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Is existing legislation supporting socially acceptable aquaculture in the European Union? A transversal analysis of France, Italy and Spain

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Abstract:

According to the European Commission, aquaculture is among those maritime sectors contributing to the blue economy due to its potential for generating jobs, business opportunities and, most importantly, for ensuring food security in Europe. In 2014, EU member states set new strategies to support sustainable aquaculture and ambitious targets of productions to be met by 2020 in the three segments, marine fish, freshwater fish and shellfish. A recent assessment made by the European Commission concludes that some countries might not be able to attain the established goals and this paper presents an in-depth analysis of such strategies to identify the social constraints hampering aquaculture growth in France, Italy and Spain as well as the measures established to overcome them. Most of the identified issues are related to the social acceptability of local communities, local stakeholders and consumers, suggesting that this still represents an unsolved issue hampering aquaculture development in Europe. In fact, our results show that (a) the sector suffers from a bad image related to its environmental impacts; (b) a lack of integrated spatial planning is leading to increasing conflicts with other activities; and (c) there is predominance of top-down consultation mechanisms. It is concluded that there is not a single solution to enhance social acceptability of aquaculture since this depends on a number of social, economic and environmental factors that may differ from site to site, and countries need to adopt a more integrated approach where concerns of local communities and stakeholders are understood and taken into account.

Keywords: aquaculture, blue economy, social acceptability, integrated management, public consultation

1. Introduction

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Marine ecosystems provide many services to human well-being and the demand for such services is expected to increase as the world population grows (Howard, 2018). In 2012, during the Rio +20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, the term "blue economy" was conceived as an extension to the oceans of the land based strategy called "green economy" and endorses the principle of promoting social equity while reducing environmental risks (UN, 2012; 2014). In the EU concept of Blue Growth (Com(2012) 494 final) seas are considered drivers for the economic recovery and great consideration is given to stakeholders participation (EC, 2017). The UN and the EU definitions of blue economy present differences also in the way the human-ocean relation is articulated (see also Silver et al., 2015). In Europe, marine and freshwater aquaculture is among the activities contributing to the economic growth, producing about 20% of food and directly employing 70,000 people in small-medium or micro-enterprises in coastal and rural areas (Source: https://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/cfp/aquaculture/). However, aquaculture production is considered stagnant with a growth that has been almost constant in volume since 2000, in contrast with the positive trend seen in other regions of the world (STECF-18-19, 2018). Constraints hampering the sector development in this area include, but are not limited to, licencing (Renwick, 2018), market related issues (EC 2009; Freeman and Angel, 2011, Ertör & Ortega-Cerdà, 2017) and social acceptability (Fezzardi et al., 2013; FAO 2016; Thomas et al. 2017). The definition of social acceptability varies across industries (Boutilier, 2014) and it is not simply related to the compliance of industry with legal obligations but it depends on a number of good governance principles like legitimacy, transparency, fairness, inclusiveness and accountability (Lockwood et al., 2010; Van Putten et al., 2018). In aquaculture, social acceptability increases when socio-economic benefits (e.g. employment opportunities) are demonstrated as well as the impacts on the environment are assessed and communities are kept informed about the management requirements that business must comply with (Carvalho 1998; Wilson 2001; Whitmarsh and Palmieri, 2009). Thus, the way the sector is regulated can contribute to improve social acceptability if the principles of environmental sustainability, social equity and well-being, transparency and

participation are ensured. In Europe, aquaculture is regulated under the Common Fisheries

to exceed the 150, but only around 20 can be regarded as the most significant (European

Policy, although it is estimated that the number of applicable EU legislation is currently likely

71 Parliament, 2009). Aquaculture production is mainly concentrated in 5 countries: Spain

72 (21%), France (15%), Italy (14%), the United Kingdom (14%), and Greece (10%), making up

73 74% of the sales volume (STECF-18-19, 2018). According to the last EC assessment

74 (STECF-18-19, 2018), the ambitious growth targets set in 2014 by the three most important

EU producers, France, Italy and Spain, are unlikely to be met and this study wants to

investigate which are the social related issues hampering aquaculture development.

France showed a decrease of 10% in volume and 6% in value in the period 2008-2015 (STECF-18-19, 2018) while the national objectives set in 2014 are an increase of volume of 22% and 50% in value to be achieved by 2020 (EC, 2016a). The sector is dominated by oysters and mussels farming with no new finfish project developed in the last 15 years (PSNPDA, 2015). During the same period (2008-2015) a drop of 12% of the total employees has been recorded (STECF-18-19, 2018). Similarly, Italy showed a decrease of production of 5% of volume and 2% in value in the period 2008-2014 due to the collapse of the freshwater segment (-35%)(STECF-18-19, 2018). The overall production is planned to increase of 32% in volume and 38% in value for the period 2013-2025. Italy also recorded a decrease of total employees of 6% for the same period (STECF-18-19, 2018). Between 2008 and 2016 Spanish production increased of 9% of volume and 26% of value against the +20% (volume) and +26% (value) estimated in the national plan for the period 2012-2020 (STECF-18-19, 2018). Spain is the largest producer of mussels (*Mytilus galloprovincialis*) in EU and this species represents 73% of the total national production while seabass and rainbow trout are the main species of farmed finfish. In terms of employment there has been a decrease of 24%

Unlike France, where the competent authority responsible for aquaculture management is national, in Italy and in Spain the regions have the exclusive competence but only Spain developed regional strategic plans to address specific problems.

This work will contribute to the existing literature analysing the social acceptability of aquaculture under a policy and governance perspective by a comparative analysis of the national and regional strategies established by France, Italy and Spain to fulfil the requirements of the aquaculture related legislation. Based on such an analysis, recommendations are given in the Discussion and the Conclusion sections.

2. Social acceptability and regulatory requirements

This manuscript does not need an ethical approval

of the total employees in the period 2008-2015.

In the literature, social acceptability of aquaculture is mainly related to 1) the actual or perceived environmental impact (Burbridge et al., 2001; Katranidis et al., 2003; Whitmarsh and Wattage, 2006; Verbeke et al., 2007; Chu et al., 2010; Shalag, 2010; Whitmarsh and Palmieri, 2011; Freeman et al., 2012; Murray and D'Anna, 2015; FAO, 2016; Aguilar-Marjarrez et al., 2017); 2) the social and economic conflicts over the use of the space (Hoagland et al., 2003; Tollefson and Scott 2006; Halwart et al., 2007; Shafer et al., 2010; Nimmo et al., 2011; Sanchez et al., 2016) and 3) the transparency and participatory process (Carvalho, 1998; Kaiser and Stead, 2002; Shindler et al., 2002; Katranidis et al., 2003; Buanes et al., 2004; Barrington et al., 2010; FAO, 2016; Kelly et al., 2017).

In 2014, EU member states established their national, and in some cases regional,

In 2014, EU member states established their national, and in some cases regional, aquaculture strategies as required by the reformed EU Common Fishery Policy (CFP, Regulation No 1380/2013). Such strategies, named Multiannual National Strategic Plans for the promotion of sustainable aquaculture are accompanied by Operational Programmes elaborated in the framework of the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF). In this study, the national (and regional) strategies and operational programmes of France, Italy and Spain have been analysed to understand how they are addressing social acceptability related issues. Other relevant information has been gathered in countries reports regarding the implementation of the Maritime Spatial Planning Directive (2014/89/EU), the Water Framework Directive (2000/60/EC), the Marine Strategy Framework Directive (2008/56/EC), the Environmental Impact Assessment Directive (2014/52/EU as amended), the Strategic Environmental Assessment Directive (2001/42/EC), and the NATURA 2000 directives since these regulate, among other things, aquaculture related impacts.

3. Strategies towards a socially acceptable sector

In the three countries strategic plans, the issue of social acceptability is mentioned but under different contexts. For instance, in the French report, the term social acceptability is mentioned once in relation to both the products and the management practices and the strategies to enhance it are focused to "promote synergies with the environmental NGOs and consumers associations". More broadly, in the Italian Plan the term social acceptability is mentioned once and strategies are aimed at "ensuring the environmental, economic and social sustainability of the sector (...) developing new communication plans to improve the image among consumers through transparent and efficient information". In the Spanish global

strategy, social acceptability is ensured through the establishment of the AZAs (Allocated Zones for Aquaculture) to prevent conflicts of uses.

3.1 Environmental sustainability

In the SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) presented in the strategic plans of the three countries, the bad image of the sector is considered an element of primary concern hampering the development of new projects and influencing consumer perception. The proposed actions aim to improve marketing communication strategies about the quality of the farmed products and the environmental sustainability of production systems. Less attention is given to improve the perception of local communities on the environmental and ecological impact where aquaculture takes place (Figure 1).

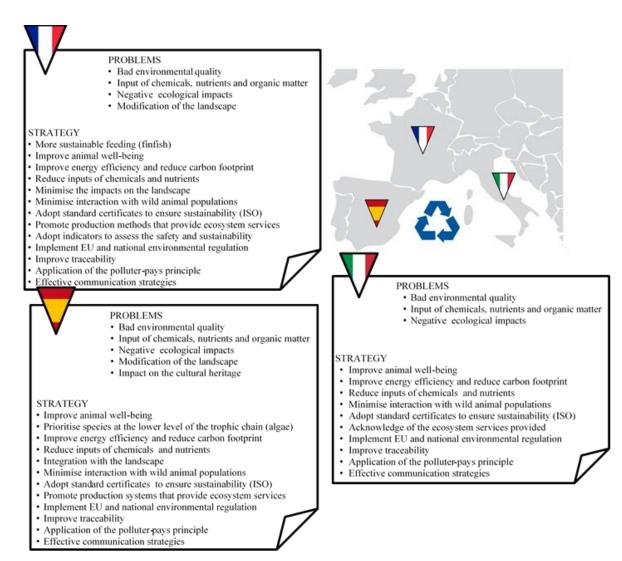


Figure 1. Environmental related problems contributing to the bad image of the sector and strategies proposed to address them

In the French National Strategic Plan, a negative image of the sector has emerged as a result of the spread of misleading information which sums to the inability of people to assess the actual impact of aquaculture (PSNPDA, 2015). Public concerns are mostly associated to quality and safety of the aquaculture products, namely (human) health aspects (e. g. phytotoxins in seafood), zoosanitary (shellfish mortality) but also to the alteration of the marine ecosystems (as a result of an increase of chemicals, nutrients and organic matter inputs) and the impact on the landscape. To demonstrate the environmental sustainability of the sector, and thus to improve the image in the society, the French strategy is to adopt indicators that will enable people to assess when the impact of this activity is acceptable (PSNPDA, 2015). In France, the EU Environmental Impact Assessment has been transposed into the national law (Art. L.122-1 à 3 et R.122-1 à 15 du Code de l'Environnement) and the need for an assessment 1) is related to the characteristics of each project, its location, and its potential impacts on the environment and human health; 2) is established case by case but, in general, it is required for marine farms with a production volume of 20 T/y. France recognises that the characterisation and quantification of the negative and positive impacts is necessary to apply the polluter-pays principle but also to identify the services offered by aquaculture in terms of maintenance of biodiversity (PSNPDA, 2015). To promote the image of the sector in relation to its environmental impact and the quality of products, France focuses on improving the traceability providing information about the environmental sustainability of the activity (International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 14044) which plays a decisive role in the national market (PSNPDA, 2015). Other actions are established at local level (namely in the "Schéma Départemental Des Structures Des Exploitations De Cultures Marines") to improve the perception of the quality of the waters adjacent marine farms and to highlight the importance of the ecosystem services offered by certain type of aquaculture, e.g. shellfish.

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In the Italian Strategic Plan (PS, 2015), ensuring the environmental sustainability of the sector has emerged as a priority although the bad image of aquaculture is related to the quality of the products, influenced by the quality of the water where sites are located, and less to the impact of the activity on the environment. The actions proposed are aimed at improving the water quality preventing microbiological and chemical contamination, controlling the introduction of alien species, managing the interaction with wild predators especially if protected species (cormorants), improving the welfare of farmed animals, mitigating the impact in the landscape together with new investments in antibiotics and vaccines. Each of the proposed actions are implemented to meet the obligation of European environmental

legislation, namely the Water Framework Directive and the Marine Strategy Framework Directive for the chemical and ecological quality, the NATURA 2000 directives (Habitats and Birds directives) for biodiversity conservation and the *Reg.* 1143/2014 for preventing the introduction of alien species. The Operational Programme proposed by Italy is accompanied by a Strategic Environmental Evaluation (VAS, 2015) to assess the impact of the actions proposed to support aquaculture growth identifying early threats under the precautionary and the polluter-pays principles. An Environmental Impact Assessment is required for new projects submitted for the EMFF fund together with a declaration, produced by a third party (usually the region) demonstrating that the project does not alter the surrounding landscape (PS, 2015). As for France, the Italian Strategic Plan presents several measures to improve the image of the aquaculture through a more efficient marketing strategy on the quality of the products and on the ecosystem services they provide.

Spain is the only country, among the three, to develop detailed regional strategic plans for aquaculture (PEP, 2015) in addition to a national plan. The environmental sustainability is considered a key element for the expansion of the sector and is strictly linked with society perception (PE, 2015). To this end, a national campaign to communicate the sustainability of aquaculture and the quality of the products is launched and producers are suggested to invest to promote the image of their products on social media (radio, TV, internet and social networks). Moreover, a number of actions (37 at national level and approximately 300 in the regions) are proposed to address a wide range of environmental impacts that can affect the negative social perception. Even though the actions vary among regions, all of them are aimed at monitoring, mitigating and preventing the introduction of invasive species, escapes, interaction with cormorant population, organic and contaminants inputs. In the national and regional plans, the most relevant EU legislation is mentioned together with specific national regulation, for instance the National Plan on Prevention and Management of Escapes and the Plan on Reduce, Threat and Valorisation of Aquaculture Waste. The Environmental Impact Assessment (Ley 21/2013, de 9 de diciembre, de evaluación ambiental) is considered one of the most important tools to protect the environment and requirements vary among regions but, in general, it is necessary for sites which production passes 500 T/year and for those project adjacent to NATURA 2000 sites. Great emphasis is given to the promotion of eco-friendly aquaculture by financing the conversion of conventional infrastructures into ecologicallysensitive farms (under EC Reg. N. 834/2007 on organic production and labelling of organic products), reinforced by assessments of the environmental impact and carbon footprint (PE,

2015). Moreover, Spain proposes a number of sustainability certificate, namely ISO 14001:2004 (ERM), ISO 14040:2006 and 14044:2006 (LCA), ISO 14067 (carbon footprint); and the Quality certificates ISO 9001:2008 (quality management), and ISO 22000:2005 (food safety)(EC, 2016b).

3.2 Social and economic conflicts prevention

The three countries recognise the need to work on the allocation of aquaculture sites in an integrated way with the other activities according to the principles of the Maritime Spatial Planning Directive to prevent conflicts among users (Figure 2).

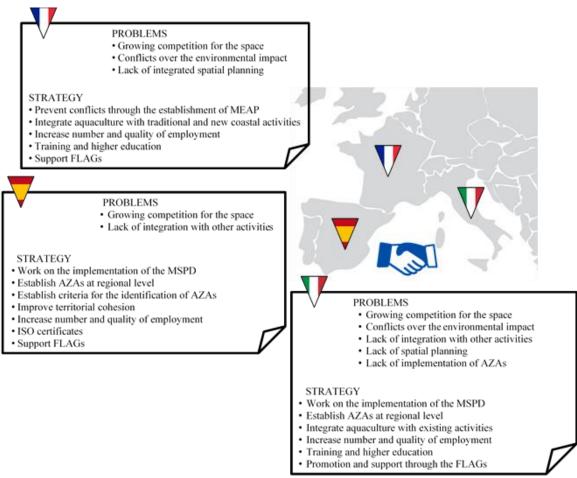


Figure 2. Problems and strategies related to the lack of integration with other maritime sectors and local communities (Abbreviation: AZAs: Allocated Zones for Aquaculture; FLAGs: Fisheries Local Action Groups; MEAP: Meilleurs Emplacements Aquacoles Possibles; MSPD: Maritime Spatial Planning Directive)

The French Plan highlights that the growing competition for the space with the other economic activities, namely fishery, tourism, shipping and even with existing aquaculture, represents an impediment for the expansion of the sector as well as an increasing conflict with coastal communities. France recognises the need to adopt an Integrated Coastal Zone

Management to prevent such conflicts and has been working on the establishment of best site for aquaculture (*Meilleurs Emplacements Aquacoles Possibles* (MEAP)) with the use of GIS tools at regional level (SRDAM - *Schema Regional de Developpement de l'Aquaculture Marine*). It suggests that local business have to work to integrate aquaculture into the local context by increasing the number and quality of employments, improving the value of farmed products and diversify local economy through the introduction of new activities contributing to the Blue Growth (PSNPDA, 2015). At local level, France has several FLAGs (Fisheries Local Action Groups) that involve actors directly and indirectly related to aquaculture (fishers organisations, public sector, administrations at different levels, representatives of regional parks, research institutions and groups of citizens) and some of their objectives are focused on promoting the sector and developing partnerships with other stakeholders, setting up discussions groups on conflicts of use and supporting local fishery activities among other (source: https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/cms/farnet2/on-the-ground/cooperation/by-member-state/fr-flag-cooperation-france_en).

Similarly, the SWOT analysis presented in the Italian Strategic Plan identifies a growing competition for the space with other maritime sectors which is, in part, the result of the lack of spatial planning as well as the lack of criteria and indicators to be adopted for the identification of the AZAs (PS, 2015). Italy is still in the process of developing its maritime spatial plans in the context of the Maritime Spatial Planning Directive (EC, 2018) and a number of workshops have been held with regional stakeholders (e.g. the Plan Coast and the ADRIPLAN project) to fill the gaps between authorities and citizens. In the Italian Operational Programme and the Strategic Environmental Assessment it is proposed to improve the territorial cohesion, new jobs, training and higher education as measures to support the social well-being of aquaculture and fishing communities. These actions should be implemented by the FLAGs giving them more financial and administrative power (PS, 2015).

Spain also recognises a lack of spatial planning in some regions and a growing conflict between aquaculture and the other coastal users (PS, 2015). As for France, Spanish strategy is focused on improving its coastal planning where suitable areas for aquaculture are identified in line with the requirements of the Maritime Spatial Planning Directive and the Integrated Coastal Zone Management and having in mind the principle of sustainability of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive. These AZAs (or ZIA - *Zona de Interés para la Acuicultura*) are defined in different way across the regions and should be located where there is little interference with other activities (PEP, 2015). The regions of Galicia and Andalusia have

already started this process and they are proposed as good example for the other regions (PE, 2015). In Galicia, for example, a management plan for aquaculture in the sea-land interface has been established and this includes the internal cohesion and the coordination with the other activities as pillars (*Plan de Ordenación dos Cultivos en la Zona Marítima* (POCUMA)). Similarly, in Andalusia, the regional competent agency has identified AZAs and a specific Committee of Aquaculture has been created to facilitate this process (AGAPA, 2012). Other regions are working on the establishment of such areas and the central government proposes common criteria and parameters. The Spanish measures to increase social cohesion include the provision of employment in local areas where aquaculture occurs as well as social responsibility certificates (ISO 26000 (SR)), Fair Trade and SA 8000 (work conditions) (PE, 2015). In Spain there are about 40 FLAGs, most of which are related to fishery but that also include the aquaculture sector. For example, the Murcia GALPEMUR covers all the municipalities of the region and has, among its objectives, fostering local socioeconomic development by creating new jobs and strengthening social cohesion in the area (http://galpemur.es/).

3.3 Transparent and fair participatory process

Most of the cited documents about the national strategies of aquaculture development of the three countries have been the result of cooperation among all relevant stakeholders and further submitted to public consultation, but with great differences on the level of the spatial scale (from local to national), type of stakeholders and type of platforms (Figure 3).

In France, the public participation on environmental affairs is regulated by the Arhus Convention, the Barnier Law 1995 and the 2010 Laws on the Democratisation of the Environmental Dialogue (*Art. 7 of the Charte de l'Environnement*). The National Strategic Plan and the Operational Programme (PO, 2015) were the result of large consultation processes which included ministries, national public institutions, local administrations, NGOs, associations of producers, retailers and processors, and other marine sectors. The Operational Programme was further submitted to online public consultation open to all citizens. The reports developed at regional level (*Schéma Régional de Développement de l'Aquaculture Marine*) provide maps of existing and suitable aquaculture sites identified after consulting all relevant actors and successively opened to public consultation (PSNPDA, 2015). Moreover, each new aquaculture project or any modification to existing projects (i.e. extension of the area or displacement) have to be assessed by the Commission of Marine Aquaculture

(*Commissions des Cultures Marines*) that gathers 2-4 times per year and includes several categories of actors depending on the district where it belongs (Prou, 2012). Nonetheless, with the purpose of simplifying administrative process and to reduce the time for licencing, from 2014 the "tacit acceptance" procedure allows a given project to be approved if no objections are received from other parties during a given period (PSNPDA, 2015).

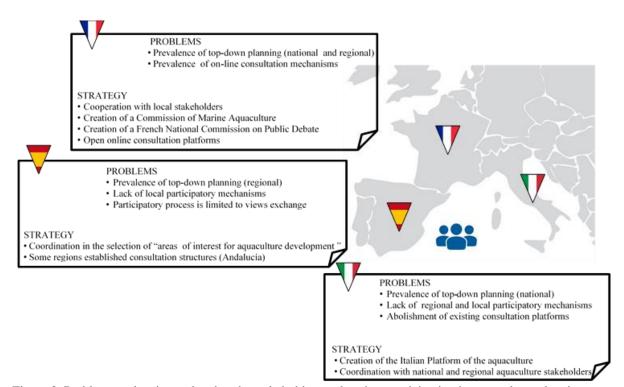


Figure 3. Problems and actions related to the stakeholders and society participation in aquaculture planning

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The French National Commission on Public Debate (*Commission Nationale du Débat Public*: https://www.debatpublic.fr/) provides a further multi-purpose platform to ensure the fairness of the consultation and the transparency of the information, allowing all categories of citizens to express the opinion and to exchange views on a given environmental project. As for the transparency of the French administrative and legislative processes, all the cited documents are available online and the contributions and comments provided by participants are mostly public.

Italy recognises the importance of an open public participation and shared responsibility in the development and implementation of its national strategy for aquaculture and gives the FLAGs a central role at local level (PS, 2015). On the other hand, two existing consultation platforms have been abolished, namely the Central Consultative Commission for Fishery and the Aquaculture (Commissione Consultiva centrale per la Pesca e l'Acquacoltura) and the Research Committee (Comitato Ricerca) creating a gap in the participatory mechanisms, a lack of space for debate, exchange of views and opinions in the development of political strategies (PS, 2015). In 2017, the Aquaculture Platform (Piattaforma Italiana Acquacoltura) was created in collaboration with research institutions and the national environmental agency, representatives of the aquaculture sector, regional and national administrations serving as a platform for interact, exchange and collaborate among stakeholders. The documents related to the Italian strategy, namely the Strategic National Plan, the Operational Programme and the Strategic Environmental Assessment, were the result of public consultation where the most relevant stakeholders at national and regional level have participated to set objectives and priorities. Opinions and concerns provided during the consultation have been analysed and when possible incorporated in the mentioned documents suggesting a transparency throughout the entire process (PS, 2015). In contrast with France and Spain, no regional or local strategic plans for aquaculture have been developed in Italy although regions presented specific Operational Programme for the EMFF. Such programmes have been submitted to fisheries related stakeholders' consultation but no information about regional or local consultation mechanisms have established in relation to aquaculture development in Italy.

The Spanish National Strategic plan was the result of a participatory process among regions and competent authorities at different levels and representatives of the aquaculture sector (12 months and 30 meetings). Spain defines the participative approach as "the consideration of opinions and views of all interested parties in every step of a process of selection of AZAs (PE, 2015). According to the national plan, the stakeholders' participation process does not replace the decision-making process, however it allows all the interested parties to express their opinion. Little information has been found about the level of local public participation initiatives set by regions in the definition of the AZAs. Nonetheless, the region of Valencia has recently introduced a new online public consultation that allows collecting the opinion of people affected before the plan is developed (PEP, 2015). In the national plan, it is stressed the importance of considering the social acceptability of aquaculture since the social opposition was behind many failed new projects.

4. Discussion

Social acceptability of aquaculture is well studied in North America (usually referred as social licence to operate) (Mather and Fanning, 2019; Milewski and Smith, 2019) and North Europe while it is poorly understood in other areas of Europe. However, this issue has recently received growing attention by policy makers and by the scientific community in southern Europe (see Bacher et al., 2014; Cavallo et al., 2020; Corner et al., 2020, Porporato et al., 2020; Ruiz-Chico et al., 2020). For instance, the FAO proposes guidelines to assist governance and decision-making processes with practical methods and actions (FAO, 2019): i) Stakeholders' involvement in aquaculture and participatory approaches in planning are very relevant on policy decision making effectiveness and enhancement of social acceptability; ii) there is a need to bring consumers closer to the origin of the product and the farms and to enhance their knowledge and understanding of the sector in order to avoid misinformation and conflicts; iii) site selection and AZAs imply also considering social and economic aspects as well as the involvement of the local community.

The present analysis of the national strategies of aquaculture development of France, Italy and Spain has allowed to understand if social acceptability is recognised as a problem hampering the sector growth and to identify the actions established to address social acceptability related issues. Even if the term social acceptability has been barely mentioned in the countries strategies, all of them are taking into consideration policy requirements

concerning the environmental sustainability, the integration with the other activities and the public participation on aquaculture planning and management.

4.1 Improve the environmental sustainability of aquaculture

The comparative analysis of the strategies of the three countries has shown that the society perception on the environmental impact and the environmental quality of aquaculture sites, undermines the expansion of the sector and they propose a wide range of measures to be implemented at different levels, by central, regional and local governments, and by the same producers and representatives. All of them recognise that the sector suffers from a negative image and are working on more effective communication strategies to highlight the environmental sustainability, the quality and safety of farmed products and the ecosystem services provided by certain systems of productions (e.g. integrated multi-trophic aquaculture or shellfish farming). In particular, Spain recommends producers to make a better use of social media (TV, radio, press and social networks) and launched annual national campaigns to promote the quality of the products.

The Operational Programme of Italy and Spain is accompanied by a detailed Strategic Environmental Assessment where possible negative environmental effects are identified together with appropriate mitigation measures. On the other hand, France provides an environmental evaluation for each of the Departmental Scheme for the Exploitation of Marine Aquaculture (SDS). The three countries require an Environmental Impact Assessment but conditions under which such an assessment is required differ from country to country. Moreover, the results of such assessments are not always accessible or easy to understand by a wider public. The fact that in Spain, France and Italy the sector is characterised mostly by medium and small enterprises producing mostly shellfish, the environmental impact might be minimum however, issues like visual impact, introduction of non-native species and animal well-being can result in public opposition even for this type of farming (see also Murray and D'Anna (2015). The last EC data on aquaculture production of the three countries show that they are quite far from their predicted targets especially for what concerns finfish and the role of social acceptability in this type of aquaculture needs to be better addressed if countries want to achieve their ambitious production targets.

Even though the national strategies have clearly established actions to meet the requirements of environmental policies, the compliance of these policies relies in the hands of single business, and governments need to demonstrate their commitment to ensure that

unsustainable practices will not have negative impact on the environment and on the other maritime activities.

4.2 Preventing social and economic conflicts with coastal communities

Even when the environmental impact of aquaculture is minimised and the promoter complies with existing regulation, the social acceptance is not guaranteed if related social and economic benefits are not clearly demonstrated and not fully recognised by local communities. Costa-Pierce (2010) contribution on the ecological aquaculture, suggests that together with the environmental sustainability and the economic benefits, the sector has to provide "social profit by developing social capital and social networks that promote business, education and community stewardship practices". Authors exploring social acceptability of other economic sectors point out the importance of building trust (Ogier and Brooks, 2016), developing relationship with local communities (Boughen et al., 2014, Cavallo et al., 2020), acknowledging the value of information provided by all parties and respecting other party's values (Vanclay, 2012). France, Italy and Spain have worked to ensuring the social and economic well-being of the coastal communities where aquaculture is developed with the FLAGs playing a key role. The FLAGs are a network of people implementing Community-Led Local Development with the aim to enhance local employment, quality of jobs and territorial cohesion and acting as a place of debate among fishers, aquaculture producers, NGOs and groups of citizens (https://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/cfp/emff/clld_en).

The three countries are facing a growing competition for coastal areas that is limiting the expansion of the sector. To prevent conflicts, France and Spain have already established suitable areas for aquaculture developed (generically defined as AZA) while Italy has recently started working on these to meet the obligation of the Maritime Spatial Planning Directive. In the case of France, these areas were proposed by producers while in some Spanish regions they have been established in coordination with national, regional and local competent authorities and relevant stakeholders (mostly producers and fishers associations). Shellfish aquaculture has taken large areas of certain Spanish and French regions, notably in Galicia for Spain and in Brittany for France, leading to increasing competition among producers and limiting the production. Moving production to the subtidal offshore environment might represent a valuable solution to this problem (Barillè et al., 2020).

According to Hofherr *et al.*, (2015) only 630ha are used to produce 95% of European marine aquaculture and the coastline impacted ranges between 0.5% and 3.0%. Aquaculture

worldwide is expected to grow at substantial rate to meet the growing demand of seafood and in Europe this sector will play a key role to reduce dependence on imports and the overcapacity in fishing fleets. European countries should question which will be the consequences for human welfare, and not only the economic loss, if the aquaculture production continues to decline. Integrating aquaculture with local communities and traditional activities should be carried out under the principle of Ecosystem-Approach of Aquaculture (see also Corner et al., 2020) defined by FAO (2010) as a 'strategy for integration of aquaculture activity within the wider ecosystem, which promotes sustainable development, equity and resilience within interlinked social—ecological systems, linking human and environmental impacts'.

4.3 Improving the effectiveness of participatory processes

The three strategic plans were the result of consultation among all interested parties at national level. In France, aquaculture related plans established at national, regional and department level were open to online public consultation and such consultation is also required for every new project. Moreover, an ad-hoc National Commission on Public Debate has been created to ensure the fairness of the consultation and the transparency of the information. The consultation platforms established by the three countries allowed a wide range of actors to be consulted; nonetheless it is not clear if these guarantee an active participatory process where all the parties have the opportunity to collaborate in the decision-making processes of the selection of the AZAs. In fact, at lower national level, people are mostly consulted when the plans are already developed and most of them through online platforms.

According to Burbridge *et al.*, (2001) the future of marine aquaculture depends, among other things, from an effective elaboration of policy where stakeholders are involved since the early stages of decision making to anticipate potential conflicts rather than seeking way to solve conflicts once they have occurred. It has been widely discussed in the literature that social acceptability of aquaculture is strictly linked to the effectiveness of participatory process (Costa-Pierce, 2010; Ogier and Brooks, 2016; Kelly *et al.*, 2017). Since Arnstein's (1969) publication of her ladder of public participation, other authors have analysed and adapted other forms of public participation in government-led planning and decision- making (Parenteau, 1988, Creighton 1986, Cornwall 1996, Ross *et al.*, 2002). Considering the trends of aquaculture production of the last 10 years, achieving the established ambitious targets by

the end of 2020 seems a real challenge for the three countries. A more effective participatory process with representatives of the sector but also with representatives of local communities and local stakeholders in the establishment of such targets could help to set more realistic production goals taking into account the real potential of the sector to expand and the limitations due to the interaction with existing activities and the acceptance of local communities.

5. Conclusions

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This review has shown that the social acceptability of aquaculture still represents an unsolved issue despite the efforts made by the European Commission, the FAO and Member States to enhance it. The complex and rigorous legislative framework that ensures an environmentally sustainable aquaculture along with healthy seafood has not guaranteed the acceptance of the sector by the local actors where aquaculture is developed and by consumers. From the analysis of the three countries national reports has emerged that the most relevant environmental regulation is applied, while many differences have been found in the strategies set to improve communication and to establish public participatory programmes. This descriptive analysis does not allow understanding if some of the cited strategies are more effective than other to enhance social acceptability, thus dedicated studies at local level may be of value to understand if, among the mentioned actions, there are some good practices that can be applied to other areas, or even to other contexts (e.g. ocean energies). It is concluded here that there is not a single solution to enhance social acceptability of aquaculture and administrations, aquaculture producers and citizens should collaborate in the development of national and regional strategies under a more integrated perspective, taking into consideration environmental, economic, social and governance related aspects. On the other hand, local and regional administrations need to develop the capability and the tools to recognise when a further aquaculture development is likely to deteriorate the social and economic wellbeing of their communities.

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