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1 Incorporating social objectives in evaluating sustainable fisheries harvest strategy

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3 Jiafeng Wu¹, Na Wang², Zhi-Hua Hu³, Zhenjie Hong^{4*} and You-Gan Wang^{2*}

4 ¹ *School of Applied Mathematics, Nanjing University of Finance and Economics,*

5 *Nanjing, China*

6 ² *School of Mathematical Sciences, Queensland University of Technology,*

7 *Queensland 4000, Australia.*

8 ³ *Logistics Research Center, Shanghai Maritime University, Shanghai 201306, China*

9 ^{4*} *College of Mathematics and Physics, Wenzhou University, China*

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12 [You-Gan Wang, D.Phil \(Oxford\)](#)

13 Professor in Data Science

14 School of Mathematical Sciences

15 Science and Engineering Faculty

16 Queensland University of Technology (QUT), Australia

17 <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/A-6059-2008>

18 Tel: +61 7 3138 5224

19

20

21 **Abstract** Fisheries management must take account of environmental sustainability,
22 economic profitability and social benefits generated by the public resources. The
23 traditional approach of maximum economic yield (MEY), however, is yet to consider
24 social objectives in deriving quantitative quotes. Current MEY evaluation framework
25 would be appropriate if the economic rent were distributed back to the public. If public
26 resources are privatized as corporations, the rent largely flows to the owners of large
27 capital in the fishing industry. This is in stark contrast to the aims of benefiting the
28 community as a whole. In this short paper, we promote a socially responsible
29 framework in decision-making of fisheries management. This approach is beyond the
30 fleet-based MEY approach, for it incorporates fleet profitability, chain profitability,
31 employment, environmental concerns and broad social benefits, in strict accordance
32 with stock sustainability. Recognising the needs of fishers, as well as the interests of
33 chain sectors and the broader community is a vital part of ensuring responsible fishery
34 management and a viable future for Australian fisheries. The established framework
35 will provide open view scenarios and enrich the MEY approaches in fisheries
36 management.

37

38 Key words: fisheries, value chain, maximum economic yield, social responsibility,
39 social benefits and impacts

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41

42 **Introduction**

43 **Making society better off**

44 In Australia, the general policy is to ensure the commercial fishing industry contributes
45 to Australia's economy, society and environment. Maximum economic yield (MEY),
46 which is deemed as the most efficient harvest reference point, is highly promoted and
47 adopted. Where possible, the Australian Fisheries Management Authority (AFMA)
48 applies MEY harvest strategy targets to key fish stocks in Commonwealth managed
49 fisheries. However, the current MEY approach is based on fishing fleet, which
50 considers only total revenues and the total costs of fishing.

51 The Australian Commonwealth Fisheries Harvest Strategy Policy and Guidelines
52 (DAFF, 2007) clearly stated that the proclaimed management objective is “maximising
53 net economic returns to the community, within the context of ecological sustainability”.
54 This policy has required consideration of social impacts when managing fisheries. In
55 fact, the importance of social objectives in fisheries management has been more and
56 more recognized by fisheries researchers, economists, and policy makers in recent
57 years. And many published works (Pascoe et al., 2013; Pascoe et al., 2014; Brooks et
58 al., 2015) has discussed social objectives for either state or Commonwealth fisheries
59 of Australia. Yet, there has been a lack of framework and challenges in quantifying the
60 whole chain-based MEY for all sectors incorporating social objectives to derive
61 harvest strategies, especially for the MEY approach.

62 Australia's oceans are some of the richest in species and most diverse on our planet
63 ([https://www.australiangeographic.com.au/news/2010/08/australian-oceans-are-most](https://www.australiangeographic.com.au/news/2010/08/australian-oceans-are-most-biodiverse/)
64 [-biodiverse/](https://www.australiangeographic.com.au/news/2010/08/australian-oceans-are-most-biodiverse/)). However, the oceans do not seem rich at least in terms of harvested
65 stock per unit area, which may due to over-cautious approaches. A catch of more than
66 8 million tonnes has been reported for 1950-2010 to the United Nations Food and
67 Agriculture Organisation.

68 **Fleet-based MEY**

69 MEY has been identified as a primary management objective for Australian fisheries

70 and is under consideration elsewhere (Dichmont et al., 2015). The existing approach
71 of MEY, is fleet-based and used to authorize the profit-making of the fishing industry
72 being a priority. One example is the Northern Prawn Fishery (NPF) in Australia, which
73 is a multi-species tropical prawn fishery. Before 2000, the fishery had approximately
74 250 vessels in 1980s and 120 vessels in 1990s. The sustainable catch for the tiger
75 prawns alone was estimated as 4,000 tonnes (Wang and Die, 1996). A bio-economic
76 study framework based on yield per recruit was also established to determine the
77 fishing effort and season closure dates by Somers and Wang (1997). However, due to
78 a number of reasons its value is halved since the fleet-based MEY approach was
79 implemented. Apart from the falling prawn prices, another key contributing factor is the
80 total catch has been drastically reduced (as the total number of vessels is only 52).
81 This makes people wonder if the fleet-based MEY approach should be modified
82 towards MSY so that more catches are allowed to benefit public instead of just the
83 income for the fishing industry (Wang and Wang, 2013).

84 While Australia targets maximum MEY, our next door neighbor country New Zealand
85 targets maximum sustainable yield (MSY). The MEY approach is to consider the
86 fishing efficiency for the benefit of the fishing industry while the MSY approach is from
87 biological perspective that determines the limit amount we can remove each year. For
88 an excellent review on this topic, see Bromley (2009), Christensen (2010) and
89 Sumaila and Hannesson (2010). Bromley (2009) has provided rigorous justification for
90 why fleet-based MEY is not the same as “making society better off”. Pascoe et al.
91 (2016) recently shared their experience in Australian fisheries and compared with
92 New Zealand fisheries managed by a counterpart approach.

93 When applying fleet-based MEY, government resource was devoted to increase the
94 profit of a few companies which have a de-facto monopoly on the resource. This
95 approach is appropriate if the resource rent is fully collected by the government and
96 redistributed to the society. This is partly achieved by collecting license fees of the
97 fleet, but not going far enough. There is an urgent need to develop a framework, to

98 fundamentally answer a key question: which side we stand for and whose benefit we
99 are maximizing for. The fundamental problem here is the disconnection between
100 objectives at the policy level (e.g. the Commonwealth Fisheries Harvest Strategy Policy,
101 HSP) and the actual management at operational level. In the HSP, MEY means
102 "maximising net economic returns to the community, within the context of ecological
103 sustainability", which appears to be socially responsible. However, at operational level,
104 MEY is estimated purely based on fleet profitability ignoring the HSP objective. As to how
105 the benefit should be distributed among the public that consists of different cohorts
106 with different interests in different sectors, how the benefit flows should be modeled
107 and the total benefit for the whole society should be maximized, not just the gain for a
108 particular sector. This is the focus of our discussion. The established society-based
109 MEY would provide an open view on fisheries management that subject to more
110 discussions among fisheries modelers, economists, and policy makers. The essential
111 characteristic of this approach is to have the community's interests clearly defined and
112 incorporated.

113 **Conflicts in the objectives**

114 There has long been a debate over the issue of maximizing economic efficiency (for
115 fishing companies) versus community benefit in fisheries. Currently, the social
116 concerns have been overwhelmed by arguments and criticisms from fisheries
117 economists, who set social responsibilities (such as job creation and other happiness
118 impacts) against "efficiency". The current fleet-based MEY approach stops the benefit
119 flow to other sectors, and does not account for the benefit drained from the community
120 either. This might be the worst welfare-economic deal possible for the community, who
121 does not benefit from the use of their public resources (i.e. the fish stocks), but also

122 pay a higher prices for seafood because supply is maintained artificially low.
123 Including social objectives in management decisions is not necessarily conflicting with
124 managing for healthy stocks and good economic returns. The framework we
125 established here makes it possible to balance environmental, social and economic
126 goals.

127 **Methods**

128 **Fleet-based MEY versus value chain-based MEY**

129 Applying social responsibility in fisheries management requires accounting for all
130 interests in our community, when determining the optimal harvest level. The cost or
131 gain must be dealt with carefully; one person's cost can be another person's gain (cf.
132 Table 1). In fisheries, the income for the fishing industry is (Grafton et al., 2008),

$$133 \quad R(Y) = PY - C(Y, E),$$

134 where Y is the yield, P is the average fish price, E is the fishing effort, C is the total
135 cost including labour, processing, fuel, license and whatever the fixed or variable
136 costs are. Here the sustainable yield Y is generally calculated from the stock
137 assessment models (i.e. MSY analysis) and as an input in the model. The fleet-based
138 approach only considers cost in the fishing industry (Table 1).

139 Suppose n_v is the number of vessels. Under fleet-based approach, the income for
140 the government is $n_v \times c_L$, where c_L is the license fee. Company tax paid on the
141 resource rent gifted to companies by the Commonwealth is also taxed by the
142 Commonwealth. So the same jurisdiction receives the tax. But note that this tax
143 doesn't occur in Australian state fisheries.

144 Now let us expand the domain. We define a multiplier effect γ , which is the market
145 price of fish. The total value of processed fish products increases from one sector to
146 the next in the value chain, ending with consumers who bear the final cost for their
147 consumption. γ consists of $\gamma_1, \gamma_2, \dots, \gamma_n$, depending on how many sectors (n)
148 involved in the chain, from dock-side to dinner table. The net revenue in each sector

149 starting from fleet is,

$$150 \quad R_0 = P_f Y - C_0,$$

$$151 \quad R_1 = \gamma_1 P_f Y - P_f Y - C_1,$$

$$152 \quad R_2 = \gamma_1 \gamma_2 P_f Y - \gamma_1 P_f Y - C_2,$$

$$153 \quad \vdots$$

$$154 \quad R_n = \gamma_1 \gamma_2 \dots \gamma_n P_f Y - \gamma_1 \gamma_2 \dots \gamma_{n-1} P_f Y - C_n.$$

155 Here P_f is the dock-side fish price, and C_0 is the cost in the fishing industry.

156 In intermediate sectors, besides the large cost of buying fish stocks, other costs
157 includes labor costs, the price of buying other goods and services, and taxes. If, we
158 simply assume the average cost proportion in each intermediate sector to be p , we
159 have,

$$160 \quad R = R_0 + R_1 + \dots + R_n = [(1 - p)(\gamma - 1) + 1]P_f Y - C_0,$$

161 where $\gamma = \gamma_1 \gamma_2 \dots \gamma_n$ and p is always between 0 and 1. When $\gamma \gg C_0/P_f Y$, the MEY
162 becomes almost the same as the MSY level. In the case of $\gamma = 1$, it becomes the
163 fleet-based approach.

164 The parameter γ extends the scope beyond fishing sector; the gross revenue from
165 the community perspective is $\gamma P_f Y$. As there is always value added through the
166 processing and marketing chain (i.e., a profit for each sector) for the sectors to remain
167 viable (Bromley, 2009), this results in $\gamma > 1$. The economic (multiplier) effect of
168 fisheries in Australia was 5.79 (Sumaila and Hannesson, 2010).

169 Sumaila and Hannesson (2010) argued that one has to take into account the
170 productive resources necessary to obtain a product for some end use. Obviously
171 more fish needs more handling and processing, which means more cost. Normally,
172 the additional cost will be covered by next sector who buy fish from the fish wharf. If
173 fishing industry pay for the cost, it means they earn less economic rent. At an extreme
174 case, $P_f Y = C_0$, the fishing industry will earn no economic rent; and $p = 1$, all chain
175 sectors make no extra profit. Bromley (2009) pointed out, even under that situation; all

176 sectors still make normal profit (including salaries and all operating cost). Note that
177 collecting economic data and conducting bioeconomic modelling also incur
178 substantial additional costs.

179 **The benefits of applying social objectives**

180 **People**

181 Employment is a shadow profit but is often treated as a cost. But it is not a cost to the
182 society. Actually, the social performance of fisheries has been measured mainly
183 through the use of income and employment figures. The fishers' income, which is
184 clearly a labor cost for the fishing industry, is also a source of income for the fishers.
185 From the society viewpoint, the crew cost is like moving money from the left hand
186 pocket and putting it back in the right hand pocket. Applying the society-based MEY
187 approach also maintain/create jobs in fish chain sectors. Some may worry that
188 additional catch would result in drop in dock-side price (P_f). In that case, the broader
189 community consumers would be benefited.

190 **Government**

191 Let us look at the economic rent collected by the government. Under fleet-based
192 approach, the income is from license fee and taxes. Commercial fishers pay a license
193 fee to access a particular marine resource and pay for the right to own quota units of a
194 particular species. These fees are often substantial as they support management,
195 compliance, and research in that fishery. That license fee is even not a real 'cost' to
196 the fishing industry – the money has been put back into fisheries and benefit fisheries.
197 When society-based MEY is applied, part of the rest economic rent (not collected by
198 the government) flow into other sectors. Especially for the fisheries dependent sectors
199 such as processing, distribution, and retail. Because the fleet-based MEY approach
200 does not adhere to the objective described in the high level policy, we recommend to
201 incorporate societal benefits to better achieve the management objective at
202 operational level. For example, if MEY is close to MSY, the simple approach may be to

203 adopt MSY as a limit rather than as a target. Setting MSY as a limit has been widely
204 recognized outside Australia.

205 **Discussion**

206 The fleet-based MEY approach has kept the fishing effort at a low lever and stopped
207 “rent drain” to the society, with the consequence of low economic effect in the board
208 economy. It is true that when the fisheries collapse, the fishing sector would perish
209 and fishermen would have to find alternative employment. However, fishermen, and
210 particularly those with vertically integrated businesses, place a lot of value on certain
211 skilled employees, who play various roles within the company. In reality, businesses
212 often continue to operate long into overdraft situations in an attempt to retain staff and
213 keep their businesses operating. That is not what we promote. We argue for extra
214 caution when lowering fisheries employment, when the fish stocks are considered
215 healthy.

216 Some may argue that the fish caught by the fishing industry in Australia is sold to
217 international consumers thus it makes no sense to increase the captures of fish to
218 benefit the other sectors. Even for fish stocks which would export, benefits are not at
219 maximum from the social perspective. Fleet-based MEY is a suitable reference point
220 only when the resource rent is fully collected by the government and is used to benefit
221 the society. However, under current situation where large resource rent is collected by
222 private companies, extending fleet-based MEY to a broad MEY would help
223 re-distribute the resource rent in the economy. Fleet-based MEY is benefiting the
224 fishing companies by exploiting public resources. Controls and regulations by
225 government are needed on commercial exploitation of fish resources - as a
226 government function. Employment costs are absorbed in a sense when using a social
227 benefits model, while the employers will argue against the social benefits model
228 because their benefit will partially flow to the society due to more employment. In
229 Australia, the total allowable catches (TAC) are obtained from fleet-based MEY and
230 then individual transferable quotas (ITQs) are allocated. A TAC management strategy

231 imposes an extra risk of overfishing due to natural and fishing induced variability in
232 stocks (Hsieh et al., 2006). For this reason, input controls are more sensible. Stock
233 assessment should be modified to account for the great natural variability in
234 abundance, high reproductive potential, and resilience of marine fishes, relative to
235 other taxa (Beddington and May, 1977; May et al., 1978; Hutchings, 2000).

236 Globally, many fish stocks have been depleted due to overexploitation, pollution, and
237 habitat loss (Ye et al., 2012). In open access fisheries, fishing often reaches or even
238 goes far beyond a cost neutral position before it stops. Government subsidies are
239 often granted to fisheries when the margin is low or negative, especially in developing
240 countries. Thus, the precautionary approach was introduced to limit lost yield to
241 overexploitation. It can be criticized that government assistance to unprofitable
242 fisheries would result in government funds being diverted to inefficient uses
243 (unprofitable fisheries) and away from other uses (e.g. roads, hospitals and others).
244 However, a broad MEY is far from being unprofitable even in the fishing sector
245 (Bromley, 2009).

246 By-catch problems and the ecological stress on the environment and the targeted fish
247 stocks due to the increased fishing pressure also need careful consideration and
248 evaluation. However, the indicators of human caused impacts are controversial and
249 often difficult to collect. Nonetheless, fishing generates benefits, apart from food,
250 employment, and income, and all of these benefits need to be factored into “economic”
251 models to maximize benefit from replenishable natural resources.

252 The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) states that the goal
253 for harvesting fish species is to achieve MSY. There is a broad range of parameter
254 values exist for determining MEY beyond the scope of fishing fleet. And there is a
255 need to bridge the gap in objectives between fisheries management and social
256 benefits. While it is acceptable to have low fishing effort in order to protect fish stocks,
257 there is much to consider before shrinking to fleet-based MEY. The rent ‘drain’ from
258 the fishing sector should be accepted, as it drains to the society, causing people to
259 benefit from our precious resources.

260 **Concluding remarks**

261 While we agree that the MEY theory is valid, we argue that determination of MEY is
262 dynamic. Another disadvantage of MEY-based management involves large
263 uncertainty. The estimated MSY is already highly uncertain for most fisheries. Adding
264 economic variables on top of the uncertain biological parameters makes the estimated
265 MEY very unreliable. Furthermore, collecting economic data and doing bioeconomic
266 modelling incur additional costs. The fleet-based approach is not applicable to natural
267 resources, with the reasons,

- 268 1) The resource rent is not fully collected by the government and re-distribute to
269 the broad community.
- 270 2) Maximising economic rent for private companies should not be obfuscated
271 with the fishery efficiency.
- 272 3) The benefit drained from the broad community is not accounted for, which
273 leads to lower optimal fishing effort and catch levels.
- 274 4) The large cost of buyback scheme is not factored in when moving MSY to
275 fleet-based MEY. The cost is large to the government.
- 276 5) Within fleet, the fishing crew incomes and employment are also set at a
277 minimum, when maximizing the fleet profit (fleet-based MEY).
- 278 6) From the perspective of the 'best interests of the community' (Bromley, 2009), a
279 fishery managed to achieve fleet-based MEY is unlikely to perform at full
280 economic efficiency.

281 The society-based MEY approach that we are promoting simply factors in other
282 benefits generated by the fishery - it may be beyond the traditional fleet-centric
283 economic theory (which is largely confined to maximize profit of the harvesting firms
284 or fishing industry itself) and requires multidisciplinary research (social science,
285 decision theory and biological science, in particular).

286 The resource rent extracted via license fees is only a small proportion of the MEY

287 value – possibly just as a proportion of cost recovery with an overall neutral effect.
288 The absence of license fees would imply subsidy. Collection of the resource rent by
289 the government or the broader community will result in greater catch and effort levels
290 in fisheries compared to fisheries that operate at MEY. It balances a greater benefit to
291 the society against the cost of reducing profitability of fishing fleets.
292

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- 338

339 **Table 1** Cost (-) and gain (+) parameters for implementing socially responsible
 340 management. Some cost/gain items that may be canceled out are matched by
 341 superscript numbers.

| Parameter | MEY | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Fleet-based | Society-based |
| Fishing industry | | |
| Crew cost | - | [-] ¹ |
| Packing cost (A\$ per kg) | - | - |
| Repairs and maintenance (A\$ per day) | - | - |
| Fuel (A\$ per day) | - | - |
| Licence fee (A\$ per vessel) | - | [-] ² |
| Opportunity cost of capital | - | [-] ³ |
| Depreciation rate of capital | - | - |
| Crew income | 0 | [+] ¹ |
| Company Tax & personal income tax | 0 | [-] ⁴ |
| Gross value of fish products | 0 | [+] ⁶ |
| Government | | |
| Licence fee (A\$ per vessel) | 0 | [+] ² |
| Tax | | |
| Gross Production Tax | 0 | [+] ⁴ |
| Company Tax | 0 | [+] ⁴ |
| Personal income tax | 0 | [+] ⁴ |
| Export duties | 0 | [+] ⁴ |
| Sales tax | 0 | [+] ⁴ |
| Subsidies to fishing industry | | |
| Compensation to fishing operations | 0 | [-] ⁵ |
| Fuel subsidies | 0 | [-] ⁵ |
| Unemployment benefits saved | 0 | [+] ⁵ |
| Ecological and environmental impacts | 0 | - |
| Processors and distributors | | |
| Salary and wages | 0 | [-] ⁷ |
| Processing cost related to product | 0 | - |
| Labour income | 0 | [+] ⁷ |
| Company Tax, sales tax & personal income tax | 0 | [-] ⁴ |
| Consumers | | |
| Purchase cost (> dockside price) | 0 | [-] ⁶ |
| Life quality | 0 | + |
| Resource rent | Benefit fishing industry | Shared by the community |

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