

1 **Fisher's preferences and trade-offs between management options.**

2

3 **Alternative Title 1: A Choice Experiment of fisher's preferences and trade-**  
4 **offs between management options.**

5 **Alternative Title 2: A Choice Experiment of fisher's preferences and trade-**  
6 **offs between management options in Europe's Common Fisheries Policy.**

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21 **Running Title:** Fisher's preferences and trade-offs.

22

23

24 **Abstract**

25 Failure to understand the potential responses of fishers to management measures creates a  
26 significant risk of revisiting the familiar scenario of perverse and unintended consequences of  
27 those measures. This paper reports on a Choice Experiment survey to evaluate fisher's  
28 preferences for various management measures proposed under the EU Common Fisheries  
29 Policy (CFP) reform process, but the conclusions have wider relevance as similar measures  
30 are used by comparable fleets in fisheries globally. The survey was conducted with fishers  
31 involved in mixed pelagic and demersal fisheries in Ireland, pelagic fisheries in Denmark and  
32 demersal fisheries in Greece. Fisheries management policies were characterised by five  
33 attributes designed both to cover the principal CFP reform proposals and to integrate  
34 ecological, social, economic and institutional factors affecting fisher's decisions. The paper  
35 uses a random utility modelling framework to reveal the preferences of the fishers across the  
36 alternative policy attributes. Results show that while there are generally preferences both for  
37 healthy stocks and for maintaining the importance of fishing to the local community, strong  
38 inter-fishery preference differences exist. These differences are most notable in relation to a  
39 discard ban and to the use of individual transferable fishing rights, favoured in Denmark, but  
40 not in Ireland for instance. The strength of these inter-fishery differences supports the  
41 assertion that there are no panaceas in fisheries management and that solutions should be  
42 tailored within the context of specific fisheries. Not doing so could create a significant risk of  
43 inappropriately managed fisheries that may lead to unsustainable outcomes.

44

45

46 **Keywords:** Behaviour of fishers, Choice Experiment, Common Fisheries Policy, fisheries  
47 governance, Random Utility Model.

48

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63

## 64 Introduction

65 Successful governance of marine fisheries remains a difficult issue of global importance (FAO  
66 2016). The European Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) (European Parliament and Council  
67 2013) is a case in point (Villasante *et al.* 2011). The CFP contains a wide range of management  
68 measures intended to solve the overarching problems identified during the CFP reform  
69 process (European Commission 2009). These measures include *inter alia* changes to  
70 governance arrangements such as regionalisation, economic instruments such as the  
71 proposed mandatory use of transferable quotas and conservation measures such as a landing  
72 obligation for quota species. Fisher’s relative preferences for these management measures,  
73 including those that may be positively received and could incentivise “good” behaviour,  
74 have not been systematically assessed. If we are to avoid the familiar problem, well known to  
75 those involved in fisheries management, of perverse and unintended consequences (Abbott

76 and Haynie 2012; Degnbol and McCay 2007) then it is necessary to have a greater  
77 understanding of fisher's likely responses to these measures, following approaches taken in  
78 countries such as Australia (Fulton *et al.* 2011; Pascoe *et al.* 2009).

79 The central question addressed by this paper is which management measures, and at what  
80 scale, create the right incentives to tackle the main failings of fisheries management, as  
81 exhibited under the CFP. We report on an innovative approach to assessing fisher's  
82 preferences for management measures and additionally to providing insight into how fishers  
83 are prepared to trade-off between them. Choice Experiments (CE) are designed to measure  
84 the overall value of a good such as a healthy marine ecosystem while also discerning the  
85 marginal value or utility of that good's individual attributes (Hanley *et al.* 1998; Hynes *et al.*  
86 2008). The importance of this is that management measures targeting those attributes most  
87 valued by stakeholders and which in theory will most incentivise change can be identified  
88 (Eliassen *et al.* 2014).

89 The CE method has been widely used in environmental and agricultural economics (Hanley  
90 *et al.* 1998; Birol and Cox 2007; Hynes and Campbell 2011; Chhun *et al.* 2013) but has seldom  
91 been applied in relation to fisher's preferences for different commercial fisheries management  
92 approaches. Oh *et al.* (2005) analysed preferences for various management options in  
93 recreational fisheries using a CE. Duffield *et al.* (2012) modelled the behaviour of recreational  
94 Marlin anglers in the Western Pacific. Eggert and Martinsson (2003) used CE to explore levels  
95 of risk tolerance in commercial fishers. Groeneveld (2011) modelled preferences in the  
96 Netherlands with regards to a specific management measure, an area closed to fishing to  
97 protect juvenile Plaice. There has also been some application of the CE approach to specific  
98 aspects of small-scale commercial fisheries in the developing world: Launio *et al.* (2009)  
99 examined the factors considered important for fishers in relation to Marine Protected Areas in  
100 the Philippines; while Kanchanaroek *et al.* (2013) modelled fisher's property rights choices in  
101 a Cambodian small scale fishery. To the best of our knowledge there has been no previous

102 application of the CE method to model the preferences of fishers between alternative  
103 management measures in any commercial fisheries despite the fact that the method is well  
104 suited to making such an analysis. This research is also the first to use the CE methodology  
105 to compare preference structures across a number of different fisheries.

106

#### 107 **Case study fisheries**

108 Three case study fisheries were selected in which to conduct the Choice Experiment: the  
109 Celtic Sea herring (*Clupea harengus*, Clupeidae) fishery in Ireland; the Danish pelagic fishery  
110 and the Aegean demersal trawl fishery in Greece. These fisheries were selected on the basis  
111 that they included one strictly pelagic, one strictly demersal and one mixed fishery which  
112 allows an examination of whether management preferences differ across types of European  
113 fishery. Figure 1 shows the grounds fished by each of the surveyed fleets.

114

#### 115 *The Celtic Sea herring fishery*

116 The Celtic Sea herring fishery is conducted off the south coast of Ireland predominantly  
117 within 20 nautical miles of the coast. The fleet is highly diverse with vessels ranging from  
118 under 10m multi-purpose inshore vessels up to modern 45m refrigerated sea water (RSW)  
119 vessels. Most of the participating vessels are classed as polyvalent, i.e. they alternate between  
120 pelagic and demersal fisheries during the year. The fishery has traditionally been a very  
121 important one for both the fleet and processing sectors in the south of Ireland.

122 The history of the fishery over the past 50 years has been one of an alternating boom and bust  
123 cycle. Following very low stock levels from approximately 1995 to 2007 the Spawning Stock  
124 Biomass (SSB) is currently at its highest point since the 1960's while fishing mortality (F) rates  
125 are at their lowest recorded level. A long-term management plan (LTMP), jointly developed  
126 by the local management committee and scientists in 2011 has been evaluated by ICES as

127 being consistent with their precautionary and Maximum Sustainable Yield (MSY) approaches  
128 (Marine Institute 2013).

129 A total of 86% of the Total Allowable Catch is allocated to Ireland and the only other  
130 significant players involved in the fishery are Dutch vessels and Dutch owned vessels from  
131 France and Germany. It is essentially a single species fishery without any significant bycatch  
132 issues (Fitzpatrick 2013). Prior to 2012 the fishery was effectively an open access one for  
133 vessels under approximately 20m in length while a pool of larger vessels retained access  
134 rights. Numbers of participating vessels increased steadily between 2007 and 2012 in both the  
135 main (offshore) and sentinel (inshore) fleet sectors (Le Floc'h *et al.* 2014). In 2012 a restricted  
136 access scheme was introduced by the Irish Fisheries Minister intended to reduce the number  
137 of vessels entitled to participate in the fishery (DAFF 2012).

138

### 139 *The Danish pelagic fishery*

140 The majority of Danish pelagic catches for human consumption are taken in the Northeast  
141 Atlantic, where the fleet mainly targets herring and mackerel (*Scomber scombrus*, Scombridae)  
142 in the North Sea (ICES area IVa and IVb) and herring in the Norwegian Sea (ICES area IIa).  
143 The main fleet consists of approximately ten vessels above 40m using pelagic trawls and  
144 purse seines (mainly for mackerel), while a similar sized fleet of smaller trawlers (mostly  
145 vessels less than 18m) fish herring in the inshore areas in the Kattegat (ICES area IIIa) and the  
146 Baltic Sea (IIIc and IIId). The pelagic fleet is economically important and contributes  
147 approximately 45% of the total annual landing value in Denmark.

148 There have been considerable structural changes in the Danish pelagic fleet since the  
149 introduction of an individually tradeable quota (ITQ) system in January 2003, with a decrease  
150 in vessel numbers from 130 vessels fishing herring in 2000 to approximately 25 vessels in  
151 2012. This fleet restructuring has resulted in a better balance between fleet capacity and  
152 fishing opportunities, and improved economic performance through increases in catch

153 efficiency. Catch technology (e.g. gear size and electronic fish-finding and navigational  
154 equipment) has been shown to improve in newer, larger vessels (Eigaard 2009; Eigaard *et al.*  
155 2014), adding to the observed increasing trend in fishing power.

156

### 157 *The Greek demersal fishery*

158 The third fishery, the Greek demersal fishery, has an essentially multispecies nature with up  
159 to 100 species in some areas, that is typical of Mediterranean fisheries (Caddy 2009). There is  
160 a high interaction between gears and fleet segments, since most of the main target species are  
161 exploited by more than one fishing technique or strategy, each often concentrating on  
162 individuals of different sizes. The fishery is generally managed through input regulations i.e.  
163 effort control rules and technical measures, such as closed seasons, closed areas, limited  
164 licenses, minimum landing size (MLS), mesh size regulations, and maximum gear sizes. The  
165 selected study area was the northern part of the FAO General Fisheries Council for the  
166 Mediterranean (GFCM) GSA 22.

167 The Data Collection Regulation (DCR) programme (EC 1543/2000; EC 949/2008) has enabled a  
168 time series of effort and landings data in the Mediterranean to be built (Vassilakopoulos *et al.*  
169 2014) and improved the data limitations which constrained past stock assessments. Under the  
170 DCR framework data on effort and landings have been collected in Greece since 2002 from  
171 209 landing ports on a monthly basis. The active Greek trawler fleet in the Aegean Sea  
172 consists of 299 vessels that use bottom trawl nets as the main gear. The gear used is more or  
173 less the same (40 mm diamond mesh size) irrespective of the target species, with only minor  
174 modifications.

175

### 176 **Methodology**

177 Choice Experiment surveys involve the respondent making a series of choices between  
178 scenarios comprised of component attributes with varying levels. In this study the choice

179 scenarios consist of varying combinations of fisheries management options. The survey  
180 attributes were selected based on their prominence in the CFP reform process, on relevance  
181 for fishing industry stakeholders and on the need to integrate ecological, economic and social  
182 factors. From a comprehensive list of potential choices six attributes with varying levels were  
183 selected: long-term biological outlook of the fishery; management scale; importance of  
184 fishing to the local community; management measures; access and quota allocation options  
185 and a cost attribute. Although not of direct relevance in the analysis presented in this paper,  
186 the inclusion of a cost attribute is a requirement to allow for an assessment of welfare impacts  
187 arising from moving from one suite of management policies to another. The cost attribute  
188 selected was the annual payment made by fishers to their representative organisations. We  
189 felt that this financial contribution is more closely related to management performance than  
190 for instance the market price of fish that may fluctuate independently of how well a fishery is  
191 managed.

192 An important criterion in the selection of attributes was that they had to be sufficiently  
193 generic to be relevant in three case study fisheries, in different countries, and with diverse  
194 management arrangements. The only case specific modification required was in changing the  
195 Transferable Fishing Concession (TFC) attribute levels to Transferable Territorial Use Rights  
196 in Fisheries (TURFs) for the Greek demersal fisheries as quotas are not used in the  
197 Mediterranean.

198 A related issue is that both the choice of attributes and the range of attribute levels used in the  
199 survey should as far as possible be meaningful to respondents rather than being purely  
200 hypothetical. This is an important consideration in order to avoid speculative or protest  
201 responses. Table 1 shows the attributes and their levels.

202 In a choice experiment, an experimental design is used to map attributes and levels into sets  
203 of alternatives to which respondents indicate their choices. For the main survey a D-efficient  
204 design was used. A D-efficient design identifies a subset of choice situations from all possible

205 combinations of attribute-levels (full factorial design) and places the subset into groups of  
206 alternatives. An experimental design with 24 choice questions was used but the final design  
207 was partitioned into two blocks so that each fisher was presented with a total of 12 choice  
208 cards. Blocking reduces the necessary cognitive effort for each respondent and the use of  
209 efficient design principles means that it is possible to break multiple attributes and levels  
210 down into a smaller number of cards designed in such a way as to generate results as  
211 efficiently as a full factorial design (Hynes *et al.* 2013).

212 A pilot survey with 7 fishers from the Celtic Sea herring case study was conducted to obtain  
213 informed priors for the design that was then produced in Ngene (Econometric software;  
214 version 1.1.0). Fishers were offered 12 choice cards each and were asked to choose one of  
215 three different options per card. An example choice card is provided in Figure 2. Some initial  
216 issues with the survey design were addressed following the pilot survey. Changes were made  
217 to Option C in the main survey as the pilot survey yielded a relatively high number of *status*  
218 *quo* bids possibly due to the fact that the stock status was improving in this fishery and  
219 therefore changes to the current management approach may have been viewed negatively.  
220 Analysis of the responses following the changes to Option C show that the three options  
221 attracted almost evenly distributed numbers of bids and therefore there is no evidence of  
222 significant *status quo* bias in the survey overall. Indeed, there was only one respondent in the  
223 survey who chose Option C on all cards. Additionally, the use of a cheap talk script in order  
224 to reduce hypothetical bias was employed for the main survey. A cheap talk script attempts  
225 to reduce bias stemming from the hypothetical nature of the experiments that may increase  
226 the propensity of respondents to exaggerate stated opinions. The cheap talk script contained  
227 the following text: "We would like to know your opinion in order to assist in the design and  
228 selection of management measures that are consistent with sustainability and provide  
229 consensus across different stakeholder groups. There are no right or wrong answers – we are  
230 only interested in finding out your true opinion of management measures."

231 In addition to the Choice Experiment some economic and demographic data were collected  
 232 and follow-up questions asked. The additional data was used during the analysis of results  
 233 to examine whether economic or demographic factors were explanatory variables underlying  
 234 survey responses. Follow-up questions covered issues such as whether respondents had  
 235 ignored any attributes in making their choices and ranking exercises on general fisheries  
 236 management preferences. These questions were designed and used to compare responses  
 237 using different survey methods.

238

239 *Discrete Choice models*

240 The Random Utility Model (RUM) developed by McFadden (1973) was employed to examine  
 241 fisher's choices amongst alternative management choices. RUM operates on the assumption  
 242 that utility is composed of an observable component and a random component, which gives a  
 243 utility function of this form:

$$244 \quad U_{ni} = V_{ni} + \varepsilon_{ni}, \tag{1}$$

245 where  $U_{ni}$  is the  $n$ th fisher's utility associated with choosing alternative  $i$ ,  $V_{ni}$ , is the non-  
 246 stochastic portion determined by the characteristics of the alternative management options  
 247 and  $\varepsilon_{ni}$  is the stochastic element. It is assumed that the observed choice is the one associated  
 248 with the highest obtained utility ( $U_{ni}$ ). The probability that respondent  $n$  chooses alternative  
 249  $i$  from the set of  $J$  alternatives is given by:

$$250 \quad P_{ni} = Prob(V_{ni} + \varepsilon_{ni} \geq V_{nj} + \varepsilon_{nj}; \text{ for all } i \in C_n) \tag{2}$$

251 where  $C_n$  is the choice-set of fisher  $n$  comprising of the alternative management options A, B  
 252 and *status quo* option C.

253 The observed utility  $V_{ni}$  is assumed to be linear in the parameters so that  $V_{ni} = \beta' x_{ni}$  where  
 254  $x_{ni}$  is a vector of observed variables relating to alternative  $i$  and  $\beta$  is the associated vector of

255 coefficients. If  $\varepsilon_{ni}$  is assumed to be independently and identically distributed with the Type 1  
 256 extreme value distribution, this probability will have a closed form expression, leading to the  
 257 Conditional Logit (CL) model:

$$258 \quad P_{ni} = \frac{e^{\beta'x_{ni}}}{\sum_j e^{\beta'x_{nj}}} \quad (3)$$

259 The CL model has some important limitations in analysing choice data, (outlined in detail in  
 260 Train, 2003) and the Random Parameter Logit (RPL) model can be used to overcome these  
 261 problems. The RPL relaxes the assumption that observations are independent, and allows the  
 262  $\beta$  parameters to vary across individuals and thus accommodates heterogeneous preferences  
 263 in the sampled population by generating a distribution of  $\beta$  parameters which vary randomly  
 264 over all individuals (Hynes *et al.* 2008). The RPL model also allows the error components of  
 265 different alternatives to be correlated. The RPL model outputs are presented in the Results  
 266 section. Additionally all of the statistical metrics used to aid the researcher in selecting the  
 267 most appropriate model (Log likelihood, AIC, Bayes IC and Hannan Quinn) indicate that the  
 268 RPL provided an improvement in fit over the CL model (Table 2). A McFadden's pseudo R<sup>2</sup>  
 269 value between 0.2 to 0.4 is considered to indicate a model of good fit (McFadden 1979) and  
 270 the value in our model of 0.34 indicates that the attributes in the model do a good job in  
 271 explaining the variability in choices made.

272 The RPL model is a flexible logit model that allows parameters associated with the observed  
 273 variable to vary across individuals where there is a known population distribution. The  
 274 probability of fisher  $n$  choosing alternative  $i$  on choice occasion  $t$  is given by the following  
 275 logit formula:

$$276 \quad P_{njt} = \frac{e^{(\beta_n x_{nit})}}{\sum_{j=1}^J e^{(\beta_n x_{njt})}} \quad (4)$$

277 where  $\beta_n$  is a random parameter with unconditional density  $f(\beta_n|\theta)$  and  $\theta$  is the distribution  
 278 of  $\beta_n$ . The RPL model is estimated using simulated maximum likelihood estimation

279 procedures. For an in-depth discussion of the family of RUM modelling approaches the  
280 interested reader is directed to Train (2003) and for the RPL model in particular to Revelt and  
281 Train (1998). In this study we use a simulated maximum likelihood estimator with 200 Halton  
282 draws in the final estimation of the model.

283 The RPL model demonstrates whether heterogeneity exists around the mean population  
284 parameters through the estimation of a standard deviation parameter associated with each  
285 random parameter estimate. The RPL model also examines possible explanatory factors of the  
286 heterogeneity that exists amongst fishers by interacting the random parameters with  
287 variables that the researcher suspects may be a possible driver of variation in values. In this  
288 case we accomplish this by interacting the vessel size and nationality variables with our  
289 attribute levels in a pooled RPL model.

290

### 291 *Survey implementation*

292 The survey was conducted in the three case study countries; Ireland, Denmark and Greece,  
293 with as high a sampling ratio of the population as possible. In the Celtic Sea herring fishery  
294 the number of fishers surveyed was 36 (with 43 surveys in total conducted including the  
295 pilot) representing approximately 75% of the total number of participants in the fishery. In  
296 Denmark 18 surveys with owners and/or skippers of 14 vessels were conducted, representing  
297 approximately 61% of the total number of vessels in the Danish herring fishery. In Greece 13  
298 surveys were conducted representing approximately 45% of the total number of participants  
299 in this fishery. The total number of surveys conducted across the 3 locations was 74.

300 Although the overall sample size ( $N = 74$ ) is small in comparison with some other choice  
301 experiments it does represent over 50% of the total population available and is comparable  
302 with other published literature. De Bekker-Grob *et al.* (2015) reported that 32% of choice  
303 experiments in the healthcare area had sample sizes less than 100. Wielgus *et al.* (2009) used a  
304 sample of 87 when estimating anglers willingness to pay for angling locations. Adams *et al.*

305 (2014) had 92 respondents in a choice experiment survey analysing landholder's spatial  
306 conservation priorities. Rose and Bliemer (2013) also demonstrate that D-efficient choice  
307 experimental designs require much smaller sample sizes than random orthogonal designs.  
308 Selection of respondents was made through consultation with the relevant fisher's  
309 organisations in each country. In all cases the survey was conducted as a face-to-face survey.  
310 Each respondent was given background information on the survey purpose and an  
311 explanation of how it would be conducted. They were given a practice choice card to  
312 familiarise them with how the choice experiment survey worked. The choice options on the  
313 practice card were not the same as those on the real cards to avoid any anchoring effects.  
314 Anchoring occurs when the initial choices and their associated attribute levels provide a focal  
315 point or anchor for respondents that are uncertain about their true preferences. Anchoring is  
316 usually related in particular to the initial bid values provided in the sample choice card.  
317 Using attributes that are familiar to the respondents, as was done in this study, also reduces  
318 these anchoring effects. The respondents were then asked to complete the 12 choice cards.

319

## 320 **Results**

321 Table 2 gives the results from the RPL model described in the previous section. The  
322 coefficients in the models are interpreted as showing the average impact of the respective  
323 choice attributes on fisher  $n$ 's utility. Given that the choice probability  $P_{ni}$  depends only on the  
324 difference in utility and not its absolute level, the analyst concentrates generally on the sign of  
325 the coefficient where a positive sign indicates that on average the presence of the associated  
326 attribute level in a management option contributes positively to a fisher's utility and a  
327 negative sign indicates it contributes negatively to the fisher's utility. The preferences for the  
328 discrete attribute levels, represented in the coefficient signs, are interpreted relative to their  
329 base case. The base case for each attribute is given in Table 2.

330 One of the most interesting results evident from the individual fisheries models presented in  
331 Table 2 is that there are no management attribute levels that elicit the same preference  
332 structure across all three fisheries. The Irish and Danish fishers both prefer management  
333 options that are more likely to result in a good biological outlook for the stock. The responses  
334 of Greek fishers revealed that biological outlook was less important in comparison to other  
335 variables. However, it should be mentioned that the size and significance (albeit at the 10%  
336 level) of standard deviation for biological outlook indicates a wide diversity of preferences,  
337 both positive and negative suggesting that this attribute provokes a mixed response (Rigby  
338 and Burton 2003).

339 Preference structures for levels of the management scale attribute were quite different across  
340 the three fisheries. Irish fishers had a strong preference for co-management over regional, EU  
341 or national management frameworks. Co-management was the base case level for the  
342 management scale attribute. The negative sign for the regional, EU or national management  
343 frameworks indicate that they are less preferred relative to co-management. Greek fishers  
344 had no significant preferences for any of the management scale attribute levels. Danish  
345 pelagic fishers appear to prefer regional or national management frameworks to co-  
346 management or EU based management. There may however have been some  
347 misunderstanding of the meaning of co-management in the Danish case and these are  
348 addressed in more detail in the Discussion section.

349 Measures that maintain or strengthen the importance of fishing within the local community  
350 were prioritised to some extent in all three fisheries. This preference was most evident in the  
351 Irish case where measures that maintain or increase the importance of fishing in the  
352 community were significantly preferred. For the Greek fishers measures maintaining the  
353 community importance of fishing at its current level are significantly preferred. Based on the  
354 significance of the standard deviation associated with measures increasing the social

355 importance of fishing it is evident that only in the Danish case is there any indication that this  
356 attribute provoked a mixed response.

357 In relation to the management measures attribute both the Celtic Sea herring and particularly  
358 the Greek demersal fishers had significant negative preferences with regards to a landing  
359 obligation while the Danish pelagic fishery supported it. Danish fishers also supported the  
360 use of temporary spatial closures more than Irish fishers while Greek fishers had mixed  
361 preferences. Greek fishers had significant negative preferences for permanent area closures  
362 while both Irish and Danish fishers had mixed responses.

363 Greek fishers had no significant preferences for any of the levels associated with the access  
364 and quota management attribute while Irish and Danish fishers have almost diametrically  
365 opposed preference structures. Celtic Sea herring fishers are negatively inclined towards  
366 tradable fishing concessions while Danish fishers prefer them over other access and quota  
367 management options.

368 In relation to the financial attribute only the Irish case shows the expected preference for  
369 management scenarios that minimise costs. The implications of this are explored in more  
370 detail in the Discussion section.

371 Table 3 displays the results of a pooled RPL model where all 3 samples are combined. The  
372 pooled model facilitates the inclusion of fishery and vessel size interactions with the Irish  
373 fishery as the base case. These model results reinforce the findings from the separate RPL  
374 models in Table 2 of significant preference heterogeneity across fisheries. While the  
375 individual fisheries models explain variation in a deterministic way for each fleet, by a  
376 segmentation of the fishers into mutually exclusive subsets the pooled model allows for an  
377 additional, purely random, variation in tastes across all fleets.

378 Looking at the interaction terms, Danish fishers have significantly different preferences for all  
379 except two of the attributes in the pooled model when compared to the base case of Irish  
380 fishers. The effect is particularly evident in relation to the landing obligation attribute and the

381 internationally tradable TFCs attributes, reflecting the findings in the Danish model  
382 presented in Table 2.

383 The pooled model also reveals that Greek fishers have a preference for regional and national  
384 management and derive less utility from measures increasing the community importance of  
385 fishing, again compared to the base case of Irish fishers.

386 The interaction variable for vessel size also shows that owners of larger vessels have  
387 significantly less preference for management scenarios that increase the importance of fishing  
388 to the local community and significantly prefer both nationally and internationally tradable  
389 individual fishing concessions.

390 In addition to the choice cards fishers were also asked a number of other attitudinal questions  
391 in the survey that can help explain the preferences shown in the models above. In particular,  
392 responses to the supplementary question on high level fisheries management objectives  
393 (Figure 3) showed no consistent pattern across the three case studies with each case  
394 prioritising a different objective. "Importance of fishing in the local community" was the  
395 most highly prioritised management objective among Celtic Sea herring fishers, a finding  
396 which is consistent with the RPL model outputs, while "Ecosystem Productivity" and  
397 "Profits and Return on Investment" were the highest for Greek and Danish fishers  
398 respectively.

399 The other supplementary question asked respondents to rank 10 CFP related management  
400 measures in order of their potential to improve fisheries management (Figure 4). The most  
401 preferred option for both Celtic Sea and Danish respondents was to "Increase industry input,  
402 role and responsibilities". The highest ranking management issue for Greek respondents was  
403 to "Improve the regional decision making structure of the CFP". As was evident in the  
404 individual fishery RPL models, one of the more divisive management options was to "Make  
405 quotas individual and transferable" which was the second highest ranked objective for  
406 Danish respondents while being the second lowest ranked for Celtic Sea fishers. The Greek

407 survey omitted this option from the question as quotas are not used in Mediterranean  
408 fisheries. A landing obligation ranked as the measure least likely to improve fisheries  
409 management across all three case studies.

410

#### 411 **Discussion**

412 One of the most interesting findings from this research is that there are no management  
413 attributes that provoke a unanimous response across the three case studies. This dissensus is  
414 evident in both the estimated discrete choice models and the ranking exercises of fisheries  
415 objectives and management measures. The lack of unanimity highlights the fact that there are  
416 no panaceas in fisheries management and that generic solutions, untailored to the social,  
417 economic or cultural context of specific fisheries, create a significant risk of non-compliance  
418 and associated unsustainability. For this reason the discussion will focus on the preference  
419 structures within each case study fishery followed by overarching conclusions that may be  
420 drawn more generally about European and global fisheries management.

421 Celtic Sea herring fishers were found to have strong preferences for a management system  
422 that prioritises stock health, is based on co-management, promotes the community  
423 importance of fishing, with non-tradable quotas and that minimises costs. This could be seen  
424 as a support for the management system currently in place but there are a few more complex  
425 issues evident from a closer examination of the results. The strong support for precautionary  
426 management that prioritises stock health may be due in part to two previous stock collapses  
427 in the fishery (Fitzpatrick 2014). The long established local co-management system governing  
428 the fishery receives a strong endorsement as all other management frameworks are strongly  
429 rejected. Both the strong emphasis on the community importance of fishing and the rejection  
430 of ITQ systems reflect official Irish positions in CFP reform negotiations (DAFF 2010).

431 Although a restricted access system based on track record has replaced a *de facto* open access  
432 system in the fishery (DAFF 2012) and appears to be supported it should be noted that the

433 high standard deviation coefficients in relation to a limited access regime and nationally  
434 tradeable quotas indicate a diversity of preferences for these options. These results mirror  
435 conflicting attitudes evident at meetings of the local co-management body, attended by one of  
436 the authors, between those who support traditional access rights versus those who support  
437 more restricted access. A landing obligation was not supported by a majority of respondents  
438 but preferences for the measure were diverse. This may be due to the fact that the  
439 participants in the fishery are made up of a combination of exclusively pelagic fishers and  
440 polyvalent skippers switching between pelagic and demersal fisheries. A landing obligation  
441 may be expected to present different challenges for these sectors as evident in the different  
442 timelines for implementation of the CFP landing obligation in the pelagic and demersal  
443 sectors. Preference differences on the issues of quota individualisation and discards may be  
444 driven by these sectoral differences as exclusively pelagic fishers, whose vessels tend to be  
445 larger and more highly capitalised, will not face the same level of discard related issues such  
446 as choke species nor are they still involved in fisheries with open access arrangements.  
447 Greek demersal fisher's preferences with regards to good biological outlook were mixed.  
448 Information collected during follow-up interviews to discuss the CE results explored in more  
449 detail why some respondents consider the maintenance of stock health a low priority while  
450 others are in favour of rebuilding stock status as they consider the resources overexploited.  
451 Those fishers assigning a low priority to the resource level are not necessarily discounting the  
452 importance of stock status but rather they consider other issues of greater immediate  
453 importance *e.g.* the CFP landing obligation, overcapacity, low fish prices, high costs and  
454 taxes. The fishers who support the idea that future stock health should be a top priority feel  
455 that action towards this could be implemented through a more regionalised governance  
456 approach. This is evident from the supplementary question on ranking management  
457 measures (Figure 4) and from the pooled RPL model (Table 3).

458 One of the main issues in Greek fisheries management is the conflict between the coastal and  
459 trawl fishers (Maravelias *et al.* 2014). Coastal fishers consider the trawlers responsible for the  
460 deteriorating state of the stocks while the trawlers consider that they are over-regulated and  
461 controlled while at the same time coastal fisheries are favourably treated by the system. Trawl  
462 fishers envisage that managing the fishery at a regional level will better alleviate this inequity  
463 than co-management would.

464 Danish pelagic respondents have strong preferences for a management system that prioritises  
465 stock health, is based on national or regional management, a landing obligation, temporary  
466 closures and allows the trading of quotas at national and international level.

467 In relation to the management framework, feedback from the researcher conducting the  
468 Danish surveys indicate that there may have been a misunderstanding of the term co-  
469 management while results from the supplementary questions indicate that a regionalised co-  
470 management structure may be their preferred management framework. The Danish pelagic  
471 herring fishery takes place with large vessels across most of the North Atlantic with stocks  
472 that are managed through international bodies and negotiations. Such a broad management  
473 scale probably promotes a more regional rather than local mind-set that may have caused  
474 some unintended confusion with regards to the meaning of co-management, and this may be  
475 the reason for the somewhat surprising Danish preference for regional management. This  
476 confusion has been verified by follow-up phone calls conducted with the original  
477 respondents subsequent to the survey. The strong diversity in preference structures across  
478 Danish respondents, evidenced by significant standard deviation coefficients for most  
479 attributes, may be due to the fact that the sample was split between very large modern  
480 vessels with associated high investment levels and smaller vessels with investment levels at  
481 least an order of magnitude smaller. The most significant preference differences are evident  
482 in management scale, community importance of fishing, use of permanent closures and  
483 international trading of quotas.

484

485 **Implications for fisheries governance**

486 The main implication of this research can be found in the heterogeneity of the preferences in  
487 the three different fisheries examined. It is notable that the three fisheries clearly showed  
488 different priorities in the ranking of high level management objectives, with the Irish  
489 favouring support for the local community, the Danish emphasising profits, and the Greeks  
490 emphasising ecosystem productivity. This does not necessarily reflect national differences but  
491 may be due to the different nature of each of the fisheries examined, ranging from  
492 industrialised pelagic fishing in Denmark to quite small scale demersal fisheries in Greece,  
493 with Ireland somewhere in between. There are also some important similarities, most  
494 significantly in terms of community wellbeing and implementation of the CFP landing  
495 obligation.

496 Support for measures that maintain or strengthen the importance of fishing to the local  
497 community was evident to some extent in all three fisheries both in the Choice Experiment  
498 and in ranking exercises. This community aspect is important as it highlights an area of  
499 fisheries management which is seldom highly prioritised (Haapasaari *et al.* 2013; Symes and  
500 Phillipson 2009). Clear biological, economic and ecosystem objectives do exist e.g. MSY (Ye *et*  
501 *al.* 2013), Maximum Economic Yield (MEY) (Norman-Lopez and Pascoe 2011) and the EU  
502 Marine Strategy Framework Directive descriptors (Commission of the European  
503 Communities 2008) but no such clear objectives have been formalised in the social arena  
504 (Urquhart *et al.* 2011). Finding clear community-based objectives in the EU CFP, for example,  
505 is difficult. This contradiction between fishers perceptions of the importance of social issues  
506 and community wellbeing and the lack of associated management objectives points to a  
507 policy failure within the EU and opens the door to an opaque lobbying process rather than a  
508 transparent social assessment of management performance.

509 Social issues and associated objectives obviously matter then but have been notoriously  
510 difficult to clearly identify (Symes and Phillipson 2009) although mechanisms to do so exist  
511 (Dutra *et al.* 2015; Fletcher 2015). We need indicators associated with social objectives against  
512 which we can evaluate any fisheries management measures that are undertaken. A possible  
513 starting point was provided by Dichmont *et al.* (2012) in Australia. Under a heading of  
514 "Maximise social outcomes", they identified a number of objectives; maximise employment,  
515 ensure equity, and maximise other social benefits from the use of the resource to the local  
516 community. They were also able to propose indicators for each objective. The approach was  
517 further developed by Pascoe *et al.* (2014) with an acknowledgement that such objectives were  
518 highly context specific. That context is obviously spatial, as in different areas, as well as in  
519 different fisheries, but it may also display variability in time. Rindorf *et al.* (2016) noted that  
520 social objectives can vary quickly, e.g. as economies expand or decline, while biological  
521 objectives may be more stable.

522 Assuming that we can provide agreed social objectives, we can then combine these with  
523 already existing biological, economic and ecosystem objectives. Trenkel *et al.* (2015) indicated  
524 that "*If the target reference points are positioned correctly relative to the limits and are the product of*  
525 *governance processes that did capture social and economic goals effectively, then managing to keep*  
526 *mature biomass and fishing mortality near their respective targets will achieve ecological, social and*  
527 *economic sustainability, if such full sustainability is possible to achieve". If this is accepted, then*  
528 there is a clear need, in EU and non-EU fisheries alike, to get to the point where we do have  
529 those important social goals captured, perhaps by following the Australian example  
530 described above.

531 The very different responses between the case studies on tradable rights may also reflect  
532 community issues. It is commonly assumed that tradable rights will lead to concentration of  
533 fishing opportunities with associated social changes (van Hoof 2015). Such measures were  
534 strongly opposed in the Irish case study where social issues ranked highest, but were

535 positively viewed by the Danish fishers. The Greek respondents were in favour of nationally  
536 tradable rights, but not internationally tradable ones, presumably reflecting a social objective  
537 of retaining ownership within the state. The tendency for smaller vessel operators to prefer  
538 community objectives and to oppose tradable rights can also be seen in a social context.  
539 Small-scale fishers will be close to their own communities, and will likely oppose the  
540 perceived concentration of fishing rights in a few hands when those rights are tradable.  
541 Conversely bigger vessels will tend to have a weaker link to any one community, may tend to  
542 be more driven by profit and will be more confident of maintaining access to those rights  
543 under a tradeable system due to their superior economic capacity (Thøgersen *et al.* 2015).  
544 Perhaps the nearest thing to a unanimous response to a management measure was towards a  
545 landing obligation. All three fisheries ranked it as the measure least likely to improve the  
546 management of their fishery in the supplementary question and two of the three fisheries had  
547 a significant negative preference for it in the choice experiment. This negative response may  
548 not come as a surprise as EU fishers have broadly denigrated the landing obligation (see for  
549 example EAPO and EUROPECHE 2016). However the advantage of the choice experiment  
550 method over simple ranking questions is evident in the fact that the Danish respondents  
551 ranked a discard ban as their lowest choice in a simple ranking exercise but when they were  
552 in effect forced to trade-off in the choice experiment they were prepared to accept a discard  
553 ban in preference to other measures such as area closures or effort control. This finding  
554 indicates that at least for pelagic fishers implementation of the landings obligation is  
555 perceived to be workable but that significant challenges exist in demersal fisheries.  
556 We found significant variation both within and across fisheries. This highlights the need to  
557 include a broad range of fishers in decision-making processes on management measures,  
558 particularly where there may be significant social and economic impacts. It might also  
559 suggest that there could be a different approach for larger and smaller vessels. For instance,  
560 the most significant difference in the preferences of large vessel owners was for transferable

561 quota arrangements. This difference indicates that transferable quotas might be appropriate  
562 for more industrial fleets and less so for the more artisanal ones. This finding may not be  
563 surprising but it has significant policy implications. Many fishing fleets are still dominated in  
564 numbers by small vessels, while high level representation and political influence arguably  
565 give the owners of larger vessels a greater voice in debates (McGoodwin, 2001, Béné *et al.*  
566 2007). Further research is warranted into how such power asymmetries in fishers  
567 representation may influence policy-making and whether this might tend to shift fisheries  
568 management decisions towards business based decisions by the larger operators and away  
569 from community-based decisions.

570 Although this research was conducted with European fishers there are a number of reasons  
571 why we consider the findings to be relevant for fisheries globally. Firstly, the principal issue  
572 that we were exploring, how fishers value a range of management measures and trade off  
573 between them, is relevant to fishers and managers anywhere. Many of the trade-offs and  
574 conflicts discussed in this paper are topical issues beyond the EU (e.g. the conflict between  
575 individualised quotas or catch shares and perceived coastal community wellbeing in the US  
576 (Clay *et al.* 2014)). Secondly, a diversity of fleet sectors were included in our survey, all of  
577 which have similar counterparts in fisheries in other regions. Thirdly, the Choice Experiment  
578 method has been useful in testing a previously underutilised tool for analysing the key issue  
579 of how fishers trade-off between management measures and provides a more complex  
580 understanding of fishers preferences than simple ranking or prioritisation methods.

581 In conclusion, the main finding of this study is that in fisheries management, one size does  
582 not fit all, and that it is vital to consider the context in each case. Major differences in  
583 preferences with regards to management, ecosystem, economic and social sustainability  
584 issues were identified between the three fisheries. Even on issues where there appears to be  
585 widespread agreement, such as support for local communities, closer analysis reveals  
586 differences between and within fisheries particularly based on vessel size. The need for clear,

587 agreed and contextual social objectives was clearly identified. This is a very strong argument  
588 for more regional and even intra-sectoral approaches based on overarching principles, but  
589 with local, contextual nuance, rather than prescriptive single measures.

590

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598

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770 Table 1: Attributes and attribute levels used in Choice Experiment

Attributes	Levels						
Long-term biological sustainability of the fishery	Medium to Poor			Good			
Management Scale	Central European Management	Regional Advisory Council Management		National Management		Co-Management	
Fishing Community viability	Importance of fishing industry to local community maintained at current level		Decline in importance of fishing industry to local community (-20%)		Increase in importance of fishing industry to local community (+20%)		
Management measures	Permanent area closures		Temporary area closures		Discard ban		Effort control (days at sea)
Access & quota allocation regime	Open to all current licensees and eligible new entrants		Limited access regime based on track record in fishery		Nationally Tradable TFCs/TURFs		Internationally Tradable TFCs/TURFs
Increase in subscription to management organisation	0	+10%	+20%	+35%	+50%	+75%	+100%

771

772 Table 2: Results of Random Parameters Logit Model for the three case study fisheries

	Celtic Sea Herring						Greek Demersal				Danish Pelagic							
	Mean of Coefficient			SD of Coefficient			Mean of Coefficient		SD of Coefficient		Mean of Coefficient		SD of Coefficient					
<b>Good biological outlook</b> <i>(Base case is Medium to Poor biological outlook)</i>	2.27	(0.38)	***	1.09	(0.28)	***	-0.54	(0.51)	0.84	(0.44)	*	1.44	(0.62)	**	1.32	(0.74)	*	
<b>National Management</b>	-0.58	(0.32)	*	0.38	(0.27)		0.73	(0.53)	0.27	(0.48)		2.28	(0.67)	***	1.39	(0.42)	***	
<b>Regional Management</b>	-1.45	(0.42)	***	0.73	(0.45)		0.69	(0.56)	0.68	(0.84)		2.08	(0.76)	***	3.27	(1.21)	***	
<b>Central EU Management</b> <i>(Base case is Co-Management)</i>	-1.08	(0.37)	***	0.06	(0.50)		-0.37	(0.67)	0.46	(0.63)		-1.58	(0.96)	*	4.75	(1.17)	***	
<b>Community importance of fishing maintained at current level</b>	0.83	(0.30)	***	0.34	(0.37)		1.10	(0.59)	*	1.15	(0.56)	**	1.21	(0.77)		0.99	(0.76)	
<b>20% increase in importance of fishing to community</b> <i>(Base case is 20% decline in importance of fishing to the local community)</i>	1.99	(0.33)	***	0.23	(0.44)		0.10	(0.43)		0.10	(0.53)		1.02	(0.75)		1.84	(0.59)	***
<b>Discard Ban</b>	-0.81	(0.43)	*	1.24	(0.41)	***	-2.23	(0.75)	***	0.41	(0.64)		4.20	(1.02)	***	0.74	(0.55)	
<b>Temporary Area Closures</b>	-0.11	(0.37)		0.28	(0.61)		-0.10	(0.64)		1.23	(0.67)	*	3.73	(1.06)	***	2.17	(0.96)	**
<b>Permanent Area Closures</b> <i>(Base case is Effort Control)</i>	0.04	(0.34)		0.69	(0.29)	**	-2.05	(0.69)	***	0.69	(0.55)		0.61	(0.81)		3.05	(0.67)	***
<b>Limited Access based on track record</b>	1.31	(0.49)	***	3.21	(0.62)	***	-0.31	(0.51)		0.47	(0.56)		1.10	(0.72)		1.04	(0.74)	
<b>Nationally tradable TFC's/TURF's</b>	-1.59	(0.45)	***	2.17	(0.40)	***	0.78	(0.50)		0.88	(0.66)		4.05	(0.80)	***	1.53	(0.68)	**
<b>Internationally tradable TFC's/TURF's</b> <i>(Base case is Open to all current licensees and eligible new entrants)</i>	-4.57	(1.22)	***	3.53	(1.29)	***	-0.71	(0.48)		0.47	(0.40)		5.40	(1.28)	***	5.71	(1.35)	***
<b>Cost</b>	-0.002	(0.00)	***	0.001	(0.00)	**	0.001	(0.00)		0.002	(0.00)	*	0.00	(0.00)		0.00	(0.00)	

Log likelihood function	-370.53735	Log likelihood function	-144.62886	Log likelihood function	-127.16200
Chi squared [ 26 d.f.]	392.69318	Chi squared [ 26 d.f.]	53.50931	Chi squared [ 26 d.f.]	215.88207
McFadden Pseudo R-squared	.34636	McFadden Pseudo R-squared	.15610	McFadden Pseudo R-squared	.45912
AIC	1.53697	AIC	2.18755	AIC	1.43142

773

774 Figures in parentheses indicate the values of the standard errors. \*\*\* = significant at 1% \*\* = significant at 5% \* = significant at 10%.

775 Positive coefficient values indicate that attribute level is preferred to base case while negative values indicate that base case is preferred to the attribute level. "Medium to

776 Poor" is the base case level in terms of the Long-Term Biological outlook attribute. "Co-management" is the base case level in terms of the Management Scale attribute.

777 "Decline in importance of fishing industry to local community" is the base case level for the Fishing Community Viability attribute. "Effort control" is the base case for the

778 Management Measures attribute. "Open to all current licensees and eligible new entrants" is the base case for the Access & Quota Allocation Regime attribute.

779 Table 3: Results of pooled Random Parameters Logit model with fisheries and vessel size as interaction factors

	Pooled data					Greek			Danish			Vessel Size			
	Mean of Coefficient			SD of Coefficient		Heterogeneity in Mean			Heterogeneity in Mean			Heterogeneity in Mean			
<b>Good biological outlook</b> <i>(Base case is Medium to Poor biological outlook)</i>	1.84	(0.41)	***	0.51	(0.39)	-2.31	(0.46)	***	-1.52	(0.52)	***	0.01	(0.01)		
<b>National Management</b>	-0.19	(0.48)		0.24	(0.34)	1.37	(0.63)	**	1.72	(0.64)	***	-0.02	(0.02)		
<b>Regional Management</b>	-1.10	(0.60)	*	0.59	(0.47)	1.99	(0.66)	***	2.34	(0.78)	***	-0.01	(0.02)		
<b>Central European Management</b> <i>(Base case is Co-Management)</i>	-0.25	(0.57)		0.67	(0.34)	**	1.02	(0.80)	2.54	(0.78)	***	-0.04	(0.02)	*	
<b>Community importance of fishing maintained at current level</b>	1.50	(0.49)	***	0.17	(0.33)	-0.02	(0.49)		0.55	(0.66)	*	-0.03	(0.02)		
<b>20% increase in importance of fishing to local community</b> <i>(Base case is 20% decline in importance of fishing to the local community)</i>	2.86	(0.53)	***	0.37	(0.29)	-1.45	(0.54)	***	0.74	(0.72)		-0.05	(0.02)	**	
<b>Discard Ban</b>	-1.42	(0.74)	*	1.20	(0.41)	***	-1.86	(0.78)	**	3.97	(0.91)	***	0.03	(0.03)	
<b>Temporary Area Closures</b>	0.48	(0.68)		1.16	(0.31)	***	-0.31	(0.74)		2.85	(0.88)	***	-0.03	(0.02)	
<b>Permanent Area Closures</b> <i>(Base case is Effort Control)</i>	0.38	(0.65)		1.11	(0.28)	***	-1.58	(0.75)	**	1.32	(0.93)		-0.04	(0.03)	
<b>Ltd. Access based on track record</b>	-0.49	(0.67)		2.26	(0.42)	***	-0.64	(0.82)		-0.83	(1.01)		0.04	(0.02)	*
<b>Nationally tradable TFC's/TURF's</b>	-3.24	(0.63)	***	1.70	(0.36)	***	1.06	(0.75)		1.60	(0.81)	**	0.11	(0.02)	***
<b>Internationally tradable TFC's/TURF's</b> <i>(Base case is Open to all current licensees and eligible new entrants)</i>	-6.35	(1.06)	***	1.85	(0.48)	***	2.27	(0.96)	**	4.10	(1.03)	***	0.12	(0.03)	***
<b>Cost</b>	-0.002	(0.00)	***	0.00	(0.00)		0.002	(0.00)	***	0.001	(0.00)	***	0.00	(0.00)	
	Log likelihood function			-639.75558											
	Chi squared [ 65 d.f.]			667.22982											
	McFadden Pseudo R-squared			.34274											
	AIC			1.59087											

780

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784 "Decline in importance of fishing industry to local community" is the base case level for the Fishing Community Viability attribute. "Effort control" is the base case for the

785 Management Measures attribute. "Open to all current licensees and eligible new entrants" is the base case for the Access & Quota Allocation Regime attribute.

786 Figure 1: Map of grounds fished by surveyed fleets.

787

788 Figure 2: Example Choice Card given to survey respondents.

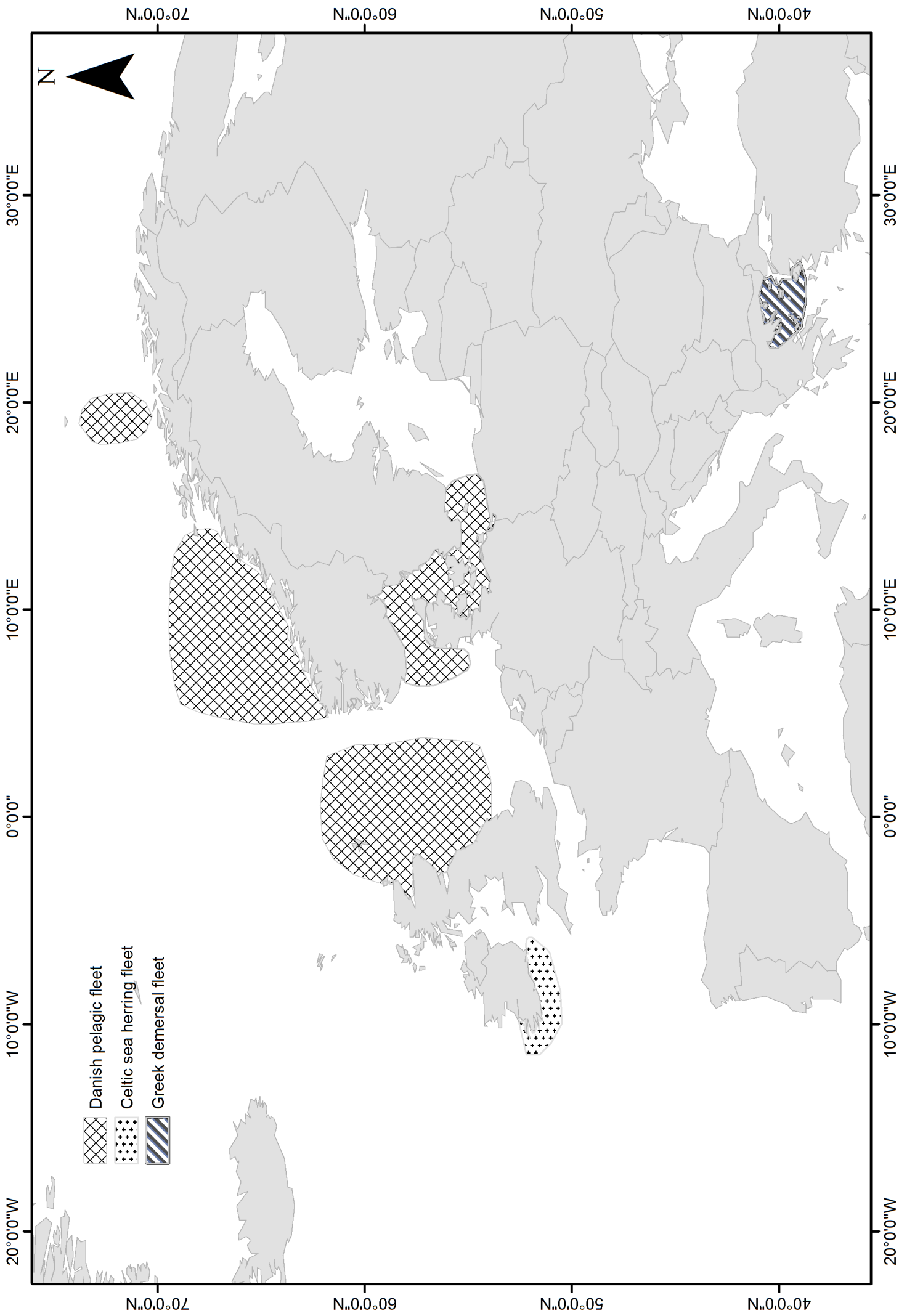
789

790 Figure 3: Ranking of high level fisheries management objectives across case studies

791 (Respondents were asked to rank the four fisheries management objectives in terms of their importance for them. Error bars represent standard deviation).

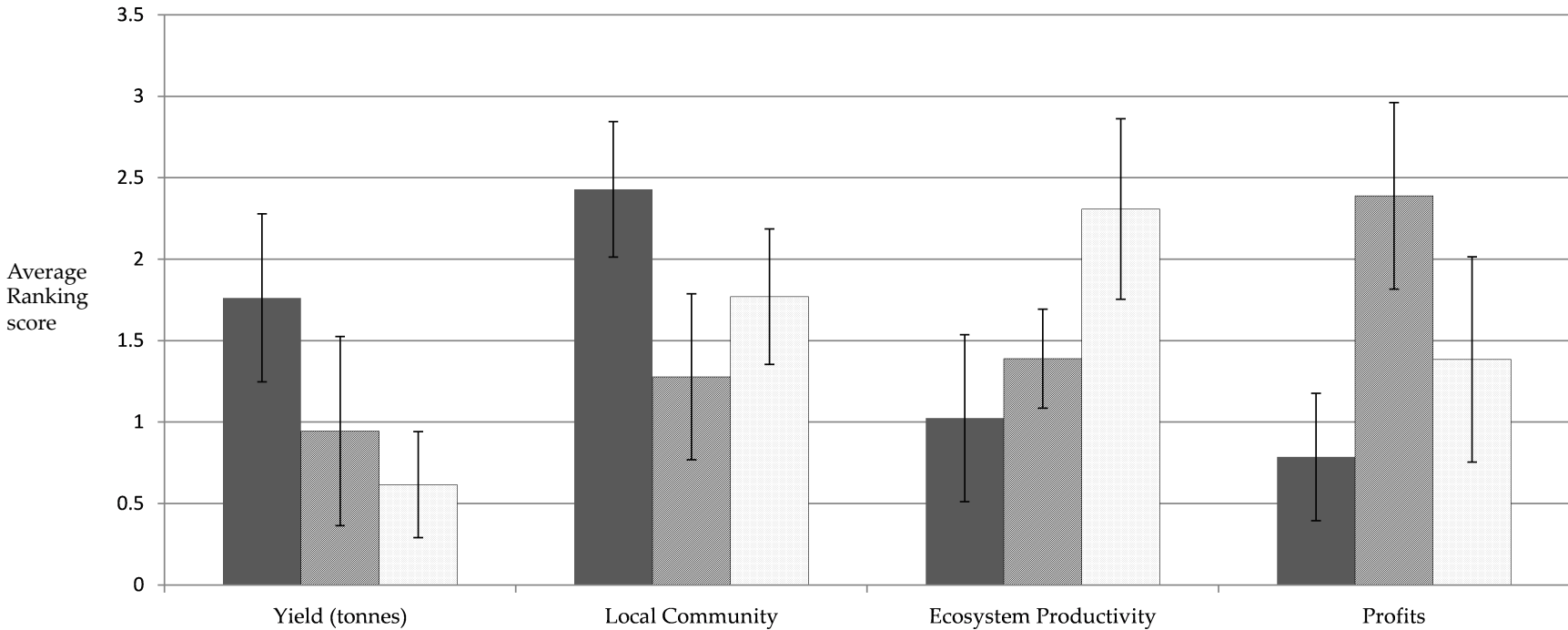
792

793 Figure 4: Average scores for management measures proposed during CFP reform across case studies. (Respondents were asked to rank, from 1 to 10, the  
794 measures in order of their potential to improve fisheries management. Error bars represent standard deviation).



	<b>Option A</b>	<b>Option B</b>	<b>Option C</b>
<b>Long-term biological outlook of the fishery</b>	Good	Good	Moderate to Poor
<b>Management Scale</b>	Regional Sea Management	Central European Management	National Management
<b>Fishing Community viability</b>	Decline in importance of fishing industry to local community (-20%)	Increase in importance of fishing industry to local community (+20%)	Importance of fishing industry to local community maintained at current level
<b>Management measures</b>	Temporary area closures	Catch Quota System	Permanent area closures
<b>Access &amp; quota allocation regime</b>	Limited access at vessel level based on track record in fishery	Internationally Tradable Transferable Fishing Concessions	Open Access
<b>Increase in subscription to representative or management organisation</b>	+ 100%	+ 20%	0
<b>Choice</b> (TICK ONE OPTION)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

■ Irish ■ Danish □ Greek



■ Irish ■ Danish □ Greek

