

## **Highlights**

- We use Q method to study perspectives about aquaculture development in Maine, USA.
- Aquaculture growth is supported, but perspectives differ about its scope and scale.
- Divergent perspectives reflect the history of ocean use in Maine.
- Perspectives have divergent views on the beneficiaries of aquaculture growth.
- Understanding perspectives on aquaculture growth is vital for long-term planning.

## **Abstract**

As aquaculture production continues to increase worldwide, important questions are emerging about the motivations of growth and who stands to benefit. We use Q method to identify perspectives associated with marine aquaculture development in Maine, where aquaculture expansion in the United States has become a central focus. We used newspaper articles about aquaculture in Maine covering a 20-year period to inform the development of the Q study and participants included industry members, researchers, managers, and other local experts. We identify four perspectives on aquaculture development based on the values individuals ascribe to the growth of the sector. We label these perspectives as: (1) Aquaculture Optimists, (2) Aquaculture Anchors, (3) Aquaculture Historians, and (4) Aquaculture Agnostics. Although the aquaculture sector is poised to expand in Maine, our findings suggest that there are material differences in the values associated with aquaculture growth, which may not be entirely compatible. By understanding the heterogeneity of perspectives surrounding aquaculture development in Maine, we aim to contribute to ongoing discussions about the future of aquaculture and encourage a more explicit articulation of the intended outcomes of aquaculture development and who it will serve.

## **Diverse perspectives on aquaculture development in Maine**

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### **Declaration of interest**

MLB and HML have no conflict of interest to declare. JSS owns and operates an oyster farm in Maine.

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*Key words: Aquaculture, blue growth, Maine, Q method, values*

## 1 **Diverse perspectives on aquaculture development in Maine**

### 2 **1. Introduction**

3 *Aquaculture has the potential to enhance Maine’s fishing industry. Its economic*  
4 *potential far exceeds the current value of the state’s traditional fisheries. Its*  
5 *biological potential is great: the industry so far is using only a few of the*  
6 *numerous possible sites and species... By helping support the fishing industry,*  
7 *aquaculture can benefit coastal communities. Compared to traditional fisheries,*  
8 *aquaculture provides stable income and employment, yet is less physically taxing*  
9 *and dangerous.*

10 – An Aquaculture Development Strategy for the State of Maine, 1990

11 It has been three decades since the Maine State Planning Office and the Maine  
12 Department of Marine Resources published *An Aquaculture Development Strategy for the State*  
13 *of Maine* (1), yet the messaging remains salient. Maine is experiencing a period of growth and  
14 investment in the aquaculture sector and many of the reasons that were used to promote  
15 aquaculture in the past are being raised again (2). The specific socio-economic and  
16 environmental context in Maine is, of course, unique, but aquaculture production is on the rise in  
17 the United States and worldwide, and aligns with broader narratives about blue growth and the  
18 blue economy (3–6).

19 Over the last three decades, from 1988 to 2018, global marine aquaculture production  
20 increased from 6.95 million tons (6.3 million tonnes) to 33.95 million tons (30.8 million tonnes)  
21 in 2018 (7). As substantial areas of “suitable” ocean space are identified for further development  
22 around the world (10), continued growth in the aquaculture sector is anticipated (7–9). Part of the  
23 appeal of aquaculture is that it intersects with the interests of a diverse cross-section of ocean

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4 24 actors from multi-national corporations and private equity firms to development organizations,  
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7 25 researchers, governments, environmental non-governmental organizations, and coastal  
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9 26 communities (11). In practice, this has meant that a wide range of actors are investing in the  
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11 27 aquaculture sector at the same time. In Maine, for example, there are at least 85 institutions or  
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14 28 programs working to support aquaculture development through research, education, technical  
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16 29 assistance or funding, as well as numerous private interests (2).  
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19 30         The excerpt from *An Aquaculture Development Strategy for the State of Maine* highlights  
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22 31 several of the reasons that aquaculture is being advanced. The literature similarly points to a  
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24 32 range of motivating factors, including: the potential for aquaculture to address global food  
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27 33 insecurity and poverty (7,8,12–14), contribute to livelihood diversification and coastal  
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29 34 community resilience (1,2,7), create investment opportunities (15,16) and reduce pressure on  
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32 35 wild-capture fisheries while restoring coastal and marine habitats (17–20). While these  
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34 36 objectives are not necessarily in conflict, they are not inherently compatible either. For example,  
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37 37 aquaculture projects designed to maximize private investors’ financial returns on investment or  
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39 38 achieve the highest level of production efficiency (21) will not necessarily achieve community-  
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42 39 focused objectives related to sustaining and diversifying livelihoods or enhance socioeconomic  
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44 40 resilience (22). In many ways, aquaculture development is reminiscent of earlier work on the  
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47 41 tradeoffs inherent in conservation and development projects (e.g., 25) and suggests that the type,  
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49 42 scale, and distribution of aquaculture projects can influence which objectives are advanced and  
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52 43 prioritized. As aquaculture has gained momentum, however, scholars have observed that the  
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54 44 emphasis on sociotechnical solutions and overarching production milestones for aquaculture  
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56 45 have consistently overshadowed efforts to define and prioritize objectives for aquaculture in  
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59 46 particular places (24). To address this gap, research is needed to more fully understand the  
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4 47 motivations catalyzing aquaculture. This is not merely an academic exercise, but one that  
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6 48 emerges from the perspective that the “success” of aquaculture is not a matter of how quickly the  
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8 49 sector scales, but rather how closely it aligns with the underlying visions different actors have for  
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11 50 investing and enabling it.  
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15 51 In this paper, we use the Q method to investigate different values actors associate with  
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17 52 marine aquaculture to understand the heterogeneity of perspectives driving development in  
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19 53 Maine, USA. We used a thematic analysis of Maine newspaper articles to design the Q study. In  
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22 54 conducting this research, we specifically targeted study participants who were knowledgeable  
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24 55 about Maine’s aquaculture industry, including industry members, researchers, managers, and  
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26 56 other local water users. We focus on Maine for multiple reasons. First, the growth of the  
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29 57 aquaculture industry in Maine raises questions about the balance of uses in coastal spaces.  
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32 58 Furthermore, a systematic analysis of the values held by users of Maine’s coastal marine spaces  
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34 59 and associated with aquaculture growth in Maine has not previously been conducted. Clarifying  
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36 60 these values has the potential to advance ongoing discussions about the future of aquaculture  
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39 61 development in Maine and encourage a clearer articulation of the intended outcomes of  
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41 62 aquaculture development.  
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## 44 63 **2. Methods**

### 47 64 ***2.1 Aquaculture in Maine***

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51 65 Although the United States lags behind many nations in aquaculture development, Maine  
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53 66 is one of the epicenters for aquaculture in the country. Aquaculture in Maine started in the late  
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55 67 1970s, and Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*), blue mussels (*Mytilus edulis*), and Eastern oysters  
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58 68 (*Crassostrea virginica*) are the largest subsectors by value and volume (25). Seaweed  
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4 69 aquaculture, primarily *Saccharina latissima* and *Alaria esculenta*, started in the early 2000s.  
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6 70 Entrepreneurs and researchers in Maine are also developing sea scallop (*Placopecten*  
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8 71 *magellanicus*), and quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) aquaculture, as well as aquaculture for a  
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10 72 range of other species. While the seaweed, sea scallop, and quahog sectors are relatively nascent,  
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12 73 advocates hope they represent opportunities to diversify Maine's coastal economy (26).  
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17 74 By 2020, there were 179 aquaculture leases in Maine totaling 1,430 acres (578.7 ha) as  
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19 75 well as 711 Limited Purpose Aquaculture licenses that are distributed across Maine's inshore  
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21 76 waters. There were another 299 acres (121 ha) of leased area in review (27). Limited Purpose  
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23 77 Aquaculture licenses allow small-scale operators to farm up to 400 ft<sup>2</sup> (37.2 m<sup>2</sup>); these farms can  
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25 78 be used to grow selected shellfish species and seaweed but not finfish (28). Of the 1,430 leased  
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27 79 acres (578.7 ha), 550 acres (222.6 ha) were used for finfish aquaculture, 690 acres (279 ha) for  
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29 80 shellfish, 45 acres (18 ha) for seaweed, and 145 acres (58.7 ha) for three year, non-renewable,  
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31 81 experimental leases (max area of 4 acres or 1.6 ha) (27). Salmon aquaculture, which is  
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33 82 concentrated in the eastern part of the state (29), is valued at approximately \$74 million and  
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35 83 represents roughly 80% of the total value of aquaculture production (25). While Maine's  
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37 84 aquaculture industry has not yet reached achieved the milestones outlined in *An Aquaculture*  
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39 85 *Development Strategy for the State of Maine*, the sector represented 13% (\$88.4 million) of the  
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41 86 total ex-vessel value of all commercial fisheries (based on 2019 data) (30). Furthermore,  
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43 87 Maine's aquaculture sector is poised to grow significantly in the next few years (26,31).  
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## 52 88 ***2.2 Q method: understanding perspectives on aquaculture development***

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55 89 In this paper, we used the Q method to understand perspectives about aquaculture  
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57 90 development in Maine, with a particular focus on what values people attribute to the growth of  
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59 91 the sector. The Q method was developed by psychologists and is recognized as a useful tool for  
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4 92 addressing complex issues associated with natural resource use, management and planning (32–  
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6 93 37). Studies using Q method typically involve five stages (Table 1) (38). First, a catalog of  
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9 94 normative value statements, called a “concourse,” is created about the study topic. Second, the  
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11 95 concourse is distilled into a “Q set” that is made up of 45 to 60 statements that broadly represent  
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14 96 the issue. Third, the study participants, or “P set,” are identified. Fourth, participants organize the  
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16 97 Q set statements into a matrix based on their agreement and disagreement with the statements.  
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19 98 This sorting activity is coupled with an interview in which participants explain their sorting  
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21 99 decisions. Finally, the data from the sorts are analyzed using either principal component analysis  
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24 100 (PCA) or centroid factor analysis, and this information is combined with qualitative methods to  
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26 101 identify and describe the dominant perspectives (38,39).  
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### 32 103 **2.3 Research design** 33 34

35 104 The concourse statements were derived from a literature review of newspaper articles  
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38 105 published in six major Maine newspapers (*The Morning Sentinel, the Kennebec Journal, The*  
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40 106 *Bangor Daily News, Portland Press Herald, The Sun Journal, and Maine Times*). All  
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43 107 newspapers are daily publications except the *Maine Times*, which was a weekly newspaper that  
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45 108 stopped circulation in 2002. A total of 2,991 articles published between 1994 and 2019 were  
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48 109 identified using the ProQuest Maine Newsstand database that include the search term  
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50 110 “aquaculture.” Of these articles, 979 articles were downloaded after reading their abstracts for  
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53 111 relevance. The first author coded articles for value statements about aquaculture using NVivo 12  
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55 112 PRO (version 12.5.0) until concept saturation was reached. The final concourse resulted in 878  
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58 113 unique value statements and the research team distilled these statements through three rounds of  
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60 114 thematic sorting that considered the overall balance of statements and the breadth of information  
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4 115 presented. This process resulted in a final Q set of 48 statements. Although the newspaper  
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6 116 articles covered a 25 year period, many of the issues and arguments associated with aquaculture  
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8 117 in Maine did not change substantially, making it possible to distill the large number of initial  
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10 118 statements (n = 878) into the final Q set. Similar to the discussion in Davies and Hodge (40),  
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12 119 perspectives about aquaculture presented in newspaper articles remained largely similar over this  
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14 120 time period.

#### 121 ***2.4 Research implementation***

122 Study participants were initially identified through the authors' knowledge of the industry  
123 and then from snowball sampling (41). Participants (n = 36) included aquaculture industry  
124 members, environmental professionals, scientists, fishermen, landowners, and policymakers. The  
125 Q sorting exercise and follow up interviews (conducted by the first author) lasted between 40  
126 minutes and two hours, with an average of approximately one hour. Interviews took place at  
127 locations across the coast of Maine between July 2019 and January 2020.

128 The Q sorting exercise began by obtaining participant consent, in accordance with the  
129 University of Maine Institutional Review Board rules (Application #2019-03-09). Each  
130 participant met individually with the first author to complete the sorting exercise at a time and  
131 location of their choosing. Study participants were given the Q set statements, which were  
132 printed on white index cards, and instructed to read the statements while considering the question  
133 "*What attributes do you associate with aquaculture development in Maine?*" Participants were  
134 then instructed to sort the statements into three initial piles: a pile of statements they agreed with,  
135 a pile they disagreed with, and a pile of neutral or non-relevant statements. After completing the  
136 initial sorting, participants placed the statements onto a matrix, which had a quasi-normal  
137 distribution with a ranking scale from +5 to -5 and 48 spaces for statements (Appendix Figure 1).

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4 138 Participants were asked to place the statements on the matrix based on the strength of their  
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6 139 agreement and disagreement, with +5 indicating strong agreement and -5 indicating strong  
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9 140 disagreement. The follow-up interview started immediately after each participant finished their Q  
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11 141 sort, and was used to clarify their thought process, the statements they agreed and disagreed with,  
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14 142 confusing statements, and concepts that were missing from the Q set.

## 17 143 **2.5 Analysis**

### 20 144 *2.5.1 Initial analysis*

23 145 Interviews were recorded and transcribed using the online transcription program otter.ai,  
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25 146 and the first author manually corrected the transcription. Interviews were coded using NVivo 12  
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28 147 PRO (version 12.5.0) to capture emergent themes about aquaculture and to contextualize the  
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31 148 results of the Q study. For the analysis of the Q sort data, principal components analysis (PCA)  
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33 149 and a varimax factor rotation were completed using the qmethod package in the statistical  
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35 150 software R (version 3.6.1) (42,43). While centroid factor analysis and PCA are both accepted  
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38 151 methods for Q method analysis, the authors chose the qmethod package and PCA following  
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40 152 other published research (38,39,44). Although this study used PCA, it is customary in the Q  
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43 153 method to refer to all resulting groups as factor groups, regardless of the initial method of  
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45 154 reduction (44). Therefore, we will refer to our groups as factors instead of components.

48 155 In a Q method study, researchers define the number of groups produced by the PCA or  
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51 156 factor analysis. This study identified four groups and after they were defined, the loadings for  
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53 157 each participant were shown (Appendix Table 1). These loadings show the similarity between an  
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56 158 individual participant's Q sort and each component and a significantly loading participant is  
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58 159 included in that factor. Significant loading at the 0.01 level is calculated as  $2.58 * \left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{n}}\right)$ , where n

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4 160 is the number of statements in the Q set (45). In addition to factor loadings, the PCA or factor  
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7 161 analysis provides Z scores that show the relationship between factors and the Q set statements  
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9 162 using the weighted average of the group members' responses in the Q sorting exercise (39). The  
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12 163 Z scores are normalized into integer factor scores that show how a hypothetical person belonging  
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14 164 to each factor would sort the Q set statements (39). Both the Z scores and the factor scores are  
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16 165 reported in this study.  
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19 166           During the PCA, a threshold of 0.38 was initially used as the cutoff for significant  
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22 167 loading onto a factor (after 37,45). However, upon examining the data we increased the threshold  
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24 168 from 0.38 to 0.55 because "confounded" participants loading significantly onto multiple factors  
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27 169 are removed during the analysis (38,45). We chose the value of 0.55 because it maximized the  
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30 170 number of participants significantly loading on a single factor while minimizing the number of  
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32 171 confounded participants (as in 38). Raising the threshold makes the factors more selective and  
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34 172 increases the number of participants included in the final study by reducing the number of  
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37 173 participants significantly loading onto multiple factors (45).  
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40 174           We used Z scores to compare the factors after defining them using PCA. The Z scores  
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42 175 show the weighted average of each factor group's responses to each Q set statement. The Z  
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45 176 scores were also used to define statements with strong areas of agreement and disagreement  
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47 177 between the factors. We treated non-significant differences between Z scores as indicative of  
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50 178 consensus statements, where all of the components sorted that statement in a similar way (38,39).  
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52 179 Those with significant differences distinguish factors from one another. This information, as well  
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55 180 as the qualitative interview information, was used to describe the factors.  
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## 182 2.5.2 Secondary PCA

183 After the initial analysis, we completed a second PCA and varimax rotation on the first  
184 component (as in (46)). This component explained the majority of the study variance and  
185 contained 24 participants. The first component divided into two sub-groups ( $n = 17$ ,  $n = 7$ ) which  
186 were supported by eigenvalues greater than 1 and a visual scree test (38,47,48). However, the  
187 two groups had a correlation of 0.68, indicating that they are different manifestations of the same  
188 perspective instead of distinct perspectives (38). As above, based on the number of statements in  
189 our Q sorting exercise ( $n = 48$ ), any loading is significant at the 0.01 level if the loading is  
190 greater than 0.38 (38). Therefore, we do not present detailed results of this secondary analysis,  
191 but instead use the subgroups to add context to the first Factor Group. The eigenvalues,  
192 percentage of explained variance, and consensus and distinguishing statements are shared in  
193 Appendix Table 3.

## 194 3. Results

195 Our analysis revealed four distinct factor groups that explained 71% of the total study  
196 variance. The 48 Q set statements, factor group scores, factor groups Z scores, and consensus  
197 and defining statements are reported in Table 3.

198 Thirty-three of the 36 participants loaded significantly onto one of the four factors and  
199 were included in the final analysis. The remaining three participants loaded significantly onto  
200 multiple factors ( $n = 1$ ) or did not load significantly onto any factor ( $n = 2$ ) and were removed  
201 from the analysis (after 32,42,43) (Appendix Table 1). All of the aquaculture industry members  
202 loaded into the first component (Table 2). All four components included commercial fishermen  
203 (who primarily target the American lobster or softshell clams, *Mya arenaria*), waterfront

landowners, non-profit employees, government resource managers, and scientists (Table 2).

Nearly all study participants, regardless of background, expressed interest and support for aquaculture development.

In the Q method, groups with only one significantly loading participant are frequently removed from the analysis. However, it is also accepted to retain single participants if they deemed as representative of a distinct and valuable perspective (see 32). In this study, the third factor (F3) had only one significantly loading participant. This participant (and factor) represent a unique perspective and therefore was included in the study (38,51). The eigenvalues in all groups were greater than one, indicating that they explain more study variance than could be expected from a single Q sort (38,47,48,52) (See Table 2). Additionally, the components passed a visual scree test and none were significantly correlated, indicating they are distinct perspectives and not subgroups of larger perspectives (38) (See Appendix Table 2).

[Table 2 here]

We describe the four distinct factor groups (hereafter “perspectives”) as the: (1) aquaculture optimists (F1, n = 24), (2) aquaculture anchors (F2, n = 6), (3) aquaculture historian (F3, n = 1), and (4) aquaculture agnostics (F4, n = 2), and detail results related to each group below.

### ***3.1 Four perspectives on aquaculture development***

#### ***3.1.1 Aquaculture optimists***

The optimists believe that aquaculture development in Maine is a win-win for industry members and others who live and work on Maine’s coast. “I don't believe [aquaculture] will have any impact on the character of Maine's communities,” explained one study participant. “If

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4 226 anything, I think it will preserve it.” Optimists strongly disagree that aquaculture development  
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6 227 requires a choice between economic growth and environmental protection (Statement 46, score -  
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9 228 5; hereafter only the statement number and score values are listed for brevity). Those aligned  
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11 229 with this perspective also believe strongly that access to aquaculture should be open to all who  
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14 230 want to participate (Statement 3, -5). The optimists see aquaculture as creating jobs and as an  
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16 231 important way to diversify the economy and maintain marine infrastructure, like shoreside piers  
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19 232 or processing plants. This working waterfront infrastructure is a critical component of Maine’s  
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21 233 marine economy, but is shrinking rapidly due to development pressure to convert marine  
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24 234 shorefronts into other uses (53,54). Aquaculture optimists believe aquaculture will benefit  
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26 235 working waterfront (Statement 25, +5) and play a valuable role in Maine’s economy by  
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29 236 providing jobs that support coastal communities (Statement 23, +5; Statement 15, +3). As one  
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31 237 study participant explained:

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34 238 [Aquaculture] is this huge opportunity for Maine to save our working waterfront and our  
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36 239 entire fishery industry... We're so focused on the lobster here so if there's some other  
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39 240 ways to create a sustainable fishery in Maine, aquaculture seems to be a phenomenal way  
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41 241 to do it.

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44 242 This group tends to disagree with statements suggesting that aquaculture causes  
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47 243 environmental harm and that there is spatial or environmental conflict associated with  
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49 244 aquaculture growth.

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52 245 Aquaculture optimists have slightly different perspectives about aquaculture’s  
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55 246 compatibility with commercial fishing and the balance between aquaculture and other uses of  
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57 247 Maine’s coast. Members of this group also varied with respect to how much they valued  
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60 248 community participation in the aquaculture leasing process. The secondary analysis of the  
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4 249 aquaculture optimists revealed two sub-perspectives: industry-focused optimists (IO) and  
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7 250 community-focused optimists (CO). The aquaculture optimists as a whole were dominated by  
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9 251 members of Maine's aquaculture industry and supporting groups, and both subgroups included  
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11 252 aquaculture farmers, non-profit employees, commercial fishermen, scientists, and government  
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14 253 employees. See Appendix Table 3 for details about the two groups.

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17 254         The IO strongly agreed that aquaculture is compatible with commercial fishing while the  
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19 255 CO were relatively neutral (Statement 17, Group score +2, IO score +4, CO score 0). Likewise,  
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22 256 the IO strongly disagreed that aquaculture will negatively impact Maine's commercial fishing  
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24 257 industry, but the CO only slightly disagreed (Statement 16, Group score -4, IO score -5, CO  
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27 258 score -2). The IO more strongly agreed that aquaculture is environmentally sustainable  
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29 259 (Statement 19, Group score +3, IO score +5, CO score +1). The two groups had different  
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32 260 perspectives about the scale of Maine's aquaculture industry. The CO more strongly agreed that  
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34 261 small-scale aquaculture is appropriate in Maine (Statement 11, Group score 0, IO score 0, CO  
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37 262 score 4). The IO stressed that they supported all scales of aquaculture, including large-scale  
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39 263 aquaculture, like the developments typical in Norway or China (55). The IO pointed out the  
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41 264 relative nature of scale, since Maine's largest farms are still small compared to spatially  
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44 265 extensive farms in other countries. The IO were also concerned that small farms might not make  
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46 266 enough money to survive. The CO felt more strongly that community involvement is important  
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49 267 in aquaculture site selection (Statement 37, Group score +1, CO score -1, IO score +5) and that  
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51 268 it is important to find a balance between aquaculture and other uses of Maine's coastal waters  
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54 269 (Statement 42, Group score +2, IO score +1, CO score +5). As one IO explained, they worry  
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56 270 that expanded community involvement in aquaculture would make it difficult for the industry to  
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59 271 expand although they value community engagement:



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4 272 I don't know how vitally important is that communities have a hand, I think it's important,  
5  
6 273 but you could get too many cooks in the kitchen. You got to figure out how to mitigate  
7  
8  
9 274 that and everyone having a say versus just the state making some decision. You want to  
10  
11 275 include the communities for sure. But how much of a hand you want every individual  
12  
13  
14 276 community having can, there's lots and lots of communities and lots and lots of different  
15  
16 277 opinions within every single community. If you let them have too much of a hand, stuff  
17  
18  
19 278 might never get done. It's kind of hard to figure out, but you want to include them.  
20  
21

22 279 However, one of the CO participants suggested that greater community involvement would help  
23  
24 280 reduce fears about rapid growth in the industry.  
25  
26

27  
28 281 If we achieve the right balance of how communities can help to guide aquaculture, then I  
29  
30 282 think that helps to address some of the concerns that are reflected elsewhere in the  
31  
32 283 statements and helps with the pace question, about how fast aquaculture is growing.  
33  
34

### 35 284 *3.1.2 Aquaculture anchors* 36 37

38  
39 285 The anchors are enthusiastic about aquaculture and view it as a way to support Maine's  
40  
41 286 coastal economy. However, they are concerned about the potential for negative environmental  
42  
43 287 impacts (Statement 34, -4) and want to ensure that benefits from aquaculture are anchored in  
44  
45  
46 288 coastal communities. One participant stated: "I don't think they know enough about the  
47  
48 289 environmental risks to take them seriously." The anchors value community engagement in  
49  
50  
51 290 planning and participation in the aquaculture leasing process more so than the Aquaculture  
52  
53 291 Optimists. Members of this group feel that aquaculture will cause changes to coastal  
54  
55  
56 292 communities (Statement 33, +5) and they stressed the importance of balancing trade-offs and  
57  
58 293 planning for the future of Maine's coast at multiple scales, including at the estuary scale  
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4 294 (Statement 42, + 5; Statement 31, +4). They generally agree that the current pace of aquaculture  
5  
6 295 development is too fast (Statement 41, +3): “I don’t know if [aquaculture development] is too  
7  
8 296 fast. I just know that it’s pretty intense right now. I don’t think we’re thinking about the  
9  
10  
11 297 cumulative effects.”

12  
13  
14 298 The anchors strongly disagree that the current regulatory process hampers this growth,  
15  
16 299 while the other groups did not feel strongly about the influence of regulation on the growth of  
17  
18  
19 300 Maine’s aquaculture industry (Statement 43, -4). Anchors are also concerned about potential  
20  
21 301 conflicts between aquaculture and commercial fishing that could have negative implications for  
22  
23 302 commercial fishing, such as displacement from active fishing areas (Statement 16, +3). One  
24  
25 303 participant, who was a commercial fisherman, stated: “There’s leases that I used to lobster fish in  
26  
27  
28 304 and I can’t anymore because they’re leases.” They feel that aquaculture could benefit Maine’s  
29  
30  
31 305 coastal economy and support smaller-scale operations. While concerned about the distribution of  
32  
33 306 benefits and potential environmental costs of aquaculture, this group is not opposed to  
34  
35  
36 307 aquaculture development in Maine. Members of this group see the opposition to aquaculture as  
37  
38 308 including more diverse members than coastal landowners alone (Statement 2, -5).

39  
40  
41 309 Anchors are unique because they are less likely to agree that aquaculture is an important  
42  
43 310 part of the coastal economy than those who hold the other perspectives (Statement 23, -1) (Table  
44  
45 311 3), and they are concerned that people or companies from out of state will purchase existing  
46  
47  
48 312 farms (Statement 32, +2). They agree with the aquaculture agnostics (see below) that  
49  
50  
51 313 aquaculture causes significant changes to coastal waters (Statement 33, +5). They also agree  
52  
53 314 with the aquaculture historians (see below) about the potential and realized issue of spatial  
54  
55  
56 315 conflicts between aquaculture and commercial fishing (Statement 16, +3) and that more  
57  
58 316 proactive planning for aquaculture development is needed (Statement 31, +4).

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4 317 *3.1.3 Aquaculture historian*  
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7 318 The historian sees the potential of further marine aquaculture development in Maine, but  
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9  
10 319 is cautious about the associated socioeconomic benefits that it affords coastal communities. This  
11  
12 320 perspective is informed by the history of salmon aquaculture in eastern Maine, and the narrative  
13  
14  
15 321 that this development, which started in the 1990s, would bring prosperity to eastern Maine  
16  
17 322 (29,56). The historian is consequently skeptical about aquaculture's benefits for Maine's  
18  
19 323 commercial fishing sector and coastal communities (Statement 17, -5; Statement 8, -4). They  
20  
21  
22 324 prefer small-scale aquaculture (Statement 11, +4), support further consideration of the fit of  
23  
24 325 aquaculture relative to other uses of Maine's ocean commons (Statement 31, +4), and are  
25  
26  
27 326 concerned about the transferability of farms (Statement 4, +5). The historian is more likely to  
28  
29 327 disagree with statements that described aquaculture as providing economic benefits to Maine's  
30  
31  
32 328 coastal communities (Statement 40, -1; Statement 32, -3; Statement 25, -2). They agree that  
33  
34 329 aquaculture lowers the value of waterfront homes (Statement 13, +4) and that the environmental  
35  
36  
37 330 risks are being taken seriously (Statement 34, +2), but they think aquaculture is not  
38  
39 331 environmentally sustainable and that the risks are still too great for development to proceed in  
40  
41  
42 332 the current fashion (Statement 19, -5). Uniquely, the historian believes that only commercial  
43  
44 333 fishermen should be allowed to participate in aquaculture (Statement 3, +5). The historian agrees  
45  
46  
47 334 that there is room for aquaculture growth within Maine's working waterfront but is concerned  
48  
49 335 with the current leasing process and feels it needs to better serve existing uses of the coast,  
50  
51  
52 336 including commercial fishing (Statement 16, +3; Statement 24, +3). They described one lease  
53  
54 337 applicant in their local area as being inconsiderate of other users:  
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56  
57 338 [The aquaculture lease applicant] didn't take into consideration all of the lobster  
58  
59 339 fishermen that fish traps around these sites presently... to be able to come right in and  
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4 340 just take over. It wasn't the right way to go about it. Now, if they'd done it a different  
5  
6 341 way, it would never have been an issue.  
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9  
10 342 *3.1.4 Aquaculture agnostics*  
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12  
13 343 The agnostics have mixed feelings about the impact of aquaculture on Maine's coast.  
14  
15 344 They see aquaculture as benefiting aquaculture industry members but believe that further growth  
16  
17  
18 345 will involve economic and spatial tradeoffs between aquaculture farmers and other users of  
19  
20 346 Maine's coast, like commercial fishermen (Statement 18, -4). Agnostics also believe that  
21  
22  
23 347 increased aquaculture development will reduce available space in Maine's coastal waters for  
24  
25 348 commercial fishing (Statement 16, +4), displacing fisheries and other marine uses of Maine's  
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27  
28 349 coast while having limited benefits for coastal residents generally. One participant described a  
29  
30 350 lease near them and worried about future growth:  
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33 351 We've got lobster traps all around there and it's going to take space away. It's one of those  
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35  
36 352 situations that one little acre block isn't going to really hurt anybody. You can move traps  
37  
38 353 around, but it's a kind of slippery slope that you have to watch. One year, then there's  
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40  
41 354 another one, then they expand that one and all of a sudden, a lot of the bottom is not used  
42  
43 355 traditionally, and that's one of my issues with aquaculture is it gives the traditional land  
44  
45 356 use to one person.  
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48  
49 357 Another participant described crowding that they have experienced because of the growth  
50  
51 358 of aquaculture in their local area: "This is a very popular river for recreational boating and, being  
52  
53 359 a sailor myself, I do enjoy sailing these waters and it's restricting in some places, how much  
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55  
56 360 sailing is possible where these leases are so sizeable."  
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4 361 Aquaculture agnostics believe that aquaculture has potential to diversify Maine's coastal  
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6 362 economy and provide employment opportunities (Statement 14, +5; Statement 15, +3; Statement  
7  
8 363 16, +4), and they strongly agree that aquaculture will change how coastal ocean spaces are used  
9  
10 364 (Statement 33, +5). Agnostics think that aquaculture will help sustain working waterfronts  
11  
12 365 (Statement 22, +3), but are less likely to agree that the economic opportunities are valuable  
13  
14 366 (Statement 27, +1) or fit with Maine's existing working waterfront (Statement 24, 0). Agnostics  
15  
16 367 think aquaculture creates conflict (Statement 47, -5), and that concern about growth is reasonable  
17  
18 368 (Statement 35, -5). They support further planning about how the industry fits with other uses of  
19  
20 369 Maine's coastal waters (Statement 42, +4). They are unsure if marine aquaculture in Maine is  
21  
22 370 environmentally sustainable and are concerned about its potential negative environmental  
23  
24 371 impacts (Statement 19, 0; Statement 34, -2).  
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### 31 32 372 ***3.2 Areas of consensus and disagreement*** 33

34  
35 373 Individuals across the four groups all felt relatively neutral that regulatory uncertainty  
36  
37 374 lowers investment in Maine's aquaculture industry (Statement 28). Many participants were  
38  
39 375 unsure about the effects of current state-level regulations: some felt that the industry is aided by  
40  
41 376 low levels of regulation; and others felt that lower investment and slower growth benefitted the  
42  
43 377 industry by preventing long-term damage from conflict associated with overly rapid growth.  
44  
45 378 Members of the four groups also agreed that aquaculture is polarized (Statement 12), provides  
46  
47 379 opportunities to local residents (Statement 27), and that climate change will impact the industry  
48  
49 380 long term (Statement 48). They disagreed whether or not aquaculture offers diversification  
50  
51 381 opportunities to residents of coastal communities, and whether the industry has a negative impact  
52  
53 382 or is complementary to Maine's commercial fishing industry (Statements 14, 16, 17). They also  
54  
55 383 disagreed whether or not aquaculture causes far-reaching changes to coastal marine spaces  
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4 384 (statement 33). Consensus and disagreement statements are shown in Figure 2 and Table 3. All  
5  
6 385 groups slightly disagreed that climate change will reduce aquaculture in Maine in the future and  
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8  
9 386 its impact on Maine's economy (Statement 48). While most participants expressed concern about  
10  
11 387 climate change, including disease risk and ocean acidification, they felt that aquaculture would  
12  
13  
14 388 fare better than Maine's commercial fishing industry. Aquaculture farmers can grow different  
15  
16 389 species and have already demonstrated their ability to adapt to changing conditions (57). Also,  
17  
18  
19 390 shellfish experience increased growth in warmer waters, expanding the amount of suitable space  
20  
21 391 and improving yields. Aquaculture optimists in particular felt that climate change impacts  
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23  
24 392 highlight the importance of aquaculture in supporting Maine's coastal economy and providing  
25  
26 393 economic diversity in the face of uncertainty for wild-caught fisheries. Two participants  
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28  
29 394 recognized the potential for aquaculture to support Maine's coastal communities:

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32 395 I think that there will be impacts of climate change that will hurt individual parts of  
33  
34 396 aquaculture like ocean acidification hurting oyster or mussel production. I also think that  
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36  
37 397 the onset of climate change will mean that the importance and therefore the social  
38  
39 398 capacity for aquaculture will grow.

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41  
42 399 Assuming that climate change causes significant problems for wild fisheries, I think the  
43  
44 400 impact of aquaculture on local economies in Maine will actually increase because if your  
45  
46  
47 401 main breadwinner goes out the door, you'd better have something on standby that can  
48  
49 402 help take over. Otherwise, all the communities are just going to disappear and break apart  
50  
51  
52 403 and you won't have a working waterfront intact anymore.

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54  
55 404 Another participant commented that climate change may have benefits for species  
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57 405 cultured in Maine, like oysters and mussels:  
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4 406 I think climate change is going to create disruption in wild stocks, it's going to create the  
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6 407 opportunity for some species to grow more quickly in the waters off Maine. Sadly, to me,  
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8  
9 408 there are some benefits to climate change. There are far more disadvantages on a global  
10  
11  
12 409 scale, but for aquaculture, for oysters in particular, they're going to grow faster as waters  
13  
14 410 get warmer.

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16  
17 411 [Figure 1 here]

18  
19  
20 412 [Table 3 here]

## 21 22 23 413 **Discussion**

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26 414 Like other forms of ocean development, aquaculture creates a complex set of interactions  
27  
28  
29 415 among humans and coastal marine environments and involves tradeoffs. Understanding the  
30  
31 416 perspectives that different people hold about aquaculture development can help to clarify these  
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34 417 tradeoffs.

### 35 36 37 418 ***4.1 Diverse perspectives on aquaculture development***

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40 419 Using the Q method, this paper aims to understand the different values people associate  
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42 420 with aquaculture development in Maine. We identified four distinct perspectives: (1) aquaculture  
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45 421 optimists, (2) aquaculture anchors, (3) aquaculture historian, and (4) aquaculture agnostics  
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47  
48 422 (Figure 3). Importantly, all groups agreed that further aquaculture development is beneficial. But  
49  
50 423 they did not agree about *who* would benefit, the magnitude of development, or what tradeoffs are  
51  
52 424 associated with growth. In general, two groups – the aquaculture anchors and the aquaculture  
53  
54  
55 425 agnostics – focused on aquaculture's impact on coastal communities in the larger context of  
56  
57 426 Maine's marine economy and other uses of the coastal marine environment. In contrast, the  
58  
59  
60 427 aquaculture optimists emphasized the economic benefits of aquaculture and were less worried  
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4 428 about environmental impacts; they believed that aquaculture growth would have widely  
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6 429 distributed benefits and few costs for coastal residents, commercial fishermen, and other users of  
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8  
9 430 Maine's coastal waters. The aquaculture historian focused on the interactions between the  
10  
11 431 aquaculture and commercial fishing sectors and was concerned about negative impacts of further  
12  
13 432 aquaculture development on coastal communities and the environment. Beyond the differences  
14  
15 433 across the four perspectives, we also found that there were two sub-perspectives within the  
16  
17 434 aquaculture optimists group. We analyzed the aquaculture optimists using a second PCA and  
18  
19 435 varimax rotation because the group was large and contained all participants who were identified  
20  
21 436 as members of Maine's aquaculture industry. This analysis revealed two sub-perspectives within  
22  
23 437 the optimists, the industry-focused optimists (IO) and the community-focused optimists (CO).  
24  
25 438 Although these two groups were not significantly different from one another, they illuminate  
26  
27 439 differences within the overarching optimist perspective.  
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34 440           There was only one consensus statement (Statement 28) and one defining statement  
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36 441 (Statement 14). The groups all felt neutral about whether regulatory uncertainty lowers  
37  
38 442 investment in the aquaculture industry (Figure 2). Many participants commented that they didn't  
39  
40 443 know enough about the status of investment into Maine's aquaculture industry to respond, and  
41  
42 444 others felt that investment was not relevant to the shellfish and seaweed aquaculture industries,  
43  
44 445 which are primarily owner-operator and have low startup costs. The groups all had significantly  
45  
46 446 different responses about whether aquaculture offers the state's fishing industry much needed  
47  
48 447 economic and species diversification (Statement 14). Both the optimists and agnostics agreed  
49  
50 448 with this statement and many optimists mentioned in the follow-up interview that they agreed  
51  
52 449 strongly but prioritized other statements because the shape of the Q sort allowed fewer places for  
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54 450 statements of strong agreement and disagreement. The historian felt neutral about that statement  
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4 451 and the anchors disagreed. Reasons for disagreement included the fact that most participants in  
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6 452 Maine's aquaculture industry grow either salmon, mussels, or oysters, but rarely more than one.  
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8  
9 453 Also, the overall benefit of aquaculture to the fishing industry was questioned.  
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11  
12 454 Excluding the statement that defined all groups (Statement 14), the optimists had the  
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14  
15 455 most defining statements (9, 16, 31, 39, 46). These statements involved the environmental  
16  
17 456 sustainability of aquaculture (Statements 9, 39, 46) and the interactions between aquaculture and  
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19 457 commercial fishing (Statement 16). The optimists were unique because they felt strongly that  
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21  
22 458 aquaculture is environmentally sustainable and did not think aquaculture would have negative  
23  
24 459 impacts on the commercial fishing industry. They also were less likely to agree that planning for  
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26  
27 460 the future expansion of aquaculture is important (Statement 31). The anchors were defined by  
28  
29 461 two other statements (23, 32), and the agnostics by one (Statement 29). The anchors slightly  
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31  
32 462 disagreed that aquaculture is an important and compatible part of Maine's coastal economy  
33  
34 463 (Statement 23) and agreed that there is a risk that farms will be bought out by foreign companies  
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36 464 (Statement 32). They are more concerned about the long-term trajectory of the industry than the  
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38  
39 465 other groups. The agnostics were distinguished by their disagreement that Maine's aquaculture  
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41 466 production could help offset the U.S. seafood trade deficit. No group agreed with this statement  
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43  
44 467 but the agnostics felt that Maine's industry was too small to make a difference relative to the  
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46 468 large amount of seafood trade in the U.S. The historian had no defining statement other than the  
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49 469 one that defined all groups (Statement 14).  
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52 470 [Figure 2 here]  
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#### 55 471 ***4.2 Reflections on the research design*** 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65

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4 472 The goal of this study was to bring attention to the diverse perspectives associated with  
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6 473 aquaculture development in Maine in a structured way to explain as much individual variation as  
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9 474 possible. One strength of Q method is that the analysis process is designed to identify these  
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11  
12 475 broader perspectives (36). However, Q method does not enable researchers to quantify the  
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14 476 frequency of a given perspective in a specific population. Therefore, it is difficult to know how  
15  
16 477 representative any of the four perspectives are in Maine without further research. To understand  
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19 478 the relative proportion of each perspective, future research could include a structured survey and  
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21 479 interviews with a representative set of informants. Alternatively, the Q study could be repeated in  
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23  
24 480 more geographically defined areas in the state. With a more geographically constrained Q study,  
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26 481 one could draw conclusions about the connection among the identified perspectives and  
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28  
29 482 geography. We have reason to believe this may be important, since one participant loaded  
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31 483 significantly in both the aquaculture anchors and aquaculture historian perspectives, and  
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33 484 although they were removed from the analysis, that participant and the remaining historian lived  
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35  
36 485 in eastern Maine and were more familiar with salmon aquaculture than most other study  
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38 486 participants (38,51). Further, we interviewed fewer people from eastern Maine (which hosts all  
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41 487 salmon aquaculture in the state), and thus we may have under-sampled with respect to this  
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43 488 perspective.

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46 489 Another potential limitation of our study is that it was designed to examine all marine  
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49 490 aquaculture in Maine, but the differences associated with different types of aquaculture  
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51 491 complicated our results and need further examination. Salmon aquaculture is an example of  
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54 492 intensive aquaculture, where fish are actively fed and also receive treatments to mitigate disease  
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56 493 risks and other factors that impact yield (58). In contrast, extensive aquaculture, employed by  
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58  
59 494 most shellfish and seaweed farms in Maine, requires much less startup capital and labor-

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4 495 intensive inputs like feed (26). Some study participants did not see a material difference between  
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6 496 intensive and extensive aquaculture, while others explicitly stated that they felt differently about  
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9 497 the two, especially with respect to their sustainability and environmental impacts. For example,  
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11 498 in the follow-up interviews, the two eastern Maine participants commented that they focused on  
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13 499 salmon aquaculture during the sorting exercise. They were the only participants to articulate a  
14  
15 500 focus on salmon aquaculture. The remaining participants focused on shellfish and seaweed  
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17 501 aquaculture (n = 15), grouped shellfish, seaweed, and salmon aquaculture together (n = 16), or  
18  
19 502 did not specify their focus (n = 3). Six participants explicitly mentioned that they thought  
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21 503 differently about salmon aquaculture versus shellfish and seaweed aquaculture, while one argued  
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23 504 that distinguishing between shellfish, seaweed, and salmon aquaculture is misleading and an  
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25 505 inaccurate way to describe the industry.  
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32 506           Although we did not detect a clear connection among the participants' perspectives and  
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34 507 their geographic frame of reference or demographic traits, these themes demand further study.  
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36 508 Not only are within-state differences in social-ecological context widely recognized in Maine  
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38 509 (e.g., 54,55) but recent global scale analyses highlight the importance of recognizing and  
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40 510 analyzing these differences for managing aquaculture in marine environments (e.g.,11,56).  
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42 511 However, these differences are rarely mentioned in discussions about aquaculture in Maine.  
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47 512           The expansive nature of our Q set, extending over 25 years of newspaper articles, also  
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49 513 provides the foundation for another complementary set of inquiry. Discourse analysis, informed  
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51 514 by rhetoric and communications sciences, could be used to investigate if and how the discourse  
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53 515 related to aquaculture in Maine has changed through time. That temporal analysis was beyond  
54  
55 516 the scope of this study, but certainly one that could be productive to explore in the future, both in  
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57 517 the context of aquaculture as well as other place-based natural resource management issues.  
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### 4.3 Lessons from Maine

As aquaculture continues to grow in Maine, decision makers and other stakeholders will need to consider the global nature of seafood trade. Seafood markets are highly integrated and changes in global markets, even outside of the seafood sector, could have unintended consequences in Maine (e.g., 57,58). The salmon aquaculture industry is globally integrated but the shellfish and seaweed industries are relatively local in terms of their distribution and supply chains, in comparison (26). However, social and economic shifts could still affect these industries by changing demand or perspectives about the industry. One statement (#29) mentioned the influence of global trade on Maine aquaculture; study participants were largely neutral about it. The participants that did comment about global trade indicated that they didn't know enough to respond or didn't feel it was relevant to the shellfish aquaculture industry. These results suggest that actors operating at the local or state geographic scale may be attuned to different socioeconomic dynamics than those focused on global scale analyses. In future studies, particularly those designed to inform place-based policy and management, it would be wise to attend to these distinctions.

Our results showed that people associated with Maine's aquaculture industry have different perspectives the industry's role and the best path in the future. They also had different perspectives about the sustainability of salmon, shellfish, and seaweed aquaculture. Narratives about Maine's aquaculture industry and its interaction with other uses frequently do not account for nuances about the type of aquaculture. Researchers using the Q method to study aquaculture should consider attitudes about intensive versus extensive aquaculture and potential regional differences when selecting study participants. Focusing on a single species or region could help avoid assumptions and different perspectives about the sustainability and role of aquaculture.

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4 541 Maine manages aquaculture at the state level and this scale might fail to account for regional  
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6 542 differences in perspectives, if they do exist. There are definite tradeoffs associated with local-  
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8 543 scale natural resource management (as in Maine’s softshell clam fishery, in which each coastal  
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10 544 town manages those resources) (64). We are not arguing for local-scale management of  
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12 545 aquaculture, but people are more likely to interact with aquaculture at a relatively small scale and  
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14 546 local perspectives need to be considered when discussing the future of the industry, even if  
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16 547 management takes place at a statewide scale.  
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22 548         The process of establishing aquaculture farms changes the use of ocean spaces: farmers  
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24 549 lease marine space in order to develop their farms, while the ocean as a whole is often treated as  
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26 550 a common pool resource with limited property rights (65–67). Balancing different types of  
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28 551 property rights and uses of the ocean will be critical to ensure fairness and equity (66,68,69).  
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30 552 Dialogue and policy development regarding aquaculture will be more effective and durable if  
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32 553 placed in this broader context, e.g., recognizing benefits of ecosystem-based management and  
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34 554 spatial planning (70,71).  
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40 555         Maine is also experiencing aquaculture growth in tandem with other marine resource use  
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42 556 issues, like increases in development and tourism, changing abundance of lobsters, and  
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44 557 developing industries like offshore wind. Aquaculture is only one aspect of Maine’s marine  
45  
46 558 economy, and while understanding perspectives about the industry can help improve discussions  
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48 559 about its future, these other activities are also important. Changes in other parts of Maine’s  
49  
50 560 marine economy may influence perspectives about aquaculture, and future research will need to  
51  
52 561 consider the overlap of different activities in crowded and changing marine spaces. Aquaculture  
53  
54 562 is a common part of global discussions about blue growth, but all aspects will need to be  
55  
56 563 considered to plan for future uses of marine spaces. However, learning about one aspect of blue  
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4 564 growth, like aquaculture, can help clarify places where further research is needed and shows the  
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7 565 nuance that is present within a single state. As blue growth strategies grow in importance,  
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9 566 understanding local applications will be critical to ensure they achieve desired outcomes.

#### 12 567 ***4.4 Moving beyond growth***

15 568 In this paper, we use the Q method to elucidate perspectives about aquaculture  
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18 569 development and the motivations for growth. We identified four perspectives as well as areas of  
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20 570 agreement and disagreement, thereby establishing a baseline understanding that can be used to  
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22  
23 571 inform further research and policy development. These perspectives can be used to help track  
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25 572 progress related to economic, community development, and environmental sustainability goals.  
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28 573 Further work is needed to understand the frequency of these perspectives and how they are  
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30 574 linked with geography, demography, and other important social and environmental contextual  
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33 575 factors in Maine and beyond. Likewise, perspectives about intensive and extensive aquaculture  
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35 576 will need further clarification when discussing the future of Maine's aquaculture industry.

38 577 The four perspectives represent different visions about the role of aquaculture  
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41 578 development and its value for Maine, and different interpretations of how coastal ocean spaces  
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43 579 should be used. Study participants from all groups stressed that Maine's coastal waters are  
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45 580 managed by the State for the public benefit. However, the question of *how* and *how much* ocean  
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48 581 space should be used for aquaculture was contentious. Articulating perspectives about  
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51 582 aquaculture growth in Maine is important for answering questions like these and encouraging  
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53 583 clear and open discussions about the industry and its role within the complex social-ecological  
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55 584 systems of the Maine coast.

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4 585 Maine’s coastal environment and the communities and economies that depend on it are  
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7 586 valued for many reasons, including but not limited to farmed seafood production. As the marine  
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9 587 aquaculture industry grows in Maine and in other coastal areas throughout the world, conflict  
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11 588 regarding aquaculture and other coastal marine activities will likely continue. Answers to  
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14 589 important questions like “*How much aquaculture is too much?*” or “*Where should farms be*  
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16 590 *located?*” depend not only on technical assessments informed by the ecological and other  
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19 591 biophysical sciences, but also on the values that people hold in particular places and the  
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21 592 narratives and visions that they articulate at the individual and community scale. The aquaculture  
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24 593 anchors, historian, and agnostics are not entirely satisfied with Maine’s current aquaculture  
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26 594 regulatory process and would likely support changes that prioritize balance among uses and alter  
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28  
29 595 the site selection process. The aquaculture optimists also support balancing uses of Maine’s  
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31 596 coastal waters, but do not feel that regulatory changes are required to achieve these goals.  
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33 597 Clarifying the diverse perspectives that shape answers to questions like these, such as through  
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36 598 the scholarship presented here, will help encourage further dialogue and also may facilitate  
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38 599 development of policy that mitigates conflict among divergent perspectives and the individuals  
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41 600 who hold them. These findings also could serve as the basis for monitoring the long-term success  
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43 601 of aquaculture development in Maine.

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46 602 Discussions about aquaculture development in Maine will continue, and as other forms of  
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49 603 blue growth develop in the state, those discussions will grow as well. Policy goals may  
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51 604 ultimately be more effectively achieved through the use of more integrated, ecosystem-based  
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54 605 regulations than currently exist in Maine. However, such discussions take time and are  
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56 606 contingent on social and political path dependencies (72–77). Many demands are being placed on  
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59 607 Maine’s coastal waters, both for blue growth development as well as for recreation, residential,

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4 608 and tourism uses. Aquaculture and other elements of blue growth could provide many benefits to  
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7 609 Maine's marine economy and its marine resource-dependent coastal communities. Addressing  
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9 610 the potential conflicts between existing and new development and finding ways to support  
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11 611 development while including and considering the varied perspectives of people in coastal  
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14 612 communities is a critical part of ensuring that these industries succeed and bring benefits to  
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16 613 Maine and other areas that are experiencing ocean development.  
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20 614           While this research focuses on aquaculture development in Maine, the aquaculture sector  
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22 615 is growing worldwide, raising important questions about the motivations of growth and who it  
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24 616 will benefit. As growth continues, research focused on these different motivations will be needed  
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26  
27 617 because there will ultimately be tradeoffs that may affect the scale, geography, species, and  
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29 618 governance structure of aquaculture in particular places. By understanding the heterogeneity of  
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32 619 perspectives surrounding aquaculture development, we aim to contribute to ongoing discussions  
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34 620 about the future of aquaculture and encourage a more explicit articulation of the intended  
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37 621 outcomes of aquaculture development and who it will benefit.  
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## 46 826 **Appendix 1**

47 827 [Appendix Figure 1 here]

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49 828 [Appendix Table 1 here]

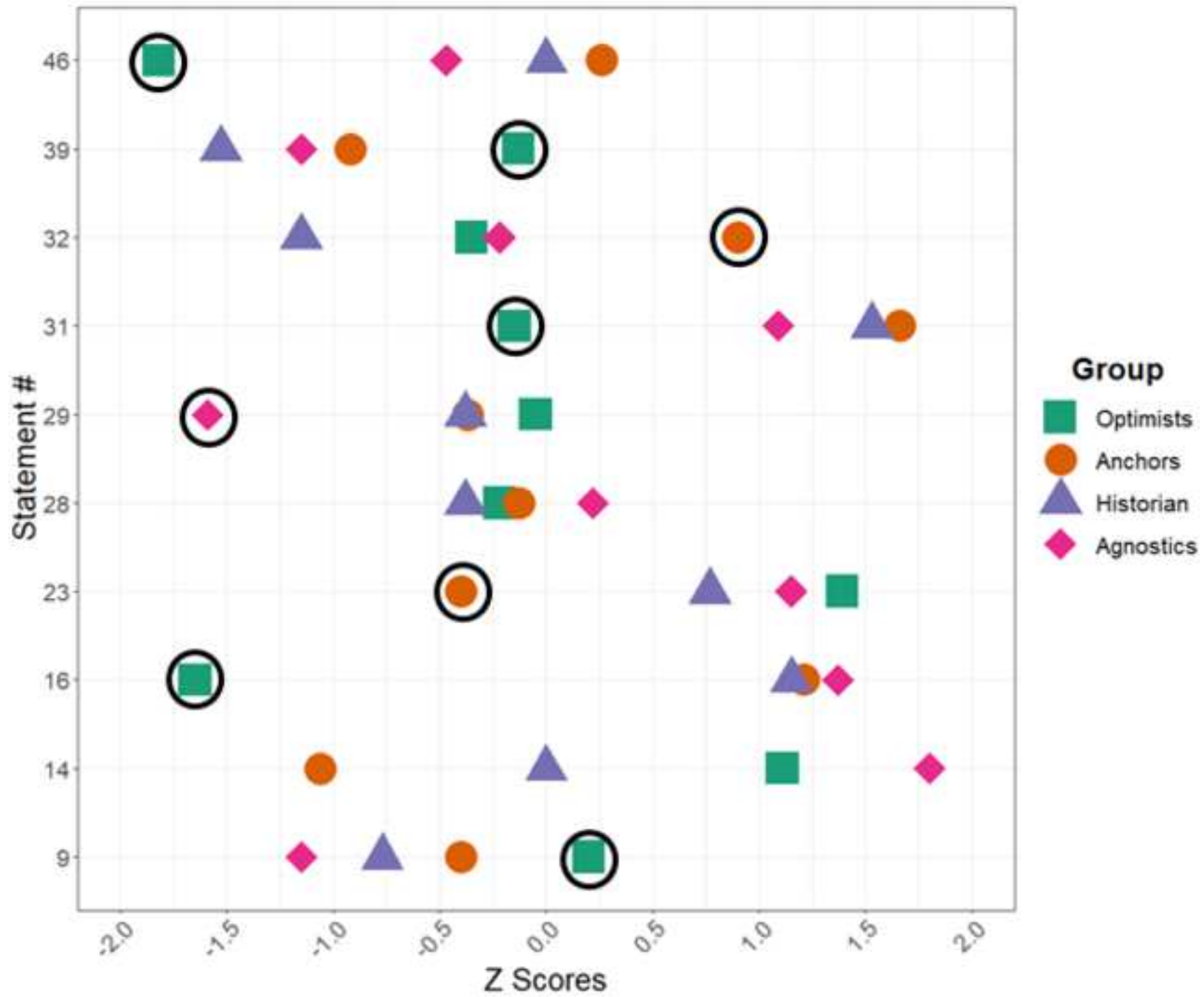
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Figure 1



**Aquaculture optimists:**

The “optimist” believes aquaculture development in Maine is a win-win; they see Maine’s untapped potential and investment in aquaculture as a catalyst for jobs and an important way to diversify the economy and maintain marine infrastructure. They believe aquaculture benefits the working waterfront and commercial fishing sectors.

**Aquaculture anchors:**

The “anchor” is enthusiastic about aquaculture and views it as a way to support Maine’s coastal economy. However, they are concerned about the long-term trajectory and potential negative environmental impacts and want to guarantee that benefits are anchored in coastal communities. They value community planning and participation.

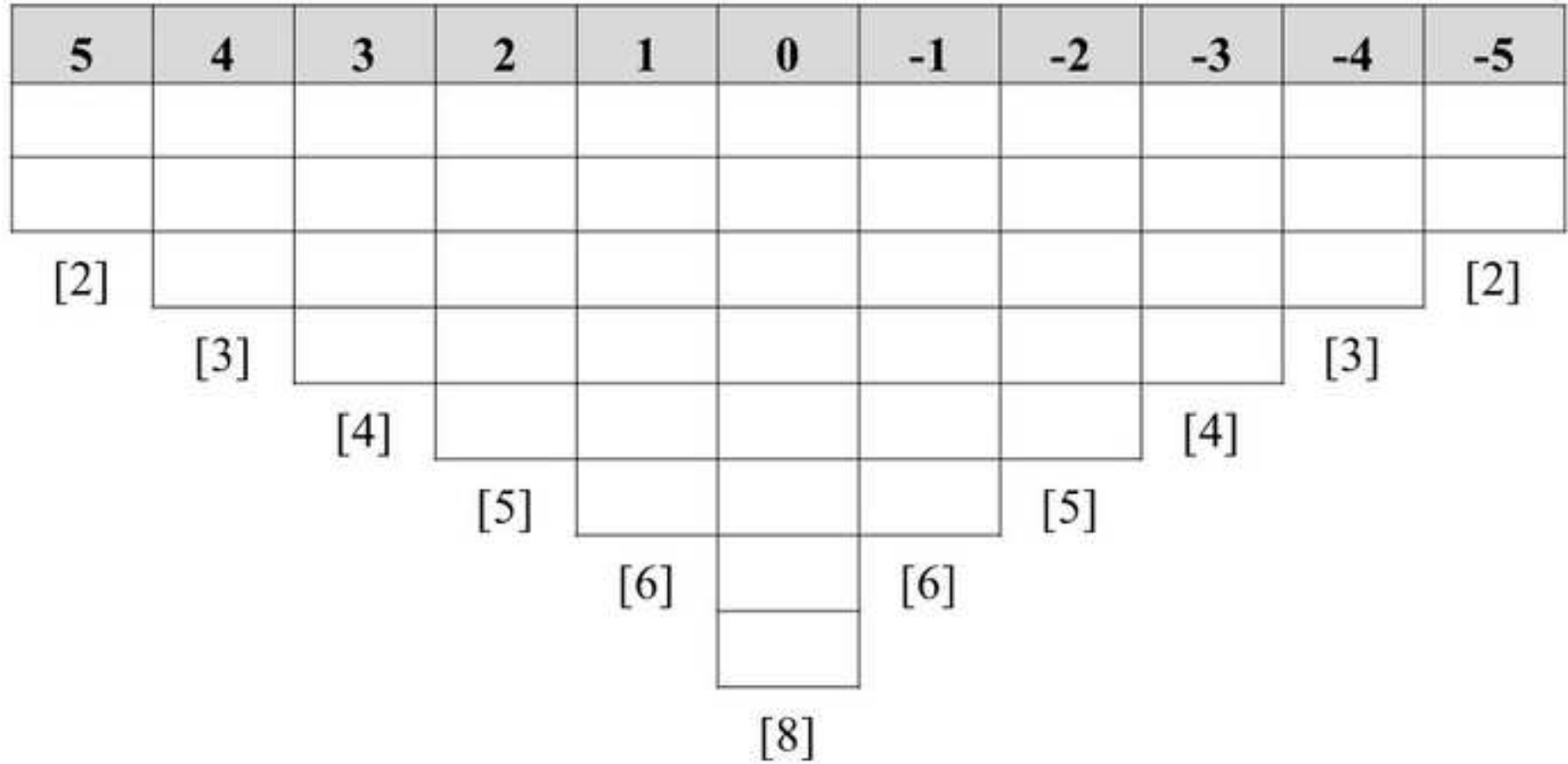
**Aquaculture historian:**

The “historian” sees potential for aquaculture, but is more tempered about its socioeconomic benefits. This perspective is informed by the history of salmon aquaculture and the narrative that it would bring prosperity to eastern Maine. They are skeptical of aquaculture’s benefits for the commercial fishing sector and coastal communities.

**Aquaculture agnostics:**

The “agnostic” has mixed feelings about the impact of aquaculture. They see aquaculture benefiting industry members, but believe that further growth will involve tradeoffs. They believe increased development will reduce space for commercial fishing and other uses of Maine’s coast, while having limited net benefits.





**Figure 1:** Distinguishing and consensus statements for the four factors based on their statement Z scores. In cases where one group's response is significantly different, or distinguishing, the group is circled. Statement 14 distinguished all groups and statement 28 was a consensus statement. Distinguishing and consensus statements are also marked in Table 3.

**Figure 2:** Summary of four perspectives about aquaculture in Maine

**Appendix Figure 1:** Matrix for the Q method sorting exercise. The numbers in the shaded bar at the top indicate the ranking score, from most strongly agree (5) to most strongly disagree (-5). The bracketed numbers below each column indicate how many Q set cards may be placed in that column.

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
<b>1</b>	Concourse	We downloaded 979 newspaper articles and coded a random subset, of the articles (n = 124) until saturation was achieved. The concourse included 878 statements.
<b>2</b>	Q set	We categorized statements thematically and distilled them using an iterative process to create broadly representative list of statements (n = 48) about aquaculture in Maine.
<b>3</b>	Participant selection	We used purposive and snowball sampling to identify a diverse range of individuals with knowledge about aquaculture in Maine (n = 36).
<b>4</b>	Q sort and debrief	Study participants sorted the Q set and then participated in follow-up interviews about the sorting process.
<b>5</b>	Analysis	We used Principal Component Analysis of the Q sorts to identify groups and a thematic analysis of the interviews to interpret the results.

**Table 1:** Summary of the five steps of the Q method.

	<b>F1</b>	<b>F2</b>	<b>F3</b>	<b>F4</b>
Number of Q sorts	24	6	1	2
Eigenvalues	15.13	5.83	2.41	2.24
Percentage of explained variance	42.02	16.19	6.70	6.21
Average age of participants (years)	50	61	Removed to preserve confidentiality	63
Occupations	Non-profit employees, fishermen, aquaculture farmers, harbormasters, scientists, government resource managers, waterfront residents	Non-profit employees, government resource managers, fishermen, waterfront residents, waterfront business owners (excluding aquaculture)	Removed to preserve confidentiality	Fishermen, government resource managers, waterfront business owners (excluding aquaculture), waterfront residents

**Table 2:** Summary of study participants.

#	Statements	Factor Scores				Z Scores			
		F1	F2	F3	F4	F1	F2	F3	F4
1	Tax-incentive programs intended to bring aquaculture development to Maine will minimize the benefits to local communities	-2	1	2	-3	-0.93	0.22	0.77	-1.13
2	Waterfront landowners are the only people opposed to aquaculture	-3	-5	-2	-3	-1.24	-1.82	-0.77	-1.19
3	The ability to participate in aquaculture should be reserved for commercial fishermen	-5	-3	5	-4	-1.92	-1.14	1.92	-1.8
4	The large maximum size and transferability of aquaculture leases makes them attractive to sell	-1	2	5	0	-0.5	0.83	1.92	0.02
5	The noise from aquaculture operations makes them undesirable to be around	-3	1	-3	1	-1.04	0.69	-1.15	0.22
6	Once established, local aquaculture farms gain acceptance with time	1	-1	1	-2	0.58	-0.52	0.38	-0.51
7	Maine's proximity to major US consumer markets benefits the aquaculture industry	1	0	1	-2	0.53	-0.03	0.38	-0.67
8	Maine is an excellent place for aquaculture because it has clean, cold waters and a wide open coastline	2	2	-4	-1	0.93	0.83	-1.53	-0.24
9	<i>Producing food using aquaculture contributes to a lower carbon profile than other food production methods (D1)</i>	0*	-1	-2	-3	0.2	-0.4	-0.77	-1.15
10	Aquaculture is a sustainable way for Mainers to make a living	2	-2	-1	2	1.03	-0.66	-0.38	0.95
11	Small-scale aquaculture is appropriate for Maine	0	3	4	-1	0.46	1.16	1.53	-0.42
12	Aquaculture is a polarized topic in Maine	0	2	0	2	-0.03	1.03	0	0.95
13	The presence of aquaculture lowers the value of waterfront homes	-3	-1	4	3	-1.32	-0.3	1.53	1.15
14	<b><i>Aquaculture offers the state's fishing industry much needed economic and species diversification (Distinguishes all)</i></b>	3*	-3*	0*	5*	1.11	-1.06	0	1.8
15	Aquaculture provides an opportunity for people to work in Maine's marine economy	3	0	1	3	1.18	-0.06	0.38	1.19
16	<i>Increasing the amount of aquaculture in Maine will negatively impact the ability of commercial fishermen to fish by pushing them out of traditional fishing grounds (D1)</i>	-4***	3	3	4	-1.65	1.21	1.15	1.37
17	Aquaculture is complementary to commercial fishing, not a threat	2	-3	-5	0	1	-1.04	-1.92	-0.02
18	Aquaculture has a presence in Maine, but the question of who it will benefit remains unanswered	-1	2	0	-4	-0.58	0.9	0	-1.35
19	Aquaculture is environmentally sustainable	3	-2	-5	0	1.04	-0.66	-1.92	-0.2
20	Aquaculture is a solution to overfishing because it helps augment wild capture fisheries	0	-2	-2	-2	-0.16	-0.67	-0.77	-0.51
21	Aquaculture allows for a consistent supply of local, high-quality seafood	1	0	1	4	0.68	-0.3	0.38	1.35
22	We need new fisheries and creative methods of fishing to sustain the industry and the infrastructure, and aquaculture is one way to do this	4	0	2	3	1.31	-0.14	0.77	1.13
23	<i>Aquaculture is an important and compatible element in Maine's diverse coastal economy (D2)</i>	5	-1*	2	3	1.39	-0.4	0.77	1.15
24	There is room for growth in aquaculture at a scope and scale that fits with Maine's working waterfront	4	1	3	0	1.35	0.27	1.15	0.02
25	Aquaculture helps preserve Maine's working waterfronts	5	-2	-2	2	1.69	-0.62	-0.77	0.69
26	Aquaculture is one of the most promising sectors in Maine's economy	1	-2	0	-2	0.66	-0.79	0	-0.66
27	Aquaculture provides valuable economic opportunities for local residents	3	1	1	1	1.14	0.04	0.38	0.24
28	<b><i>Regulatory uncertainty lowers investment in the aquaculture industry.</i></b> <sup>c</sup>	-1	0	-1	1	-0.22	-0.13	-0.38	0.22
29	<i>Increasing aquaculture production in Maine will help lower the US seafood trade deficit (D4)</i>	0	-1	-1	-4*	-0.05	-0.37	-0.38	-1.59

30	Aquaculture is an efficient and sustainable way to feed a growing human population	1	0	-3	1	0.49	-0.23	-1.15	0.67
31	<i>We need to further consider how much of a particular body of water is to be taken from the public and given to an individual or corporation for commercial use in the future (D1)</i>	0***	4	4	2	-0.15	1.66	1.53	1.09
32	<i>Aquaculture is a way to provide economic support to Maine's coastal communities, but there is a risk that farms will be bought out by foreign companies (D2)</i>	-1	2**	-3	-1	-0.35	0.9	-1.15	-0.22
33	Aquaculture causes far-reaching changes to common access waters	-4	5	-4	5	-1.43	1.86	-1.53	1.84
34	The potential environmental risks posed by aquaculture are being taken seriously	0	-4	2	-2	0.19	-1.51	0.77	-0.69
35	Concerns about the excessive expansion of aquaculture in the future are generally unfounded	-1	-4	-1	-5	-0.41	-1.67	-0.38	-2.04
36	Aquaculture has the potential to drastically alter the character of Maine's coastal communities	-2	4	3	2	-0.98	1.54	1.15	0.73
37	It is vitally important that communities have a hand in guiding the future of aquaculture	1	4	3	0	0.49	1.62	1.15	0.04
38	The Department of Marine Resources' siting criteria do not account enough for adjacent farms and the cumulative impact of aquaculture	-2	3	0	-2	-0.74	1.07	0	-1.11
39	<i>The early days of aquaculture were marked by trial and error, and little regard for the local environment and community impacts. That and other objectionable practices have changed (D1)</i>	0**	-3	-4	-3	-0.13	-0.92	-1.53	-1.15
40	Aquaculture is good for Maine's economy, not only for farmers but for local restaurants and tourism businesses too	4	0	-1	1	1.23	0.02	-0.38	0.66
41	The rate of growth of the aquaculture industry is too fast	-3	3	2	-1	-1.27	1.52	0.77	-0.22
42	It has become more important than ever to find a balance between existing and new uses of our ocean while also protecting everything it has to offer for future generations	2	5	0	4	0.98	1.68	0	1.35
43	Maine's aquaculture regulatory process is hampering the growth of the industry	-1	-4	0	1	-0.68	-1.4	0	0.22
44	Maine's coastal communities need to decide whether to gear up for the economic growth of aquaculture or to retain the qualities of wild-caught fisheries	-4	1	-3	0	-1.55	0.28	-1.15	-0.02
45	Much of the concern about aquaculture stems from misunderstandings about the application and companies, as well as a lack of knowledge about aquaculture in general	2	-1	1	1	0.96	-0.57	0.38	0.4
46	<i>Aquaculture production requires a choice between economic growth and environmental protection (D1)</i>	-5***	1	0	-1	-1.82	0.26	0	-0.47
47	There are very few conflicts between aquaculture farms and other water users	-2	-5	-1	-5	-0.72	-1.86	-0.38	-1.84
48	The effects of climate change will reduce the long-term impact of Maine's aquaculture industry on the economy	-2	0	-2	-1	-0.78	-0.3	-0.77	-0.24

**Table 3:** Factor scores and Z scores for each statement. Participants agreed most strongly with statements scored 5, and most strongly disagreed with statements scored -5. The Z scores are the standardized weighted average of the scores that group members gave to a statement, and the factor scores translate the Z scores into the format used in the original Q sort. Distinguishing statements are indicated by italics and in parentheses. The consensus statement (28) and the statement that distinguished all factors (14) are bolded.

Asterisks indicate the strength of significance. \* = 0.5, \*\* = 0.01, \*\*\* <0.01. F1: Aquaculture Optimists, F2: Aquaculture Anchors, F3: Aquaculture Historian, F4: Aquaculture Agnostics.

Participant #	F1	F2	F3	F4
AQ02	<b>*0.81</b>	0.3	-0.02	0.17
AQ07	0.39	0.4	0.48	0.32
AQ09	<b>*0.68</b>	0.38	0.16	0.25
AQ11	-0.02	<b>*0.74</b>	0.46	-0.02
AQ14	-0.06	<b>*0.86</b>	0	0
AQ16	<b>*0.86</b>	-0.16	0.23	0.19
AQ17	<b>*0.78</b>	0.09	0.07	-0.29
AQ18	<b>*0.8</b>	-0.01	-0.09	0.27
AQ20	<b>*0.75</b>	-0.14	-0.14	-0.07
AQ22	<b>*0.85</b>	0.17	0.09	0.01
AQ23	<b>*0.72</b>	-0.4	-0.31	0.23
AQ28	<b>*0.64</b>	0.52	0.15	-0.07
AQ34	0.19	<b>*0.75</b>	0.02	0.13
AQ35	<b>*0.82</b>	-0.19	0.16	0.04
AQ37	-0.33	<i>*0.56</i>	<i>*0.55</i>	-0.01
AQ38	<b>*0.77</b>	0.15	-0.35	0.09
AQ41	0.17	0.13	-0.12	<b>*0.68</b>
AQ43	<b>*0.71</b>	-0.3	-0.41	-0.03
AQ44	0.54	0.47	0.41	0.26
AQ45	<b>*0.78</b>	0.06	-0.12	0.35
AQ58	<b>*0.75</b>	-0.38	-0.11	0.2
AQ59	-0.42	<b>*0.64</b>	0.07	0.33
AQ60	-0.17	<b>*0.77</b>	0.28	0.31
AQ63	0.21	0.41	0.28	<b>*0.7</b>
AQ64	<b>*0.7</b>	0.23	0.2	-0.15
AQ67	<b>*0.71</b>	-0.32	-0.17	0.32
AQ70	-0.2	<b>*0.78</b>	-0.02	0
AQ72	<b>*0.71</b>	-0.17	-0.12	0.02
AQ73	<b>*0.84</b>	-0.13	-0.02	0.28
AQ74	<b>*0.85</b>	-0.27	-0.06	-0.05
AQ80	<b>*0.74</b>	-0.04	0.08	0.25
AQ83	-0.07	0.13	<b>*0.79</b>	-0.05
AQ94	<b>*0.83</b>	-0.08	0.1	-0.04
AQ95	<b>*0.78</b>	-0.17	-0.12	0.21
AQ97	<b>*0.83</b>	-0.06	-0.12	0.06
AQ99	<b>*0.7</b>	0.31	-0.04	0.22

**Table 1:** Factor loadings of all participants. Significant loading ( $p < 0.01$ ) is indicated by \* and the column is bolded. The confounded participant is shown in italics.



	<b>F1</b>	<b>F2</b>	<b>F3</b>	<b>F4</b>
<b>F1</b>	1	-0.15	-0.1	0.31
<b>F2</b>		1	0.24	0.38
<b>F3</b>			1	0.11
<b>F4</b>				1

**Table 2:** Correlation between factor z-scores. Significant correlations are  $>0.38$  at the  $p < 0.01$  level.

	<b>Component 1a (IO)</b>	<b>Component 1b (CO)</b>
<b>Number of Q sorts</b>	17	7
<b>Eigenvalues</b>	9.58	6.89
<b>Percentage of explained variance</b>	39.91	28.69
<b>Average age of participants (years)</b>	48.41	53.43
<b>Occupations</b>	Non-profit employees, fishermen, aquaculture farmers, harbormasters, scientists, government resource managers, waterfront residents, waterfront business owners.	Non-profit employees, fishermen, aquaculture farmers, harbormasters, scientists, government resource managers, waterfront residents, waterfront business owners.

**Table 3:** Summary of secondary analysis of Factor 1

**Melissa L. Britsch:** Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Investigation, Writing – Original Draft.  
**Heather M. Leslie:** Writing – Review & Editing, Funding Acquisition. **Joshua S. Stoll:** Formal analysis, Writing – Review & Editing, Funding acquisition.