

# 1 Alaska's emergent fisheries processes

2 Keywords: Alaska, fisheries, climate change, species distribution shift, species switching

## 3 Abstract

4 Under climate change, shifts in distributions of commercialized marine species challenge  
5 livelihoods and management in some fisheries and create opportunities in others. Whether  
6 existing management processes can enable fishers to access emergent fisheries – efforts by fishers  
7 to commercialize species – is unclear. Thus far, the literature has largely focused on reactive  
8 management processes that lead to overharvest and conflicts over fisheries allocations under  
9 species distributional shifts. We examine the progress and outcomes of 144 emergent fisheries in  
10 the state waters of Alaska, illustrating the historical diversity of management mechanisms,  
11 regions, species, and gears in the state's unique system of permitting and data collection for  
12 emergent fisheries. We further examine 28 emergent fisheries' roles in fishing portfolios through  
13 a *métier* analysis, finding that most are small extensions to existing portfolio strategies instead of  
14 novel opportunities for specialization. Together, these findings underscore challenges in adapting  
15 current processes to future shifts in marine species distributions, reflecting the need for large scale  
16 reconsiderations of scale, tradeoffs and a more holistic approach.

## 17 Introduction

18 Shifts in spatial distributions of species under climate change create challenges for  
19 resource-dependent communities, scientists, and resource managers (Pecl et al., 2017). In marine  
20 ecosystems, intensifying changes in temperatures and currents complicate predictions of species  
21 distribution and abundance for fisheries management (Cooley et al., 2022). While climate change  
22 tends to drive species poleward, local and regional conditions influence distributional shifts

23 (Pinsky et al., 2013), for example in the ecosystems of the North Pacific (Cheung et al., 2015).  
24 Shifts in species distributions across jurisdictions spark conflict between fishing fleets over  
25 management (Vogel et al., 2023), while fishery managers face challenges to sustainable  
26 management as historical stock definitions clash with rapid change (Pinsky et al., 2018). Where  
27 shifts in species distributions occur within jurisdictions, fishers benefit from capital to fish harder  
28 and further in diverse fisheries (Kiyama and Yamazaki, 2022; Powell et al., 2022; Young et al.,  
29 2019), as well as access to novel or emergent fisheries – those that were not historically  
30 commercialized (Rogers et al., 2019). Climate change driven changes to fisheries will necessitate  
31 more nimble management processes, including the potential for exploring novel fishing  
32 opportunities. Experiences doing so in Alaska State fisheries examined in this paper provide  
33 critical insight on the need for a more robust, planned fisheries development process.

34         While management to support fishers' adaptation often lags behind distributional shifts  
35 (Pinsky and Fogarty, 2012), case studies of management for emergent fisheries suggest paths  
36 forward. In Japan's Maizuru Bay, access to alternative species buffered fishers' revenues against  
37 declines in their historical portfolios (Kiyama and Yamazaki, 2022). In Western Australia, a  
38 process for developing fisheries includes regular assessment and stakeholder participation  
39 (Fisheries Western Australia, 1999). In the United States, the state of California legislated an  
40 experimental permit program for the market squid fishery at the northern end of the species'  
41 shifting distribution, enabling fishers to access alternative areas and gather data for management  
42 (Powell et al., 2022). Where market squid have shifted north into Oregon's state waters, fisheries  
43 managers have begun implementing regulations on harvest timing, gear, and data collection  
44 (Powell et al., 2022). Off the eastern coast of the United States, a northward shift in the  
45 distribution of summer flounder has motivated a shift in fishing effort and federal rulemaking to

46 reallocate summer flounder quota and ease restrictions on locations of landings (Dubik et al.,  
47 2019). A shift of blueline tilefish off the states of North Carolina and Virginia precipitated several  
48 years of unregulated harvest until the implementation of emergency regulations by federal  
49 fisheries managers (Pinsky et al., 2018). Together, these examples indicate the potential for  
50 proactive management to support fishers' adaptation and fisheries conservation, as well as the  
51 hazard of maladaptation through unequal access and overharvest under shifting species  
52 distributions.

53         The Gulf of Alaska is experiencing tremendous ecological change with shifting stock  
54 distributions and fisheries availability, the emergence of new species, and increasing abundance  
55 of species previously considered below their optimal thermal limit in the Gulf, including tuna,  
56 sunfish, and market squid (Alaska Department of Fish and Game, 2023a; Free et al., 2023). A  
57 climate vulnerability assessment of species in the California Current predicted changing  
58 geographic distributions for many commercialized species due to warming waters (McClure et al.,  
59 2023). Such northward range shifts coupled with predator release or reductions in competition  
60 may present new fishing opportunities for fishers in the Gulf. With revenues declining in many  
61 fisheries, novel fishing opportunities may be increasingly important. This study explores  
62 processes for emergent fisheries managed by the state of Alaska, the performance of those  
63 processes, insights for similar processes elsewhere, and opportunities to improve those processes  
64 under climate change.

65         Alaska fisheries management is bifurcated into Federal and State management, with  
66 Federal jurisdiction beginning three nautical miles from the coastline and extending 200 nautical  
67 miles. The State manages fisheries within the three nautical miles of the coastline and other  
68 fisheries, including salmon, under agreements with Federal managers. Alaska State fisheries

69 management provides for regulating new fishing opportunities for fishers. Emergent fisheries in  
70 Alaska under State jurisdiction undergo an iterative process with two pathways. Fishers can  
71 receive an exploratory permit for emergent fisheries known as a commissioner’s permit (CP) from  
72 area management biologists in the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G). Fishers can  
73 also advance proposals for emergent fisheries through the State fisheries management body, the  
74 Board of Fisheries (BOF). The BOF considers proposals for changes to regulations specific to  
75 region and species groups, e.g., Kodiak finfish, in meetings on a three-year cycle. Calls for  
76 proposals include all stakeholders: individuals, tribes, local governments, regional aquaculture  
77 associations, fishing industry groups, and nonprofit organizations. However, previous research  
78 has identified barriers to participation in the proposal process and unequal outcomes of proposals  
79 across stakeholder groups (Gordon et al., 2022; Krupa et al., 2020, 2018). Other research has  
80 shown that the proposal process involves complex conflicts over allocation between stakeholder  
81 groups (Harrison, 2021; Szymkowiak and Steinkruger, 2023).

82 Despite global evidence of shifting fisheries resources in response to climate-driven  
83 changes, fisheries management processes remain largely reactive. Reactive management can  
84 result in excessive constraints or permissions, exacerbating allocation battles, lost income, or  
85 overfishing (Pinsky et al. 2018; Dubik et al. 2019). Through examining the emergent fisheries  
86 process in Alaska, this study provides critical insight on how fisheries management may respond  
87 to emerging fisheries, crux points in management processes, and opportunities to facilitate  
88 responsive management. Lessons from Alaska on efficiencies, successes, and failures apply to  
89 other contexts where fishing opportunities could emerge with climate change. These processes  
90 have existed in Alaska’s fisheries for decades, providing opportunities for fishers to explore  
91 fisheries and for scientists to understand insights for new fisheries elsewhere.

92           We examine Alaska’s emergent fisheries processes to understand opportunities across  
93 regions, gears, and species. We also compare these opportunities to existing fisheries and analyze  
94 impediments to future emergent fisheries. We focus on State fisheries, where fishers have  
95 participated for decades in processes to explore new fisheries, to establish a sufficient time series  
96 for analysis and develop a complete description of existing processes. We focus on commercial  
97 fisheries in the Gulf of Alaska, excluding sport, subsistence, and personal use fisheries, as well as  
98 fisheries on the Bering Sea, to reflect divisions in management processes.

## 99   **Data and Methods**

### 100   **Identifying new fisheries processes and data**

101           Expert semi-structured interviews with ADF&G area management biologists informed our  
102 understanding of emergent fisheries in State waters. Our interviewees manage fisheries across the  
103 Gulf of Alaska, from Southeast Alaska to the Western Gulf, including all groundfish and shellfish  
104 fisheries. While most new fisheries prosecute groundfish and shellfish, area management  
105 biologists also issue permits for pelagics (e.g. squid) and aquatic plants. The intent of these  
106 interviews was to develop a detailed understanding of processes for new fisheries. Our  
107 interviewees provided lists of commissioner’s permits (CPs) issued within their regions and  
108 identified which had transitioned to permanent management plans. Based on the list of CPs  
109 provided, interviewees were asked to describe their experiences with issuing CPs including  
110 processes, triggers, exclusions, limitations, and other nuances. Because the CP process is not  
111 otherwise described anywhere that the researchers could locate, the interviewees were invaluable  
112 to the researchers’ understanding of the process. This included follow up emails to understand  
113 details about issuing CPs (their timeframe; their specificity in terms of individuals, gears, and  
114 species; their intersection with BOF processes; and the process of their transition to formal

115 fisheries). Interview notes informed a detailed description and flowchart of these processes, which  
116 our interviewees reviewed.

117 Our CP data reflect the tenure of interviewed area management biologists, resulting in  
118 different data extents across regions. CPs are not tracked in historical databases except in the  
119 Southeast and Yakutat region; 2022 is the final year of all CP time series. The first years of CP  
120 time series are 1982 for Southeast and Yakutat, 2004 for Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Islands,  
121 2006 for Cook Inlet, 2012 for Kodiak, and 2013 for Prince William Sound.

122 A CP is specific to an area, species, and gear, and is issued to an individual, although  
123 multiple individuals can be issued CPs for the same combination of area, species, and gear. CPs  
124 can be contingent on bycatch, seasonality, and harvest quantity. CPs include a mandatory logbook  
125 for tracking effort and harvest. CPs are annual or seasonal in duration, and renewal is subject to  
126 the fishers meeting the stipulations of the permit, as well as any changes in the overall  
127 considerations for the permit (i.e., regulations, feasibility, etc.). CP data provided by area  
128 management biologists included these variables of interest. The region variable in our analysis  
129 reflects ADF&G conventions, although some CPs cover much smaller areas within these regions.  
130 If multiple gears or species are included under a CP, we counted each gear and species as a  
131 distinct emergent fisheries attempt. In some cases, we aggregated similar CP fisheries. For  
132 instance, we aggregated seaweed species targeted with the same gear in the same region.

133 The ultimate outcomes of CP fisheries can be classified as: halted, due to, for example,  
134 lack of a market or lack of sufficient harvest; ongoing, as fishers explore a fishery; and  
135 transitioned, when a fishery transitions to formal management. Our CP data demarcate these  
136 outcomes for CP fisheries that area biologists identified as having transitioned to management  
137 plans and for CP fisheries with permits issued in 2022 (ongoing) or not (halted).

138 Available Board of Fisheries meeting materials include proposals, outcomes, and any  
139 associated written reports or oral presentations (Alaska Department of Fish and Game, 2023b).  
140 Each BOF meeting’s materials include, for each proposal, a descriptive title and the BOF vote on  
141 the proposal. This information enabled identification of potential “new” fishery proposals, which  
142 were evaluated on the full language of each proposal for area, species, and gear in the research  
143 software MAXQDA. BOF meeting information is available from 2003 to 2022. We reduced  
144 meeting information to proposals involving Gulf of Alaska fisheries.

145 Proposals to the BOF generally involve fishery seasons, areas, species, gears, and  
146 allocations between stakeholder groups. We identified “new fishery” proposals through an  
147 iterative coding process. We first identified proposals that would provide novel fishing  
148 opportunities, then coded those proposals by opportunity type (new area, resource or species,  
149 gear, or reallocation of harvest). Each author reviewed all proposals to ensure reliable  
150 identification of fisheries and types of opportunities.

151 There are often multiple, similar proposals under consideration in a single BOF meeting.  
152 In such instances, the BOF will only vote on one proposal and assign similar proposals to a “no  
153 action” vote. In these cases, we only coded the first of multiple proposals. However, proposals  
154 recurring over time were included in our analysis once for each year to capture outcomes of  
155 different BOF votes. Regions for proposals reflect regions applied in BOF procedures and in CP  
156 management. Some proposals straddle multiple regions; these were counted once for each of  
157 those areas. Proposals designating multiple gears were, like CP fisheries, counted once for each  
158 gear. Proposals withdrawn by submitters were omitted from the analysis to avoid conflating the  
159 intent of proposals withdrawn for procedural or practical reasons, which are not clarified in any of

160 the publicly available documentation, with that of proposals that advanced through BOF  
161 processes.

162 The ultimate outcomes of BOF proposals are classified in our analysis as: carried,  
163 representing proposals that were approved; tabled, representing proposals that were delayed to  
164 different processes or later meetings; and failed, representing proposals that were rejected. The  
165 “carried” outcome reflects the forthcoming implementation of the proposal by ADF&G, and is  
166 equivalent to the “transitioned to management” outcome of CP fisheries. Our BOF data  
167 demarcates these outcomes on the vote for each proposal. To avoid double-counting, we omitted  
168 one instance of a BOF “carried” vote pertaining to a CP.

169 For the first four years in our dataset, 2003-2006, meeting notes summarize the BOF’s  
170 discourse on the proposal and the vote. These paragraphs were coded in-vivo to identify the major  
171 reasons for BOF votes. For proposals with multiple reasons or justifications for vote outcomes,  
172 each justification is coded for each proposal. Since justifications are unavailable for the full  
173 dataset, they are not analyzed in-depth. Instead, justifications are used to understand how the BOF  
174 process may be improved to provide emergent fisheries opportunities into the future.

175 Given that the interactions of CP and BOF processes drive fishing opportunities, the data  
176 from these processes was combined for this analysis. Because CP data are limited by the tenure of  
177 local area management biologists and BOF data reflect the meeting cycle of the Board, neither  
178 dataset lends itself to time series analysis. In addition, comparisons between regions are limited  
179 by differentiated efforts across the regions to gather CP information and differing tenures of area  
180 management biologists. Instead, we use the combined data to understand the use of these  
181 processes to explore novel fishing opportunities within regions.



182 Examining regional and species dimensions of emergent fisheries

183 To facilitate analysis, we standardized variables across BOF proposals and CP fisheries.  
184 First, we aggregated species into species groups reflecting standard scientific and management  
185 aggregations (Table 1) (McClure et al., 2023; North Pacific Fishery Management Council, 2020).  
186 We also simplified gears, in most cases standardizing similar strings; otherwise, we subsume  
187 dredge into trawl, habitat pot into pot, dipnet gear into “Other,” variants of dive and hand gear  
188 into those gears, longline into hook and line, and dinglebar into troll. Where proposals and  
189 fisheries include multiple regions, we split regions or combine regions into “Statewide.” The  
190 resulting CP and BOF data illustrate distributions of emergent fisheries across regions, species,  
191 gears, and time.

192 **Table 1.** Species group aggregations employed in analysis. Coral is included under the mollusk  
193 group because it is designated as a miscellaneous shellfish in ADF&G CPs.

Species group	Species included in species groups
Coastal pelagic	Squid, armhook squid, market squid, smelt, herring, sardine
Crab	Dungeness crab, Grooved Tanner crab, Deepwater Tanner crab, King crab, Golden King crab
Elasmobranch	Spiny dogfish, skates, sharks
Groundfish	Atka mackerel, Pacific cod, pollock, rockfish, sablefish, groundfish, flatfish, flounder and sole, Pacific hagfish
Mollusk	Octopus, scallop, sea cucumber, shrimp, sea urchin, gumboots, clams, horse clams, coral, Geoducks, gooseneck barnacles, sea snails, little neck clams, star fish
Salmonid	Salmon, dolly varden
Aquatic plants	Seaweed, kelp, algae

194 We explore these distributions through visualizations implemented in R and RStudio with  
195 packages tidyverse (Wickham et al., 2019), janitor (Firke, 2023), ggpubr (Kassambara, 2023),  
196 patchwork (Pedersen, 2023), and packages referenced throughout this section. We first illustrate  
197 the extent of regions and counts of emergent fisheries by region with packages sf (Pebesma,  
198 2018) and rnaturalearth (Massicotte and South, 2023) and spatial data provided by ADF&G  
199 (Alaska Department of Fish and Game, 2023c). We next represent distributions of emergent  
200 fisheries over regions, species groups, and gears in barplots, highlighting differences across  
201 regions in specialization into species groups and gears. We also track outcomes of emergent  
202 fisheries over species groups, gears, and management processes through Sankey diagrams created  
203 with package ggsankey (Joberg, 2023). Sankey diagrams underscore the hurdles facing emergent  
204 fisheries, representing failures, successes, and ongoing experiments over species groups and  
205 gears.

## 206 Examining the “success” of emergent fisheries

207 Examining process outcomes above only illuminates failures and successes of fisheries  
208 through policy and management. In fact, only the “transitioned” outcome points to success. The  
209 other types of successes, carried and ongoing, represent the initialization or continuation of  
210 experimental fisheries. Yet none of these outcomes represent the extent to which these fisheries  
211 provide opportunities, nor to whom or how much.

212 To examine these dimensions, we used a métier analysis to define distinct fisheries using  
213 landings data (Alaska Fisheries Information Network and Pacific States Marine Fisheries  
214 Commission, 2022). A métier analysis identifies clusters of species that are jointly targeted, and is  
215 particularly useful when vessels target many species individually or groups of species  
216 simultaneously (Deporte et al., 2012). The clusters identified by the métier analysis represent all

217 fisheries available to fishers. To conduct the *métier* analysis, we defined fishing trips on unique  
218 combinations of vessel, landing date, port of landing, gear, state fishery permit code, and  
219 management subarea. Trips were partitioned to disjoint sets on state fishery permit codes and  
220 management subareas. Trips in each partition were then clustered on proportions of trip revenue  
221 generated by each species using a Partition Around Medoids (PAM) algorithm. Because of the  
222 large number of trips for some partitions, we used the Clustering Large Applications (CLARA)  
223 variant of PAM in the ‘cluster’ package in R (Maechler et al., 2022). We first evaluated clusters  
224 using mean silhouette width, which measures the distinctness and cohesion of the clusters. We  
225 assessed the stability of the cluster using 100 bootstrap draws and tested the similarity of the  
226 clustering results compared to the initial clustering. If less than 70% of the composition of each  
227 cluster was in agreement across the bootstrap draws, the number of clusters was reduced by one  
228 and the bootstrap re-run until stability reached 70% (Parsa et al., 2020).

229         We evaluate new fisheries using the *métier* analysis in several ways. First, we identify the  
230 extent to which new fisheries represent distinct *métiers*. Each landing that comprises the *métiers*  
231 is tested to see whether it belongs to an emergent fishery. The geographic location, gear type,  
232 species, and years for each landing is compared against the definition of each emergent fishery  
233 that became active under either of the two pathways we outlined in the introductory section, and  
234 assigned to the appropriate emerging fishery, if applicable. If no match is found, it is assumed the  
235 landing is not part of an emergent fishery. If an emerging fishery represents a new fishing  
236 opportunity rather than a marginal extension of an existing fishery, trips and revenue in the new  
237 fishery should be associated with a unique cluster.

238         Second, we compare revenue in new fisheries to revenue in existing fisheries. We make  
239 this comparison in terms of overall and relative economic value for participant vessels. We

240 represent overall economic value as the mean total annual ex-vessel revenue in the fishery across  
241 all years when the fishery was active. Relative economic value is measured as the mean  
242 proportion of ex-vessel revenue the fishery contributes to each participating vessel's annual  
243 fishing portfolio. For these calculations, we include only those vessels with at least \$10,000 of  
244 inflation-adjusted annual revenue in a given year to avoid including vessels that are not primarily  
245 involved in commercial fishing, and only those fisheries with at least three participating vessels in  
246 accordance with confidentiality rules.

## 247 Results

### 248 Alaska State emergent fisheries process description

249 The determination of which emergent fisheries process to pursue is based on a number of  
250 factors, including existing regulations, species, area, previous efforts at developing that fishery,  
251 and the Board meeting cycle. Alaska State regulations mandate CPs for some species (skates;  
252 rays; lingcod; octopi; squid; hair crab; sea urchins; sea cucumbers; sea snails; herring spawn, bait,  
253 and food fisheries), and prohibit CPs in other instances, for example for established fisheries,  
254 including king, Tanner, and Dungeness crab. There is also interplay between the two processes,  
255 with the BOF sometimes authorizing the issuance of CPs and the transition of a CP fishery into a  
256 formal fishery or vice versa.

257 Some successful fisheries have operated under CPs for years because there is no guidance  
258 triggering the transition to a formalized fishery. This transition necessitates Board approval,  
259 which occurs in response to a proposal (from ADF&G or stakeholders). Formalizing a fishery  
260 allows for a more open, public process in debating fisheries regulations, although it requires  
261 proposals to pass through lags in the BOF process. To receive approval from the BOF, the fishery

262 must also meet criteria including enforceability, sustainability, and authority (of the Board to  
263 regulate the fishery).

264 The alternative to the CP process is a proposal to the BOF. This process is used when a  
265 fishery is ineligible for a CP, when ADF&G is resistant to issuing a CP (or applicants perceive  
266 resistance), or when applicants hope to bypass the CP process. The Board then considers the  
267 proposals under the same criteria as a proposal to transition a CP (enforceability, sustainability,  
268 and authority), and ADF&G comments on biological considerations of the fishery. The Board  
269 may approve a formal fishery or the issuance of a CP for a fishery; the latter still requires review  
270 and approval by ADF&G. Identical proposals have been submitted to the Board from year to year.

## 271 Emergent fisheries across regions and species

272 Figure 1 shows emergent fisheries attempts across regions of the Gulf of Alaska, with  
273 regions demarcated in Panel A and numbers of emergent fisheries attempts by region in Panel B.  
274 Emergent fisheries attempts occur in all regions, with some proposals to the BOF having a  
275 Statewide designation. The greater number of emergent fisheries attempts in Southeast and  
276 Yakutat is associated with that region's relatively greater proportion of CP fisheries, which could  
277 result from the region's relatively longer time series, greater spatial extent, and greater density of  
278 fishing communities. The prevalence of CP fisheries in Southeast and Yakutat also reflects area  
279 management biologists' systematic efforts to gather comprehensive information about CP  
280 fisheries, and is not necessarily associated with differences in the propensity of biologists to issue  
281 CPs, which cannot be ascertained from available data. 144 emergent fisheries attempts have been  
282 identified across the processes and regions; this total is consistent through subsequent analyses.

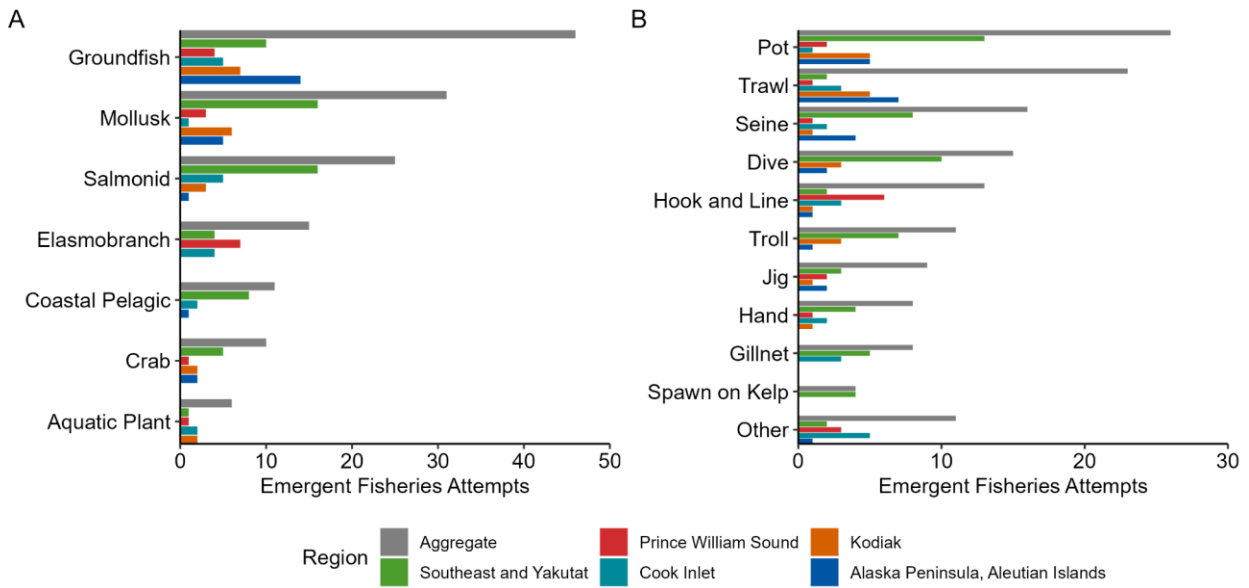


283

284 **Figure 1.** Emergent fisheries attempts across fisheries management regions. Panel A demarcates  
 285 regions; Panel B counts emergent fisheries attempts by region.

286 Figure 2 demonstrates the distribution of species (A) and gears (B) for emergent fisheries  
 287 attempts by fisheries management region. The “Aggregate” column in Figure 2 reflects emergent  
 288 fisheries attempts summed across regions, plus “Statewide” BOF proposals. Regional barplots in  
 289 Figure 2 demonstrate the diversity of emergent fisheries attempts in terms of species and gears.

290 Although there is no completely dominant species or group, groundfish are prominent across  
 291 regions and in aggregate. Mollusks are less prominent, reflecting emergent fisheries attempts in  
 292 Southeast and Yakutat as well as Kodiak. The breakdown of gears in panel B relates to species in  
 293 panel A; trawl and pot gear are prominent gears used to target groundfish and mollusks, while jig,  
 294 hook-and-line, and seine gear target these species to a lesser extent. In regional barplots, strong  
 295 relationships between species and gears are more pronounced, reflecting gears present in those  
 296 regions and the species that are available to those gears. For example, Cook Inlet is dominated by  
 297 salmon fisheries employing gillnet and seine gear. Fishers in the region have attempted to extend  
 298 salmon fisheries to new combinations of areas and species, as well as exploring fisheries for  
 299 groundfish, elasmobranchs, and mollusks with gillnet, seine, and other gear.



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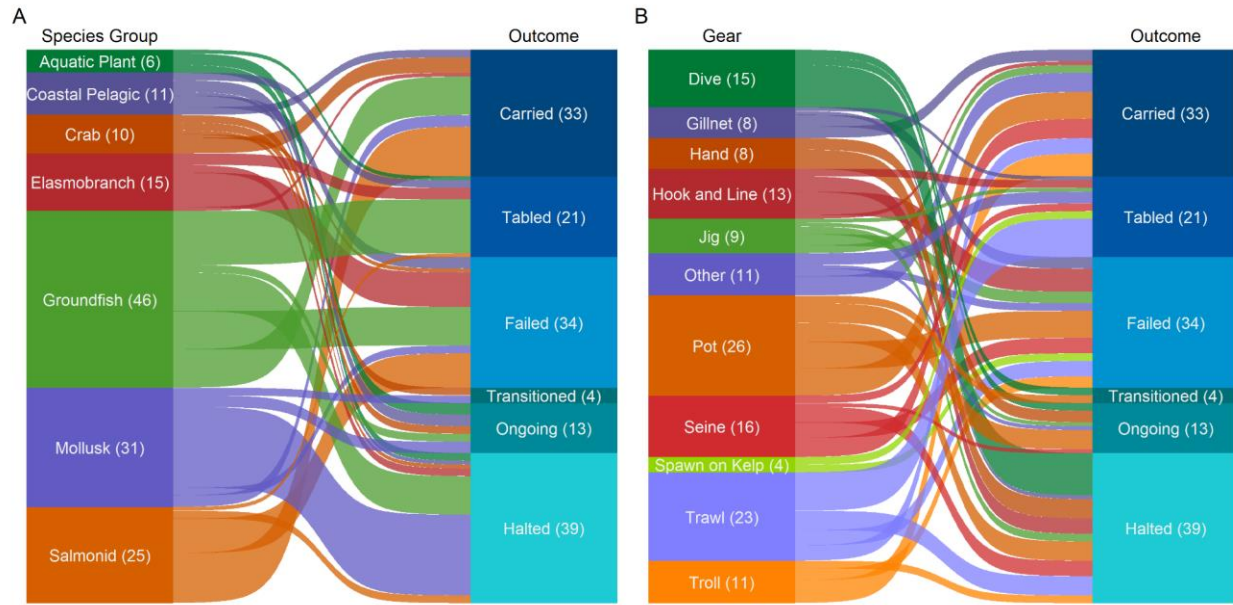
302 **Figure 2.** Counts of emergent fisheries attempts by species (A) and gears (B) across regions. All  
 303 counts and percentages for species and gears are detailed in Tables A1-2.

304 Figure 3 represents the outcomes of both emergent fisheries processes. “Carried,”  
 305 “Tabled,” and “Failed” are BOF process outcomes, while “Transitioned,” “Ongoing,” and  
 306 “Halted” are CP fishery outcomes. Emergent fisheries attempts are shown by outcomes for  
 307 species groups (A) and gear groups (B). Half of all attempts do not succeed, with 34 fisheries  
 308 (24%) in the BOF process resulting in a “failed” outcome and 39 CP fisheries (27%) eventually  
 309 discontinued (“halted”). Another 21 (15%) of fisheries in BOF processes stalled out with a  
 310 “tabled” vote. Other fisheries were relatively successful in emergent fisheries processes as  
 311 ongoing CP fisheries (“ongoing,” 9%) and as efforts through the BOF to provide opportunities for  
 312 novel fisheries (“carried,” 23%). However, the clearest indicator of success through these  
 313 processes are those CP fisheries that transitioned to a formal fishery, amounting to 4 (3%)  
 314 fisheries represented in Figure 3.

315           The Sankey diagram in Figure 3 demonstrates mixed outcomes for all species groups  
316 within BOF and CP processes. The most successful within BOF processes are salmonid and crab  
317 fisheries, with 4 (40%) of crab fisheries and 13 (52%) of salmonid fisheries resulting in “carried”  
318 outcomes. Opportunities created by hatchery production could be a driver of success for BOF  
319 proposals for salmonid fisheries. Coastal pelagic and aquatic plant fisheries are evenly distributed  
320 across outcomes for both processes. Other species groups have high rates of overall failure.  
321 Elasmobranchs largely result in failed and tabled outcomes within the BOF. Mollusks are also  
322 relatively unsuccessful, largely resulting in halted outcomes. Groundfish also seem to have  
323 largely unsuccessful outcomes with 34 (74%) proposals and fisheries resulting in tabled, failed, or  
324 halted outcomes. Whereas many species groups represent novel species and resources (sea  
325 cucumbers, snails, kelp), emergent fisheries attempts for groundfish species are largely for new  
326 gears targeting existing fisheries or for reallocations between Federal and State fisheries.

327           Outcomes for gears and species groups in Figure 3 Panel B align, although because gears  
328 can target multiple resources, there are often multiple outcomes within gears. For example, pots  
329 can target groundfish, mollusks, or crab, aligning outcomes for this gear with outcomes for these  
330 resources. Similarly, jig gear can target groundfish and mollusks; therefore outcomes for this gear  
331 align with outcomes for these species groups. Attempts at mollusk fisheries with dive gear were  
332 overwhelmingly halted. In contrast, carried outcomes for seine, gillnet, and troll gear reflect  
333 outcomes for salmon fishery attempts. Attempts with hand picking gear targeted aquatic plants  
334 resulting in relative success with that gear type. Trawl and dredge gear is used in groundfish and  
335 some mollusk fishery attempts, resulting in tabled, failed, and halted outcomes. Hook and line  
336 gear attempts largely target elasmobranchs, also resulting in tabled, failed, and halted outcomes.





337

338 **Figure 3.** Outcomes of emergent fisheries attempts by species group (A) and gear (B). Counts and  
 339 percentages for species groups, gears, and corresponding outcomes are detailed in Tables A3-4.

340 Justifications for BOF votes for the first four years of our dataset illuminate BOF choices  
 341 on emergent fisheries proposals. Table 2 counts BOF votes and justifications in terms of numbers  
 342 of emergent fisheries proposals. Emergent fisheries proposals tend to be carried if they provide an  
 343 economic opportunity. Emergent fisheries proposals tend to fail due to conservation concerns or  
 344 ongoing consideration of related proposals. Justifications for failed votes that cite fully allocated  
 345 resources overlap with other ongoing processes. In one instance, a lack of processing capacity is  
 346 cited in a failed vote. The ongoing process justification also appears in tabled votes, with the BOF  
 347 deferring to ongoing processes.

348 **Table 2.** Votes and justifications on emergent fisheries proposals to the BOF.

Vote	Justification	Number of proposals
Carried	Economic opportunity	7
Failed	Conservation concern	5

	Fully allocated resource	3
	Lack of processing capacity	1
	Ongoing committee or process	5
Tabled	Ongoing committee or process	11
	Fully allocated resource	1

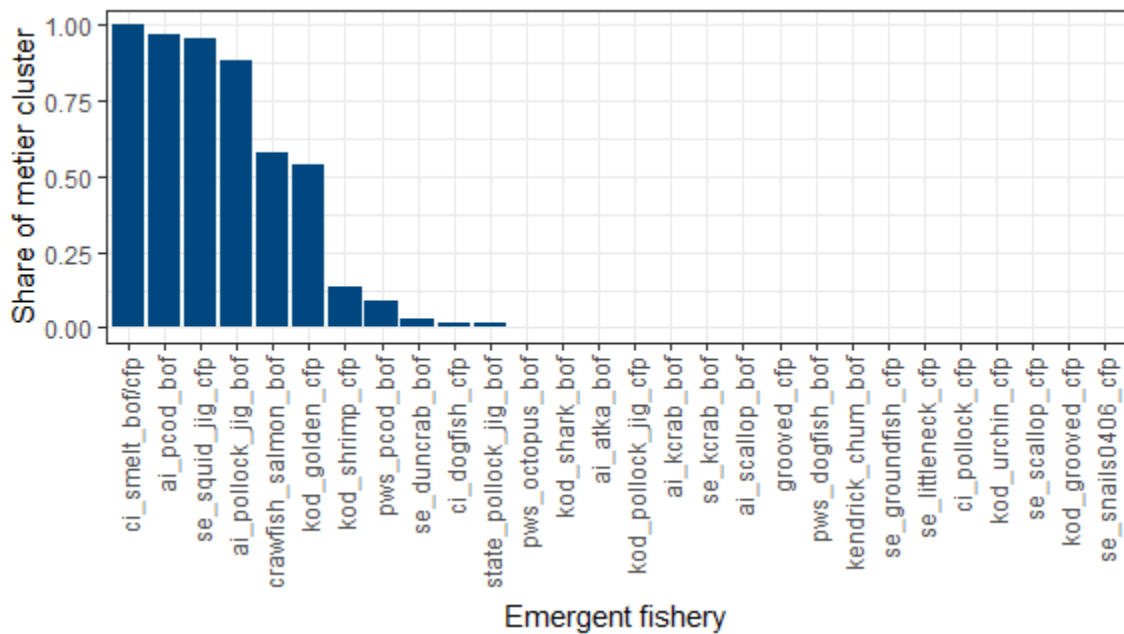
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### 350 Emergent fisheries as part of fishing portfolios

351 Of successful fisheries attempts, only 28 (56%) are identifiable in fisheries landings data,  
352 reflecting the frequent failure of these efforts to realize new fishing opportunities. Of emergent  
353 fisheries with identifiable landings data, we evaluated whether landings for each emergent fishery  
354 were clustered as a distinct fishery by the métier analysis. The results of this analysis are  
355 presented in Figure 4.

356 We find that four emergent fisheries are identified as wholly distinct fisheries. For each of  
357 these four fisheries, landings associated with the emergent fishery comprise all or nearly all of the  
358 revenue from a unique métier, which suggests that the emergent fishery is distinct from existing  
359 fisheries. Two additional emergent fisheries each comprised more than 50% of the revenue of a  
360 unique métier. These six fisheries are the only emergent fisheries that make up majorities of  
361 métiers and comprise just 12% of the total number of emergent fisheries that succeeded through  
362 CPs or BOF proposals. While each of the six emerging fishing opportunities are remarkable in  
363 our dataset for comprising the majority of a distinct fishery as defined by our métier analysis,  
364 there is not sufficient data to draw generalizable inferences as to fishery characteristics - in terms  
365 of management process, region, species or gear - that allow for an emerging fishery to attain  
366 relative commercial success.

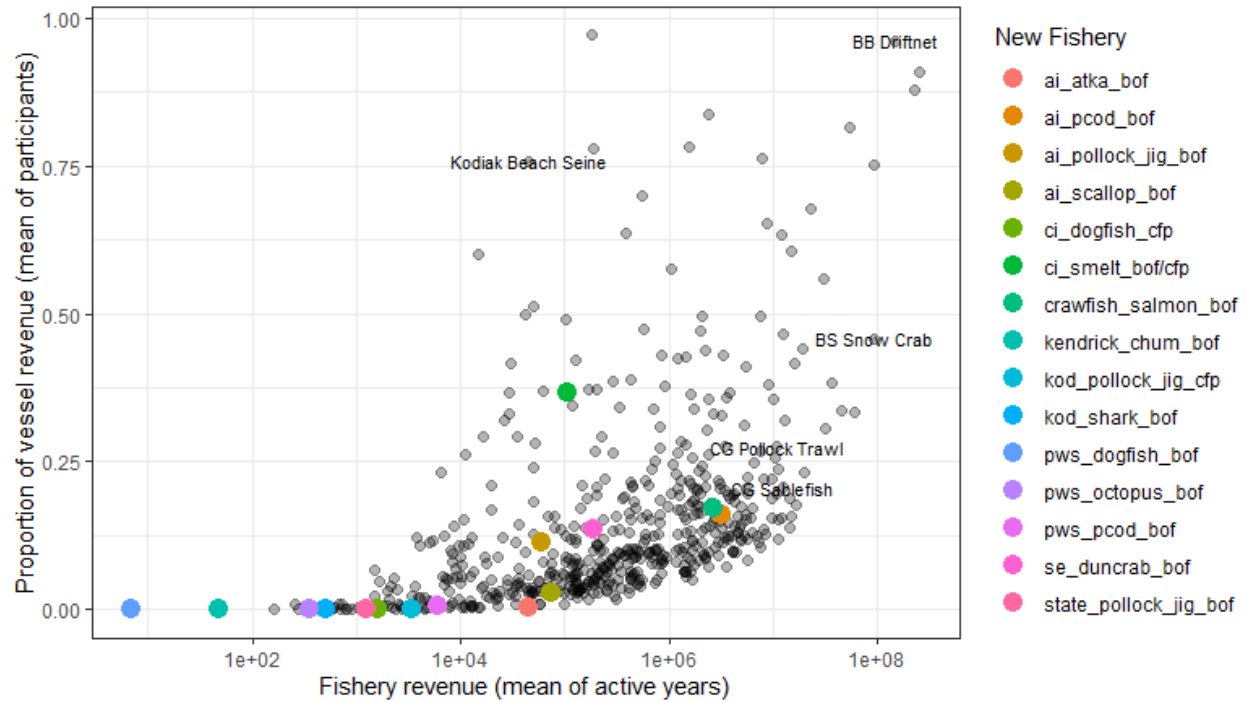
367 The remaining 22 emergent fisheries with non-zero landings revenue comprise at most  
 368 13% of their métiers' revenues. 17 emergent fisheries make up less than 1% of their métiers'  
 369 revenue. This suggests that most emergent fisheries that succeed through CPs or BOF proposals  
 370 are marginal fishing opportunities, fished only as extensions of existing fisheries. In the case of a  
 371 BOF proposal allowing landings of shark bycatch in the Kodiak longline fishery, for example, the  
 372 vast majority of revenue was in Pacific cod and sablefish, while shark landings accounted for just  
 373 0.01% of the métier's revenue. In these cases where the emerging fishery makes up such a minor  
 374 part of the métier, it is likely that the emerging fishery rules are newly allowing bycatch that was  
 375 already occurring in the fishery to be landed and sold.  
 376



377  
 378 **Figure 4.** Emergent fisheries' share of revenue within their métiers. Fishery naming convention is  
 379 [area\_species\_gear\_permit type].

380 Figure 5 compares the total and relative economic value of emergent fisheries and existing  
 381 fisheries. For this figure and successive figures in this section, each emergent fishery is

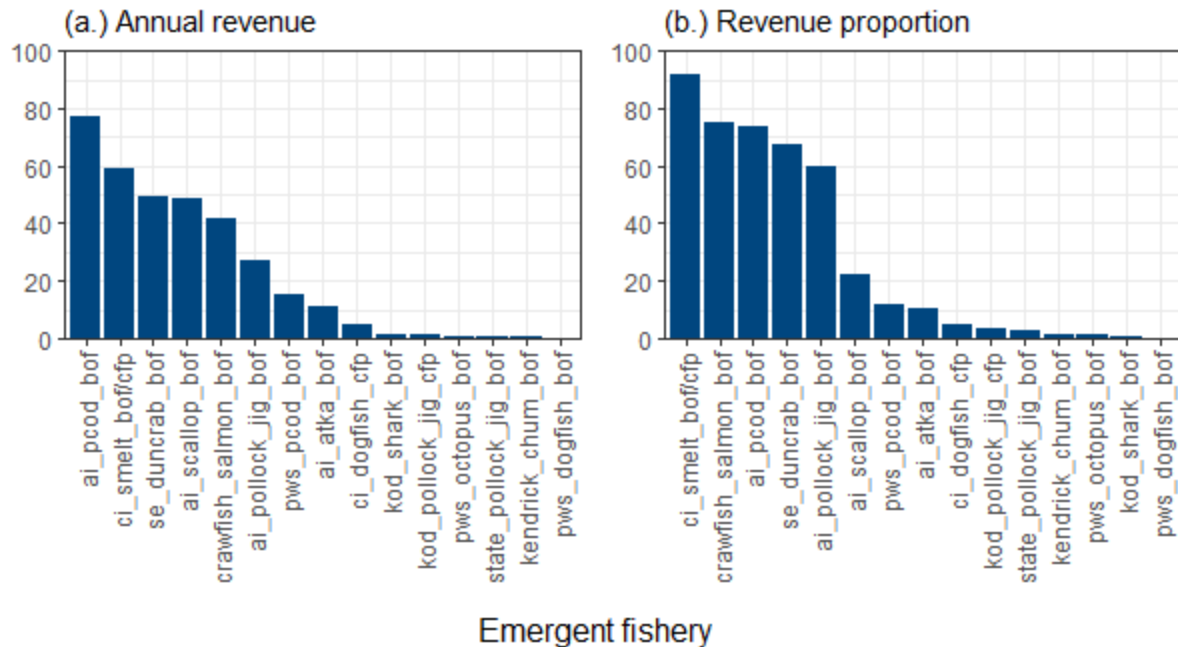
382 considered its own fishery and is compared to fisheries identified by the métier analysis. Due to  
383 confidentiality rules, 13 of the 28 emergent fisheries with landings data are not present in Figures  
384 5 and 6 as they are fished by fewer than three vessels, though patterns summarized here would not  
385 be altered by these fisheries. Increasing along the x-axis of Figure 5 represents a larger overall  
386 economic role for a fishery. The Bristol Bay driftnet salmon fishery and Bering Sea snow crab  
387 fishery are examples of older, non-emergent fisheries identified in the métier analysis that are  
388 among the highest in economic value and are included for the purposes of comparison. Several  
389 emergent fisheries are among the fisheries with relatively high economic value. These include  
390 several new fisheries based on BOF proposals, including Aleutian Islands Pacific cod, Southeast  
391 Dungeness crab, and Cook Inlet smelt, though the latter was initially permitted under a CP.  
392 However, as a group, emergent fisheries have lower economic value than existing fisheries, which  
393 is demonstrated further by the percentile rank of the fisheries in terms of mean annual revenue,  
394 shown in Figure 6a. Most emergent fisheries fall in the lowest quartile of fisheries by this metric.  
395 In total, identifiable emergent fisheries make up less than 0.5% of the total ex-vessel revenue of  
396 Alaska fisheries for the years 2012-2021.



397

398 **Figure 5.** Fisheries by mean annual revenue (x-axis) and mean proportion of revenue among  
 399 participating vessels (y-axis). Limited to vessels with at least \$10,000 in annual revenue and  
 400 fisheries with at least three participating vessels. Fisheries shown in larger, solid points with color  
 401 are identifiable emergent fisheries; others are not. Fisheries identified with labels are not  
 402 emergent, but illustrate extremes of the distribution (Bristol Bay driftnet, Kodiak beach seine,  
 403 Bering Sea snow crab) or fisheries comparable to the most successful emergent fisheries (Central  
 404 Gulf pollock trawl, Central Gulf sablefish).

405



406

407 **Figure 6.** Panel a. Fisheries by percentile of annual revenue compared to all other fisheries. Panel  
 408 b. Fisheries by percentile of mean proportion of revenue among participating vessels compared to  
 409 all other fisheries. Limited to vessels with at least \$10,000 in annual revenue and fisheries with at  
 410 least three participating vessels.

411 A similar pattern is evident when focusing on relative value rather than absolute value.  
 412 Emergent fisheries score higher on this measure as they make up a larger proportion of vessel  
 413 revenue. Figure 5 shows that total and relative economic value are highly correlated. Kodiak  
 414 beach seiners represent an established fishery of modest overall value and large relative value,  
 415 suggesting a niche fishery with high value to relatively few fishers who do not fish other fisheries.  
 416 Among emerging fisheries, the Cook Inlet smelt fishery again stands out as important to fishery  
 417 participants, as does the Crawfish Inlet terminal harvest area salmon fishery, Aleutian Islands  
 418 Pacific cod and jig pollock, and Southeast Dungeness crab. As with total economic value,  
 419 emergent fisheries in general have low relative value, as illustrated by Figure 6b, which again  
 420 shows most emergent fisheries fall in the lowest quartile.

## 421 Discussion

422 In Alaska, fishers have explored diverse opportunities in State waters across regions,  
423 species, and gears through exploratory permits and management processes. Across these many  
424 trials, only a little over a third of the attempts have resulted in successful process outcomes. Yet  
425 success in processes does not equate to commercial success, which may be particularly true in  
426 BOF processes where there may not be trial periods for emergent fisheries. The disconnect  
427 between process and fishery outcomes is evident in harvest data: less than a fifth of emergent  
428 fisheries attempts are associated with harvests. Those harvests are largely nominal in terms of  
429 total and relative value. In essence, Alaska State fisheries exploratory processes have enabled  
430 experiments in fisheries that can provide additional, marginal revenues. Nevertheless, these  
431 fisheries can provide meaningful opportunities to employ crew through off-season periods and  
432 smooth revenues, and potential climate-driven range shifts stand to increase the importance of  
433 that role for emergent fisheries.

434 Emergent fisheries in Alaska are arguably attempts at new fisheries in a fully exploited  
435 fisheries system. This is demonstrated in concerns over conservation resource allocations in  
436 justifications for BOF votes to fail proposals. To some extent, fisheries attempted through these  
437 processes manifest “fishing down the food web” – a combination of declining finfish harvests  
438 (especially salmon) and higher prices for invertebrates (Pauly et al., 1998; Perry et al., 1999).  
439 Furthermore, attempts at novel fisheries in groundfish are largely redistributive in nature, while  
440 trials in the elasmobranch species group represent attempts to create value in otherwise largely  
441 economically marginal species in the region. However, the role of climate change in northward  
442 range shifts and potential predator release could shift this paradigm for important commercial  
443 species, e.g. market squid (Free et al. 2023). The extension of existing processes for fisheries

444 exploration to new, large-scale fishing opportunities will necessitate taking stock of those  
445 processes' performance and opportunities for improvements.

446         The processes exhibit regulatory inefficiencies in terms of inefficient mechanisms to  
447 achieve regulatory objectives (new fishing opportunities) and excessive dependence on rules  
448 (Spence and Gopalakrishnan, 2000). Both CP and BOF processes necessitate that fishers know  
449 combinations of area, species, and gears for their fisheries, which constrains exploration.  
450 Fisheries may function under CPs for decades without a trigger to transition to regular  
451 management. Proposals to the BOF for emergent fisheries are constrained to the Board's three-  
452 year meeting cycle, resulting in lagged responses to ecosystem conditions and delays in  
453 opportunities for harvest and data collection. This lag is exacerbated by the BOF deferring to  
454 ongoing processes or jurisdictional issues in tabled or failed votes on proposals, which are also on  
455 a multi-annual meeting cycle. Proposals for the same emergent fisheries are brought before the  
456 BOF and fail in multiple years, triggering public debate and BOF review for fisheries with no  
457 realistic path forward.

458         Nevertheless, these shortcomings in emergent fisheries processes have positive tradeoffs.  
459 The combination of BOF and CP processes can balance both. CP processes allow ADF&G to  
460 work with fishers to explore new fishing opportunities and iterate on areas, species, and gears,  
461 avoiding the lagged BOF meeting cycle and providing for flexibility. BOF proposals allow the  
462 BOF to mediate between fishers and ADF&G biologists. Furthermore, the BOF can allow  
463 fisheries that are otherwise prohibited through regulations, unlike CPs. The transition from CPs to  
464 a formal fishery is also important, as it allows a public process to address issues and inform  
465 regulatory revisions. Cooperation between biologists and fishers along with the logbook  
466 component of CPs, allows this process to explicitly consider sustainability outcomes. In part, this



467 addresses concerns that fisheries may be overexploited in their early years (Perry et al., 1999).  
468 However, ADF&G area biologists manage large geographic areas with diverse ecosystems and  
469 fisheries, which could result in imprecise estimates of sustainability outcomes. Conservative  
470 estimates could result in lost opportunities for fishers (Smith, 1993). Although the BOF process  
471 does not include a similar trial period to assess sustainability, ADF&G biologists provide written  
472 and verbal reports in response to proposals to the BOF.

473         The extension of existing emergent fisheries processes in Alaska to new opportunities  
474 resulting from climate change will necessitate new considerations of scale, tradeoffs, and a more  
475 holistic approach. In the face of ecosystem changes, fully availing fisheries stakeholders of  
476 emergent opportunities could require the State to move from the current, piecemeal approach to  
477 new fisheries development and the development of a targeted emergent fisheries policy,  
478 regulatory body, and dedicated staff. Indeed, there has been some recognition of this in the past.  
479 In the early 2000s, the BOF reviewed proposals to establish a developing fisheries policy and a  
480 dedicated body for emergent fisheries development (Alaska Board of Fisheries, 2005, 2003). The  
481 former was introduced by ADF&G and withdrawn for more stakeholder input; the latter was  
482 proposed by an individual and opposed because the BOF did not want to transfer its management  
483 responsibilities. In the 2021-2022 session of the Alaska State Legislature, a bill was put forward  
484 for the development of regional fishery development associations, in order to identify and  
485 promote new commercial fisheries (*An Act relating to regional fishery development associations;*  
486 *and relating to developing fishery management assessments*, 2023). A dedicated body for  
487 emergent fisheries could address scalability and knowledge transfer, both of which are critical  
488 under climate-driven changes to fisheries. A more formalized process for emergent fisheries

489 development could ensure equitable and objective assessments of requests for CPs as well as a  
490 uniform approach to transitioning CP fisheries to regular management.

491         New fisheries development in Alaska will have to balance sustainability with opportunity,  
492 considerations that are already evident in BOF decisions. In 2018, the BOF rejected a new market  
493 squid fishery in Southeast Alaska that was proposed by fishers in the region after a substantial  
494 increase in the resource following the marine heatwave of 2014-2016. The BOF cited  
495 conservation concerns over king salmon bycatch in its rejection decision. Changes in resources  
496 under climate change will make considerations of tradeoffs between climate winners and losers  
497 more prominent into the future, as declines in historical fisheries complicate choices about new  
498 fisheries (Cheung et al. 2010, Lam et al. 2016). This may necessitate consideration of  
499 compensation for fishers left at the trailing edge of a stock that they previously harvested or  
500 reconsideration of management boundaries that constrain where those fishers can harvest (Dubik  
501 et al. 2019). The development of large-scale emergent fisheries may also necessitate  
502 reconstituting programs that were in place during the first development of American fisheries  
503 capacity. Investment in transitioning fishing, processing, and infrastructure capacity to novel  
504 species with climate change (as well as industries like mariculture) may be considered akin to  
505 American investments in domestic fishing capacity in the 1970s and 80s (National Research  
506 Council, 2014). At that time, both Federal and State governments targeted fisheries development  
507 programs to provide funding, oversight, and administration of new fisheries (Alaska Department  
508 of Fish and Game, 1981). Although at least one grant program addresses this gap (National  
509 Marine Fisheries Service, 2023), none provide the comprehensive structure for development and  
510 monitoring that was afforded by historical Federal and State programs.

511           Although our study provides critical insights into emergent fisheries processes, several  
512 caveats are noteworthy. Our dataset is largely constrained to the tenure of current State biologists  
513 in Alaska and to fisheries approved for CPs. This implies that we lack historical CP information  
514 for most regions and information about CP fisheries that were rejected, although interviews with  
515 State biologists indicate they generally issue CPs unless they are illegal or repeated failures. Some  
516 species that are already, or are expected to, migrate north into waters off Alaska – albacore tuna,  
517 Pacific hake, and sardines – will necessitate coordination between Federal and State managers, as  
518 well as potential renegotiations of bilateral agreements (Palacios-Abrantes et al., 2020). Although  
519 this study focused on the State process for emergent fisheries we acknowledge that there is a  
520 critical link between State and Federal fisheries to explore in follow-on work.

## 521 **Conclusion**

522           Range shifts and large-scale ecosystem changes brought about by climate change will  
523 redistribute historical commercial fish species and, in some cases, provide novel fishing  
524 opportunities. Managing for a balance of opportunity and sustainability will be critical for fishers,  
525 communities, and ecosystems. This study details the emergent fisheries process in Alaska,  
526 examining its role in exploring novel fisheries across regions, species, and gears. Despite a  
527 myriad of trials across diverse potential opportunities, novel fisheries developed through this  
528 process have had marginal outcomes, reflecting a fully exploited system. The piecemeal nature of  
529 the current approach may not scale to large-scale ecosystem changes under climate change, which  
530 may necessitate a dedicated management body and policy for emergent fisheries development.  
531 However, a targeted process for emergent fisheries development is a meaningful alternative to  
532 reactive processes elsewhere and provides valuable insights into tailoring these processes for  
533 novel fisheries.

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