014). The numerous development challenges that such countries face are compounded by very small tax bases because of (i) disproportionately small population sizes relative to geographical coverage, (ii) constrained economies of scale, and (iii) relatively expensive public administration and infrastructure (UN, 2021). Although Pacific Island nations have a high environmental consciousness, there is a gap between ideal goals and what they can finance using existing public funds (UN, 2014).

Innovation: Careful development of "green" policies that are used to safeguard human and planetary health may need to be considered (Anglada *et al.*, 2019). In the past decade, two-thirds of Pacific Island nations have implemented taxes on sugar-sweetened beverages (Teng *et al.*, 2021); however, policies could be strengthened by expanding them to include taxes on other unhealthy imported products, with the revenue used to subsidize the price of local, nutritious foods such as fruits, vegetables, and fish and other aquatic foods (WHO, 2017b).

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