# UNDERSTANDING GRASSROOTS'S FACTORS THAT ENABLE THE SMALL-SCALE FISHING

# SEGMENT TO INFLUENCE FISHERIES MANAGEMENT IN THE SOUTH WESTERN WATERS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Analysis of field interviews

\*

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Funded by:



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The present report is an analysis of the 161 interviews that have been held throughout the SWWAC's area: 107 interviews with fishing organizations counting on small-scale vessels amongst their members and 54 with fishermen within the small-scale segment. Using the same interview guides (developed in collaboration with Cédric Polère) and selected through the same methodology (developed by A. Menotti and A. Gouzien), interviews have been conducted by several persons depending on the area:

- interviews in the archipelagos (Canary islands, Madera, Azores) have been conducted by Ricardo Lacerda;
- interviews in Andalusia have been conducted by Inmaculada Martinez (SoldeCocos);
- interviews in Portugal mainland have been led by Mafalda Rangel and Rita Rainha (University from Algarve);
- interviews in North Western Spain (Cantabria coast) have been led by Alberto Garazo and Juan Gomez (Quadralia);
- interviews in France have been led by Benoît Guerin.

The following analysis is undertaken to provide answers to two basic questions that aim to understand the grassroots factors explaining the influence of the small-scale fishing segment (under 12m boats, without consideration of the gear) in south western waters:

- To identify the reasons fisherpersons commit themselves to organizations or representative bodies
- To identify how organisations can be influential in the national and EU processes

The main focus is on fisheries' management's matters, whereas other dimensions such as market or social aspects may be mentioned throughout interviews. We also focus on organisations because there are some that are contributing to the decision-making processes (and not the fishers individually).

The report is structured around 7 main parts which follow a logical path from the field situation up to the decision-making levels:

- 1. Understanding what is at stake for the fishers
- 2. Understanding responsibilities and priorities of the fishing organisations
- 3. Identifying factors underpinning fishermen's participation in the representative bodies
- 4. Exploring fishing organisations' internal governance and functioning
- 5. Clarifying fishing organisations' network (e.g relationships with other partners: managers, scientists, other organisations, NGOs)
- 6. Detailing management measures affecting the fishing sector and specifically the small-scale sector
- 7. Analysing the capacity of fishing organisations to influence the decision-making process

While most fishing organisations do count both small-scale and larger scale fishing segments, attention is paid on the specific situation of the small-scale fishing segment in each part.

## NOTA BENE:

The report follows the same basic structure for each issue.

- 1. An overview is provided about the issue under discussion, with facts and figures from the data base of field interviews
- 2. Quotations from the interviews are transcribed (from native language to English), illustrating the different situations encountered.
- 3. Comments are occasionally provided, based on our interpretation of the facts that have been recorded

It is important to note that interviews with organisations lasted significantly longer (1h30) than with fishers (about 30') because the latter have much less time for this kind of investigation.

#### **EXCECUTIVE SUMMARY**

It is proposed to assess fishing organisations' influence starting from the field and through interviews with small-scale fishermen. It appears that **fishermen's main concern is about access to marine resources and space, highlighting increased competition at sea**, while the state of marine resources is considered to be bad. Competition for space may be either between the small-scale and larger scale fleet segments, but also internally within the small-scale fleet segment because of **uncontrolled fishing effort deployed at sea** (specific cases quoted with octopus traps on the Portuguese mainland, or gillnets targeting sole in Bay of Biscay). The TAC & quota system is also brought into question.

**Fishing organisations** share the same concerns, with **particular emphasis on the issue of the quota system.** In this regard, the role of **Producers' Organisations** is put into relief by many interviewees, whereas **older forms of fishing organisations** (associations in Portugal, cofradias in Spain or "comités des pêches" in France) do still have a recognized role as interlocutors of the fishing sectors in management. Fishing organisations in Spain and France (POs and "Cofradias", POs and "comités des pêches") are established by law, but not in the case of **Portugal where it seems that 30 to 40% of the fishing sector is still not represented.** 

**Some discrepancy appears between fishers' opinions and fishing organisations' ones** on the issue of **fishing effort management and fishing practises**. Actually, neither organisations nor managers appear to be capable of efficiently managing fishing effort, especially on the Portuguese mainland and in the French Bay of Biscay. While fishermen may condemn some fishing practises, fishing organisations focus on maintaining cohabitation between fleet segments.

**Participation** of fishermen intheir organisations' meetings **has been estimated to be quite good**. From interviews with fishing organisations, it appears that participation mainly depends on 3 factors: issue at stake, good communication with a premium for direct contacts, fleet homogeneity and social cohesion between the fishers. Differences between larger-scale and small-scale fleet segments are mentioned only in the Spanish Basque Country and in France (where organisations usually represent various fleet segments), and where it appears that **larger-scale segments may be more at their ease to participate and also more directly concerned by regulations**. Moving to central levels (national and European) this tendency is stronger.

From figures collected throughout the field interviews it appears that about **one third of the organisations are mostly representing small-scale fishing fleet's interests (under 12m boats representing more than 90% of the members)**. They are distributed **from Galicia southwards** (including Canary islands and Azores). The rest of the organisations represent various fleet segments and are concerned about representing all the various fishing practises (or "metiers"). Representatives may therefore have a sensitive role to play.

From a **statistical analysis of fleet representation within the management board** of the fishing organisations, some **imbalances** appear for organisations in **Centre Portugal and France**. This is regarding the number of seats of fishers held by the small-scale segment compared to the percentage of this segment within the membership of the organisation. For the rest of the organisations however (the vast majority), no such imbalance appears. Looking at this representation **in economic terms** (landings and values) for French POs the **small-scale fishing fleet segment would, on the contrary, be over-represented**. Hence the issue of representativeness is very much dependent on the criterion taken in to account.

Though many organisations refer to internal voting procedures, most of them always **try to reach consensus first**. There is a very **strong culture of compromise**, which has to do with fishing organisations' efforts to allow cohabitation between all their members. It could however be considered that such effort leaves **little space for expression of the diversity of interests**. On the issue of creating separate organisations for the small-scale fleet, most fishers answer positively whereas the vast majority of organisations consider that the small-scale fleet segment could lose influence in doing so. The principle of "strength in unity" is regularly put forward.

Details of the **social capital of fishing organisations** are provided. **Few – generally big – organisations have a wide network: relationships with administrations at all level** (local, regional, national), with scientists and with other fishing organisations. Relationships with European institutions are quite rare and generally secured through participation in the SWWAC. **Relationships with NGOs are limited to a few Portuguese and Spanish fishing organisations,** collaborating on concrete management issues. **Very few Portuguese associations are actually participating in the SWWAC**, both because of lack of capacity but also because of lack of results of the SWWAC's work.

The issue of **defining small-scale** (or artisanal fishing) is addressed and very much depends on national jurisdiction. Portugal is the closest to the European definition with a distinction for local fishing (under 9m boats), whereas Spain registers its fleets according to the main gear used. Small-scale is mostly included within the polyvalent fleet ("artes menores"). **France does not have any particular definition of small-scale**. It should be kept in mind that smaller-boats' fleet segments (0-6m and 6-10m) are massively more numerous in Portugal and Spain than in France (7136, 5056 and 859 boats respectively from community fleet register).

**Fisheries management's tools** (regulating fisheries either through catch allowances with quotas, or through effort with licences) are briefly presented for the three member states. From the results, it appears that **French organisations have much more capacity to actually participate in fisheries' management. Design of the regulations is criticized as not fitting with the reality,** and with decision-makers being too remote from the field and with little knowledge of fishing practises. These well-known criticisms seem to **impact even more the small-scale fleet, which represents a wide diversity** and heterogeneity throughout the entire area.

The quota system and allocation rules are creating serious concerns and discrepancies in each country and the small-scale fleet segment appears not to be well served, although further analysis would be needed to assess its exact situation in comparison to larger-scale fleet segments. Whereas European regulation is focused on defining quotas, a lack of adequate fishing effort management is evidenced throughout the interviews with insufficient tools to efficiently limit fishing effort. Whereas about half of the organisations refer to their role in controlling their members, only very few mention concrete disciplinary sanctions against their own members.

Influence of fishing organisations in changing or adapting the management rules to their members' needs is explored. It appears that size and capacity of fishing organisations throughout the SWWAC area are very diverse. There is a noticeable evolution towards organisations dealing with economic issues (marketing). Less than a quarter of the organisations consider they have influence at national level, whereas only 5 consider they have influence at European level. None of these organisations represent small-scale fishing fleet's interest only. Influence appears to be mainly concentrated in bigger organisations, with numerous members, and significant staff with post-graduate experience.

The main levers of influence have been identified as: 1. The membership and unity of the fishing organisation; 2. The economic weight of the fleet; 3. The soft power the organisation can develop: expertise, personal credibility and networking; 4. Creating power balance appears as a last option with recourse to politics, media or legal action. From the views expressed by the interviewees, it is very clear that the small-scale segment has much less influence mainly because of the atomization of the sector, mentality and individualistic behaviour, the lesser economic weight, although employment seems to be less taken into account by managers. On the contrary interviewees usually consider that larger-scale fleet segments (or even industrial ones) master more easily the levers of influence.

The emergence of new human uses of coastal areas (recreational fishing, aquaculture, windfarms, ...), with apparently much more influential stakeholders, is an additional threat to the dynamic of the small-scale fishing fleet segment.

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#### 1. WHAT IS AT STAKE FOR THE FISHERMEN?

NOTA BENE: Results should be strongly qualified by the fact they are based on only 50 interviews with fishermen throughout the whole area (as the methodology mainly focuses on fishing organizations while interviewing fishermen has been considered necessary in order to better understand the first step of the whole process).

#### 1.1 Economic issues

• Prices at first sale

**The issue of profitability** was raised quite regularly during the interviews with fishermen (mentioned in 15 interviews among 50) as their answer to the question on their main concern for the future.

It is mainly the Portuguese fishermen (11 out of 15) who expressed worries about the price of fish and the imbalance in terms of bargaining power between the fisherman and the buyers.

"The fish goes very cheap for our fishermen, far cheaper than what we expect. And then when we go to the markets, the price is far above" (fisherman from Setubal, Portugal). 76p4

As a consequence, in Portugal, small-scale **fishermen may have more interest to sell outside the auctions.** This leads to a huge part of the sector falling under the radar of the management.

"Another issue is price at first sale. A lot of the fish are being sold outside the auction. The buyers give you 2 if you sell out of the auction, and 1 if you sell at auction" (Portuguese fishing association). 52

It is noticeable that in Portugal, the small-scale fishing sector does not have access to tax-free fuel (unleaded gasoline). Some initiatives of **direct sales** have been suggested as bringing some solution (ex: "cabaz de peixe", in Portugal).

Other concerns noticed deal with weather conditions (especially impacting small-scale vessels) and operation costs

#### Comment:

A few fishermen in Spain and France also complain about the market prices. It is hard to estimate whether it is specific to the small-scale sector. However small quantities of landings and poorly organized chain of custody for small-scale products make the marketing of landings from this fleet different to large scale landings.

### Access to resources and space

The issue of access to marine resources and space is reported as the first concern of fishermen (28 among 50 interviews undertaken with fishermen)

Concern is also high about **competition for space** (mentioned 16 times) with various specific causes. Interaction with larger-scale vessels is cited as the main cause (mentioned 11 times), with many different aspects mentioned depending on the area (long-lining in Canarias and Azores, dredging and trawling in Andalusia and Algarve, purse seining in Portugal, Aquitaine and Brittany in the Bay of Biscay). Saturation on the fishing grounds is also cited many times (mentioned 10 times), either because of the nature of small-scale fishing sector practises (major issue with the use of numerous pots for octopus in Portugal that remain in the water all the year long, or netters in the Gulf of Biscay), or because of new maritime uses (aquaculture).

"Well, I do have 4000 pots... but I have no place to set them. How will I survive? I have about 600/750 at sea because there is no more space. And where I have them it is almost one mile from where the large scale fleet are allowed to fish (note: larger scale vessels). Where will all this stop? If they do not do something, one day it will blow us all up in our faces" (fisherman from Vila do Conde, Portugal) 67p3

Concern is high about the **TAC & quotas' system** (mentioned 16 times), either because the share is considered as unfair (bluefin tuna in Canary islands, mackerel in Galicia and Asturias, Sole in the Bay of Biscay) or the system is not suitable (does not fit with variability of the resource for bluefin tuna, zero TAC for *Dalatias licha* in Azores, closure of the fishery for *Pagellus bogaraveo* in Azores).

" I do not understand. There is one vessel in the South that has (a quota of )120 tons of sole, only for himself. But here you have a small boat that can get by with 2 tons. And it makes a living for a family. So with the quotas from this vessel, you could make a living for 60 vessels: 60 families!" (fisherman from Brittany, France) 157p3

Concerns were also raised regarding **recreational fishing** (mentioned 7 times) with increased fishing capacity and pressure. This activity has multiplied in recent years.

"It is our biggest challenge. Recreational fishermen go to the sea every day and catch 15 to 20kg of fish. And then they sell it to the same buyers that we do. But these guys have a salary already, whereas we only have fishing. This is unfair" (Fisherman from Canary Islands) 17p6

<u>Comment:</u> Responses on competition for space come from the entire area with a majority coming from the southern area (Portuguese mainland especially). Responses on the TAC & quota system also come from the entire area, but criticisms on the share of the quota mainly come from Galicia and Bay of Biscay around 2 specific cases: mackerel and sole. This issue has not been raised in Portugal yet.

The small-scale fishing sector is specifically concerned by the numerous activities in the coastal area. While fishing effort is usually not fully restricted (gears are regulated but not the numbers or length in the case of nets), new uses are also appearing such as aquaculture, wind farms, ... The competition with recreational fishing may also be very severe while the vast majority of the area is a highly sought after tourist destination (either for the retired or for younger active people as well).

### • *Maintaining jobs & salaries*

This issue **has not been mentioned many times** throughout the interviews, and was not included in the interview guide (focused more on resource management issues). While the the **salary levels** (for the fishing skipper and the crew members) were requested in the interview, only 14 fishermen answered this question.

The issue of **poverty or economic difficulties** was mentioned in 5 interviews in responding to the main concern for the future, with some worrying situations.

"We do have fishermen who cannot pay for water and electricity. If the fisherman works he should receive some support at the end of the month. You see a lot of poverty in the fishing sector. I am talking about a maximum of 200€ per month" (fisherman from Azores, Portugal) 30p5

"There is a lack of crew members and therefore, if one is injured, it is a problem. We have too much said the work was tough and we were poor people. We have lied. We were earning our living quite well." (fisherman from Brittany, France) 161

<u>Comment:</u> While figures are not representative at all, they do however give the impression that the economic situation for the small-scale sector is far better in the northern area. Whereas the small-scale sector is still massive in Portugal (with a huge proportion of very small-scale) it has been restructured through fleet adjustments in France with bigger small-scale boats on average and, apparently, better economic results.

#### 1.2 Environmental issues

• State of the coastal marine resources

Many small-scale fishermen (31 out of the 50 interviewed) express concern about the need to further protect the coastal marine resources and the coastal marine environment. Only one clearly stated there is no problem regarding fish stocks.

A large part of them are afraid about the **state of the coastal resources (mentioned 16 times).** 

"Everyone knows the fish is decreasing, for example the swimming crab (Necora puber) is near extinction and there were so many, because there is no prohibited period to fish. The same goes for octopus... same goes for the Norway pout (Trisopterus luscus) which is near extinction, same for sardine, ..." (old fisherman from Angeiras, Portugal) 69p4

**Responsibility of large-scale operators** is referred to (long-lining, purse-seining, pelagic trawling), but not systematically, as responsibility for the situation also lies within the small-scale fishing sector itself.

"Before the boats used to have different fishing practises and the Cantabrian Sea was more productive. The fishing season for small pelagic ("costera") lasted up to 2 months but today it does not exist anymore. The fishing fleet participating in this fishery is getting progressively smaller. Previously, 99% of the fleet participated. How good would it be if the Cantabrian Sea would remain 2 months without any fishing gear!" (Fisherman from Luarca, Asturias, Spain) 120p3

Many also argue that further regulation should be designed at local level to **limit the fishing effort (mentioned 8 times)** with a number of interviewees mentioning numbers of pots for octopuses in Portugal, and length of nets for Sole in Bay of Biscay (see above).

"I would limit the number of gears into the water and the fishing periods. I would close (the fishery) for all of February. It's the breeding period for most species: Pollock, seabass, sole, ..." (fisherman from Brittany, France) 152p2

Few mention the **bad quality of the marine coastal environment (mentioned 4 times)** while others (counted above) mention the crucial role of the coastal area as nurseries for marine resources that should therefore benefit from increase care.

"Everyone is criticizing fishing and fishermen, and no one remembers what fishing used to be like in Portugal in terms of marine grounds. (..) we do not remember that the sea bottom was full of seaweed and today everything is bald... and it's not the fishermen tearing up the seaweed (..) There is no seaweed to protect the fish and therefore there is no fish" (fisherman from Peninsula de Setubal, Portugal) 79p4

#### Comment:

While the state of stocks under TACs is better known by science (hake, sole, mackerel, anchovy, sardine, anglerfish, ...), the state of local marine resources is far less known. With some regional differences, and while the number of interviews could not be considered representative in terms of statistics, there is an overwhelming concern about the state of the coastal resources.

The problem is that such an assertion cannot be either confirmed or denied while scientific assessments on many local resources (with limited distribution area) are lacking. It is worth highlighting that a significant exception to this is shellfish in Galicia, resources that are clearly located and being assessed by field biologists either associated with fishing organizations (cofradias) or the regional administration (Xunta de Galicia). In Galicia also, recent work has been carried out in order to assess state of resources fished by the small-scale fleet. This should be published in early 2017.

#### • Fishing practises

Different issues can be identified in the interviews: some criticisms against the productivity of larger-scale vessels using different gears (mentioned 11 times), recognition of excess of gears within the coastal area (mentioned 10 times), and some more nuanced views highlighting the importance of practises over gears (mentioned 5 times).

Around the issue of productivity of larger scale vessels, purse seines are mentioned quoted most often (mentioned 5 times)...

"The big one always crushes the small one. There are examples with purse seiners which may come to the coast to fish for live bait, but they remove what there is above the bottom, and so they are removing everything, prejudicing the netters that are fishing sole" (fisherman from Cantabria, Spain) 127p8

... but the issue is also raised within the same "metiers" between very small and larger ones.

"If I managed a fishing organization, I would allocate a place for each one. The bigger should be outside the 6 nm, in order to leave the small one (...) and in winter time with bad weather, one boat with 500 nets, another with 400 nets, and 4 or 5 of these... so now imagine the quantity of nets close to the coast. Tell me where the small ones could go!? They come, put 30km that way, 30 km this way, always putting nets. This is a trouble for small scale fishing, but also for resources" (fisherman from Vila do Conde, Portugal) 66p6

**In Portugal**, there are 2 different categories of vessels within the under 12m segment. Vessels below 9m are considered as local fishing and limited within the 6 nautical miles' area, and the ones above 9m vessels that are considered as coastal fishing and may operate within and outside this limit.

<u>Comment:</u> This quotation, as others selected from the interviews, is clearly referring to the power relationship occurring at sea between smaller and larger boats.

But the issue of **excess of fishing gears** set by the small-scale vessels is also pointed as a damaging fishing practise

"In order to preserve resources, I would prohibit 110 mesh size for netters which is too small and I would limit (net) length to 5 km per crew member within a limit of 25km for one boat. Because today they doing damage. They well know that they are destroying the stocks. It is 4 years now this problem has started..." (fisherman from Brittany, France) 158p3

Some fishermen (6) also remark that the issue is **not about what fishing gear is being used but about the practices (i.e. how the gear is used)** 

"Here you have 8,5m boats but very large ones. They can put as many nets as a 12m boat. They have about 150 nets. They haul their nets once a week and they catch some lobsters, a few anglerfish. It has become nonsense! (..) we used to criticize trawlers which catch anglerfish on muddy bottoms. Today they are making their record catches, engine power is more or less the same and resource is better. If trawlers remain on soft bottoms, there is no problem. Those who are working near the coast, catching small fishes, do more harm" (fisherman from Brittany, France) 163p6

Comment: The main issue seems to be about fishing capacity and fishing practices. This could pit small against large-scale, but also pit boats of the small-scale fleet segment against each other. The fishing capacity issue may become problematic in case of a fishery closure, provoking fishing effort displacement. The issue of fishing effort, and excess of gears in the coastal area (see also 1.1, access to resources and space) seems to be widely outside the purview of managers although it appears to be a major threat.

#### 1.3 Social and societal issues

Different references to social and societal concerns were raised during interviews with fishermen (14 out of 50) giving it as the answer to their main concern for the future.

The **lack of labour** has been cited by different fishing skippers (6 times), sometimes accompanied by worries about the handover to future generations of fishermen.

"Today my main concern is about not being able to recruit crew workers for fishing. In about 5 years, 70% of the fishermen will be retired. And I do not see there are young people to substitute them. The lads in Madeira who are between 17 and 28, they do not want to work at sea, even if they do not have work on land. Fishing is very cumbersome. We stay many hours out at sea. We are fishing all the year long, and when we set the gear we never can guarantee that we will catch something. You work 4 hours consecutively" (Fisherman from Madeira, Portugal)

**Greed and individualistic behaviour** is also a character trait regularly mentioned in the interviews (6 times).

"The fishermen think differently because there is cupidity. There are some fishermen, if they could they would catch everything because they are greedy" (fisherman from Algarve, Portugal)." 78, p9

<u>Comment:</u> This trait explains partly the predatory behaviour and a logic of cheating. However some nuance should be brought to such assertion: "at sea they are clearly competing, but if there is any trouble they are also the first ones to give a hand (representative from French fishing association, 137) ». In addition, in fishing communities, "there is a kind of tension between competition and interdependence with the concern, for the family, to maintain the fishing activity" (Annie Gouzien, com.pers.).

From the different interviews, it appears there are basically **2 kinds of behaviour: some kind of cold blooded predator** who goes at sea to look for money, and **another kind that appears to worry more about the resource and the future.** 

"There are different approaches because some intend to raise awareness in order to preserve resources, but others do have a much less conservationist mentality" (fishing association in Galicia, Spain) (89)

To a lesser extent, **ignorance and lack of education** of fishermen is also mentioned (4 times).

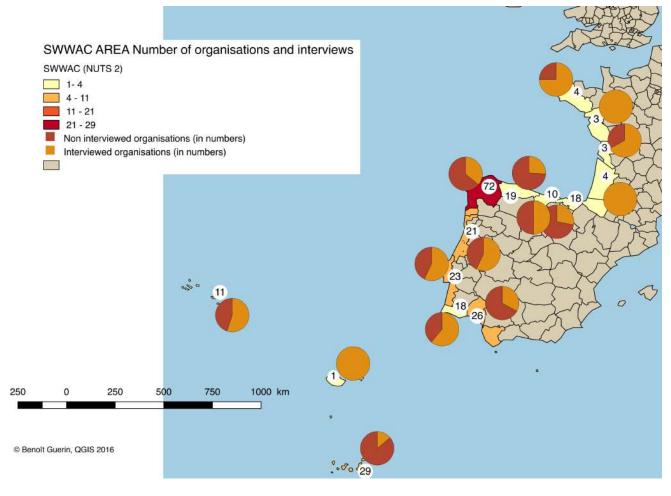
"Some colleagues catch very small octopus whereas I always release them. This is due to a lack of control. These are persons who are – like I told you just before – they are born, they die... well it is quite hard to deal with these sort of persons" (fisherman from Sesimbra, Portugal) 75p8

The **vast majority of the fishermen (40 out of 50) entered fishing because their family** was already involved into it. While it could be noticed that some fishermen have practiced other fishing "metiers" and worked in the large-scale or even distant fleet, small-scale fishing is a life choice with the possibility to remain close to their family.

"I used to work on different vessels but with this emigrant life, away from home for a long time, I did not see my children growing up" (fisherman from Vila do Conde, Portugal) 66

#### 2. RESPONSIBILITIES AND PRIORITIES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS

107 fishing organizations have been interviewed throughout SWWAC's area (out a total estimated number of 240). 8 out of 25 fishing organizations have been interviewed in Andalusia. Almost all fishing organizations representing the small-scale fishing sector on the Portuguese mainland. 4 out of 25 in Canary islands. 1 out of 1 in Madera. 7 out of 11 in Azores. 36 out of 123 in North Western Spain. 14 out of 17 on the French Atlantic coast.



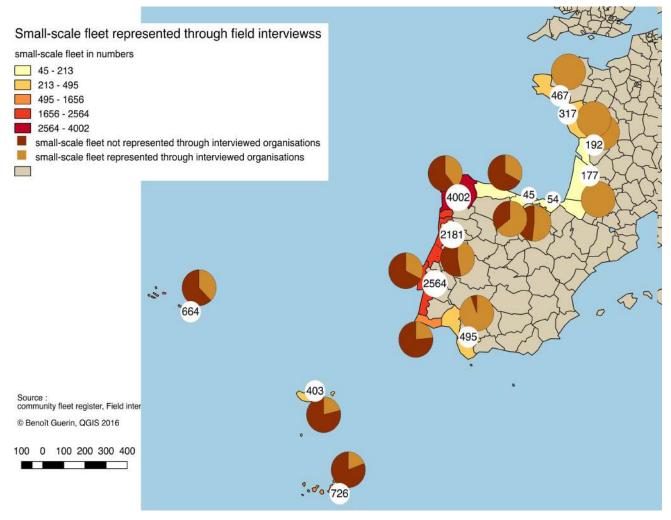
**Figure 1.** Coverage of fishing organisations representing the small-scale fleet in SWWAC area through interviews. Number of interviewed organisations.

Considering the coverage through the field interviews, 108 organisations representing the small-scale fishing fleet have been interviewed out of 262 in the whole SWWAC's area

In most regions, more than 50% of the organisations have been interviewed

In 5 regions, less than 50% of the organisations have been interviewed: Canarias (14%), Andalusia (33%), Galicia (36%), Asturias (26%), Spanish Basque country (26%)

Figure 1bis. Coverage of the small-scale fleet through the number of vessels the interviewed organisations do represent.



Organisations that have been interviewed represent about 5800 small-scale vessels out of a total of 14 156, that is to say about 41% of the over whole.

Only members from local organisations have been counted (members from federations or umbrella organisations have not been taken into account) in order to reflect organisations closest from the field

As in France, local organisations have disappeared, the numbers that have been considered are those of the existing organisations (representing the whole fishing fleet).

In Portugal, members from Producers'
Organisations have not been taken into
account because same members are
already in local associations (most often),
except in some cases where PO are present
and grouped widely the fleet and there are
no other local organisations (2 cases
identified: VianaPesca OP, CAPA)
In Galicia, federations and cofradias
representing shellfishes harvesters have
not been taken into account (because not
counted within the community fleet
register)

#### 2.1 Brief overview of small-scale fishing sector representation throughout the SWWAC area (see also deliverable 1)

In Portugal, the situation is of a very fragmented landscape without umbrella fishing organizations such as in France or Spain (with the notable exception of purse-seiners). There are 36 fishing organisations on the Portuguese mainland that include small-scale vessels as members. Among these organisations there are 12 Producers Organisations on the Portuguese mainland with respective areas of competence, and one association of POs. In Madera, there is only one organisation (the PO previously mentioned), and 12 in Azores (including one PO).

In Spain, there are numerous organisations representing small-scale fishers, being organised either through cofradias or through Producers' Organisations (as recognized in the law). In the Canaries, there are 26 cofradias, 2 provincial federations, and one regional. There is also one PO. In Andalusia, there are 18 cofradias, 2 provincial federations and 1 regional; and there are 5 Producers' organisations with interests in the small-scale segment. In Galicia, there are 63 cofradias, 3 provincial federations, one regional, and one PO recently established. In Asturias, there are 18 cofradias and one federation. In Cantabria, there are also 18 cofradias, one regional federation, and one PO. IN the Spanish basque country there are 14 cofradias and 2 provincial federations, plus 2 POs one for each province. At national level, industry representation is being mainly assumed both by CEPESCA (larger ship owners with participation of few small-scale vessel owners) and the national federation of cofradias, but some regional federations have recently withdrawn from it. Therefore, the fishing sector is still very much represented at regional level through federations, and through cofradias at local levels. POs have tended to gather the large-scale sector but, more recently, some others have appeared being closely associated to the federation of cofradias, at regional level.

**In France,** industry representation **has been concentrated through the merging of POs and the re-structuring of the fisheries committee** (both organisations being recognized by the law as the interlocutors for the fishing sector). For Bay of Biscay, there are 5 Producers' Organisations, 2 federations of POs, 1 national organisation, 4 regional committees, and 4 local ("départemental") fishing committees.

It should be noticed that while fishing organizations are established by the law in Spain and France (POs and "cofradias"; POs and "comités des pêches" respectively), it is not the case for Portugal where the law does not designate a specific interlocutor for the fishing sector. The fishing sector isalmost fully represented by "cofradias" in Spain, and fully represented by "comités" in France, at least formally. By contrast, it is estimated that about 30% of the Portuguese fishing sector is not represented in Portugal (M. Gaspar from public authorities, com. Pers.).

# 2.2 Multiple roles assumed by fishing organizations throughout the SWWAC area

Fishing organizations **play a multitude of roles**: social responsibility vis-à-vis their members and their families (it is even the historical origin of Spanish Cofradias), training and awareness raising on fisheries' management issues, spreading information, supplying fishing boats (with ice, food, ...), administrative works for fishing boats (very variable: from sales notes, to managing fishing licences, to assuming accounts and paying social security charges), selling or even marketing the landings, managing the fish auction ("Cofradias" in spain), managing quotas (POs), fixing catch limits, representing their interests vis-à-vis the public administrations, auto control, communication, lobbying, ...

"We do everything, we provide our support in all the different areas linked to the sector. We give legal advice, we deal with licence granting procedures, subsidies procedures, recording (landings?) within the local port authorities. Therefore, it is all about administrative stuff of a fishing vessel. And we often also deal with issues that do not have much to do with fishing: people come with personal matters from their private life. For example, they often have troubles with their bank, insurance, driving licence, tax services, or any other issue. And because they are people from the small-scale sector, these are very small enterprises, without any employee, which often do not have any administrative capacity. And therefore they rely on the association. We are a kind of general handy-man." (fishing association from northern Portugal) 48p4

In Portugal, more than in France, very concrete problems are mentioned (44: access to the beach, assuming mutual management of a tractor,...)

# 2.3 Contribution to vessels' profitability

• Increasing incomes through selling and marketing

About 54 fishing organizations interviewed do have an explicit marketing role: either Producers' Organizations, or "Cofradias" in Spain through managing first sale auctions (*lonjas*).

In Portugal 15 organizations are involved (5 additional ones mentioned some initiatives such as direct sales to consumers, running a restaurant, or selling through another organization), which is 35% of the organizations. From the Azores, except for 2 organizations , only Producer organizations have such involvement.

In Spain 38 organizations (out of 48 interviewed) are involved, or about 79% of the organizations that have been interviewed. These are Producer organizations, but there are also an important number of "cofradias" that directly manage the fish auction.

In France 5 organizations are involved (out of 15 interviewed), or about 33% of the organizations that have been interviewed. These are only Producer Organizations.

Importance of increasing prices at first sale

The importance of increasing prices at first sales is mentioned in 15 interviews (out of 107). Imbalances between fishers and buyers is quoted in 4 interviews.

"The problem is that here we are 42 fishing boats, needing to maintain themselves with investments that never are small. I often hear that there is funding available at European level. Ok that's fine but what for? To build a project? To build a dispatch centre for shellfis? OK a shellfish dispatch centre might be built with European funds, mostly subsidised, ok, but guys who will maintain this equipment? Because the equipment is often large in scale (...) what we cannot do is undertake activities which lastly cost a lot of money" (fishing organization from Andalusia) 1p6

<u>Comment:</u> Auctions need a certain quantity of landings, which are usually brought by larger scale vessels. It is at the same time an advantage for the small-scale fishing sector (creating markets and attracting buyers given that their own landings would not be enough), and may also be a drawback when they cannot compete in terms of prices of fish per kilo. Therefore, this sector needs to find ways to maximize their prices through different tools: direct sales, preserving quality and freshness of their products, labelling, ... It can be noticed however that organizations gathering both small and large scale vessels usually do not promote these kinds of initiatives.

#### • Diagnoses about economic state of the small-scale fishing sector, mainly linked to the state of the resource

The economic situation of the small-scale fishing sector is a matter of worry for fishing organizations, **especially in Portugal** (14 organizations mentioned this issue as one of the their main concerns out of 36 interviews). Much fewer organizations in Spain mention this issue (5 out of 48). No organizations in France mention this issue.

"It has been a political mistake to have let them do as they wish. Some years ago (..) it should have been decided what the fishing fleet could or should do, but it has remained day to day management! And now the country has approximately 5000 effective fishing permits, a bit less than 10 000 vessels in the register, of which 90% is small-scale. But it is not below 12m as you say, because there are a few between 9m long and 12m (...), so from these 5000 you have 4500 boats below 9m, and this is not creating wealth for the state, this is only creating poverty. Neither the fishermen nor the ship-owners succeed. No one manages to live decently in this situation, with this small fleet" (Portuguese fishing organization representative). 39p7

In 13 interviews out of the 18 where the issue is being raised, **lack of resources is mentioned as a cause.** 

"We used to have 1.116 tons of quotas and it fell down to 507 tons. (...) No fisherman is willing to earn less than the minimum salary" (fishing organization from Azores) 25p4.

# • Access to European funding

Even if the organizations were not specifically asked about this, they used to assist their members in order to get access to European fundings.

"Yes indeed: these funds are still highly complex. I admit to you that we intend to put in place tools to help enterprises to access funding. We have it in mind. New technologies should help to access people more easily. We want to make their life easier to submit their request, to give them the operating instructions, to accompany them. We will try to put in place a kind of financial engineering and we would like to help small enterprises. We do not give up" (fishing organization in Brittany) 144p10

<u>Comment:</u> despite efforts made through EMFF to grant privileged access to small-scale fleet, it appears that the current streams may still seem complex and small-scale fishers may not be able to use it as intended.

### 2.4 Partly managing access to resources

Access may be **managed either through effort** (gears authorized, licences or permits), or through **quantity of catches** (TAC and individual quotas if any). Permits may be delivered by the fishing organizations (French "comités des pêches") or by public bodies (either regional or national). Quotas may be allocated directly from the state to the individual vessels (Portugal and Spain) depending on the vessel's characteristics (fishing gear, length), through the regional administration in Spain for the polyvalent small-scale sector ("artes menores"), or through POs which manage them internally (French Pos).

Therefore, our description of the situation and analysis shall include the institutional set-up and share of responsibilities (this specific issue will be further detailed in part 6.2). However, this issue is clearly at the heart of the fishing organizations' daily business **with three issues most often mentioned.** 

## Gear conflicts, fishing practises and cohabitation

The issues of conflicts between gears or fleets are frequently mentioned (**34 interviews** out of 107). Conflicts with fleets from other organizations are mentioned twice as much as internal conflicts arising between members of the organization.

"Some decisions are almost consensual among fishermen, but if you have 10% of them who are against and the public authority legitimises such practises, self regulation through the organization turns out to be impossible. Authority and discipline from the PO is limited: we do not have competence in control "(fishing PO from Azores) 21bisp11

**Regarding gears,** they are rarely condemned by fishing organizations even if some interviews refer to damaging and over-efficient fishing techniques (large purse-seiner for tuna or small-pelagic, beam trawlers, trawlers, Danish seine, ...). And many representatives of the fishing organizations emphasise the importance of **fishing practises** (and in particular excessive fishing effort in Portugal mainland, cf following point).

"The association can never act, because it does not have proof. Whatever one is saying, it is words against words. For example, I can say that that one has 500 units of gear, and he can say he only has 200, and this will be all" (fisherman from northern Portugal) 66p4

<u>Comment:</u> The fundamental principle underpinning the functioning of fishing organizations is the defence of their own members. So they can criticize or even try to limit fishing practises if their members do not carry out such practises, but otherwise they try to find a compromise and cohabitation. In such cases however, the relative weight of each segment (landings, number of boats,...) may probably influence the internal decision-making process.

#### Competition for space within the coastal area

The issue is being mentioned in **19 interviews** and mostly in interviews with Portuguese associations (15 times).

"Regarding the excess of pots for octopus in the sea, there is no control to solve this issue. I can't do anything about this, neither say something because it would go against my members. I disagree but I do not have the power to act. If I'd have 3000 pots I would not be able to put them at sea because I would need to put them above others (..) It is the same in the whole country. You can't imagine the quantity of pots in the sea... It is a shame! It is bad for everyone and there is no solution" (fishing association from Centre of Portugal) 34p10

<u>Comment:</u> some regional differences seem to appear across the area. While excessive coastal fishing effort seems to be of high concern on the Portuguese mainland, and to a lesser extent in the Bay of Biscay with netters (cf 1.2), the issue seems to be of less concern in other areas.

## • Quota availability to fishing fleets

The issue of quota availability and allocation modalities is at the very heart of fishing organizations' worries, being mentioned in 49 interviews as problematic, with high regional differences. Whereas the issue is of high concern in Andalusia and archipelagos (12 times in 20 interviews) and in North Western Spain (26 out of 36 interviews), it is less mentioned in the Portuguese mainland and French Atlantic coast (7 out of 36, and 4 out of 41 interviews respectively).

"I consider that the artisanal "bajura" (inshore) fleet should not be submitted to TAC or quota because for this fleet is not catching big quantities if you compare with seiners or trawlers. I consider the allocation being made is not fair" (fishing association from Galicia, Spain) 114p6

"They have privatized the resource. X for example, well his boat, he has 115t of the quota which is about 25% of the quota of his PO. He even has some difficulty to fish it all. Tomorrow he will sell his boat for  $2M \in \mathbb{R}$ . But his boat is only worth  $800k \in \mathbb{R}$  and therefore his quota is worth  $1,2M \in \mathbb{R}$ . But how much did he pay for it? Zero!" (fishing association from France) 139p7

<u>Comment:</u> It is interesting to notice high regional differences around this issue, which could be partly explained by the fact the Spanish allocation system for quotas is quite recent (2011), and therefore still very much under discussion. In Portugal, the situation is centred around sardine in particular with recent changes in quota allocation (from allocation to PO in 2015 to allocation to individual vessels in 2016), but doesn't seem to be of much concern for other species. In France POs are managing main part of the quotas for about 10 years.

### 2.5 Issue of equity linked to the quota's allocation system

The issue of equity in the quota allocation system is raised in **27 interviews (out of 107).** The argument of maintaining jobs is sometimes put emphasised in order to **argue for a change in the allocation**. There are huge regional differences, with numerous references to this point in Andalusia and Canarias (8 interviews), especially around the issue of the Bluefin tuna. 2 organisations from Azores also complain about the same issue. This issue seems of less concern in Portugal (only 3 references linked to the sardine). **Most important claims are raised in North Western Spain** (10 references) and mostly in Galicia and Asturias around the issue of mackerel. In France the issue is mentioned in 4 interviews (out of 14) however noticing that the small-scale fleet segment is disadvantaged in terms of quotas' allocation.

"We are a small fleet. We are not being heard enough. One day a politician told me that we should stop with "minifundismo": small associations, small-scale fishing, small... But the shellfish sector is a very clear example. There are numerous workers. 450 shellfish harvesters are in my Cofradia, 150 in the neighbouring one, 180 in the other one... If a firm with more productive systems came along, there would be no more than 4 or 5 positions. We do not want this. We want to keep working with our backs and our hands, without big firms" (fishing association from Galicia) 113p8

"But all fishing boats are in conflict for a share of quota. On the Bluefin tuna, it is about the small against the big ones. On Sole, it is about netters against trawlers... My personal goal, and it goes the same for other fishing representatives, is that each one can operate" (fishing association from France) 136p8

<u>Comment:</u> This issue appears to be a source of dissention in organisations' interviews. Generally speaking, fishing organizations do not have set objectives in terms of maintaining or creating jobs. **They are basically dedicated to the need of their members and ensuring the continuity of the fishing activity in their harbour(s).** However this issue may be used to argue against the quota allocation system they may consider to be unfair. It seems however that very few facts and expertise are available about this issue.

# 2.6 Individualism and mentalities limiting fishing organizations efficiency

Although this was not specifically asked during the interviews, it can be noticed from answers given to the question about their main concern for the future. A few interviews refer to mindset and awareness regarding marine resources' preservation (8 references), the individualism of the fishermen (7 references), and the generational renewal (7 references).

"I consider the main concern to be individualism. The collective does not work anymore. I would say it is societal. Our motto is to look for the young people. It is true that those who do have time are the retired but the young people shall say something because there is a shift in the mindset with the new generation. They are more concerned by the sustainable development and more positive. It's good. They are not working more collectively but when you call them, they are interested and we seek them out. By phone, they always give their advice" (fishing association from France) 145p9

"What I see is that the most new fishing skippers respect the regulation less than the older ones, and they are not very available, they are not very receptive to new incoming regulations (..) they may not be wrong because the majority of the new EU regulation has no sense" (fishing association from Centre Portugal) 139p6

<u>Comment:</u> The « every man for himself » logic is often associated to some distant and critical point of view. It may be counter-productive for the fleet segment. Other approaches also exist and some care about the marine resource is another way – more collective and long term –taking into account its needs . It is obvious however that the task of fishing organizations is made all the more difficult due to fishers' individualistic behaviour. It is not a specificity of small-scale fishing fleet but some interviews interestingly mention that larger scale vessels may have a more collective way of working looking for fish as a fleet rather than individually.

## 2.7 External factors impacting the fishing activity

Different threats or competitors for marine resources or maritime space are highlighted throughout the interviews. The issue of **recreational fishing** (with a specific concern for poaching) is the most frequently mentioned concern (10 times, and 4 times out of 8 in Andalusia). The issue of **water quality** is quoted about 8 times. Then aquaculture and navigability come afterwards (5 times each), with specific concerns on the Portuguese mainland. **Marine parks** are also mentioned as a concern related to accessing fishing grounds. The wider issue or **maritime planning** is mentioned 2 times.

" It is a difficult issue, this is a very hot topic here in Huelva. Everywhere there are **illegal fishers**, but here it's just incredible the number they are, and they know it perfectly, much more than in Cadiz. (...) The solution would be to withdraw illegal fishing boats, there is no other way" (fishing association from Andalusia) 4p6

"We tend to overstate the importance of this fleet (note: pelagic trawlers) and we tend to blame problems of conflicts between gears for problems that are more environmental in origin. Look at the issue of amnesic shellfish poison (ASP) in Brest, Glénans or even Quiberon... there, the small-scale fishing will be seriously affected. We need an ecosystem approach. On Seabass, there could have been overfished for a time but coastal nurseries are polluted "(Fishing association from Brittany) 147p19

"There is another aspect. Small-scale fishing is the one that is the most concerned by **spatial maritime planning**: between recreational fishing, gravel extraction, windfarms... But the local officials in coastal areas don't care at all about fishermen. There are old and rich people who come and settle down in the coastal area and they want to go fishing, and the officials follow their electorate. There is a complete shift with the explosion of recreational fishing. I would say that, since 10 years, with the "oldie boom", there is a complete changeover" (fishing association from France) 148p10

**Table1.** Correspondence between issues of importance for fishermen and responsibilities of fishing organizations. Numbers refer to number of quotations within the interviews: total number of 50 interviews with fishermen / 107 with fishing organizations

	FISHERMEN	ORGANIZATIONS	CORRESPONDENCE
	Profitability (15)	Selling and marketing (54)	54 organizations do have a responsibility in selling and marketing
		Increasing price at first sale (15)	Need for marketing while organizations representing various fleet segments do not develop specific initiatives for the small-scale fleet segment
		Access to European funding	Despite privileged measures for small-scale fleet segment, access to the funding for this sector is not guaranteed because of complexity of granting procedures
ECONOMIC ISSUES	Access to resources and space (28) and cohabitation of fishing practises (26)	Gear conflicts, fishing practises cohabitation (34)	Constant concern of fishing organizations with obligation to compromise while the conflict is between their own members
	(Space,6; Quotas,16; Recreational,7)	Competition for space (19)	Excess of fishing effort is being mentioned though less clearly by fishing organizations
		Quotas availability (49)	Constant concern of fishing organizations even if less quoted in France while fishermen seem very much concerned
	Salaries	Issue of equity (23)	For the majority, primary goal of fishermen and fishing organizations is not to maintain jobs but have good salaries (for fishermen) and maintaining fishing activity for organizations.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES	State of the coastal marine resources (34)	Referred to by organizations as explaining lack of profitability (13)	Issue is being much more mentioned by fishermen (34) rather than fishing organizations (13)
	Water quality (4), recreational fishing (7)	Water quality (8), recreational fishing (10), and wider environmental policy	Less mentioned item but there seems to be a quite good correspondence with some organizations even more worried about this issue
	Individualism Lack of work force	The issue is mentioned a few times	Individualism limits the efficiency of the fishing organization's work
SOCIAL AND SOCIETAL ISSUES	Family life course (40 out of 50 fishermen do come from a fishing family)		

#### **Comment:**

Direct comparison is impossible because it was not the purpose of the interviews and it would have required much longer interviews with fishermen and to more systematically interview fishers from the interviewed organisations (which was not done). However it helps to better understand global correspondence between these 2 levels.

Generally speaking, we notice a pretty good correspondence between concerns expressed by the fishermen and those from the fishing organizations. It is however interesting to notice that the issue of fishing effort is hardly dealt by fishing organization whereas it appears as a major problem, especially in the Portuguese mainland and the Bay of Biscay. Cohabitation between fishing practises is a daily job of fishing organizations while they are obliged to find a compromise if the different practises are being undertaken by their own members. In this regard, the power relationships at sea between boats of different sizes may be partly mitigated by fishing organizations because of their focus on cohabitation and achieving a balance between fleets.

It remains very clear that part of the concern (profitability, access to quotas, other maritime uses), while being shared at both levels (individual fishers and organizations), falls outside the remit of the fishing organizations' competency.

#### 3. PARTICIPATION OF FISHERMEN IN FISHING ORGANIZATIONS

## 3.1 Fishermen's point of view

NOTA BENE: Results should be strongly qualified by the fact they are based on 50 interviews only throughout the whole area (as the methodology mainly focuses on fishing organizations while interviewing fishermen has been considered necessary in order to better understand the first step of the whole process).

## • Participation of fishermen in the fishing organizations

The vast majority of the fishermen that have been interviewed participate in their fishing organization's meetings (35 out of 50, with 3 not answering the question). It should be emphasized that methodology of interviews led to the selection of half of the fishermen actively involved within the fishing organizations (having a mandate within the organization), and the other half not being actively committed. A part (12 out of 50) clearly state they do not participate to any meeting. Among this last category are mentioned lack of time or fatigue (5 times), individualism (4 times) or feeling of inferiority (3 times).

"There is no barrier or brake, there is only a certain complacency, lack of interest that can be explained by some fatigue and because you do not have any margin of manoeuvre to influence the fisheries' management" (fisherman from Galicia, Spain) 100p7

"Well you know the brakes are that they don't give a damn and they are waiting for others to do the job" (fisherman from Brittany) 158p3

## • Fishermen's satisfaction about their fishing organization's work

The **vast majority of fishermen are satisfied** with the work delivered by their fishing organization (36 times out of 50), while some of them however consider their organization doesn't have much influence. There is a huge difference between fishermen from Spain and Portugal who are mostly satisfied (31 out of 35), and **fishermen from France who are mostly unsatisfied** (7 out of 12), even if the small number of interviews prevent any conclusions to be drawn.

"I am used to going to the meetings.(...) I think the fishing organization is helping as much as it can. The association is doing its very best. To do more it would need more authority" (fisherman from Madeira) 27p4

"But nobody gives a damn! The only ones who participate in these organizations are those who are not any more on board, or fishing captains who are managing their business from the ground" (fisherman from Brittany) 160p5

10 fishing skippers also insist on **the role of the chair of the organization or sometimes the role of employees** in leading the work, or, by contrast, their responsibility for the insufficient work being delivered. In this regard it should be noticed that an **important part of the Portuguese association(s?) only rely on active fishermen**, which strongly limits the time they may dedicate to the work of the organization (see part 6.2).

<u>Comment:</u> Relative dissatisfaction from French fishermen towards their organization could be explained by the fact French organizations have been restructured, gather a wide variety of fleets, and may be more distant from the fisherman's harbour. Therefore, greater heterogeneity of the membership and smaller influence of each individual may partly explain this feeling.

### 3.2 Fishing organizations' point of view

Almost half of the fishing organizations (53 out of 107) consider participation in the meetings is good, whereas a minority (23) consider it is weak.

Participation depends on the stake

**13 interviews** point the importance of the issue being dealt in the meeting to improve participation of fishermen. A link is also sometimes made with the direct influence the organization may have on the issue being dealt with.

"It is not easy to gather them because of the time. A man who is used to work 14, 15, 18 hours during all the night, doesn't come for nonsense" (fishing organization from Andalusia) 3p3

"Well it is clear that it is more complicated for a small-scale fisherman to participate in meetings. (...) But look at the fishermen on foot, they have the same problem. If they come to a meeting they lose a working day. But they have reached a critical mass and they are very regular now. They started from nothing.(..) It is true that for them, there are less interlocutors. There is no PO, no ministry, no Europe. There is a local governance and they have their margin of manoeuvre to adapt the regulation. In Brittany in particular, it is "carte blanche": they can propose whatever they think is relevant" (fishing association from Brittany) 144p5

<u>Comment:</u> Participation depends on the feeling the fishermen have about their capacity to change the regulation or have impact on, or alternatively the importance for their business in the context of the issue at stake.

• Participation depends on good communication with a premium for direct contacts

Importance of communication and direct exchanges is **quoted 23 times.** There still seems to be a premium for direct contact and exchanges (in the port, in the auction...). That's why it appears important to organize meetings close to the harbours.

"When the local fishing committee disappeared it was a drama for the fishermen here. (...) They were attached to it (...) Now they are fine with it being a local branch of the regional committee. (...) In the past, we used to work a lot with mailings. But more and more, we communicate through mails, text messages and even directly. You are in the port. You smoke a cigarette with the guys and you can discuss. Hard copies have become exceptional. Without this local branch, for sure there will be less contact.." (fishing association in France) 141p2

It appears that **new technology** (smartphone) allows easy communication and spread of information and the use of WhatsApp is very frequently quoted in interviews with fishing organizations from Spain

"We have closed our office in le Guilvinec but the guys were coming less and less. We still have contact persons in Quimper, Guilvinec, Lorient but I have more frequent contacts with guys from Roscoff I do not even know, than with fishermen I used to see every day when I was in the harbour. Anyhow, we will never have a geographic coverage over our whole area of competency" (fishing association in France) 147p8

**In France,** the geographical remoteness of the organizations has a negative impact on participation (138, 151, 155). There is even some fear that local organizations will disappear and only the regional ones would remain. **In Portugal and Spain** participation seems to be linked to geographical proximity with organizations.

• Participation depends on fleet homogeneity and social cohesion within the members

It is noteworthy to remark of those fishing organizations that considered **participation in the meetings to be good, 18 count on a relative homogeneous fleet**, while 6 only count on a heterogeneous fleet. Social cohesion within the membership is also frequently mentioned. However some organizations mention the pertinence of **gathering separately members using the same gear as way to enhance participation in the case of a heterogeneous fleet.** 

"There are always conflicts but they all defend each other in the meetings and they do not open conflicts. "My freedom stops where that of the other begins." (...) The struggle for our survival overcomes the conflicts that may exist" (fishing association from southern Portugal). 57p7

• Participation in local meetings marginally depends on available time

Available time for small-scale fishermen is **quoted 7 times** (out of 107 interviews) and **doesn't seem to be the main constraint to participation**, **at least at local level**.

"We are using all means to gather them: text messages, mails... also hard copies with receipt confirmation to be sure the right person did receive the invitation. We even have legal advice on this matter. I don't think the criterion about being under 12m explains any difference on this. It is more about the will to participate" (fishing association from France) 137p4

• <u>Difference between small-scale and larger scale sector</u>

The issue of differences in participation between small-scale and large-scale is **mentioned only in the Spanish Basque country and in France** (8 times). Participation seems a bit easier for larger vessels where the fishing skipper may be substituted by the second. However large vessels also spend more time at sea and **the major difference may be between ship-owners and fishing skippers running their own business** 

"I do not see a difference between small and larger scale vessels. But I do see a difference between an organized fishing company and an "artisan" who skippers his boat. (...) If you need to gather the larger-scale vessels tomorrow, they will all be at sea and it will be complicated. It is even harder to gather them. On the contrary you can always reach the fishing companies" (French fishing association) 145p8

**Being first concerned by the regulation may partly explain this difference** of participation by the larger scale vessels, but mentalities may also play a role.

"For sure regulation has impacted more the purse-seiners. (...)It is true that purse seine has more weight and therefore the others consider they are less represented. But when you need to work they do not give you the information you need to prepare the dossiers. Purse-seiners do have a culture of participating and there are less people on the small boats. So for sure it's easier to work with the purse-seiners. Among the small-scale ones, you lack a culture of understanding in order to perceive how the system works. We start to work more and more with them. They are often more marginal people, more individualistic. They are scared by control. Purse seines, by contrast, have well understood they have strength through unity" (fishing association from Spanish basque country) 129p3

This difference seems to appear while moving from the local level to the national one though this analysis can only be done for France while there is no centralized organization in Portugal, nor in Spain.

"The higher you go in the representation, the more you can feel a complex of inferiority of the small-scale fishers. Their attitude is a mixture of "I would like to go" and "anyhow, there are all dumb". They fantasize and then they realize that it is always more complicated" (French fishing association). 144p8

# 4. FISHING ORGANIZATIONS' INTERNAL GOVERNANCE: REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS AND DECISION-MAKING

# 4.1 Qualitative analysis of fleets' representation by the fishing organizations

• How representation is being done? Who is actually being represented?

For all organizations, representation **is achieved through elections** carried out every 2, 3 or 4 years. However, some noticeable exceptions have been found with organizations not having carried elections for many years.

For all organizations, it is the "one man, one vote" rule with at least each fishing skipper having one vote. This rule is privileging the small-scale fleet segment being the more numerous, even if we have noticed (see following point) that there is generally no grouping of the owners around vessels' size but rather around metiers being practised (small polyvalent, netters, long-liners, etc). For Cofradias in Spain and "Comités des pêches" in France only, the law also requires a joint representation of owners and employees.

"As cofradias we do have a problem of recognition by the European Union. The European Union recognizes more a Producer Organization than a cofradia. But we are representing an economic and social sector. Owners and employees jointly constitute our managing bodies. As for myself, I am from the social sector. I am a crewmember on a boat and I do chair the executive committee of the federation. A producer organization, it represents the economic sector pure and simple.

(..)

I can take the example of the Bluefin tuna that is a complicated issue in the South Western Waters Advisory Council. The small-scale fleet is against Individual Transferable Quotas, but the small-scale fleet from one Spanish region has sold its quota to the major employers' organization ("la gran patronal"). The owners only have decided to do this whereas the resource is belonging to everybody. We do want the social part and the generational renewal. But if you sell quotas to the major employers' organization it is over. This is why we say that the social sector shall participate to the issues around the management of the resource because the resource does belong to everyone" (fishing association from Galicia) 113 p4-6

### Representing the different fishing practises or metiers

Whereas a minority of the fishing organizations (34, see 4.2) represent mostly small-scale fleet, the majority of the fishing organizations (62) do represent heterogeneous fleet with various "metiers" (netters, hook and line, trawlers, purse-seiners, long-liners,...). It is very clear from interviews that organizations always mind to represent the various fleet segments and metiers within their own organizations through committees, or dedicated meetings.

"Yes we can have different points of view and different interests. We represent various segments and they used to have distinct opinions mainly due to the different activities they have. The foot harvesters used to have the same point of view but the ones who fish octopuses with traps it is more complicated for them to agree mainly because of the difference of sizes of the boats.(..) We use sectoral meetings but if there is no agreement we go to the vote " (fishing association from Galicia) 95p5

This situation obliges the organization to find compromises and to **prevent open conflicts between fishing practises** (see 4.3).

It is also crucial to notice that **this care of fleet segments' representation generally does not fit with the definition of under 12m boats**, but rather **focuses on gears being used and fishing practises** (actually corresponding quite closely to the definition of "metiers" being used in the EU Data Collection Framework).

"We intend to get a good geographic representation of our members and also to have all the metiers represented: purse seiners, netters, trawlers,... It is more the way we care about the fleet representation. Then we have to balance between shipowners and employees. For us being under or above 12m does not matter" (fishing association from France) 145p6

#### • Role of the representative

In many interviews the **role of the representative** (director, president, "patron mayor") is being thrown into relief. In some other interviews the role of the secretary or employee of the organization may be stressed. **In relation to external work**, the **experience and personal relationships** of the representative are also being noticed as positive factors for the **influence** of the fishing organization (this point will be further developed in 7.4 dealing with influence). **In relation to internal work**, this role is all the more important as members are actually competing for resources and spaces and regularly in conflicts.

"I have to go to Lisbon to defend them and they want to talk with the secretary of state. They say all that they have in their mind and they say bad things of my other associates. Or because the ones from polyvalent fishing put their gears in the sea and do not let the beam trawlers work. For example, purse seine and polyvalent: polyvalent complain that the purse-seiners enter in their area and cut their buoys. In other words, I don't know if you get it, I am representing the 4 activities, the 4 different fishing practises. And I do represent them all. I have the feeling of being "in-between" I go one way or the other. It is an intricate management" (fishing representative from Northern Portugal) 53p5

It is quite noteworthy to report that there is a **professionalization of fishing organizations**, **basically from the South to the North to the South** of the area, with some noticeable exceptions (some organizations from Andalusia, Centre and North of Portugal, Cantabria or Spanish Basque Country) relying on experienced employees. It may even turn out in **some big organizations as the director (and not the chair) being actually assuming the leadership of the organization.** 

"Most of the "patrones mayores" don't know anything. There are many declarations in the media but the journalists do not know anything or they have remained just like 20 years ago" (fishing association from Cantabria) 121p16

"We notice as well an evolution in the representation of the sector towards technical persons: lawyers, scientists,... It is true the issues are becoming more and more technical and therefore organizations need to hire legal advisers, scientists. In the different fisheries committees in France, you have about 30 scientists. But I think what is needed is pair working together, a technical person and a fisher. The fisher does have the field experience but he doesn't have the capacity to understand texts. We need both." (fishing association from France) 148

## • Representing the geographic spread of the members and the case of umbrella organization

For the few organizations with members spread over a rather vast area (most generally the bigger organisations), and for the umbrella organizations (federation, regional committees...) **systematic care is taken to represent the geographic spread of the members**. The geographic scope of the **organization may lead to some loss of the information popping up from the field** and the reality of the fishing activity.

"But we are not in these meetings. When it is being discussed about our port, we should be there ourselves, not because the federation is better or worse, but because someone from the sector should be there. Ideally, we should go to the meeting with the administration but if the federation goes with the official representatives, those from the field do not go." (fishing association, Spain) 3p8

"It is true that it is sometimes difficult for small-scale fishermen to come and participate in the meetings because they lose one or two fishing days. On Seabass, they are well represented but for other committees – such as environment – it is more complicated. I however think that small-scale fishermen do take the time to participate in the meetings in committees at local or regional level. Is there any loss of information up to the national level? Most probably. But the small-scale fishermen have done everything to be marginalized. The representation is ensured through unions and many of them do not want to be affiliated but it is the rule of the game: they have to understand it" (fishing association, France) 148

### 4.2 Quantitative analysis of the fleets' representation within fishing organizations' boards

From figures collected throughout the field trips regarding membership of the fishing organizations, we know that for **34 organizations the small-scale fishing segment (<12m boats) represent more than 90% of the members**. These organizations are present from **Galicia southwards** including archipelagos (Galicia, Portugal mainland, Andalusia, archipelagos).

**For 38** fishing organizations the small-scale fishing segment represents from **60 to 89% of the members**. These organizations are present throughout the entire area. For **24 organizations** the small-scale fishing segment represents **less than 60%** of the members (with 17 where it represents even less than 40%).

Throughout the field interviews, data were also collected about composition of the management body. It was asked how many under 12m boats were members of the organizations on one side, and how many members of this segment were board members. Extensive analysis of these results have been conducted by A. Menotti and A. Gouzien (see <u>Analyse graphique des données en vue de l'élaboration d'une typologie de la petite pêche</u>).

## • Correlation between total members in the organization and the number of board members

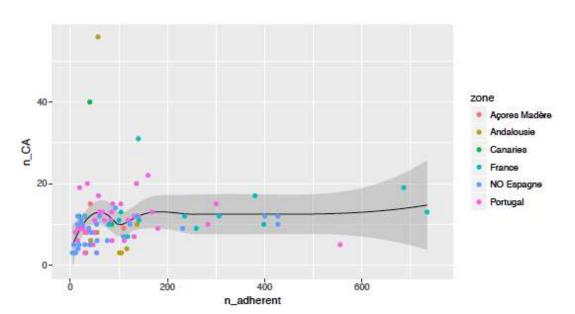


Figure 2. Number of members within the organization (x-axis) and number of board members within the organization (v-axis)

It can be deduced from figure 2 that number of board members increases with the total number of members within the organization up to a point, but is stable thereafter, whether the organization count 70 or 400 hoats.

## • Are small-scale boats fairly represented within the fishing organizations?

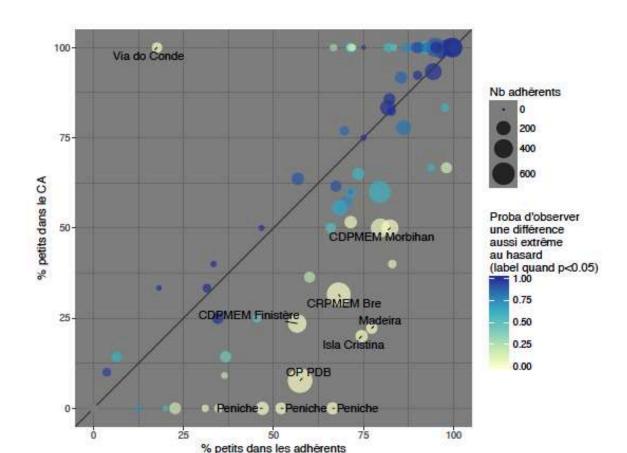


Figure 3. Weight of the small-scale fleet in numbers within the members of the organization (x-axis), and percentage of board members from the small-scale fleet within the organizations (y-axis) interviewed. Line 1:1 provides a fair representation (from a numerical point of view) of the small-scale segment within the management board. Size of the circles is proportional to the number of members within the organization.

From the figure 3 above, when the management board is does **not represent adequately** the members of the organizations (points that are remote from the line 1:1), it is **often due to an under-representation of the small-scale boats**. The points, for which difference is statistically significant, have been named.

In the other cases, representation of the small-scale fleet seems adequate, yet the tests' capacity to detect differences depends on the number of boats. For organisations with few members, it is therefore hard to conclude anything. In organisations with many members but a small management board, the test will hardly detect an unbalanced representation.

## • Representation of the small-scale fleet at regional level

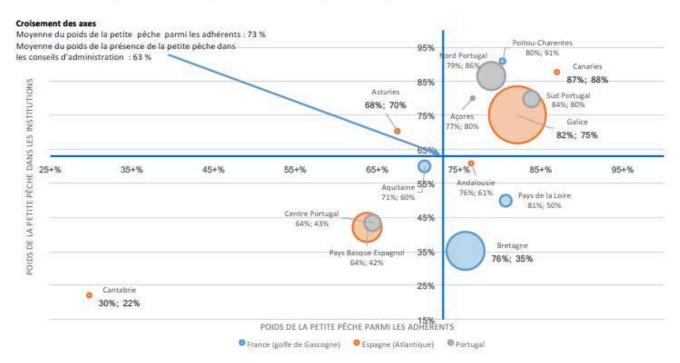


Figure 4. Weight of the small-scale fishing fleet within the members of the organizations (x-axis, average for all the organizations of the region) Vs weight of the small-scale fishing fleet within the management boards of the organizations (y-axis, average of the percentage of the small-scale fleet within the management board of the different organizations of the region).

Reading: in Cantabria (left bottom corner), in organizations with membership of small-scale vessels, 30% of the members come from this segment, and this segment represents 22% of the seats within these organizations.

Circles' surface is proportional to the power of the fleet in kW (source : CFR)

Figure 4 divides the representation of the small-scale fishing segment by fishing organizations into 4 categories:

- left hand top corner: within the members of the fishing organizations, the small-scale segment is under the average of its presence in the fishing organizations at SWWAC area, and is above the average in the managements boards (Asturias only);
- right hand top corner: within the members of the organizations, the small-scale segment is above the average of its presence in the fishing organizations at SWWAC area, and is above the average in the management boards (North and South Portugal, Açores, Canarias, Poitou-Charentes and Galicia);
- right hand bottom corner: within the members of the organizations, the small-scale segment is above the average of its presence in the fishing organizations at SWWAC area, and is under the average in the management boards (Andalousia, Pays de la Loire, Bretagne);
- left hand bottom corner: within the members of the organizations, the small-scale segment is under the average of its presence in the fishing organizations at SWWAC area, and is under the average in the management boards (Centre Portugal, Spanish Basque Country and Cantabria).

### • Shifting criterion by considering economic criteria (example of French Producers' organizations)

Representation has been analysed through a numerical point of view, considering number of boats. 2015 figures on landings from the small-scale fishing segment have been collected for the French POs in the Bay of Biscay (personal communications). Weight of the small-scale fleet within the management board of these organizations has then been represented considering their contribution to landings (in tons and value, figure 5).

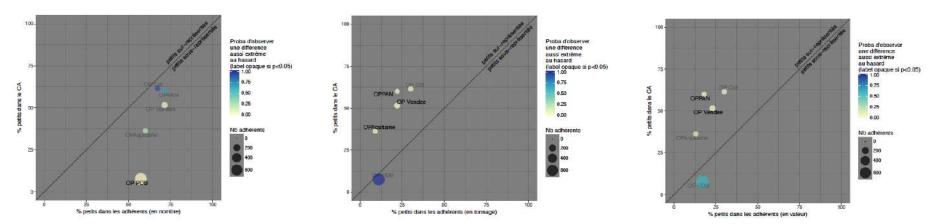


Figure 5. Representation of the small-scale fishing segment within the management board of French producers' organizations. Left graph: considering number of boats. Middle graph: considering percentage of landings by the small-scale fleet (in tons). Right graph: considering percentage of landings of the small-scale fleet (in value).

From figure 5 above, it is very clear that although **small boats are under-represented in numbers within these organizations, they are actually rather over-represented, sometimes significantly, considering landings**. This criterion is of economic nature whilst the first one is more of a social nature.

<u>Comment:</u> Therefore, considering each vessel has one vote within the organization, it can be said that this numerical criterion for representation is to the advantage of the small-scale fishing sector, while a criterion about economic weight – which is implicitly being used by some POs - such as landings would prejudice the small-scale sector).

"To balance representativeness within the management board we are often proposing advisors (note: participating in the management board but without right to vote), often young fishers. We follow the geographic balances, the different "métiers" and above all the economic weight: we cannot avoid it" (French PO) 147p6

#### 4.3 Functioning

**Functioning rules are rather homogeneous** throughout the area (with some exceptions where there are no committees). Board members are elected, committees are set up.

• *Voting through qualified majority* 

**Voting is very frequent within the organizations (38 references).** The general practise is first to gather members that are **concerned by the issue (so usually grouping members from the same fishing practise, or "metier")**, and then submit the agreement or proposal to the board. It must be noticed that voting is mandatory for the cofradias in Spain.

"We listen to everyone, one by one, so each of our cooperative members is heard, and we try to reach an agreement, a majority, which is crucial to be able to give our advice to the administration" (fishing association from Centre Portugal) 40p7

**Generally** voting is done through a **show of hands** but some organizations prefer to organize **secret ballots but this is a minority** practise.

"We have secret ballots within the general assembly. I don't like to vote through show of hands. I consider that when the issue stinks... from the moment there is one guy asking for secret ballot, there should be a secret ballot. It is the rule. I think it is even the administrative rule" (French fishing association) 139p3

#### • <u>Culture of compromise</u>

Culture of compromise is very strong within fishing organizations with **23** responding that they always first look for consensus before eventually moving to a vote.

"There are various ways: members speak with each other and then they tell us, or sometimes, it is in the meeting they start to debate and then a solution comes out or not. They negotiate between them a solution, trying to make accepted the point of view of the one who presents it. It very much depends on the good will of each one to reach consensus or. Sometimes it is hard to reach an agreement especially in the fishing community...it is a little complicated. When we do not succeed in reaching an agreement we use the vote so that the majority decides" (fishing association from North Portugal). 45p7

Consensus is almost the **only way of deciding for 15 fishing organizations**. In organizations representing small-scale fishermen only, it appears there are few conflicts because boats use the same techniques. Effort is therefore more important in organizations representing various fleet segments.

"For sure there are conflicts, but nothing goes out of here. This cofradia tries to defend these 4 fishing modalities but there is no position statement that goes out of here in favour of one or the other. One artisanal from here doesn't send any letter out of here against a purse-seiner, or the other way round. Here we take a lot of care of each other" (fishing association from Andalusia) 5p16

<u>Comment:</u> the quest for consensus has most probably to be seen as an effort from the fishing organization to allow cohabitation of all their members when the sea is a shared space. So the basic principle around this is that each member should be able to make a living out of his activity. It is worth noting that this effort goes in the opposite direction of the fishing vessels, which often try to maximize their catches (even if we can notice other behaviours). It is also noteworthy to consider that such practice contributes to maintaining a status quo situation with no space for radical changes within the organization.

### • Role of board members and employees

The role of board members is often crucial in ensuring representation of the fleet, because meetings of committees are not always possible.

"We used to decide within the board. We organize meetings, but not a lot. We organize less meetings that we should. But if there is anything occurring we organize one. The directors are all workers, some are working here, some others in Viana, and there. It is sometimes complicated to gather these persons" (fishing association from North Portugal) 48p8

"To prepare our work we usually contact some key fishers and then we organize meetings" (French fishing association) 145p9

**The role of the employees** is also often key with some people having experience, personal relationships and recognition. The fact they are not daily dependant on fishing and have more time for wider consideration may also help the organization to be more strategic.

"Here we have 3 to 4 persons who think and who do not have boats. They are thinking about the right path. Are we financially self-sufficient? How will we exist tomorrow? We have 2 economists and 3 accountants, office people and I launch the discussions. I consider they think differently in comparison to a ship-owner. How will we solve our problems? The fishers, they have to fish, navigate well, and look after their log-book,..."52p7

#### Modern communication and direct contacts with members

As noticed previously (3.2), organizations are communicating through different means: phone, mails, whatsapp, ... But direct contacts are still very important and the representative have to know what is the daily job of a fisherman.

"When we have to gather the board members we use different tools, either we invite them by post, emails but also a person is going to each home, one by one, and we have then a car with a loud speaker, that goes on the dock with a megaphone. We are a small town, we have 22.000 habitants and week using the car. This is the way when there is a demonstration, any entity in the town may use it. But the normal way, look, yesterday we had a meeting on striped venus (shellfish) with the purchase manager of the auction, he invites and I invite using Whatsapp" (fishing association from Andalusia) 6p5

### 4.4 To defend its interests, should the small-scale fishing sector be represented distinctly?

Having in mind the debate at European level around this issue, a specific question was asked to interviewees, both fishing organizations and fishermen. It has been asked to fishermen whether they have ever thought about building a new association. It has been asked to fishing organizations whether small-scale fishing fleet segment would be more influential if represented alone.

# • Opinions from fishermen

NOTA BENE: it should still be noticed that number of interviews (50) do not allow any definitive conclusions about fishermen opinions throughout the area. But broad figures and arguments are interesting to take into account.

**Most fishermen (23)** are **in favour of creating distinct organizations** representing the small-scale fishing sector. The general feeling is that when various fleet segments are represented within the same organization, the larger scale segment almost always has more influence than the small-scale one which does not succeed to bring its requests forward. It should be noted however that in France, 8 fishermen out of 12 are against such new organizations.

"Because the association represents small-scale and large-scale fishing, nothing is done (...). If we build an association for small-scale only it would be better. We would deal with our stuff. We would go to Lisbon to see what's good and what is not good (...) If I start talking now with the association about a law impacting coastal areas, I will hear them answering me: "Oh Francisco, how could I pit them against each other (fisherman from Portugal) 67

**17 fishermen did not answer this question**, and in particular those 9 fishermen interviewed in the archipelagos where organizations only represent small-scale vessels, which means these organizations are actually representing small-scale fleet's interests only.

**10 fishermen answered that they do not want distinct organizations** to be created, especially French fishermen (8 out of 12 interviewed). The main reason is that the system of representation will explode and it will divide the fishing sector.

"I believe it would only fracture the system even more. And as for ourselves, we are feeling almost closer to the trawlers than to the large netters. But yes, we would need another voice to be heard but it will not be possible. They have all their time to work from their offices. Or we would need a very smart guy" (French fisherman) 159p6

Out of all the fishermen, whether for or against distinct organizations, 5 insisted on **the importance of unity**. It is interesting to note that one fisherman did try to create a distinct organization but gave up because of the highly divided nature of the small-scale fishing sector.

"It would be better if we can be represented on our own but look what is happening here, each one works for him only. What is needed is more unity and that we have someone to help us, someone who understands us and who can organize us" (fisherman from Andalusia) 12p5

Different ideas have been proposed: someone dedicated to the issue at EU level, representing the fleet by vessel categories/ metiers, having dedicated persons within the fishing organizations for fishing within the 12nm.

<u>Comment:</u> Opinions appear divided, mainly due to different views on the importance for organizations' influence and the dependence of this on broadly representing interests across the fishing sector. But there do seem to many who feel that the small scale fleet does require specific attention when it comes to representation. However, interviews were only conducted with small-scale fishermen and it seems logical they ask for increased attention, as it goes in their favour.

It is also surprising to notice that while fishermen from Spain and Portugal are mostly satisfied with their own organization (see 3.1), they are in favour of having distinct representation. By contrast, French fishermen are mostly unsatisfied with theirs', are against building new organizations for small scale fishers.

#### • Opinions from fishing organizations

A lot of fishing organizations did not answer this question (42) (on the issue of separate organizations) because they mainly represent one fishing fleet segment and it was considered irrelevant to ask this question (it is **especially the case for fishing organizations in Galicia**). It does not always correspond to the division between under or above 12m but rather to the notion of fishing practices. Some few organizations also exclusively represent larger scale vessels.

The majority of the remaining associations (37) consider that the small-scale segment would not be more influential if represented alone. On the contrary, they would lose influence. It is often considered that such organizations actually respond to to the diversity of the fishing activity.

"I think that even if the representation of a single fishing practice would focus only the needs of its members, it is only in (larger) associations where different fisheries live together, that they can see they are not the only ones in the sea, and that decisions shall be taken so that everyone continue to work in fishing for a long time" (fishing association, Spain) 84

**In France, fishing organizations are almost unanimous** (13 out of 14) in arguing for a **joint representation of the different fleet segments,** which would be much more profitable for the small-scale segment. The principle of fishing fleet unity is very strong.

"We always said that we didn't want stigmatisation" 141

"Small-scale fleet is far from being homogeneous, and isolating it would lead to them making war between themselves" 137

"There are no specific segments. We do the same job: fisherman. Coastal fishing contributes to local life and has an economic weight. Here, in Capbreton, if you take away fishing, there is nothing more: it is dead. I will struggle the same way on a vessel above 24m as on a small boat fishing for elvers" 134

"Small scale fishing is not being heard. It should be represented through the fishing committees. The national shipowners association, which often goes its own way, understands this perfectly as it is also their interest to be represented on the national committee." 148

An important part of the organizations (18) however consider the small-scale fishing fleet segment should be represented separately. The vast majority are associations from the Portuguese mainland. It must be noticed that such organizations only gather this fleet segment.

"Small-scale fishing is a specific situation and would be better represented alone. The problems are different, the quality of the fish, the quantities, and the work is different, and necessities are different" (fishing association from

#### Portugal) 45p11

"I think it (representation) should be divided in segments. Each association should only represent one segment. Representation would be more specialized in this matter and it would be easier to organize the sector in this activity" (fishing association from Portugal) 62p8

It is noteworthy to mention that **some organizations representing larger vessels (3) also support** that fishing organizations should represent one fleet segment only.

"The representatives are not very comfortable about defending fisheries or gears that encroach on the activities of others in the same association. There should be specialized organizations, each one with its own speciality" (fishing association, Portugal) 51p11

It clearly appears that **only organizations dedicated to representing small-scale argue for a distinct representation whereas organizations representing the diversity of the fleet are against making this separation arguing that the small-scale sector is also benefiting from having a larger organization.** 

"In my association we have this horizontal representation. I think that the size of the organizations is important. The smaller you are, the less resources you have and you have access to less information and, then, you have less capacity to be influential. Well now, if there was an organization for small-scale... we have to define what is small-scale (...) if it's about under 12m boats and that do not spend more than one day at sea, if there was an organization at national level which would succeed in encompassing this all, it would provide more weight for this segment" (fishing association, Portugal) 41p11

It has also been noticed **that a few organizations (5) are born from divisions** within pre-existing organizations because the interests of part of the members were not well taken into account.

"It is supposed that cofradias do represent everyone (..) but this is one of the sad reasons why some side organizations exist. If we were really represented fairly and genuinely in the cofradias, then we would not build new associations. Why pay an additional fee? It would be silly (...) but sadly in the different cofradias there is always favouritism, towards those who make more noise in meetings, who speak louder.. And it is true there are also economic and political aspects and it is hard to present it publicly because there is no proof (...) you can think it has no justification but it actually occurs" (fishing association, Spain) 4p17

This last situation is however **upsetting for the official organizations that legally based.** 

"The fishing organization's efficiency benefits everyone. Cofradias have loosened power. Yet they are within the small number of organizations that include both owners and employees. We have to put this into context. I do not speak about other organizations such as ... that the members of the European parliament will also meet. They should not do so because if they want to see the entire fishing sector, they should meet us. We represent everyone" (fishing association, Spain) 88p6

<u>Comment:</u> No definitive conclusion could be drawn on this issue. It seems possible – if the organization is paying enough attention to its small-scale segment – to adequately represent small-scale interests while representing larger-scale vessels' interests at the same time. However, it could also be questioned whether fishing organizations that are looking for consensus and compromises may actually be capable of taking adequate and strong decisions (if needed) for one particular fleet segment against another (not being necessary small against large, but may be one metier against another).

# 5. FISHING ORGANIZATIONS' SOCIAL NETWORK (SOCIAL CAPITAL)

### 5.1 Relationships with administrations (local, national, European)

Local administrations

Relationships with local administrations are permanent for all fishing organizations, yet less relevant for umbrella organizations.

"All politicians who have passed through Albufeira have helped us a lot. For example, we will have the fishermen's party, next Sunday, where we will have a huge lunch and all politicians of Albufeira will be attending. With local administrations – IPTM, Docapesca, etc. – we always have had excellent relationships, each time we asking for a meeting we are heard and people are available" (fishing association from South Portugal) 54p12

In some cases, it appears that political aspects may worsen relationships but it is very clear that all fishing organizations are recognized at local level.

• Regional administrations

For Portugal, though not clearly established in terms of legal jurisdictions and areas, 5 "regioes" may be distinguished for mainland: Norte, Centro, Lisboa, Alentejo, Algarve. Madera and Azores correspond to 2 outermost territories with increased legal jurisdictions. Regional level corresponds to "autonomias" in Spain (Canarias, Andalusia, Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, Basque Country) and "regions" in France (Aquitaine and Poitou-Charentes which have merged in 2017 to become Nouvelle Aquitaine, Pays de la Loire, Bretagne).

Regarding legal jurisdictions, huge differences exist between the 3 countries.

**Portugese regions on the mainland** do have **restricted legal jurisdictions** not yet clarified by the law, and without any specific authority on fisheries' issues, except an administrative role on processing licences' requests. Exception is however made for Madera and Azores, with autonomous governments, an exclusive area of 100 nm and delegated competence in terms of control and managing EU funds regionally.

**Spanish regions on the contrary,** do have increased legal competences. **Regarding fisheries' issues, they have competency within the internal** waters, quota management for some "metiers" (mainly "artes menores"), data collection for under 10m boats, and managing regionally EU funds.

**French regions,** recently reshaped, do have intermediate competences. Regarding fisheries issues, they do **not have however responsibility in fisheries management,** but through a general competency in economic development, they have gained for the new programming period a delegated competency for **some EMFF measures.** 

This consideration explains that whereas the **vast majority of fishing organizations do have regular contacts with their respective regional administration (73 references)**, **only 3 Portuguese associations from mainland Portugal** make note of this relationship whereas the majority (24 out of 35) mention direct contacts with the national administrations. In Spain and France however, local fishing organizations are used to let the regional federation deal with the regional administration's services.

"We have the direct line with the general directorate for fisheries of the regional government. But we try to deal with these issues through the federation from Asturias, of which all Cofradias from Asturias (excepting Lastres) are Members" (fishing association, Spain) 115p6

#### National administrations

**The vast majority of fishing organizations (67)** do have relationships with their respective national administration, however covering **various realities** from contacts for administrative purposes up to almost daily contacts and closely contributing to fisheries' management regulation. We will see that while considering influence (7.3), much fewer organisations (22) pretend to have influence at national level.

Onn the Portuguese mainland most fishing organization do have relationships with their national administration (31 out of 36), even very local ones. In France, all the fishing organizations interviewed do have relationships with their national administration. For Spain, about half of the organizations that has been interviewed (17 out of 38) do have relationships with national administrations: it mainly concerns the federation, the few associations representing one particular fishing practise, and associations mainly or exclusively representing larger-scale vessels.

"Yes we have very regular contacts with the national administration, informally as well, but how to measure this ?... "(French fishing association) 147p11

<u>Comment:</u> On the Portuguese mainland, the absence of legal competencies for regions is probably the cause of many more local organizations having direct contacts with the national administration, which has been described in many interviews to be overloaded and processing too slowly requests from the fishing sector. Four Portuguese outermost regions on the contrary, the interlocutor is the regional government rather than the national administration.

**39 organizations interviewed do not refer to relationship**s with their national administration: this relates to a few organizations only that have contacts with local authorities (4), and a certain amount (34) having contacts only with local and regional authorities. It concerns the majority of

**associations from the archipelagos** (10 out of 12 interviewed) and a wide part of organizations interviewed in **North Western Spain** (20 out of 38), mainly cofradias usually explaining they **leave this responsibility to the federations.** 

"We don't have relationship with the national level because we depend on the regional level. So relationships are through our "provincial" and regional federations. Relationships are very good with the "provincial", less with the regional" (fishing association, Spain). 105p7

### • European administrations

Relationships with European institutions are limited throughout the different organizations being interviewed, as only 7 inform they have direct contacts and 32 that they have indirect contacts.

Among the organizations having **direct contacts with the European institutions**, it is important to note that 3 of them represents the large-scale fleet's interests only (note: they have been interviewed in order to contrast information being collected through interviews), 3 represent various fleet segments, and **only one (Producers' Organization of Galicia, OPAGA) mostly represents the small-scale fishing** fleet (82% under 12m boats in the membership). However this last organization is quite recent and not yet operational.

"Our relationships with the European Union are rather variable but generally polite. I am thinking both of the European Commission and the European Parliament. At European Parliament level – with the EU reform and entry into force of the Lisbon treaty – we have organized ourselves to be very well represented" (French fishing association) 148p6

For the 32 organizations having **indirect contacts** with the EU institutions, they mention relationships even through their **participation to the SWWAC (22 times)**, through their **umbrella organizations (7 times)** – that have direct contacts with EU either through the SWWAC or directly - or through **members of the European Parliament** they know (3 times).

**For the Portuguese mainland**, there are 5 Producers' Organizations representing **purse-seine interests** that have contacts both through an umbrella organization (ANOPCERCO), and for some of them through the SWWAC. Another big organizations has indirect contacts through the SWWAC, representing both the small and large-scale fleet's interests. Only one local organization, representing almost exclusively the small-scale fleet segment is member of the SWWAC.

**For outermost regions**, it is remarkable to note that **6 organizations** from Azores are regularly participating to **SWWAC** and only one from Madera whereas these organizations do not have relationships with their own national administration. Only one organization from Canarias among those interviewed is participation to the SWWAC.

**For Spain and France,** there are 18 fishing organizations: **mainly federations and POs (11),** some local organizations (5) and organizations representing a specific fishing practise (2) that have indirect contacts **through participation in the SWWAC.** 

"We should get closer to Madrid so that they defend us in Brussels. And today the members of the European Parliament also tell us to be more connected to Brussels. And today we have the SWWAC: it is our strategy. We could go to Brussels but this is complicated, it is costly and we have a very small family-sized economy: we can't bear elevated costs" (fishing association, Spain) 113p3

Contacts with international institutions (RFMOs) have been mentioned in only 3 interviews.

<u>Comment:</u> Direct contacts with the EU institutions are very rare throughout the organizations that have been interviewed, and such organizations – except one – do not represent small-scale fishing fleet only. It is noteworthy to remark that while Portuguese mainland small-scale fishing associations do not have contact with the European level (only POs representing purse-seine do), indirect contacts have become possible for the Spanish and French sector through participation of the federation in the SWWAC. The case of fishing organizations from Azores is also specific with increase participation to the SWWAC.

### 5.2 Participation in the SWW AC

**29 organizations** are participating to SWWAC out of the 107 that have been interviewed throughout the area. Participation in the SWWAC was not noted as a specific question within the interview guide, but it was mentioned while asking about contacts with EU or with other fishing organizations or to argue about the scale of influence of the organization.

These organizations are spread as follows: 1 in the Canary Islands, 6 Azores and Madera, 4 on the Portuguese mainland, 11 in North Western Spain, 7 in France. Participation in the SWWAC is mainly motivated by 2 reasons: on one side **contributing to the preparation of management proposals by the European Commission for about 14 fishing organizations, getting information, contacts and networking for about 15 fishing organizations**. This split is made from answers to interviews and personal experience.

"I consider that all the work that has been carried out to improve the management of the anchovy has been good. A management plan has been made that was proposed to the European Parliament and even if it was not approved because of bureaucratic issues, both fishing sectors from France and Spain have implemented it" (fishing association, Spain) 123p10

"Last week we had a meeting of the SWWAC. I consider it is crucial we unify our efforts. There was no agreement there but we spoke frankly. And when we are back in Spain, we understand things better. Today all federations are members of the SWWAC. It is the first thing I wished: become member of the SWWAC to get access to European information" (fishing association, Spain) 88p7

However, participation should be characterized and will be further explored in deliverable 3 of the project. According to the current executive secretary from the SWWAC (pers.com.), it could be estimated that about 5% of the AC's members are active or very active (participating fully, contributing to advice, making suggestions, ...), about 40 % are participating but rather to get information and react on some specific points, 40 to 50% are participating without any contribution to the AC work.

An interesting remark was made **on the limitations of the SWWAC's functioning**, because of the rule on reaching consensus as a requirement to deliver advice.

"There was a time when DG MARE (DG14 in that time), used to function in the following way: when there was a problem in a certain fishery, it created a round table and called the main representatives from this fishery from the different countries to participate in a meeting in Brussels. This practise, with the advisory councils, has stopped. The truth is that these councils are very good at facilitating a dialog between countries and regions, but then, the advice the provide is very weak because the whole policy of the advisory councils is based on consensus, on consensual advices, and such consensual advice take an eternity and is not reached. If it's difficult to reach consensus within a small-scale fishing association, then now imagine this with the small-scale fishing, medium-scale, large-scale, eNGOs, etc... This is a very difficult thing. And that's it." (fishing association, Portugal) 41p8

#### Only few remarks were made about the specific place of the small-scale fishing fleet segment in the SWWAC.

"For sure, there is less representation from this segment at global level. There is not enough weight to influence change. At the SWWAC level, talks do not reach a conclusion. There is no discussion in the SWWAC on the "artes menores". I have tried to increase number of sea for the small-scale sector within the advisory council. First they told me that at least 50% of the members have to ask for it. And then the discussion was postponed. And I didn't want to oppose other Spanish colleagues. The French answered that it would affect the balance. Today the executive committee of the SWWAC is the same as it was 7 years ago. It's not democratic. There is no renewal." (fishing association, Spain) 116p7

"We are part of the working group on traditional fisheries of the SWWAC but we participate in few meetings. We are thinking about withdrawing because we think that the questions... the feeling I have is that when I go to meetings, everything is under control. Or that we do not have all the same weight, the different voices are not all heard the same way because after that, it is the executive committee, which finally takes the decision. Even in the traditional working group, there are 5 representatives from the trawling sector. It seems that the decisions that are taken within this group, do not benefit from a lot of attention when they come into conflicts with the interests of other groups that deal with other fishing practises." (fishing association, Portugal) 48p11

<u>Comment:</u> The issue of the specific place of the small-scale fishing fleet within the SWWAC will be further explored in Deliverable 3. However it is not easy to characterized as the majority of the fishing organizations, as highlighted above, do represent various fleet segments and therefore do not consider that there is a need to make a specific exception for small-scale.

### 5.3 Relationships with scientists

For about **one third (36 out of 107)** of the organizations that have been interviewed it appears that they have **no relationship with scientists**. 19 are from North Western Spain (out of 38), 6 from Portuguese mainland (out of 36), 3 from Andalusia (out of 8), 6 from Azores (out 6), 1 from Canarias 1 from France.

13 organizations mention either **beginning or decreasing relationships** with the scientific community.

"Well actually, we are collaborating less and less with IFREMER. We have the feeling that IFREMER is slowly disengaging from the concerns of the fishing sector." (French fishing association) 134

10 organizations are criticizing the scientific work, either their work about stock assessment, or because they consider they are not neutral because they are looking for subsidies to pursue their work.

"The fishing sector is in a critical situation. Look at the situation for sardine. In my opinion, it is the biologists' fault: they have no justification for the situation of sardine. The only solution they have is to cut the quota." (fishing association from Centre Portugal) 35p7

About a **half of the fishing organizations (47)** do have **regular or very regular relationships** with the scientific community, participating directly in projects for 18 organizations (2 from Andalusia, 7 from Portuguese mainland, 4 from North Western Spain, and 5 from France). Among the latter category, it appears very clearly that it only concerns the **bigger organizations** 

"We are working with technical assistance. We have technicians in a lot of cofradias. For shellfish we are organizing working groups (...) Technical assistance is available for each area and then we elaborate a plan that we submit to the board of the organization to benefit from the support of all. The proposal almost always goes ahead." (fishing association, Spain) 113p2

"Yes, we do have numerous relationships with AZTI, numerous projects. All the year long there are professional committees. We invite fishing captains (purse-seiners and others) so that they can express their needs." (fishing association, Spain) 129p4

#### 5.4 Relationships with NGOs

The vast majority of fishing organizations that have been interviewed (80 out of 106) do not have relationships with NGOs. 4 of them do criticize their role but the rest do not comment at all this issue. However it is interesting to report that among those criticizing, remarks have been made on the direct role of NGOs in the launch of the current study.

**8 organizations do mention occasional relationships with NGOs, whereas 17 mention regular contacts**: 1 from France (but only with local NGOs), 8 from North Western Spain (6 representing mostly small-scale and 2 representing large-scale), 6 from Portugal mainland (4 representing purse-seine interests), 1 from Andalusia and 1 from Canarias.

"There is a very good relationship with the scientific community, IEO, CICEM and good relationships with NGOs such as WWF, SOLDECOCOS. (...) With this network we are working and I hope we can agree on many matters, if we are capable of sitting together and keep working. Our objective today is to work for a major presence of artisanal fishing in the decisions and especially in Europe because these are the ones from which everything flows. And we are dealing with (¿¿???)issues as important as the management of octopus in the Bay of Cadix." (fishing association, Spain) 2p9

"We are used to ask our questions to IPMA. It belongs to AnopCerco, where there is a partnership with PongPesca. The issue of PongPesca participating was discussed because they said the fishermen were responsible for the lack of sardine. I disagree with this language and I consider it is a radical argument lacking other considerations. So we wanted PongPesca but in a constructive spirit and not through critics on the reasons of the lack of sardine. So this partnership has to respect the environment but also the economic defence of the fishing sector." (Fishing association, Portugal) 38p14

<u>Comment:</u> It must be noticed that relationships between French fishing organizations and NGOs are almost inexistent, whereas they exist with some organizations in Spain and Portugal with few but constructive projects. Part of the explanation may be some continuity in the work carried on by Portuguese and Spanish NGOs which is clearly not the case in France.

### 5.5 Relationships with other fishing organizations (regionally, nationally or at European scale)

**26 organizations** reveal they have almost **no relationship** with the rest of the fishing sector: 3 from Andalousia, 3 from Canarias, 2 from Azores, 5 form Portugal, 13 from North Western Spain, zero from France.

"We have no relations with other fishing regions. It is mainly due to the fact that we do not share borders with other regions." (fishing association, Spain) 112p7

**21 organizations** do have relationships with other fishing organizations but **limited to the regional scale**.

**44 organizations** do have relationships with **organizations in the whole country** and even with some organizations from another country from those lying in transboundary areas: 3 from Andalusia, 7 from the outermost regions, 16 from Portugal mainland (including 9 through the issue of sardine management), 9 from North Western Spain and 9 from France. Participation to **SWWAC** is often mentioned as a medium that has allowed closer connexions between organizations.

"There is an open and frank dialog. Each one defends its own region (..) there is a typology and differences (...) but for purse-seine we are all going to the same species, boats are looking for the fish and navigating many miles, the problems are the same and we end up by understanding each other easily." (fishing association, Portugal) 51p8

"Yes I do have relationships with other regions, it depends on the fisheries. For example on purse-seine with Galicia. (...) On artisanal fishing I have few relations, we may answer to one specific consultation, about a fishing gear or a boat.(...) But because the fishing practises and activities are so specific, what affects us here with the andalusian regulation, i tis quite rare you need to know something, for example, about how the octopus is being managed in Galicia. Because it almost doesn't have any relation." (fishing association, Spain) 5p9

**13 organizations** are mentioning almost regular relationships with other fishing organizations in other countries. This could be either through the ACs with rather close collaboration with other organizations or though other ways. 2 are from Andalusia, 1 from Portugal, 7 from North Western Spain, and 3 from France. **Among these 3 organizations (Andalusia and Galicia) are mostly representing the small-scale fishing sector**.

"We are in permanent contact with other Producers Organization in France and in other European countries" (fishing association, France) 147p12

#### 6. MANAGEMENT MEASURES AND THEIR SPECIFIC IMPACT ON SMALL-SCALE FISHING SECTOR

#### 6.1 The issue of definition of the Small-scale fishing sector

Various interviewees raised the issue of definition whereas it was not a question of the interview guide. For southern countries concerned by this study (Portugal, Spain, France), **the wording small-scale** is not widespread even if the notion is grasped through definitions corresponding to each country.

In Portugal, there is a clear limit fixed at 9m long. Under 9m vessels are considered as "pesca local" limited to fish within the 6nm zones and in adjacent waters. For above 9m boats (defined as "pesca costera"), there is only a limit in the distance from the coast (usually 30nm) but not in distance along the coastline. However the national administration also uses the European definition of small-scale (vessels up to 12m) and is calling the whole under 12m segment "artisanal", but there is no legal definition.

**In Spain,** common language names small-scale as "bajura", which usually correspond to small polyvalent boats. The national administration is using the notion of main gear being used to identify the different fleet segments: "artes menores" (polyvalent), long-liners, purse-seiners, trawlers, and 2 categories of gill-netters ("volanteros", "rascos"). It is considering all vessels fishing in the day, and in national waters to be "artisanal". However "artisanal" fishing is not defined in the law.

**In France**, **artisanal fishing** is legally defined (mainly for tax purposes) **by under 24m boats** where the ship-owner is on board. Social regime is also defining fishing categories and in particular "petite pêche" where boats are at sea for less than 24 hours, or "pêche côtière" where boats are at sea for duration of between 24 and 96 hours. However such definition are not used for fisheries management purposes.

Even if the interview and the study do only focus on Small-scale fishing – not defining what artisanal fishing is – multiple interviews refer to this issue of definition (27 interviews including both fishers and organisations) whereas the question was not asked.

Various definitions are being proposed throughout the interviews: either based **on main fishing gear**, or on **duration of the fishing trip** in interviews **with Spanish people**, but the criterion of efficiency (**catching' capacity**) **and number of crewmembers** on board (linked to level of mechanization of the boat) are also quoted **both in Spain and Portugal. In France, no definition** is being proposed but the unique criterion of the size is clearly criticized. The issue appears to be relatively **more under discussion in Spain** (17 references) compared to Portugal (6 references), or France (4 references).

"What worries me more is that we are all mixed together, local and coastal fishing. We cannot do anything. We cannot go to Lisbon and ask the administration to push the bigger boats outside the 6nm area, because they are members of our organization.(...) I would propose this separation between local and coastal fishing. Coastal fishing would fish beyond the 6nm. Look when the weather turns out to be bad, coastal fishing is coming to the coast and razing everything here, instead of reserving this place for local fishing. But if the weather is fine they go further but as for ourselves, the smalls, we cannot go there." (Fisherman from South Portugal) 67p5

"The definition of artisanal fishing does not convince me. It should be defined through fishing capacity, duration of fishing trips, distance from the port, etc. And artisanal fishing should be excluded from the TACs & quotas' system." (Fishing organization, Spain) 107p8

"In France, small fishing is under 24m fleet segment. As for myself, a 15m fishing boat, it is artisanal fishing. It is local fishing that brings economic activity throughout the coast. It is true there may be a power balance between boats. All boats here can not remain at sea if the weather is bad." (Fishing association, France) 134p11

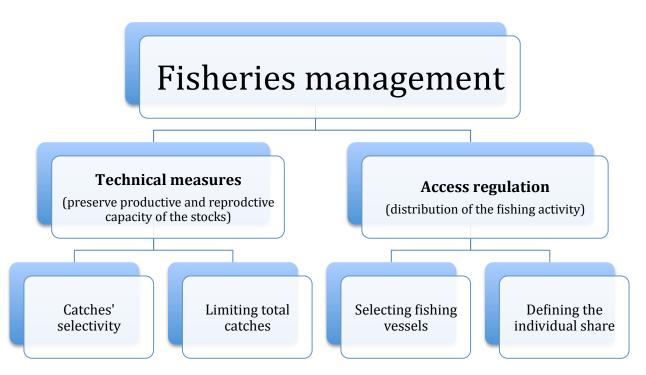
#### Comment:

As we have seen in part 4.1, definition by length does not fit with how fishing organizations are organizing their work while they do take care to represent the different « métiers » (netters, polyvalent gears, traps, seiners, ...) or geographic spread for organizations having a wide geographic scope. Fishermen as well are used to identify themselves around the gear they are using, but sometimes also around the size of the vessel. In this regard, the power balance between small and large boats has been mentioned in several interviews with fishers.

It is also noteworthy to remark that discussions around definition of what is "artisanal" fishing (not talking about small-scale which is the definition used for this study), is very much depending of fisheries' management regulation and closely linked to the definition of this segment in each different country. Actually this issue could even be seen as if the regulation was triggering the discussion. In this respect, in France, different interviewees mention the perverse effect of the regulation which has triggered the building of under 12m boats the closest possible to the 12m threshold (11,90m), most probably to avoid additional administrative constraints (declaration, VMS, ...). In this regard it is interesting to quote that the fleet segment 10-12m in France was stable in numbers in the last decade, compared to other segments decreasing.

# 6.2 Brief overview of fisheries management regimes in the three countries

As shown in figure 6 below, fisheries management basically aims to avoide overcapacity and to **adjust the fishing effort** to the biological capacity of the marine resources through technical measures. It shall at the same time **distribute the allowable fishing pressure** between the different operators and therefore selecting authorized fishing vessels and defining individual shares (access regulation measures).



**Figure 6**. The two components of fisheries' management (from Boncoeur and Troadec, 2003)

As shown in figure 7 below, management tools can be split into two categories: fishing effort management (licences or permits defining the different characteristics of the boat and gear), and management of the quantity of fish caught (through TAC and individual quotas).

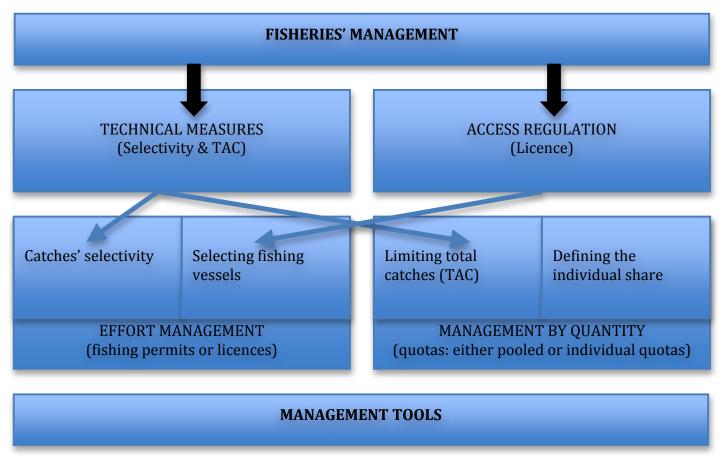


Figure 7. Schematic representation of management tools in Europe, for management through quantity or through effort.

As detailed in the table here after, fisheries management may rely on both effort and quantity (of catch/ quota) management in the 3 different countries. However for species that are not under TAC, management is mainly exerted through effort with an increased need to efficiently control the fishing pressure (number and size of gears).

	TOOL	DECISION-MAKING PROCESS	RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITY
PORTUGAL	Fishing permits	Defined by the national administration through <b>consultation with the sector</b> (in some fisheries through local dialog)	Granted by the national administration, under European regulation on Technical measures (850/98)
	Quotas	Allocation depends on the species but towards <b>individual boats</b> for sardine or hake and managed collectively through POs.	Granted by the national administration from EU decision on TACs, based on historic catches.
SPAIN	Fishing permits  Quotas	Allocation by the autonomous community for local resources through consultation with the sector  All boats are registered through a national register ("censo") split between fleet segment depending on main gear (long-liners, purseseiners, polyvalent,)  Allocation to individual boats for most fleet segments (long-liners, trawlers, purse-seiners, gill-netters), and through autonomous regions for the small polyvalent fleet ("artes menores"), and then up to the sector to manage it through POs.	Regional licences for small-polyvalent fleet managed by the autonomous communities for stocks under their competency  National register ("censo") controlled by the national administration, under European regulation on Technical measures (850/98)  Granted by the national administration from EU decision on TACs. Different criteria used, depending on each species (historic catches, socio-economic) . 1st step: allocation between fleet segments. 2nd step: allocation within each fleet segment.
FRANCE	Fishing permits	<b>Defined by fishing committees</b> (either regional for fishing within the 12nm or the national committee for fishing outside the 12nm) with approval by the state and allocated by PO for Under TAC species	Granted by POs (for species under TAC) or fishing committees but defined through fishing committee (regional or national depending on the scale of the fishery), under European regulation on Technical measures (850/98)
	Quotas	Allocated to POs or pooled for non PO members. Management within PO either pooled quotas (for under-utilized quotas) or individual allocation (for highly sought after quotas).	Granted by the national administration from EU decision on TACs, <b>based on historic catches</b> .

**Table 2.** Management tools and institutional set-up in the three countries of SWWAC (Fishing permits: Licences defining criteria such as maximum length, power of the boat, fishing time limitation, authorized gear)

NOTE: it must be reminded that all the following elements (from 6.3 to 6.5) come from the analysis of the interviews of the fishermen and organisations. Therefore it is not an analysis of the fisheries' management system but analysis of how it is being perceived by the fishing sector, and proposing some personal reflections about this situation. Relativity and subjectivity of assertions and opinions of the interviewees should always be kept in mind.

# 6.3 Design of the regulation

**Both fishermen (37 out of 50) and organisations (81 out of 107) are massively criticizing the regulation,** for multiple reasons. Main themes appearing are **disconnection of the regulation from the reality**, **scale of regulation** whereas people who don't know about fisheries activities are taking decisions very far from the water and the everyday realities of fishers. The **quotas' allocation** is the main matter of concern with many complains about unfair distribution. **Regulation of fishing effort** is also illustrating lack of adequate management.

Regulation does not fit with the reality of the fishing activity, and especially regarding small-scale fishing

In many interviews (47 out of 157, both fishing organisations and fishers), people consider that the decision-makers do not have a proper knowledge of the sea and this may play against the small-scale fishing sector.

"If we had any influence on EU regulation, we would not be surprised so many times with regulation that does not fit with the field or that provoke tremendous impacts in our day to day." (Fishing association, Portugal) 41p7

Unrealistic regulation is often quoted yet **not** a **lot of examples are put forward**. However **the landing obligation that has been mentioned in 13 interviews is quoted as an example of these unrealistic regulations**. Catches of ray (which is actually a choke species in many fisheries) has been also quoted 9 times as an example of regulation from EU that can not fit to the reality of fishing practises.

"Take the example of the licence that is allocated to fish ray for example. For resource management, it was necessary to create barriers to catch certain rays. And now, to whom will these licences be allocated? Imagine there are 30 licences for the entire country and each port has 3. Just imagine the divergences that are created in relation to this." (Fishing association, Portugal) 37p6

**In some interviews (19)** it is considered that regulation **better fits with larger-scale vessels' activity**, and sometimes at the disadvantage of the small-scale fishing segment.

"Let's say that above 15m boats which use to work further off shore are more monitored. Actually, focus is made on them. They are accountable. And when they are changing areas, they adapt their work to the regulation. Therefore management is more important for them. The small boat exits the port and comes back in the day. He sells directly as he wishes and when you ask him to give you feedback, he just says: "damn it, it bothers me". I think that on a general basis, it is the way it is." (Fishing association, France) 145p15

"Industrial fishing can catch rays because it is catching a lot. So 5% authorized, if the boat catches 1000kg, it means 50kg of rays. But as I catch 10kg, I can not land any ray, because a ray that measures more than 48cm weights more than 2kg, and because I am catching 10kg of fish, I can not catch ray." (fisherman from Portugal) 79p6

#### Comment:

Same remarks were also made considering authorized by-catch of hake within southern hake recovery plan. Actually the threshold of 5% authorization does not have the same impact for small-scale boats fishing small quantities than for larger-scale vessels catching more quantities.

The control regulation is also quoted in 6 interviews as not fitted to the small-scale fishing activity

"Signalling traps and nets' pots is not feasible. But the law has been written form the top (...) there have been numerous meetings to intent to change the regulation that is not implementable. And 99% of the fishermen do not respect this regulation." (fisherman, Portugal) (80p12)

#### Comment:

Different quotations and remarks about the inappropriateness of the regulation seems to be linked to the lack of influence, and distance from the fisherman or the fishing organisations with the managers. However the landing obligation is some kind of exception as this regulation really came from outside and with little capacity of the fishing sector to influence it.

"It may be some time you are working on sole management. But three persons made this management in France. As for ourselves, here, we have worked on this with our board, between netters and trawlers. As I told the national administration, things should start from the base rather than setting-up things through 3 persons, and not wait for the base to revolt as happened at Christmas. (...) At national level, the proof is that they have voted the sole management plan in one day. Even if I insisted on the issue of mesh size they all made fun of me." (fishing association, France) 138p10

# • Scale of regulation, decision should be taken closer to the field especially for small-scale fishing activity

There is a general feeling within the interviewees that in Brussels (and sometimes also at national level), people making laws do not know the reality of the fishing activity. **This issue is specifically mentioned in 31 interviews.** Numerous comments were given around management measures, from very local detailed regulation to European one.

"The drama is that things are being elaborated at a certain scale, the scale of the North Sea, and considering certain fishing activities, and a specific model. And then all this is packed as an unique model which is then distributed in the entire Europe. Who knows the reality of our fleet, namely the small-scale fleet..." (Fishing association, Portugal) 48p14

"With the national administration, it is more complicated. Actually, they do have a problem: they are really disconnected from reality. Sometimes, they don't even know what they are talking about." (fishing association, France) 144p6

#### **Comment:**

There is vast consensus within the fishing sector about the issue of regionalization, being understood as regulation adopted close to the field. However regionalization in European common fisheries policy refer to Member States cooperating at regional seas' level which is still very far from local small-scale fisheries.

"We must improve our work. And talk directly to the European Commission because for us "regionalization" of fisheries' management is above all through understanding our work. Next week, we will have the visit of some members of the European Parliament and some officers from the European Commission. They will see the diversity of our fisheries (...). There are almost all people coming from Galicia. They should know about fishing but no. In the European Commission as well, they are almost no technical persons. Except X but he is alone." (Fishing association, Spain) 88p6

"Small-scale fishing does have specific and local problems. And these problems should be resolved at that scale. When it goes to other spheres, which is national, as the points system within the control regulation, it not small-scale anymore, it is about the entire fishing sector. (Fishing association, Portugal) 50p7

### 6.4 Regulations around quotas' allocation and fishing effort management and the specific situation of the small-scale fleet

As presented in part 6.2, fisheries management is being exerted either through quotas, or through restrictions on efforts, or the two measures combined. As referred in part 1 and 2, the issue of access to resources and space is at the heart of fishermen and organisations' concerns. There are numerous references in the interviews to the issue of the share of the resource (quotas, see above) **and share of the space**. The competition around space is either internal to the SSF or between SSF and the larger scale sector.

• The quota system (considering organisations only)

As explained in part 2.2, the issue of quotas availability and allocation modalities is at the very heart of fishing organizations' worries, being mentioned in 49 interviews as problematic, with high regional differences. Whereas the issue is of high concern in Andalusia and archipelagos (12 times out of 20 interviews) and in North Western Spain (26 out of 36 interviews), it is less being mentioned in Portugal mainland and French Atlantic coast (7 out of 36, and 4 out of 15 respectively).

In **27 Interviews, quotas' regulation is being criticized because considered unfair** (either for small-scale fishing sector in some cases, or for some regions in others (cf issue of equity part 2.5).

**In Andalusia, and Canary Islands,** the issue is being raised **(8 interviews out of 12)** regarding the **Bluefin tuna issue.** The same issue is being mentioned by **2** organisations from Azores.

**In Portugal mainland,** this issue appears of minor importance in interviews. Main issue quoted in the interviews deal with the share of **sardine (3 interviews only out of 36).** Whereas it was based on historic catches in 2015, and provoked tensions within the fleets and between POs, it was then decided in 2016 to allocate the quota individually depending on the size of the boats. It still creates some disagreements for smaller boats considering it is unfair. The specific measure of 5% of authorized by-catch of hake within the recovery plan for hake is also mentioned in **1 interview** as favouring larger-scale boats.

In North Western Spain, this issue appears in 10 interviews in organisations from Galicia and Asturias (out of 29). These organisations are more in favour of a quota share considering number of crewmembers, whereas organisations from Cantabria or the Spanish Basque country are supporting a share based on historic catches. These differences actually fit with the differences regarding fleets' characteristics between these regions. Indeed, the purse seine fleets (mainly concerned by the quota share for small-pelagic species such as mackerel) from Cantabria and the Spanish Basque country has been restructured, modernized and mechanized with relatively less crewmembers.

In France, the imbalance in quota's allocation is being criticized in 4 interviews (out of 14), and in particular some concerns are being raised on mistakes made in the administrative building of the allocation key, in particular because of under recording of catches made by under 12m boats (both because of lack of declaration by fishermen, but also because of lack of data input by the national administration). The case of sole seems to be shared throughout the area.

#### Comment:

This issue actually reveals dissatisfaction from some small-scale operators about the quota regulation. These are representations from the interviewees and it is not possible however to state whether the situation of the small-scale fleet is really worse than the larger-scale one regarding the quotas' allocation.

**In other interviews,** the quotas' regulation is being criticized for other reasons such as:

not being adapted to the small-scale fishing sector. A significant number of small-scale fisheries organisations interviewed in Galicia (8 out of 18) are even asking to remain aside from the TAC & quota system;

being too tough: in Azores, quota reduction for "Goraz" (Pagellus bogaraveo) is being criticized in 5 interviews out of 8;

not being adapted to the **new landing obligation** (13 interviews) because of **choke species** (such as rays), which limit the fishing activity as a whole.

"The TACs and quotas's system is a big obstacle for artisanal fishing. When there are resources they do not let us fish it because we already consumed the quota, this system is not adequate nor realistic for artisanal fishing." (Fisherman, Spain) 101p3

#### Comment:

This quotation is obviously questionable as, whereas it could be understood that a minimum quota should remain available to allow fishing activity throughout the year, the quota is designed in order to maximize exploitation and avoid overfishing and therefore its total consumption obviously means stopping the activity. It could reveal as well some misunderstanding about the purpose of the regulation.

In this sense, some interviews also refer to the fact that the TAC system has been applied progressively and that the small-scale fishing segment has remained or still remains out of it, either because it is not concerned so much by under TAC species, or because it lacks filling its obligations in terms of declarations.

"If we had to look to the way the TAC and quotas' system impact our small-scale fleet, we may have a surprise. I am saying that the fishing department in June was in a meeting with DG MARE and the department presented a study showing that this system of TACs and quotas only have impact on 14% of the fleet." (fishing association from Galicia) 97p11

"Be careful, small-scale boats are not less concerned by quotas. On the contrary they are often depending on resources which are under pressure considering quotas' consumption: sole, Pollack, red seabream,... (..) Until the middle of the years 2000, no one cared. There was no pressure. But yet, at this time, the guy with a 24m boat in Irish waters was under systematic control. It was not so much about declaration at that time but anyhow, what you needed to declare in your logbook what you actually had in your holds. The inspector used to come onboard and you knew that there was a regulation. Here in the beginning of 2000, guys declared in area VII their nephrops when there were no more quotas. But the first area where you can fish nephrops in area VII it is west of the Scilly and it is not possible for a coastal boat. Everybody was just doing anything without any control(..) look yesterday again there was a mailing from the local administration towards the under 10m boats. There is a lack in declarations. But the guy with a boat above 12m, he has an electronic logbook, he doesn't go at sea if his logbook does not emit a signal. So problems of under declaration remain. There is a pressure over small-scale boats to declare more." (Fishing association, France) 147p4

## • Fishing effort regulation (considering fishers and organisations' interviews)

As stated in part 1.1, **fishing effort limitation** is quoted as a concern for a part **of fishermen (10 times mentioned)**, because of small-scale fishing sector practises. Major issues are with the use of numerous pots for octopus in Portugal that remain in the water all the year long, or netters in the Bay of Biscay. For fishermen in Portugal mainland, there is even a widely shared feeling of lacking space, and to suffocate. This issue is however less referred in Galicia where the regulation about the prohibition of trawling above the -100 depth area seem to protect the small polyvalent fleet. As detailed in part 2.2, the issue is being mentioned in **19 interviews with organisations** and mostly in interviews with Portuguese associations (15 times).

As stated in part 1.1, concern is also high for small-scale fishermen about **competition for space** due to the **interaction with larger-scale vessels** (11 times), with many different cases mentioned depending on the area (long-lining in Canarias and Azores, dredging and trawling in Andalusia and Algarve, purse seining in Portugal, Aquitaine and Brittany in the Bay of Biscay).

As detailed in part 2.2, the issues of conflicts between gears or fleets are also frequently mentioned in interviews with organisations (34 interviews out of 107). Conflicts with fleets from other organisations are however mentioned twice more than internal conflicts arising between members of the organization.

**More rarely (6 times out of the total interviews)**, interviewees underlineing the need for the regulation to focus more on managing resources during **breeding periods**. Some specific remarks (3) have been made about technical conservation measures as well.

"The boats use to stop for one or two weeks, from time to time. They work less in summer. Well you have a decrease in the yields for bottom trawling fishing at 60-100 miles from the coast; But they are fishing hard in March, April, May. After summer, sea is calm, the fish is hiding. And it's the breeding period: the fish is gathering. Europe hasn't understood yet that this is what should be worked on, not the rest. Quotas, this is bullshit." (fishing association, France) 139p 4

### Comment:

It appears that fisheries management fails to efficiently limit fishing effort within the small-scale fishing fleet segment, especially for passive gears such as traps or nets. It is interesting to consider that in Portugal, distinction between under 9 and above 9m fleet using gillnets was made in numerous interviews because of the excess of fishing effort deployed by some above 9m boats. Therefore even within the under 12m segment, huge capacity's differences appear.

The uncontrolled increase of fishing effort is a constant throughout the area without clear distinction between the large-scale fleet and the small-scale one. In case of competition between these two segments however there is a feeling that the larger scale one is advantaged. In such occasions, spatial planning of the fishing activity could enable to reserve space for small-scale while larger-scale boats have more capacity to move out to other areas.

In this sense, it must be noticed that in all three countries of the area, measures are in place to limit this interaction: prohibition of long-lining within the 6nm in Azores or within the 12nm in Canarias, prohibition of trawling within the 6nm in Portugal mainland and Andalusia, under -100m depth in North Western Spain, and within the 3nm area in France. These limitations only deal with long lining for archipelagos and trawling for mainland, but other gears may be used by both large or small-scale vessels such as dredging, purse-seining, gillnetting with very different fishing capacities.

Strict management of the fishing activity appear necessary to constrain the widely shared predatory behaviour of fishermen. This character trait is not a trait of either small or large-scale fishermen but some common trait of the fishing activity. However fishing techniques from the large-scale segment are potentially multiplying the negative consequences of this trait. Constant evolution of the fishing practises may move faster or even bypass management constraints (technological creep or fishing effort displacement towards unregulated species for example), and undermine the results of the management system. As an illustration management based on quotas only does not prevent for fishing effort displacement in case of tough cuts on the quota.

"The trawlers' fleet segment has historically worked with bottom gears in the North Western Cantabrian Sea (ICES areas VIIIc, IXa), and actually it never worked with pelagic gears. The legal definition of this fleet is "bottom trawling" and therefore they have never been able to work with pelagic trawlers. But 10 or 12 years ago, when they razed ground fish resources, they did not have other choices than diversify themselves with pelagic species such as horse mackerel or mackerel which are species the purse-seine fleet segment has historically fished, and the administration was accomplice of all this, mainly because they are more powerful economically speaking." (Fishing association, Spain) 92p10

Actually, European regulation is focused on defining quotas and not on fishing exploitation patterns (areas, periods of the year, gears' design) and efforts exerted. Whereas fishermen and some fishing organizations are referring to spatial and temporal fishery management measures, the management system at European level is primarily based on setting TACs, with additional management measures coming from the technical conservation measures but without the relevant micro-management focus which would fit more to the fishing activity, especially small-scale.

# 6.5 Implementation of the regulation

Auto-control exerted by the fishing organisation

**53 organisations do not assume any responsibility** in terms of controlling their members whereas **54** answer they have a role in it. This task is usually described as being the responsibility of public authorities.

For the majority of organisations, it is some kind of **social auto-control**, which is rather **difficult to precisely estimate (22 references**). It should be noted that for Cofradias in Spain, monitoring and controlling the implementation of the decisions taken by the Cofradias is a clear task mentioned in the law and assumed by both the chair and the secretary of the organisation. In some case there is even a guard monitoring the respect of the rules, who is paid by the organisation.

"When it deals with something that is not a law, the control is made by our own members. It is an auto-control quite usual. No-one wants to enter the pub and be poorly regarded." (Fishing association, Azores) 21p4

**Disciplinary sanctions are mentioned in only 9 interviews** whereas 8 interviews refer to the existence of specific internal rules, but sanctions have never been applied. Sanctions mainly deal with the monitoring quota use by POs (quoted mostly by some French POs) and commercial sanctions (fees on the sales). For Cofradias managing auctions, controlling sales is however a mandatory responsibility.

"Yes on very demanded quotas, we put in place an individual limit and we keep some reserve for boats that occasionally fish this species. And if they overcome, we warn them and sanction them. There are about 10% of sanctions: either by seizure if we are physically present, or through different tools such as withdrawing the licence, increased fee of 25%, payback of the exceed of quota the next year." (Fishing association, France) 137p5

*Comment:* it appears that organisations may have hesitations to control and sanction their own members.

## Point of view of the fishing organisations

31 organisations are complaining about the implementation of the regulation with various reasons. The main concern mentioned is about the regulation not being implementable (14 interviews). In this sense, there are various comments in Portugal on the points system, or the margin of authorized by-catch of demersal species for purse-seine.

"We are allowed to have 20% of bycatch for purse-seine but the authorities can't control it. May it be good or bad they have difficulties to control it. And the means are very weak. The maritime authority has no possibility to know how many fishing trips were done." (Fishing association, Portugal) 64p8

In some interviews direct relation is made between a regulation, which is considered as a non-sense, and the fact the fishers do not comply with it.

"To survive, we have to cheat and this is worrying. And they don't want to know anything about this, the only thing they want, is to impose fines." (Fishing association, Portugal). 53p7

"For the clam, it dies before reaching the minimum legal size. And therefore we use to fish the under-size clam." (Fishing association) 135

Some organisations consider **controls are insufficient (10 times)** whereas some others do say the opposite: **controls are too important (5 times)**. **In Andalusia**, high concerns about **illegal sales** have been mentioned in 4 interviews (out of 8). Some P0s are quoting their **specific responsibility in monitoring the use of quota** and thus allowing the fishing activity to last all the year through.

# • Point of view of the fishermen

**Only 20 fishermen** do give their advice on this matter and 17 of them complained about the implementation of the regulation (various fisheries management rules from CFP basic regulation, to national measures).

Whereas few fishermen (4) complain about the excess of control, **much more are actually demanding more control (11)**. Sometimes this demand is directed towards other fleet segments and some complicity between the administration and the fishing sector is being suspected (3 interviews)

"Here there is fear, there is fear because a lot are selling outside the auction and they don't speak because one could remind them and no-one likes this." (Fisherman, Spain) 9p8

"But there, in the northern countries, the one who is seized cheating, he loses his licence. But here the one who will cheat will win. You can't do anything about this because it's the friend of someone... and everywhere it's like this. And the administration doesn't want to have the mess but just looking for social peace." (Fisherman, France) 155p9

Some are considering the **rules not to be applicable (4)**, others are complaining about **administrative burden** as they consider it is not their job to do administrative work. There may be a feeling of time wasting, of penalties that don't take into account the context, or that the sanction was not proportionate or not justified. Sometimes insufficient information may also be the cause of non-compliance. Whereas control is understood it doesn't always seem to be adequate.

"We want to have control but the inspector should show common sense. He has to inspect but also respect those who are working. For example an inspection should not last more than 45 minutes: it is enough. But we have controls that last at least 3 hours." (fsherman, Portugal) (53p6)

"I am only asking to do my job. But in addition to the bad weather, there is a lot of paperwork around fishing. For example we have to ask an inspection of the boat by the port authority every three months and loose a day at sea, whereas there is never any problem." Fisherman, Spain) 126p6

### *Comment:*

Fishermen often mention administrative work as a burden they don't always consider part of their job. The fact that the work is tough and they are working a lot at sea also plays by not leaving them much time to accomplish their duties. It can be supposed that this trait is all the more important that the fisherman is working alone at sea, or within a very small enterprise format.

There is a poor image of the fishing sector and a feeling that fishermen are not trusted. There is mistrust in society, because everyone thinks the others are cheating, there is no reason to be civilized/polite (;?), and respect the rules.

"I am used to say that these guys from the European community are treating the fishermen as if they were bank robbers and something like that" (fishing association, Portugal) 48p14

It therefore appears all the more necessary to enforce rules that are trusted and fit with the fishing practises.

## 6.6 Increasing competition with other human uses in the coastal area

As mentioned in part 2.3, there is a multiplication of activities at sea and control (¿?) is more and more demanded: it is an important source of conflicts of use.

Few fishermen complain about the state of the environment (4). As for organisations, different threats or competitors for marine resources or maritime space are mentioned throughout the interviews. The issue of **recreational fishing** (with a specific concern for poaching) is the most frequently mentioned concern (10 times, and 4 times out of 8 in Andalusia, and specific concerns mentioned in Canarias, Galicia, Brittany). A black market is even described as an increasing problem, widely known by the local authorities but without any action being taken.

"It is a difficult issue, this is a very hot topic here in Huelva. Everywhere there are **illegal fishers**, but here it's just incredible the number they are, and they know it perfectly, much more than in Cadiz. (...) The solution would be to withdraw illegal fishing boats, there is no other way" (fishing association from Andalusia) 4p6

The issue of **water quality** is quoted often, about 8 times. Then aquaculture and navigability come afterwards (5 times each), with specific concerns in Portugal mainland. **Natural marine parks** are also quoted with a concern about the place of the fishing activity. The wider issue or **maritime planning** is mentioned 2 times.

"There is an other aspect. Small-scale fishing is the one that is the most concerned by **spatial maritime planning**: between recreational fishing, gravel extraction, windfarms... But the coastal local officials don't care at all about fishermen. There are old and rich people who come and settle down in the coastal area and they want to go fishing, and the officials they follow their electorate. There is a complete shift with the explosion of the recreational fishing. I would say that, since 10 years, with the "oldie boom", there is a complete changeover" (fishing association from France) 148p10

"We are discussing in other forums. From now, we are working on creating a marine reserve for fishing, Marina Cabo Roche. And we hope it to be created soon. A number of years of effort will soon become a reality. We have to stop the huge plagues such as poaching, and for sure manage the fishing activity, with additional selectivity, special areas for fishing, fishing reserves, and protect the resource that belongs to everyone, from 0 to 2 miles. And this all over the territory which could be bigger, with the support from the fishing organisation from Barbate. (Fishing association, Spain) 2p8

## 7. CAPACITY OF FISHING ORGANIZATIONS TO BE INFLUENTIAL

## 7.1 Influence and examples

We consider influence to be "the capacity of the fishing organisation to change the regulation on fisheries' management". In the interview guide, there are 3 questions around this issue. How effective do you consider the influence of your own organisation is? Do you succeed in influencing decisions/regulation, which may impact you at national level? European level? What means do you have to be influential? It must be kept in mind that it is obviously impossible to precisely assess influence because it is not a quantitative notion, and because answers from interviewees are subjective. Interviewee may want to over-estimate the role of his/her association because he/she wishes to give good impression. On the contrary the interviewee may undermine the role of his/her association because he/she doesn't want to give the detailed reasons.

Influence of fishing organizations is very variable from one country to another because of the institutional set-up and responsibilities given to the organisations by the public authorities (cf 6.2, Table 2).

**In Portugal,** fisheries' management is centralized with fishing permits distributed by the national administration, and quotas allocated individually to the vessel or to the POs, which have the responsibility of first sale.

In Spain, fisheries management is shared with autonomous regions for small-scale fishing ("artes menores") and even under autonomous regions' responsibility for internal waters, in particular all the fjords (Rias) in Galicia. So fishing permits are allocated by the autonomous regions for local resources and through a national licensing system. Quotas are allocated to either individual vessels or to autonomous regions for the small-scale fleet. It is then up to autonomous regions to decide about harvest rules for the small-scale fleet, whereas the other fleet segments could decide to manage their own quotas through POs (or not).

**In France,** fisheries management is centralized but with higher responsibilities given to fishing association. Regional fisheries committee do have responsibility for licences within the 12 miles or the national committee for licences for national fisheries. Quotas are being allocated by the state towards POs who have the responsibility of managing the quotas (may be individual allocation for tensed species).

**Most examples given deal with technical conservation measures (20 references)** being decided either at **regional or national level,** such as for the octopus fisheries (in Andalusia, Portugal and North Western Spain regarding closure period), authorization for purse seine to catch up to 20% of demersal species in Portugal (with 20 days in the year where they can target demersal species), different changes in the mesh size of static or active gears, ... Examples of direct co-management of local resources such as shellfishes, sea urchins, spider crabs, etc. are also given

"For volantillas (gill nets), these gears were not authorized to target hake (catches were limited to a 30% of the total catches) whereas bottom gill net was authorized. Working with the autonomous region we have been able to change the legal basis and it allowed small-scale boats to enter this fishery and target hake." (fishing association, Spain) 89p9

**Some organisations (13)** do also quote their **contribution to management plans** such as the one for red seabream in Azores (with however little influence recognized by the organisations), sardine in Portugal mainland, or anchovy at European level.

"For example, in the law on sardine, we have approved the daily limits, others approved, but if we had not approved it would have been discussed in an other way (...) if we are not against it is easier to decide." (Fishing association, Portugal) 51p9

On the contrary, **some representatives (9) confess they are tired of insisting and feeling they have no power to change things** which can create frustration. In various interviews, it was also referred that being representative is not always a highly desired position especially when working for free and with not much capacity from the organisation.

"After so many meetings, including with authorities, after having presented our opinions and the reality of the field, the result is almost null. I don't know if it's worth talking again about this (...) In reality the problem is not about live bait. The question is about the number of gears that may be used with live bait. The prohibition of live bait is an indirect law!" (Fishing association, Portugal) 54p11

In various interviews, it is also clearly referred to the **reduce number of organisations or persons actually influencing the national administration.** 

"Things are never made here, there are being made in Peniche, Sesimbra or Viana do Castelo, and then they tell us." (Fishing association, Portugal) 34p9

"This regulation has been made by 3 persons. We have worked on this with all our management board: netters and trawlers. I have told the administration they should start from the field and do not wait this field revolts." (Fishing association, France) 138p7

**Few examples have been given for influence at European level**. It was referred to the change of the fishing season for bluefin tuna in the Canarias, minimum landing size for anchovy in the Canarias, the anchovy management plan for Bay of Biscay, the common market organisation regulation through some organisations' lobbying, the withdrawal of the European Commission proposal to prohibit small drifting nets, or the deep sea bottom trawling regulation. In some interviews, organisations inform they withdrew from the SWWAC because they consider the advisory body

did not have any capacity to actually change the European regulation.

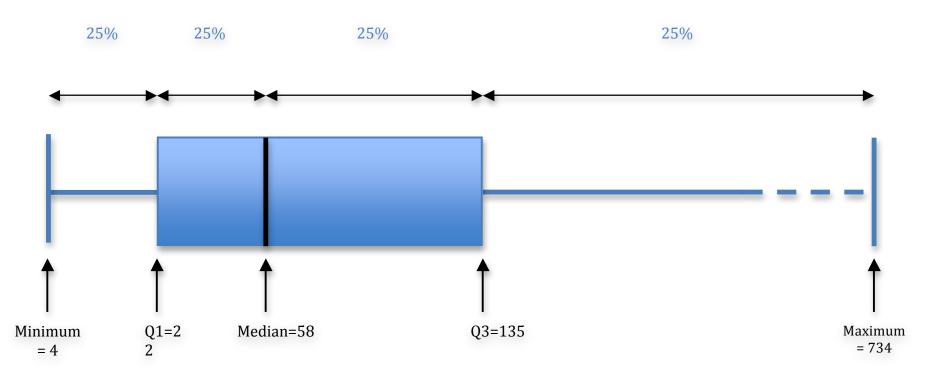
"At European level we did not succeed in influencing anything. We were member of the executive committee of the SWWAC. We withdrew because it was a lost of time. The decisions that were taken were not taken into account by the commission, therefore there was no sense I was loosing my time with discussion which do not bring us anywhere (...) These councils are a shield for the commission, for those who want to go in the street, well, to say they have heard the sector..." (Fishing association, Portugal) 39p9

#### Comment:

It should be thrown into relief here, that the institutional set up is very much different in each of the three countries. In France, fishing organisations are being delegated by the state very clear tasks: fishing effort regulation within the 12 nm area for "comités régionaux des pêches", and quota management for POs. On the contrary in Spain, quotas are being allocated to the vessels individually which then group their quota through POs. Cofradias may have further influence within internal waters through proximity with the autonomous governments, but also mainly because they are managing auctions. In Portugal, in the absence of competency at regional level, and the quite centralized policy, influence of fishing organisations appears to be even weaker and only few of them appear to be considered as active interlocutors for the managers.

# 7.2 Fishing organizations' characteristics

• Size of the organizations & Capacities



**Figure 8.** Distribution of fishing organisations interviewed based on number of members. First quartile (25% of the organisations) goes from organisation with 4 members to organisations with 22 members. Second quartile from 22 to 58 members. Third quartile from 58 to 135 members. Fourth quartile from 135 to 734 members. Spanish federation of cofradias and OP Galicia (OPAGA) have been excluded because numbers not available for federations, and OPAGA not operational yet.

As shown in figure 8 above, the median for membership of the interviewed organisations is 58. It means that 50% of the organisations that have been interviewed do count on less than 58 members and 50% count on more.

Behind these figure, there is a wide variety of fishing organizations' capacity throughout the SWWAC area (not only depending on number of members as some organisations do have few but large-scale members and some permanent staff to defend their interests). Some organizations have no employees and being only constituted by fishers. Whereas, at the opposite extreme (in France only), some organizations do have about 20 technical qualified employees.

As an approximation of the organisations' capacity, number of staff members was requested during each interview as well as education level of the staff members. In this sense, number of staff members with a postgraduate degrees were considered on one side, and total number as well. Considering these figures, huge differences appear throughout the area.

In Andalousia, fishing organisation do have 1,6 people as staff on average, and 0,5 having post graduate degree In outermost regions, fishing organisations do have 6 people as staff on average, and 0,8 having post graduate degree In Portugal mainland, fishing organisations do have 6 people as staff on average, and 0,7 having post graduate degree In Spain, fishing organisations do have 8 people as staff on average, and 0,8 having post graduate degree In France, fishing organisations do have 7,5 people as staff on average, and 4 having post graduate degree

Average values for outermost regions should be nuanced due to one organisation having a lot of employees. Difference in number of postgraduate staff is clearly showing that **French organisations are based on more educated staff than in Spain or Portugal**. It should be noticed as well that **French organisations are bigger on average (283 members)** against organisations from **Spain and Portugal mainland (90 and 104 relatively)**.

In addition to this point, most of big organisations in Portugal and Spain do have many employees because they are dealing with managing the auction (in Spain), processing and marketing products (both in Spain and Portugal). In France these activities are assumed by other structures (auctions are independent firms, fish sellers, processors, ...). Thus French organisations are much more capable of following law developments and new legal initiatives. It should also be noticed that an important part of the Portuguese association do only rely on active fishermen which strongly limit the time they may dedicate to the work of the organization. In Galician cofradias, it is also noticeable to see that each cofradia use to have one biologist as staff (usually participating to shellfish resources assessment and management). However this person is only involved in local issues.

As we will see in point 7.3 further, size and capacity of the organisations are directly linked to their influence.

## • *Origin, evolution and tasks*

Origin and reason of establishment of fishing organisations are various. **Representing the interests of their members** (46 organisations) around a same port, a same fishing practise. **Social responsibility** through helping their members and their families such as social security, or housing (20 references). Taking care of **administrative matters** such as accountability or requesting EU grants (14 references). **Contributing to the economic growth** of the fishing activity (29 references). It is interesting to notice **that part of the organisations** (14) have moved from a social role towards a responsibility in markets or fisheries management.

**In Portugal**, the fisheries management law is not recognizing specific forms of fishing organisations (cf 2.1). Organisations are quite recent (80s or 90s) and first POs have been established in 1986 with Portugal entering the European Union. Whereas POs do have a clear role (defined by the EU regulation), fisheries association usually have multiple responsibilities, being an interlocutor for the administration.

"At the beginning it was a cooperative, but this status became complicated after the revolution. We have expanded by selling fish as bait. In 1989, our members wished to be in line with the fiscal administration. So I have built the association with two economists and a lawyer. When we have obtained the recognition as PO, 40% of our expenses were subsidised and we got a margin of manoeuvre to hire people. We also ensure accountability for the bigger boats, and some administrative services (...). Yes we are offering diverse services. We are the terminal point for the administration." (fishing association, Portugal) 52p2

In Spain, the fisheries management's law is defining fishing organisations as being either cofradias or POs (cf 2.1). Cofradias have a very long history and some of them have more than centuries of existence. Number of them are also managing auctions and therefore do have a direct economic link with the fishing fleet (even if, for some auctions, landings do mostly come from boats from elsewhere). First POs have been established in 1986 with Spain entering the European Union and in order to grasp the opportunity of aids for withdrawal. In the recent years regional federation of cofradias have also built POs that therefore also concern the small-scale fleet.

"Sincerely, I consider the cofradias, well it's how I see this but I can prove it with many data, as an organization which has turned to be... obsolete. Now they are managing quotas, they may manage the auction, they are managing a certain amount of money and of employees which need an other form of organisation. But the way a cofradias is being managed with a board of 18 people, where too many people are deciding, with a "patron mayor", a "vice-patron", these are archaic structures. They have worked for well at that time, or because of the necessities, but now we need an other organisation more professional. Like PO o other forms." (fishing association, Spain) 5p2

"They were created because there was a need to gather the sector and give answers to the problems of that time: social security. They were called sailors' guilds ("gremios de mareantes") (..) We have built an auction and jumped towards marketing and funding our organisation. We now organize everything regarding harvesting, management of fisheries and shellfishes areas." (fishing association, Spain) 104p3

**In France**, the fisheries management's law is defining fishing organisations as being either "Comités des pêches" or POs. The fisheries committees ("comités des pêches") have been established after the Second World War and the decision from the state to dissolve the guilds, and to relaunch the economy in partnership with the union representatives. POs have been first established in order to guaranty minimum prices for large-scale vessels in the 70s, evolved towards the implementation of withdrawal prices, and more recently with the responsibility over quota management.

"So the goal was to harmonize the prices and get a safety net for boats for their income. In Concarneau, shipowners have built an equalization fund that the state supported. It is from this experience that the common market organisation in Europe was established in 1970. So this common market organisation has been made upon the French initiative over specific species targeted by the French fleet, rather the industrial one. It was mainly market support for species fished by these boats." (Fishing association, France) 147p2

### Comment:

We can notice broadly an **evolution towards organisations dealing with markets or fisheries management**, even if administrative services (accountability, requesting EU grants,...) or social role remain important for many organisations and fishers. **The evolution of fisheries management in Europe, from common market organisation to increased monitoring and fisheries management also probably influence** the evolution of the roles of the fishing organisation. Specific recognition of **PO at European level, also give them a strengthened role in fisheries management** and it is noteworthy to remark that cofradias in North Western Spain have recently (in the last 10 years) evolved towards creating POs (whereas the first ones mainly represented larger-scale interests).

"It is an economic and situational reason. Because from Europe there was a premium to create POs and we understood that small-scale fishing ("bajura") was atomized and localized in Galicia, therefore we created the PO for this region, along with the Galician federation of cofradias in 2004". (Fishing association, Spain) 97p2

# 7.3 Scale of influence of fishing organisations

NOTA BENE: in order to assess the scale of influence, a score was given for each organisation from 0 to 2, for each scale (European/national/local/regional). However it is important to notice that such scoring is based on the personal analysis of the interviewee. Examples of influence in the interviews go from modifying existing regulation (such as technical measures), actually managing quite directly fisheries (shellfishes), or contributing in a certain extent to new regulation (management plans). Different descriptive variables which have been scored for each interviewed fishing organisation are available in table 3 (see part 7.7).

It appears that **100 organisations** do consider they are having **influence at local or regional level** (score≥1), which shows that the fishing sector is being fully taken into account at local level. **75 organisations are considering having good influence at regional level**. There is a widespread feeling of being heard at local scale (from township, by different stakeholders). However there are few minority opinions, stating that fishery is not being taken sufficiently into account in local investments **Over whole, relationships** with the regional scale are estimated to be positive and easy.

**In Spain,** relationships with local ("Provincias") or regional level (autonomous authorities) are considered to be good with easy access to the regional ministers (112, 117). **In Portugal** however, regions do have less power (cf 5.1) **In France** there is some fear about reorganization of the institutional set-up (with new regions being established and removal of the local organizations).

Moving to national scale, 45 organisations do consider they are having influence (score≥1), and only 21 consider they are having relatively high influence (score≥2). These are 11 organisations from Portugal mainland (none from outermost regions) including 8 POs, 4 from Spain (none from Canarias) including 3 POs and 1 ship-owners' association, and 6 from France including 1 PO only.

**In Spain,** national contact usually comes through Federations or POs. **In Portugal**, fishing organizations used to directly get in contact with the central administration (cf 5.1). **In France**, contacts with the national administration use to be through PO and national or regional committees which have been established by the law to be the interlocutors of the administration.

The feeling of influence is almost null at European scale for the vast majority of fishing organisations that have been interviewed, whereas only 5 organisations do consider they are having influence at European level (score≥1): 2 from France, 3 from Spain and zero from Portugal.

## **Comment:**

It appears that influence is mainly concentrated in bigger organisations. The 21 organisations that have influence at national level, do count 201 members on average, with a technical staff of 11 people including about 4 post graduate. It is supposed that it is easier for the administrations to deal with a reduced number of representatives, well trained, and speaking their same language.

"It may be some time you are working on sole management. But three persons made this management in France. As four ourselves, here, we have worked on this with our board, between netters and trawlers. As I told the national administration, things shall start from the base rather than setting-up things through 3 persons, and not wait for the base to revolt as it happened at Christmas. (...) At national level, the proof is that they have voted the sole management plan in one day. Even if I insisted on the issue of mesh size they all laughed at me." (Fishing association, France) 138p10

# 7.4 Main levers of influence for fishing organisations

Membership and unity of the fishing organisations

As shown before, **the size of the organisation** is key for its influence and it appears that the organisations should keep a **critical mass** if it wants to still matter in decision-making.

"We are a very small PO compared to the others which are very big and very influential. It is true that small and large scale is a problem you are feeling. But as for myself I'd rather pit small POs against big ones. (...) I am feeling very small, except on sole where we are being heard because of our historic catches and hence our quotas." (Fishing association, France) 142p2

**Alliances within the fishing sector** do allow reaching this critical mass and be heard by the decision-makers. In Portugal, it is interesting to notice various remarks made on the "movimento asociativo da pesca" which is an informal grouping of various organisations throughout the country. In Spain, cofradias use to go through federation to forward their requests

"There is a movement at national scale, which is called "movimento associativo", which is gathering main organisations from north and south of the country and which meets regularly. This new government has taken the commitment to meet every 3 months with this movement to have a follow-up of main problems and analyze the evolutions." 48p14 "However in this movement, there is no one from Algarve, only associations from the north down to Sesimbra." 36p11

"We depend more on the regional administration, they have to be our spokesperson at national and even European level, just as the federation of cofradias." (fishing association, Spain) 94p10

"If we mobilize the three structures from the region (PO, regional and local fisheries committee) it is efficient. When it is serious we know to join together." 137p6

**Homogeneity of the fleet** is also helping to create strong cohesion. It appears to be much more the case for fishing fleet such as purse-seining, or trawling rather than for the small-polyvalent which is used to be very diverse. The example of ANOP-Cerco in Portugal, gathering POs with interests in sardine is very telling in this sense because the association has been able to prepare the management plan for sardine jointly with the administration and the national scientific institute (and with the participation from an NGO).

"The purse seine fleet is more homogeneous compared to the small-polyvalent one ("artes menores")". (Fishing association, Spain) 129p6

**Cultural aspects** are also quoted, and especially in **Galicia**.

"There are some very specific factors, it is a problem of localism which is really Galician. I see decisions coming from the Basque country, Asturias or Cantabria as more unified and taken jointly, less personalized. Galicia has a tendency to focus the problems locally, not assuming that these problems may expand to other areas or regions." (Fishing association, Spain) 111p12

It appears that **social cohesion within the organisation** is also key.

"The fight for survival overcomes the conflicts that may exist between us. (...) Throughout the years we have created a power to claim which is very strong and has gained respect at regional and local level." (Fishing association, Portugal) 57p12

#### Comment:

Clarity and unity of the fishing sector appears to be crucial for its influence. Being understood as the gateway to decision-makers it also obliges fishing organisations to look for compromises and appears to be all the more difficult to reach that conflicts and competition are natural within the fishing activity.

"For sure, we are not all defending the same things. IN general matters such as Tacs and quotas, we agree but in more concrete issues on fishing practises it is more complicated, also because of individualism and lack of mechanisms, which would allow finding agreements more easily. Because if we do not reach consensus, it is always the public administrations that establish the norms." (Fisherman, Spain) 109p8

## Economic weight

The **economic weight** appears to be crucial for influence. Many interviews refer to it and even think it even takes precedence over numbers.

"Yes, those who have more influence are purse-seiners and trawlers. They pay less attention to the artisanal ones. Those who are leaving more money in the auction are those who have more strength. Though I have a small boat, they take me into account because I am fishing a lot." (Fisherman, Spain) 10p4

"The PO is representing 40% of hake in the whole country (..). In relation to political representation, it has a natural strength through its size. It is not a quiet organisation for governments but when it is asking something to the government, the government is listening because it is necessary... it has been more or less respected." (Fishing association, Portugal) 51p4

"The administration and the government do take less into account numbers than the economic value. (...) This meeting will remain in the history. Organisations that were against an allocation towards POs were more numerous. But the general directorate did take into account the weight of these organisations. And their will was at the forefront, and not because of the numbers, but because of their economic weight." (Fishing association, Portugal) 64p9

For Cofradias managing the auction do therefore give them additional influence.

"The influence of our cofradias is important. Mainly because we have an important auction which is a standard." (Fishing association, Spain) 112p8

Weight or larger scale fleet is quoted as necessary to maintain organisations and infrastructures.

"If you take the example of this PO. There are 10 large netters, which have good historical catches and therefore fishing rights. When these fishing skippers will retire, what will the PO become? And the port?" (Fishing association, France) 140p7

**Membership, economic and political weight** may explain that **some territories are more influential than others** (North of Portugal, Galicia, Brittany). And this may have consequences such as fishing effort displacements because the most powerful territories are in capacity to reduce the access of foreign fleet whereas their own fleet expand in other territories.

"In Spain there has been an impoverishment of the resource and fleet that has been industrialized. The purse-seine fleet, which use to fish sardine in Galicia is now in Aquitaine. It could not happen in Brittany because of the political weight of the region. If a boat enters their waters, they denounce a scandal. Between Spanish and Portuguese boats, which are coming just in front of us, we are becoming a refuge zone. This is impacting the state of the resources." (Fishing association, France) 137p8

Soft power: expertise, personal credibility and networking

**Technical expertise of the staff** is also referred in many interviews as an essential tool for influence, while the staff is in capacity to follow or even suggest the regulation taken by managers.

"In this case our influence does not rely on our economic weight but on our expertise. It is X who wrote the management plan. The important thing is not to know you have done it and you're the one carrying the flag, but to have actually done it. The important thing is to be the first one to write down the proposal because then the others have to position themselves from your proposal. And this is a capacity we have internally thanks to people who have an expertise and a vast experience. And I should also add, in the case of quotas' swaps, the interpersonal skills we have with other colleagues in other member states." (Fishing association, France) 147p12

**Staff members** are also in regular contacts and even collaborating with other actors of the fisheries management system: public authorities, scientists, ...

"We do have the capacity to be an interface between local and national level. We know a lot of people. For example we have been influential recently in the law on the maritime sector or on the public report on fishing sector's representation." (Fishing association, France) 144

"I remember workshops on octopus ("Tertulia do Polvo", gathering fishing sector, the public authorities and the national scientific institute) which has been a great initiative in which our association participated. And I think that directly or indirectly the contribution has been taken into account. Undoubtedly it was positive." (Fishing association, Portugal) 55p7

It also interesting to notice that for about **14 organisations, NGOs** are partners or even supporting management plans' processes (in Andalusia for some protected areas, in Portugal for sardine fishery, in Galicia and Asturias for octopus' fisheries).

"We work in collaboration with WWF on the regulation for octopus. We work with them because it is a vision of the civil society we need to take into account. And we see them as defenders of artisanal fishing" (fishing association, Spain) 97p16

### Comment:

Through these workshops on octopus' fishery management in Portugal, the fishing organizations have joined together to propose to the administration a 2 months fishery closure for octopus fishing which has been taken into account in the national regulation.

**Stature and credibility of the representative** is often quoted with a premium for experience for people who are in their position for a long time. It has often been seen that the representative of the organization does have a major role (chairman or director). For some interviewees the **experience at sea** is key whether others do rather put into relief **technical expertise and interpersonal skills of the director**. It is to be linked with the evolution about representation of the organisations (between elected positions and permanent ones) that is described in part 4.1 (cf role of the representative). In interviews we can notice specific role of some chairs in Spain ("Patrones Mayores") who have direct contacts with general directors and are listened by the administration. Networks are established since a long time, and there is a role of some personalities.

"Those fishing sardine used to have X to defend them, but we had no one." (Fisherman, France) 155p10

"The influence first comes from my own experience. I can talk with fishers, even the fishing captain of a trawler: above all, we are fishermen. I have started the job in 82. I have also worked 10 years on the river... So I know the job." (Fishing organisation representative, France) 134p7

"For example, the problem of the fishing period of shrimp has raised recently. People were calling me to tell me they had problems. They were telling me there has been no winter this year and they needed to extend the fishing period – that usually ends in April – up to the end of may. So I talked with the general direction, with the secretariat of state, I know these people. It's been many years I am working in all this and I know well the persons, I have some easy contacts. And we solved the issue." (Fishing association representative, Portugal) 48p8

On the contrary, the lack of credibility of the representative may also be counter-productive for the organisation.

"My members have betrayed me in front of the administration. (...) Since then doors have been closed for me in the administration because they have considered I was a free electron and I was putting the mess." (Fishing organisation representative) 139

### Comment:

There is an obvious link between economic weight and the importance of the representatives and expertise, as biggest organisations do rely on a wider technical staff, and we notice that the territories that are more dependent on the fishing activity do have influential representatives. Many interviews precisely describe relationships between different representatives and specific roles of some personalities.

"We are influential because of the age of the organisation, our economic means, and the leadership of X. Some organisations are really personalized. When I go to Lisbon, I go alone. I am the one representing the association. I am discussing with my 26 fishing captains (...)" (Fishing association, Portugal) 51p10

• Creating power balance as last option, through policy, media, or recourse to justice

The previous tools are the ones most regularly contributing to fishing organisations' influence. However it appears that in **some cases there is a need to create power balance because the "usual" tools do not work.** 

**Using the political lever** is quoted in 26 interviews.

"I used to go there saying: "if we do not get this quota this year, we will made such a mess!" I threatened them of a strike or to block the port, the political party summer university. They did not like that. And then the minister came here and said: "I've come because I wanted to." I don't believe this. They have called him and requested him to come." (Fishing association) 139

**For some organisations, policy is** not systematically being used, as there are hazards and risks it become **uncontrollable**. "Deputies? There are the last rocket stage." (Fishing organisation, France) 139. For others it is a **major asset** to reach the decision-making process.

"Thanks to X (former member of the European parliament, and member of the fishery committee), we used to have a lot of influence at that time but not much today." (Fishing association) 129

"The means we are using are political means even if I would like to use more technical or scientific arguments but the reality of the fishing activity today is that fisheries management changes with the policy" (fishing organisation, Spain) 98p8

Some organisations do also refer to intrusion of policy within the fishing organisations.

"The fishing sector is really dependent on policy, including to receive funds, it has to accept some position and therefore it remains fragmented." (Fishing association, Spain) 112p14

More rarely, fishing organisations do use medias to put forward their position or request.

"The only means we have are to put pressure on the administration requesting meetings and when we cannot succeed through this way we used to give our ideas through the medias which is usually very efficient." (fishing organisation, Spain) 96p7

"The medias utilize us and we utilize them. We have used it to put pressure on politicians. But recently, less. I don't like it so much. Some times, it has been the only way. But less and less. We are looking for other ways through a more technical work." 12çp5

"Yes we utilize medias when its is necessary but quite rarely because it is a double-edged sword. Communication is a job and then you don't control things." (Fishing organisation) 145p13

Going to justice was mentioned in few interviews. It appears as a way to by pass the system. The clearest example is in Asturias where the incapacity to produce influence through discussion/negotiation on the share for mackerel – in addition Asturias is progressively lagging behind other fishing regions – has triggered federation of cofradias to have **recourse to justice**.

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## 7.5 Specific influence of the Small-scale fishing sector compared to the large-scale sector

• Influence from the Small-scale fishing sector

The majority of the interviewees (56) do consider the influence of the small-scale fishing fleet segment is weak and decreasing while mowing toward central decision levels (national administration, Europe) in 24 interviews. 17 interviews do not answer to this question. It is interesting also to notice that while 29 Portuguese associations (out of 35), 36 Spanish ones (out of 47) do consider the small-scale fishing fleet segment is weaker, only 4 French organisations (out of 14) do consider this is true.

"It is very complicated. With those who represent us, we had meetings already with the secretary of state, with the minister who promised us a lot of things, but actually, they do not help the small-scale fleet at all. On the contrary, things worsen. We have boats here that cannot go to sea anymore hiring crewmembers; they already have their wifes to help them. There are lot of difficulties here. Thos who govern us should hear small-scale fishing more." (Fishing association, Portugal) 53p11

"At the autonomous region scale, small-scale fishing is having a lot of influence because of its presence and socioeconomic importance here in Galicia. At National level, I don't think there is real awareness about fishing and shellfishes in Galicia. At European level, well they do not know who we are and how many we are." (Fishing association, Spain) 110p10

However it should be noticed that due to its numerical importance and the limited responsibility of regions in Portugal, the small-scale fishing sector is being heard by the public administration but it seems to lack cohesion, being scattered, and not carrying clear messages towards managers.

Some rare organizations (5 in total out of 105) do consider that this segment is having influence, and even increase influence

"Small-scale fishing has a lot of weight and is very well defended, more than any other fishing segments. It is well represented in advisory bodies, in fisheries management at national and European levels because everybody, including NGOs and unions, defends it. But they are not always right. There could not be double standards. It is not because it is smaller that it should be treated differently. There are fishermen. There should not be any difference." (Fishing association, Portugal) 39p11

As seen previously, fisheries management measures also evidenced a lack of influence of the small-scale segment but quite difficult to precisely assess. **Some** small-scale fishers are complaining about **reduced access to quotas** (cf part 1.1, 11 times out of 50), whereas 28 interviews with fishing organisations consider there is an issue about **equity** because on unfair share, **not always dividing the issue between small or large-scale** but also between regions (cf part 6.4 on the quota system).

"The artisanal fishing does not count on structures comparing to other fleet segment in order to be influential. The more quotas a fishing fleet has, the more power it will have." (Fishing association, Spain) 122p8

Regarding access to the space, 11 fishermen complained about negative interactions with larger-scale vessels (part1.1) and 34 organisations do say it is part of their main concerns (cf part 2.4) but not focusing on disadvantages of small-scale. The issue of space is relative. We have seen that even within the small-scale segment, there are huge differences between larger small-scale (boats between 10 and 12m) and smaller ones (under 9m), as seen in Portugal.

Regarding the **European Maritime Fisheries Fund**, some interviewees are pointing that it is **giving improved funding to the small-scale segment**. But the access to these funding schemes still seems to be **problematic for the small-scale sector due to administrative burden** and the atomization of this segment. Other example given is that **unleaded gasoline in Portugal is still taxed** whereas many small-scale boats are using outboard engine.

From the scoring of fishing organisations (cf 7.3 and table 3 in part 7.7), it is also interesting to notice that for **organisations almost exclusively representing small-scale fishing fleet** (96% of the members, corresponding to the last quartile while considering percentage of SSF within the membership), **are the less influential** they also have the worse score in terms of influence either at national level (0,28 being within the first quartile while considering the spread of score for influence at local level) or considering influence at various levels (1,76 being within the first quartile as well).

• <u>Different brakes explaining the lack of influence of the small-scale fishing may be found:</u>

The main reason of the lack of adequate influence seems to be the atomization of the sector and its lack of unity, cited in 14 interviews.

"The main problem of small-scale fishing is its dispersion. They are spread between nuemrous small entities, there are too many small associations and then they do not succeed in reaching representativeness. They should build a larger and inclusive organisation. (...) There is no unity. Also because this fleet is divided in different gears and there are a lot of conflicts. It is difficult to gather them in the same room. Here, we are offering services that benefit to all. We have about 130 members here and this number is quite stable throughout the years." (Fishing association, Portugal) 64p7

"Is there loss of information from the field up to the national level? Certainly. But small-scale have done everything to be marginalized. Fishing representation is made through unions, it's the rule, and a lot of them do not want to join. They have to understand it. (...) I consider the small-scale fishing is inaudible in the way it tries to send messages. They should rally the national fisheries committee. (...) People from the small-scale segment do not know how to do networking." (Fishing association, France) 148

In various interviews, people are also referring to the **mentalities** of small-scale fishers being more **individualistic** and less willing to join.

"Small-scale fishermen do not know how the whole system works. We are trying to work more with them. These are more marginal people, more individualistic. They are scared by control. Purse-seine on the contrary has well understood that unity creates strength." (Fishing association, Spain) 129p3

"A number of people start coastal fishing without the experience to work offshore. They have more difficulties to share the resources. On the contrary, those working more offshore they are sharing the area because you are not alone and sometimes you may even work in fleet. At the end, those working off-shore have a different way of seeing the sea, more in the sharing." (Fishing association, France) 145p9

On the contrary people from larger-scale fleet segment may be more participative and more on their ease to contribute to fishing organisations' debates. Therefore even if the representation within fishing organisations' management boards does not seem to be unbalanced, participation from the larger-scale fleets' representative may be more efficient.

"I think they have more time and more interest. I don't know ... they are more used to participate, to come into meetings, to understand the whole sector. It's a frame of mind." 142p4

"The more you go to higher levels (note: central decision), the more you resent a complex of inferiority among the small-scalf fishing fleet's representatives. Their attitude is a mix between "I would like to go" and "anyhow, they are all silly". They are fantasizing and then realize that it is always more complicated." (Fishing association, France) 144p8

The **economic weight** of the small-scale segment is not part of the study, however it appears that it is more favouring the larger-scale fleet segment (cf 7.4).

The issue of soft power (expertise, credibility and networking) also seems to play more in favour of the larger-scale fleet segment. Actually among the organisations mostly representing SSF (more than 96% of membership corresponding to the last quartile considering share of SSF within the membership), the average number of post-graduate fellow within the staff is 0,3 whereas there are about 2 post-graduate employees on average for organisations representing larger-scale fleet segment on an almost equal basis (less than 60% of membership corresponding to the first quartile considering share of SSF within the membership).

### Comment:

Representation and claims of the small-scale fishing fleet segment appear to be scattered, and this segment appears as less capable of being strategic.

"The sector is not capable of managing the trend there is in the fishing sector nowadays. The trend that leads to new norms, new regulation, scrapping of the fleet, lack of resources, etc... This incapacity comes from the lack of unity, which comes from interference of politics within the sector and the different groups that include the various minor gears ("artes menores")." (Fishing association, Spain) 112p14

## Influence from the large scale fleet

There is a broad consensus and widely shared feeling throughout the interviews to consider the larger scale segment (not being precisely defined) is having more influence (80 interviewees among 105 recognize it).

Arguments clearly turn around the levers identified for influence: **unity, economic weight, and expertise of the representatives**.

"This is where we realize that even if we are the most numerous fleet, we are not the strongest one. Trawling or purse seining really have more influence. I don't know if it is because of the unity they are showing since years, through associations, they always have been more united, they are much more recognized in all aspects, politically, with associations, and they have much more power or strength, even up to the point where an administration may tell you that it is upsetting them, and that it is better not to deal with this issue." (Fishing association, Spain) 4p15

"Take the example of the cod fishery which is almost the unique industrial fishing we have (leaving aside some coastal trawlers, but few), this lobby is having much more voice thanks to its own dimension than the coastal fishing, even if the coastal fishing is representing the major part of Portuguese fishermen. When we analyse the GDP of the coastal fishing – usually through the value of the firms – you realize these are small artisanal boats, almost familiar. And the GDP is reduced even if this sector is representing a lot of people." (Fishing association, Portugal) 38p16

"The representatives from the larger-scale fleet segments used to be more professional, in the sense they do not fear in delegating, and also its economic weight allow to be present in more places." (Fishing association, Spain) 84p9

This fact is also associated by some interviewees to the management at European level that focuses more on larger-scale fleet segment.

"Yes, without any doubt they are more influential. For example, we are discussing at national or European level quotas of the industrialized fleet, not of the artisanal one. At European level, almost nothing about artisanal fishing is being discussed. The industrial fishing is being better represented; it is more influential, because it is dealing with millions. So it is more influential because of the financial dimension, because of its lobbies, because of the industry, because of everything that is being associated to it." (Fishing association, Spain) 55p10

# 7.6 Influence of the fishing sector compared to other human uses, especially in the coastal area

Throughout the interviews, different remarks are made about the lack of credibility of the fishermen a situation of widespread distrust.

"Who knows the reality of our fleet, namely the small-scale one ... I am used to say that these guys from the European community are treating the fisherman as bank robbers or something like that." (Fishing association, Portugal) 48p14

And globally there is a feeling the fishing sector is **loosing influence compared to new increasing maritime uses** such as recreational fishery, aquaculture, wind farms, ... In Portugal, it appears that fishing may even be seen as a brake to the development of maritime activities, for fuel extraction, wind farms, aquaculture. Fishing may even be questioned in front of the environmental stake.

« There is no more General Direction for fisheries but a General Direction for Natural Resources » (Fishing association, Portugal) 48

Yet the **most concerned fishing segment in the area is actually the small-scale** being limited to the coastal area where such activities are popping up. One interviewee even describes the coastal area as a rattrap for small-scale fishing.

There is a widely shared feeling of loose of influence of the Small-scale segment compared to other maritime activities.

## Comment:

It is clearly an issue where fishing organizations do not have direct responsibility. However, more influential fishing organizations have more capacity to lobby managers, and the fragmentation of the small-scale sector in Portugal especially is clearly prejudicing the interests of the small-scale fleets within the frame of competition of other developing human uses (aquaculture, wind farms).

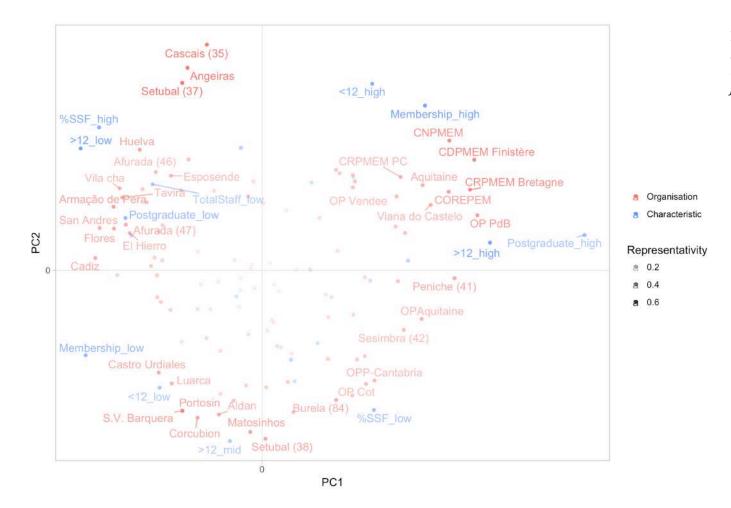
# 7.7 Statistical analysis of fishing organisations' influence based on descriptive variables

Each fishing organisation interview has been scored around different variables (see table 3).

	Descriptive variables	Name in the graph	Score
Visible descriptive variables	Under 12m vessels within the fishing organisation	<12	Number
	Above 12m vessels within the fishing organisation	>12	Number
	Percentage of under 12m vessels within the membership	%SSF	Percentage
	Number of postgraduate within the fishing organisation's staff	Postgraduate	Number
	Number of employées within the fishing organisation's staff	TotalStaff	Number
Invisible descriptive variables	Economic role		YES/NO
	Degree of participation of the fishers		Percentage (low/High)
	Leadership within the fishing organisation		YES/NO
	Networking (administrations, scientists, NGOs, other fishing organisations)		0,1 or 2 for each potential Partner
	Criticisms on fisheries management		YES/NO
	Criticisms on fisheries régulation implementation		
Variables linked to influence	Influence at national level	Influence_N	0,1 or 2
	Influence at all levels (european, national, régional, local)	Influence_Tot	0,1 or 2 for each level

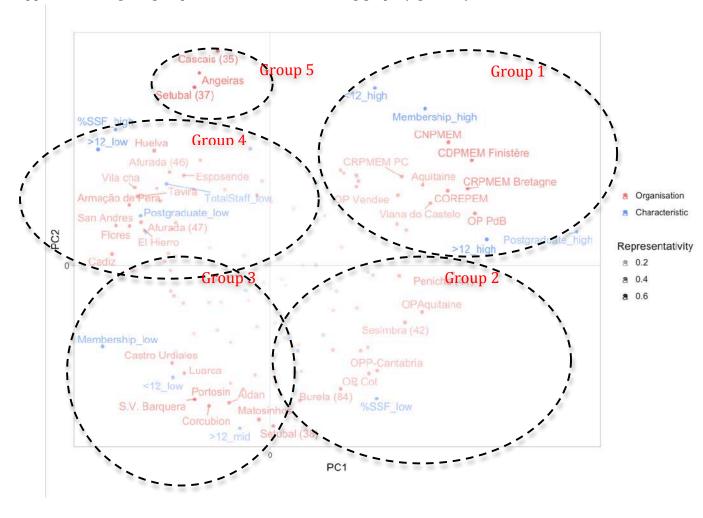
**Table 3.** Descriptives variables for interviewed fishing organisations. The names are the ones that can be found in the graph (figure9), and the scores explain how each variable was scored at first. For the purpose of MCA analysis, each variable have then been splitted in three levels: low, mid, high, with one third of the organisations allocated in each level.

The graph (figure 9) is the result of a **Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA)**. It is grouping fishing organisations depending on their descriptive characteristics, derived from the interviews. **Red dots are the fishing organisations; blue dots are the descriptive variables**. From a semi-quantitative scale, each variable has been separated in three levels: low, mid, high, with one third of the organisations allocated in each level. Descriptive variables and overwhole scoring of the fishing organisations are presented in table 3 here below.



**Figure 9.** Graph resulting from the multiple correspondence analysis undertaken for all interviewed fishing organisations.

The graph (figure 9) has to be interpreted in terms of **proximity between dots**. Red dots that are close one with the each other are organisations whose characteristics are similar. **Blue dots that are close to these red dots are giving the main characteristics of these organisations**. Dots are being more or less transparent depending on their representativeness in the analysis. Numerous points are actually very transparent (their names are not being given in the graph). In addition **the variance being explained by the analysis is weak** (14% on PC1, and 10% on PC2). This shocs that the organisations are very variable and not very characterized for these variables, many combination do occur. **However some stereotypes** appear following the groups identified in the following graph (figure 10)



**Figure 10.** Dots are being grouped depending on their proximity. Five main groups have been identified.

**Group 1**: CNPMEM, COREPIEM, OP PdB, Viana do Castelo; is being characterized by a High number of participants and a High number of postgraduates.

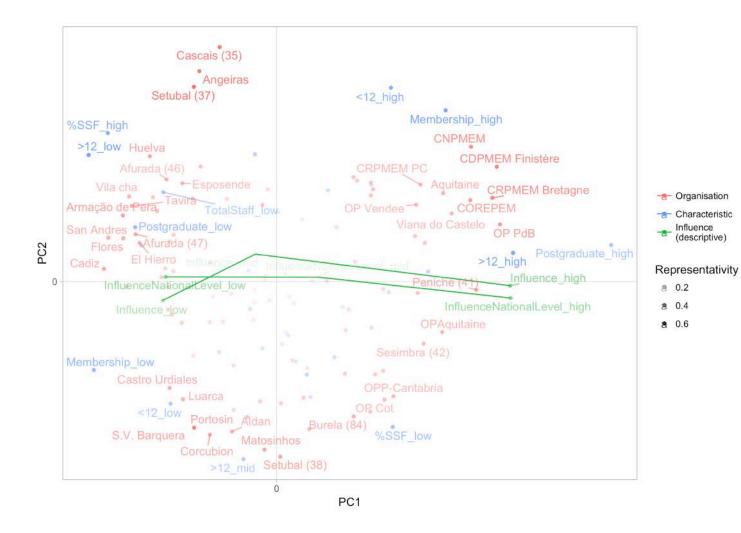
**Group 2 to 3**: a gradient appears from «OP Aquitaine» towards «Castro Urdiales) on the left, going through «Burela (84)» and «S.V. Barquera», starting from rather big organisations with a lower percentage of SSF (OP Aquitaine -> Burela (84)) to go towards organisations with a number of members close to the average (Setubal, Matosinhos), up to organisations with few participants (Luarca, Castro Urdiales).

**Group 4**: numerous organisations grouped around « Aramação de Pera », all very Small (considering >12, and TotalStaff-low), with a low number of postgraduate and a high percentage of Small-scale vessels within the membership (percentSSF-high).

**Group 5**: Setubal (37), Angeiras, Cascais (35) are clearly identified (good representativeness) but not clearly linked to some variables. Thèse are probably organisations that are different to the others, globally, and therefore do have a specific situation. However, there are rather small and with an elevated percentage of small-scale.

In a second setp, within this representation, variable linked to influence have been projected (in green) to analyse possible link with the structure that has been explained before (figure 11). The link appears to be obvious, with a distribution which is clear spread from the left to the right, influence increasing with the size of the organisation.

It therefore clearly appears that influence is closely linked to **the size of the organisation (<12 and >12\_high)**, and the number of postgraduates. Such graph appears to back-up previous conclusions on main levers for influence (see part 7.4).



**Figure 11.** MCA analysis of the interviewed fishing organisations. Influence (both at national level and all levels) is being projected into the graph in green.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The common fisheries policy should focus more on effort management, and spatial management for coastal areas. This would allow to more efficiently managing the small-scale fishing activity taken into account its limited operational range.

The small-scale fishing fleet segment seems to have been let aside of the fisheries management process for years, with measures and obligations clearly targeting larger scale fleet segments (considering control and declaration). Considering various references on excess of fishing effort and lack of efficient regulation in the coastal area, it could even be considered that the preferential treatment, which has been set up for small-scale through the CFP, has actually negatively impacted this fleet segment. Considering the issue of quotas' allocation or of limitation of the fishing effort in the coastal area, it appears that this segment urgently needs management whereas it is much less known: lack of biological assessments for many coastal resources, lack of information on catches, and specific situation in Portugal where a huge part of this fleet is selling outside the legal market leading to a situation of ghost fishing and ghost fleet.

**Recommendation 1.** Special focus should be made by the CFP on managing the coastal area of which the small-scale fleet is the more dependent. Acess to resources and space should be more closely managed by national administrations.

Within the small-scale fleet huge discrepancies also exist between very small vessels with limited range of operation and larger ones. If no management measures are taken to manage access to resources and space in the coastal area, it could be supposed that the current trend would lead to fewer and more efficient vessels. It is actually most probably the trend that has already partly occurred in France with a stability of the 10-12m fleet segment in the last decade (from the community fleet register's figures), which obviously represent the most powerful vessels of the under 12m category.

Management tailored at local level and focusing on technical measures would probably fits much more with the reality of this polyvalent fleet. In respect to this consideration, the specific case of the incapacity of the European Union to reform the technical control measures regulation up to know, and since about 20 years, is a clear evidence of the difficulty of the common fisheries policy to encompass diversity and complexity of the various fisheries throughout Europe. Regionalization of the common fisheries policy still seems to be inadequate for local coastal fishing activities, because regional seas cover a much wider scale.

**Recommendation 2.** The CFP should focus on the management of the fishing effort whereas quota management is insufficiently addressing the diversity of fisheries, which is especially high for the small-scale fleet.

Further regionalization of the technical control measures' regulation, defining costal areas' management units, would allow to more specifically address the most needed management of the small-scale fleet activity. It could even be considered that yearly decision on TACs, being defined around ICES areas, do less fit with the small-scale fishing activity with a much smaller range of operation whereas larger-scale vessels more usually have operation range that do correspond to such areas.

The issue of quota allocation is hugely being debated by both fishers and fishing organisations, with issues of equity being raised in several occasions either between the different fleet segments, or fishing fleets (using the definition of "métiers": crossing area, fishing gears, and fleet segments), or between the different regions.

**Recommendation 3.** Allocation of quota between the different fleet segments and regions should be analyzed in order to objectively assess the issue of equity between fleets and regions.

2. Active participation from the small-scale fishing sector would be incentivized if further decentralization of the fisheries' management was set up. Coastal co-management units could be defined to enforce participation in designing local management measures.

Further participation from the fishing sector should be sought. Huge differences exist in the SWWAC's area in this respect. Few initiatives of co-management have started in Portugal. In Spain, autonomous regions do have competence in internal waters only, where advices from the cofradias are key. In France, the state has partly delegated the fisheries management to POs for quota management and to the regional fisheries committee for fishing effort regulation within the 12 nm.

- Recommendation 4. Further participation from the small-scale fishing sector should be reinforced at adequate scale: around coastal management units, defined at a much lower scale than the SWWAC. At such scale, legal mechanisms should be found to allow co-management for technical and control measures, and definition of fishing possibilities for local marine resources.
- ➤ <u>Recommendation 5.</u> Adequate technical work should accompany this process, either through technical employees that would be hired within existing fishing organisations or outside fishing organisations. Field technical employees could for example be hired by the SWWAC.

Favouring employing technical employee outside existing fishing organisations – may be through work contracts with the SWWAC or with the DG MARE – would clearly favour a more neutral field work to understand major concerns and issues in terms of sustainable fisheries management. The examples of excess of fishing effort in Portugal mainland (number of pots), or France Bay of Biscay (number of nets) is clearly illustrating that fishing organisations tend to mitigate the magnitude of the issue whereas some external person, in close contacts with fishing organisations and fishers, would clearly state it.

- 3. Measures should be put in place to help to strengthen the voice of the small-scale fleet at regional, national and European level
- **i. For organisations representing mostly the small-scale fishing fleet,** a very scattered representation of the fishing sector is being observed in Andalusia, Canarias, Azores, Portugal mainland, Galicia and Asturias. In such areas, no umbrella organisation representing small-scale has clearly taken the lead with adequate expertise, and a minimum critical mass.
- Recommendation 5. Capacity building processes should be brought to these organisations, either through favouring the establishment of new umbrella organisations where they do not exist (Portugal mainland), or reinforcing the current umbrella organisations (Canarias, Azores, Galicia) where they exist. In the case of Andalusia, the umbrella organisation (federation of cofradias) is clearly representing various fleet segments. Therefore the options are either to reinforce the current federation and then applying recommendation X here below, or to help fishing organisations representing mainly small-scale interests to merge or network together.
- **ii. For organisations representing various fleet segments,** internal governance of fishing organisations is favouring the cohabitation between different fishing practises but is not reactive enough to adapting to evolution of fishing practises if they are operated within their own members (fishing effort displacement, increase of gears deployed in the sea). By systematically avoiding conflicts between their members and while looking for compromise, fishing organisations do contribute to hide the reality of the stakes (different fishing practises, type of fishing boats in competition, etc.). As a result, managers do not have the relevant information to arbitrate.
- Recommendation 6. Even if a premium could be given to compromise solutions in order to encourage finding common solutions, minority opinions should be systematically reported both at SWWAC's level and fishing organisations' level. Reporting opinions and proposals from each "metier" (homogeneous fishing fleet having same fishing practises) should be made mandatory in order for the managers to more clearly understand the field reality.

More generally speaking, the paradox of influence lies in the contradiction between the necessity of central management leading to a reduced number of powerful and influential organisation on one side, and the necessity of an adequate representation of the diversity of fisheries – especially in the case of the small-scale fleet – which argues more in favour of local and widespread fishing organisations.