Examining the socio-cultural contexts of fishing lives on the Llŷn Peninsula, UK

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Abstract

It has been argued that socio-cultural aspects of fisheries sustainability have been omitted in favour of environmental and economic perspectives within marine and fisheries policy. Responding to recent calls to pay greater attention to these overlooked aspects, this thesis is examining fishing lives (including those of fishing family members) in their socio-cultural contexts. This is done by drawing on Bourdieu's conceptual ideas of habitus, field and capital alongside three additional literatures: i) the application of Bourdieu's ideas in the 'good farmer' literature, ii) the lifecourse approach, and iii) the gender identity lens – which taken together seeks to understand how fishing capitals are acquired over time from different positions within the fishing field. The research utilises qualitative semi-structured interviews and participant observation in a case study of the Llŷn peninsula small-scale fishery to investigate the socio-cultural context of fishing lives. A number of important contributions to the wider fisheries social sciences are made. First of all, the thesis develops the new conceptual idea of the 'good fisher' which is constructed around the display of embodied cultural capital alongside fishers' reputation of complying with the unwritten 'rules of the game'. Secondly, the thesis finds that the socio-cultural contexts are important for getting on the 'fishing ladder', and interrelated to this, the fishing lifecourse is linked across generations. A third contribution is that fishers construct a 'localised socially dominant masculinity' in which fishing masculinities are hybrid, multiple and situated. As a final point the thesis found that the pre-existing socio-cultural contexts are important for how fishers respond to marine and fisheries policy schemes and it is suggested that new policies need to recognise these contexts to be environmentally as well as culturally sustainable.

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Chapter 1

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1 Introduction

"Our ocean's fishing grounds, once full of life are dwindling. In fact, over 75% of our fish stocks are overexploited. Still, too many huge vessels chase too few fish. Meanwhile, small scale fishermen, who have fished responsibly for generations, are in real danger of losing their jobs and way of life. This threatens the future of our fish and our seas, and the communities that rely on them" (Greenpeace International 2013).

"A silence descends on the room. These are not men, I realise, who are comfortable talking about their feelings. […] Does having your dad on board mean you ever get a hug when you're exhausted, cold and wet? They both laugh. It's a ridiculous question to ask a couple of seasoned fishermen" (Saner 2010, The Guardian, 11 September).

1.1 (Un)sustainability: 'fishing crisis' and 'solutions'

It has been widely recognised that there is a global 'fishing crisis' which is understood to be caused by human activities on the sea (Jacquet 2009; Pauly 1998; Pauly et al. 2002). Overfishing, together with an overcapacity in the fishing fleet, are the primary reasons pointed to for the fish stock decline (Beddington et al. 2007). Such concerns have led researchers to call for better management approaches that can reverse these negative trends for the ocean environment (Costello et al. 2012; Worm et al. 2006). A goal for solving the 'fishing crisis' has been to achieve greater sustainability (United Nations 2015: SDG Goal 14). Sustainability is broadly defined as being composed of three dimensions: economic, environmental and social (cf Charles 1994) as seen in Figure 1.1.
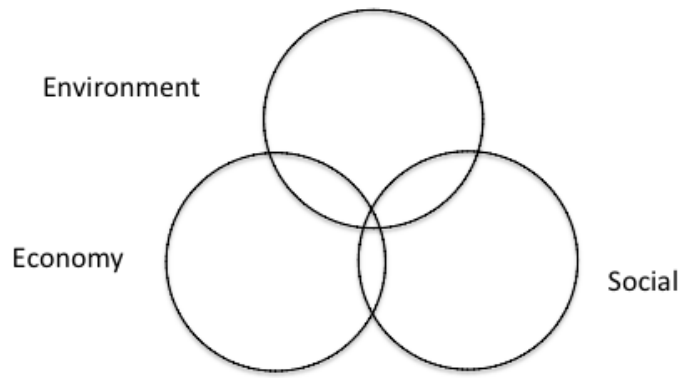
Figure 1.1 – The three dimensions of sustainability illustrating how each aspect ('environment', 'economy' and the 'social') is interlinked with the other aspects (Adapted from Charles 1994)

To solve the problems of 'unsustainability' and 'overfishing' governments in the global North have taken measures to reduce the size of fishing fleets. In turn, these reductions have had substantial impacts on local communities, including job losses, outmigration, loss of basic services and changes in social relations (Symes and Phillipson 2009). Recent research have noted that the social aspects of fishing sustainability have been ignored which, it is argued, have had consequences for the fishing way of life which fishers tend to value highly (Symes and Phillipson 2009; Urquhart et al. 2011). Such consequences have ranged from impacts on fishers' identities (Williams 2014) to impacts on fishing family members as well as breaks in intergenerational succession of the fishing occupation and transmission of knowledge (Neis et al. 2013). In light of this, there has been a call for a greater application of insights from social science to the discussion of fishing and the fishing industry. As Urquhart et al. (2011, p.420) suggest:

> "while much is known about the ecological and economic aspects of fisheries, the social and cultural impacts of fisheries and their management has been under-researched and is often overlooked in policy".

One sector of the fishing industry which have been particularly under-prioritised by governments (Jacquet and Pauly 2008), under-researched (Guyader et al. 2013) and under-valued (Garcia et al. 2008) is the small-scale fishing industry. Guyader et al. (2013) suggests that although small-scale fisheries might be small in size they are large in numbers, globally and in Europe. Guyader et al. (2013) further note that these fisheries often use fishing methods with less environmental impact[1] than larger scale fishing operations. Because of reasons like these, many interest groups and NGO's suggest that small-scale fisheries should be better supported with access rights than large-scale fishing operations (New Economics Foundation 2011; Greenpeace and NUTFA 2014) which is articulated in the quote at the start of this thesis. Responding to calls to increase the understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of fisheries sustainability whilst contributing towards understanding the small-scale fisheries sector better, this thesis will aim to look more closely at the social and cultural aspects of the small-scale inshore fishery of the Llŷn peninsula, UK.

1.1 What does it mean to be a fisher?

Fishing as an occupation is often understood as a 'way of life' (Britton and Coulthard 2013; Urquhart et al. 2011; Urquhart and Acott 2013). Research has as such conceptualised fishing as being significant beyond that of making a living. Several studies has noted that fishers often keep fishing despite its decreasing economic viability (e.g. van Ginkel 2001). However, it has been suggested that

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[1] For example, these fisheries often use fishing methods defined as 'low impact fisheries' such as passive gear, they produce low catches and consume less petrol than large-scale fishing boats (Guyader et al. 2013).

biological and economic perspectives have tended to be the most turned to when designing fishing policies. This was so, Johnsen et al. (2004) argue, because these two perspectives are underpinned by similar epistemological ideals and have been easily integrated into unified models which have often given economic-centred solutions to fishing problems. It has further been suggested that the prevailing use of bio-economic models in managing fisheries has disregarded the socio-cultural context in which fishers actions are embedded (St. Martin 2001; St. Martin 2006; St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008). As such, Johnsen et al. (2004) notes that there is a discrepancy between this policy focus on the economics of fishing and the ways in which fishers value the fishing occupation and how they understand themselves and their occupational identities. As Sønvisen (2014, p.194) has recently argued, a particular weakness of much pre-existing fisheries research has been the tendency to depict fishers as "myopic and short-run profit maximizers", which arguably ignores the complexity, diversity and dynamicity in the behaviour of fishers (see also Nightingale 2011; St. Martin 2007). Although they recognise a growth in research which has sought to contradict these prevailing models, Sønvisen (2014, p.194) conclude that the "operating assumption of homogeneity among fishers prevails in fisheries management systems". As several authors have noted, such assumptions – which fail to fully understand the social and cultural contexts in which fishers actually operate – are likely to limit what can be achieved by fishing policy (Davies and Hodge 2007). This recognition of the need for a conceptual apparatus, which moves us beyond a purely economic depiction of fishers, has striking parallels to the literature on farming and agriculture. For several years now rural and agricultural social scientists have forged similar debates with several innovative approaches which have sought a consideration of farmers as more than

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'rational' *homo economicus* and which takes fuller account of the social and cultural contexts which can serve to shape their activities (see Riley 2011). Arguably there is much which might be learned, for the consideration of fishers, from this more voluminous literature on agriculture and some useful cross-fertilisation can already be noted. Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg (2016), for example, deploy the idea of 'fishing styles' which echoes that more long-standing work on farming styles (see van der Ploeg 2003); Sønvisen (2014) draws on typology, or the study of types, that has been successfully applied in the discussion of agriculture (Whatmore et al. 1987); Urquhart and Acott (2014), in their discussion of occupational identity, highlight the parallels with discussions of occupational identity in times of structural change within agriculture (Brandth and Haugen 2011); whilst earlier work on farmers environmental attitudes and perceptions of farmers to environmental schemes (e.g. Morris and Potter 1995) has been taken forward in considering how fishers adapt (or not) to new marine policy (Gelcich et al. 2008). Such examples show how research from other 'fields' of rural social science can provide guidance for how to study fishing lives.

This thesis takes as its starting point this recognition that the social science understanding of fishing lives – in their social and cultural contexts – is still under-researched. To explore this more closely, this thesis seeks to draw into this discussion of fishers and fishing the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1984; 1986; 1998) relating to habitus, capital, field and 'rules of the game'. Specifically, it seeks to forge a critical dialogue between the case of fishers and the growing body of work, drawing on Bourdieu, which might be termed the 'good farmer' literature (Burton 2004; Burton et al. 2008; Sutherland and Burton 2011). Within the literature on the 'good farmer', the discussion of how a farmer's social position and

status is impacted upon by their adherence "to a set of principles based on values and standards embedded in farming culture" (Sutherland and Darnhofer, 2012, p.232) has been a fruitful avenue of social science research and a survey of this literature highlights three key insights which it might offer the discussion of fishers. First, and foremost, this literature moves beyond a focus on economic capital to also give account to social capital (stemming from, and reaffirmed by, social contacts) and cultural capital (skills, knowledge and dispositions which may be gained by education and socialisation). In addition, attention is given to symbolic capital, which is the form that these other types of capital might take on when they are "perceived and recognised as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p.17) within a particular field. Second, it recognises the importance of the surrounding community – with the farming community generally, and farming neighbours specifically, providing the conduit through which capital is built up, exchanged and policed (Sutherland and Burton, 2011). Third, this body of research has been useful in its application to the discussion of wider structural changes and changing agricultural policy. So, for example, research employing this framework has considered both how new agricultural policies – such as agri-environment schemes – may be rendered 'culturally unsustainable' (Burton and Paragahawewa 2011) when in conflict with pre-existing notions of 'good farming', as well as the wider discussion of whether changing structural conditions may change the farming habitus and what it is to be a 'good farmer' (Riley 2016a; Sutherland and Darnhofer 2012). The thesis will explore how ideas from the 'good farmer' literature can be usefully utilised and (re)shaped to the discussion of fishing and fishers.

Important in this discussion is that the fishing industry and fishing communities are not composed of only those who fish – fishers are also part of fishing families and

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local communities which subject them to other types of social relations (Nightingale 2013, p.2366). Many studies have attempted to document the lives of women in fisheries (e.g. Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988b; Zhao et al. 2014) – but have so far paid little attention in understanding how fishing labour is constructed along gender lines through the cultural constructs of gender identities (e.g. Power 2005; Yodanis 2000). This research seeks to contribute to this debate by examining the processes by which 'what it means to be a fisher' becomes gendered. An important linguistic and political point to make is that throughout the thesis the word fisher will be used rather than the more locally used word 'fisherman'. Recently Branch and Kleiber (2015) argued that using 'fisher' poses the risk of ignoring the implicit understanding that the fisher is a man in its attempt to be gender inclusive. However, this thesis is interested in exploring the identity of a fisher without pre-existing framings that limit the fisher identity to only men or only to those who capture fish on the sea. This approach is fundamental within the wider context of this thesis, as the research is particularly interested in whether family members, such as children and female partners, who take part in fishing businesses can be fishers as well. Engaging with Branch and Kleiber's (2015) caution, the research observed that all respondents who went fishing on a regular basis, which is here called the 'main fishers', defined themselves as men. Nevertheless, the term fisher will be used in this thesis as it opens up the potential for change to the ways in which gender identity of the 'fisher' is constructed.

1.2   The study and research focus

The overall aim of this thesis is to understand fishing lives – including those of fishing family members – in their socio-cultural contexts. This aim will be achieved through three interrelated objectives:

i) To explore the socio-cultural contexts of fishers and fishing through the development of the concept of the 'good fisher'.

ii) To examine the fishing lifecourse to pay particular attention to the temporal and intergenerational aspects of fishing lives.

iii) To investigate the ways that gender identities are constructed in the fishing context.

1.3   Thesis outline

Chapter 2 reviews the social science literature on fishing lives. It explores the pre-existing approaches in which social aspects of fishing have been studied and reviews the literature on a number of emerging themes: the fishing identity, fishing communities, knowledge, fisher's status, socialisation, women in fishing and fishing masculinities. Following this, the chapter goes on to develop the conceptual framing of the research. The overarching conceptual framing is drawing on Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, field and capital. Underneath this umbrella, the conceptual framing also brings together three different literatures. These are the application of Bourdieu's ideas in the case of agriculture, the literature which is taking a lifecourse perspective and that literature relating to gender identities. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the research focus which will underpin the chapters which follows.

Chapter 3 explores the methodological approach through which the aims and objectives of this thesis can be examined. The chapter moves on to discuss the selection of the Llŷn peninsula as the study area (see Figure 1.2). The chapter discusses how the area of study was chosen because of resistance, from fishers as well as local communities around the Llŷn peninsula, to the implementation of highly protected Marine Conservation Zones (hpMCZ) in the coastal inshore waters. Due to public resistance the plans were later scrapped (BBC Northwest Wales 2012; Woolmer 2012). The chapter also considers the sampling strategy in which male fishers, their partners and other family members were of primary interest to this study. The chapter outlines the rationale for the use of in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews and participant observation as the principal methods of the study. Following this, the chapter discusses how the interview guide was designed to fulfil the research aims and objectives. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and manually coded to identify themes in relation to the research aims and objectives. The chapter also offers some reflections on lessons learnt while researching fishing lives together with a discussion on emerging ethical issues and positionality.

Figure 1.2 – Map of the UK showing the location of the study area – the Llŷn

peninsula

Chapter 4 develops the conceptual idea of the 'good fisher' by drawing on
Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, field and capital together with the application of these
concepts in the case of agriculture and the 'good farmer' (e.g. Burton 2004; Burton
et al. 2008; Sutherland and Burton 2011). The chapter begins by mapping out the
specificities of the fishing 'field' – attempting to make visible the particularities of
sea space in contrast to land space. The chapter then goes on to explore how these

specific aspects of the fishing field have implications for the ways different capitals take on symbolic value. The chapter moves on to discuss how the fishing habitus is primarily defined by the embodied cultural capital of fishers and explores the ways in which such capital becomes displayed through engaging in different fishing practices. Following this, the chapter explores the way fishers work together and share the sea. At the end of the chapter, it is explored how the concept of 'good fisher' can help nuance the understanding of fishers' resistance to the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones.

Chapter 5 explores the temporal aspects of fishing lives by drawing on the lifecourse approach (Elder 1994). The chapter uses the metaphor of the 'fishing ladder' in examining how prospective fishers can become 'good fishers' through the accumulation of different forms of capital. The chapter further explores the ways in which social background has significance for the unfolding of the lifecourse. In particular, the distinction between familial and extra-familial (see Vanderbeck 2007) ties to fishing and their associated pathways into fishing will be examined. Following this, the chapter will examine how fishers negotiate their family lives and older age (see Hopkins and Pain 2007; Riley 2016b; Tarrant 2010) and how these life transitions relate to what it means to be a 'good fisher'. Finally the chapter will look at changes to the fishing industry that have occurred over time and the consequences these have had on historic lifecourse trajectories.

To get a better understanding of fishing lives, **Chapter 6** moves away from a sole focus on the principal operator of fishing boats by also exploring how female partners and daughters of fishers are embedded in the discussed socio-cultural context. This chapter will explore the gendering of fishing capitals and the fishing

habitus through taking inspiration from conceptual approaches previously used in other fields of rural studies. Previous research has primarily equated a consideration of gender with women and, as such, has made progress in documenting the lives of women in fishing (e.g. Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988b; Zhao et al. 2014). Notwithstanding the insights gained in understanding women in fishing, the chapter seeks to move away from a conceptualisation of gender as naturalised categories of genetic difference, towards an understanding of fishing gender identities. This is achieved by drawing on conceptual insights from feminist social sciences on 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987), 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) and the conceptual idea of 'localised socially dominant masculinities' (Filteau 2015). First, the chapter explores hegemonic forms of fishing masculinities and how they interrelate with the fishing 'rules of the game'. Thereafter, the chapter goes on to discuss women's contributions and identities in relation to fishing. The chapter then moves on to discuss how fishers construct a 'localised socially dominant masculinity' which incorporate notions of being a father. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential for change to the way gender identities are constructed in fishing.

Chapter 7 draws together the contributions of this research to the wider understandings of fishing lives beyond that of the particular locality under study. The chapter also outline some implications for policy as well as avenues for future research in this field.

Chapter 2

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2 Fishing cultures: review and conceptual framing

2.1 Fisheries research and social science approaches

In surveying the past research on fisheries, it has been suggested that biological and economic perspectives have tended to dominate the literature (Symes and Hoefnagel 2010; Urquhart and Acott 2014). Studies from these perspectives highlighted that fishing can be environmentally unsustainable and these research trajectories often propose economic solutions for how to transition into more sustainable fisheries (Johnsen et al. 2004). Contrary to these dominant perspectives, social science studies on fisheries frequently hold the view that fisheries management is failing because it does not account for the behaviour of fishers (Hilborn 1985; Turner et al. 2013). Responding to such concerns, many fisheries researchers have turned to the insights from social sciences in order to better understand the behaviour of fishers (see for example Hall-Arber et al. 2009; McCay 1978). Whilst it may be argued that there has been a 'social turn' within research on fishing, its consequence has been differently felt across fisheries research and this chapter will explore the different ways in which such research has utilised social science perspectives. In reviewing this broad literature Sønvisen (2014) suggests that there are two distinguishable avenues that have been taken in social fisheries research. The first approach understands the fisher as an isolated individual, or what has been termed 'the economic fisher', while the second approach conceptualises fishers as embedded in a social context, referred to as 'the social fisher'.

First, the notion of the 'economic fisher' has been largely underpinned by 'rational choice theory' which views the social as no more than a collection of individuals (e.g. Jentoft 2004; Mansfield 2004). The 'economic fisher' stems, in large part, from Gordon's (1954) and Hardin's (1968) ideas commonly referred to as the 'tragedy of the commons'. The tragedy of the commons, they suggest, occurs where property rights are not clearly defined and individuals operate to maximise their own utility, rather than those of the collective, which Gordon (1954) and Hardin (1968) suggest leads to an overexploitation of the resource and results in 'overfishing'. Utilising rational choice theory, more recent research has explored how people, in disagreement with Gordon (1954) and Hardin's (1968) theory, can co-operate for the benefit of the collective (see Ostrom 1990). In developing this avenue of research researchers have primarily used the theoretical and methodological perspective of game theory in exploring fisheries cooperation (Bailey et al. 2010; Munro 2009). Yet, the perspective of fishers as individuals, isolated from their social context, is arguably insufficient to understand fishers' practices (Hanna and Smith 1993; Nightingale 2011). More recent critiques have suggested that rational choice theory disregards actions that can be labelled as 'irrational' (see Nightingale 2011) which might include practices motivated by other incentives than that of individual utility and profit-maximisation (McCay 2002). Such findings reveal that a 'rational choice' perspective gives an incomplete and myopic picture of who fishers are.

In contrast to the 'economic fisher', the 'social fisher' is, according to Sønvisen (2014, p.195), "seen as having other rationalities besides purely economic ones, such as social relations and community concerns". While it is easy to distinguish between the economic and the social fisher, for the purpose of this review, we need

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to further break down what is meant by the 'social fisher'. Three different avenues of research can be identified within the 'social fisher' approach – that is, i) earlier anthropological and sociological studies, ii) fisheries management studies and iii) contemporary socio-cultural approaches. Each of these research avenues will now be reviewed in turn.

2.1.1 Anthropological and sociological fisheries research

Over the past 50 years many anthropologists have deployed in-depth ethnographic approaches to document and describe different fishing cultures around the world. The localities described in the anthropological fisheries research are diverse but a large quantity of the literature is focused on European and North American fisheries (see Acheson 1981; van Ginkel 2001). These studies made a number of important contributions in how fishing lives might be understood. On a first note, central to this research was an interest in 'fishers' knowledge' as it was seen to underpin the way fishers engage with their environments (Pálsson 1994) – a theme which will be returned to in Section 2.2.3. Another important theme has been the debate around what has been termed the 'skipper effect'– in which some researchers argue the skipper's knowledge and motivations determine fishing success (Kirkley et al. 1998), whilst others argue the technologies, such as boats and fishing gear, determine the productivity of fishers (Pálsson and Durrenberger 1990). By recognising the variability in different geographical localities it has been suggested that ecology, technology and skill of fisher had different levels of influence over the final fishing success in different places (Pálsson and Durrenberger 1990). Alongside this research, there have been discussions around the nature of social relations amongst fishers and it was observed that fishing communities often have a 'moral economy' in which informal relations structured around cultural norms are

important for fishers' behaviours (van Ginkel 2001). For example, researchers found that fishers balance their competition against others fishers with being a cooperator (Löfgren 1989; Palmer 1990; van Ginkel 1996). This, Palmer's (1990) research on the Maine (US) lobster fishery suggests was done in two main ways. First, fishers carefully manage the (non)sharing of information over the radio whilst fishing, and second, fishers were found to abide by particular etiquette(s) whilst narrating the observed differences in success between themselves and other fishers. In particular, Palmer (1990) suggests that (non)sharing of information has social as well as economic functions and that the notion of 'fishing success' has different meaning in different contexts. In other words, they observed that 'success' is not always quantifiable in catch productivity. Another prominent theme within this ethnographic research was that of fishers' access to fishing grounds and how fishers organise themselves in fishing 'territories' (Durrenberger and Pálsson 1986; Pálsson 1982). It was noted that although a fishery is most commonly 'open access' there were different forms of 'closures' of fishing areas. These were, for example, licenses and informally distributed territories (e.g. Symes and Frangoudes 2001). Other themes identified in the literature relate to the cultural importance of fishing to fishing communities – and in particular the importance of identity was noted (Nuttall 2000; McGoodwin 2001; van Ginkel 2001). McGoodwin (1990; 2001) suggests that within small-scale fishing communities there is an important sense of pride and cultural identity attached to the fishing occupation. Nuttall (2000) studies the Northeast Scottish fishing industry and suggests that the introduction of European regulations over the fishing industry were individually and collectively seen as an attack on their 'way of life'. This period of research also produced a smaller, but still significant, literature discussing the role(s) of women in fishing

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families and communities in various parts of the world (Binkley 2002; Davis and Nadel-Klein 1992; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988b; Nadel-Klein 2000). Such studies found that women perform many roles in fishing communities which were in the past (and arguably still today) overlooked by policymakers. However, while these studies provide valuable insight in understanding fishing lives, it is important to note that many of these anthropological observations were made in contexts very different to those we observe today.

2.1.2 Fisheries management, governance and policy focus

As discussed above, prior to the late 1980s fisheries research using a social science perspective utilised in-depth ethnographic approaches to explore fisheries (Acheson 1981). More recently, it has been argued that the pursuit of 'policy-relevant' research meant that more socially-orientated perspectives tended to become marginalised (Symes and Phillipson 2009) with little attention paid to the "social organisation of fishing and its importance in fisheries management contexts" (van Ginkel 2014, p.2). This (re)focus away from ethnographic descriptions into a focus on planning and institutions followed a larger call for fisheries social science to be more accessible – in terms of language used and data produced – for policymakers (see Hall-Arber et al. 2009). The 'fisheries management' (Jentoft 1989; Jentoft and McCay 1995; Pomeroy and Berkes 1997) and later 'fisheries governance' (Bavinck et al. 2013; Jentoft 2006; Jentoft and Chuenpagdee 2015; Kooiman et al. 2005; Symes 2006) research agendas became a predominant focus for fisheries social research. One of the principal foci within this research avenue, has been the processes of policymaking, institutional design and implementation of policy (Jentoft 2004; Jentoft et al. 2007; Jentoft and Chuenpagdee 2009; Mikalsen and Jentoft 2001). Such approaches have, however, not been without critique.

Nightingale (2011), for example, studied the Scottish *Nephrops* fishery and by drawing on feminist theory she critiques this institutionally focused approach by suggesting that institutional design *per se* is not what determines the outcomes of the policy, rather it is the enactment of those institutions by everyday practices that brings institutions into being.

2.1.3 Contemporary social science approaches

The recent call to give closer attention to what social science might offer the discussion of fishing and fishers (Urquhart et al. 2011 discussed in Chapter 1) has been accompanied by several important contributions. Williams (2014), for example, considers the socio-cultural impacts of the restructuring of the Scottish fishing industry, exploring how collective identities have lost their sites of performance(s) and symbolic importance in place as a consequence of fishing community decline. In line with these findings, Brookfield et al. (2005, p.56) study has suggested that "[f]or fisheries-dependent communities, fishing is the glue that holds the community together" in arguing that the fishing industry holds an "iconic status" in many fishing communities – even those in which fishing is no longer the main source of employment. These findings were arrived at through studying differences and similarities in 'fisheries dependency' between four cases studies (Shetland, Peterhead, North Shields and Lowestoft) in the UK. Extending this argument, Urquhart and Acott (2014) highlight, by drawing on a qualitative study on fishing places in Cornwall, that the physical presence of fishing – such as buildings, boats and gear – constructs a 'sense of place' with importance for individual and collective identities in coastal communities. Reed et al. (2013) similarly examine recent changes to the English fishing industry through employing semi-structure qualitative interviews in six case studies across England. They found

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that inshore fisheries, beyond the creation of jobs, are significant to place identities tied to the fishing occupation. In particular, they suggest that strengthening the links between food and locality, by making local fish available locally and changing consumer preferences by promoting a more diverse set of fish species, would build more sustainable inshore fishing communities. Others have utilised social theory in an attempt to unpack the notion of fishing 'community' – a term often drawn upon in the media and political attention given to fisheries (see Moss 2016). Ross (2015), in this vein, drawing on their study of the Scottish trawl fishery, conceptualises the fishing community, not as a spatial unit, but as a 'community of the mind' and illustrates how empathy and networks of support allows a resilience amongst fishing communities in the face of change and uncertainty. Nightingale (2011; 2013), too, picks up on this often cooperative aspect of fishing communities and adds to this discussion by bringing in emotions to explore what she refers to as the 'irrational commons' – that is, the 'irrational' reasons people cooperate. Taking a longer temporal perspective, Martindale (2014) explores the importance of heritage and history for fishing communities of today by studying crafts and livelihoods in Cornwall. He finds that heritage – including material artefacts and crafts – can be an important form of livelihood diversification which can target the tourism industry. In also looking at the wider changes taking place across the fishing industry Power (2005) notes that there are not only economic consequences of such change, but associated changes to fishing masculinities and fishers' practices. Studying the Newfoundland fisheries of Canada, she found that masculinities in fishing have changed from a 'traditional male fisher' to a 'modern male fisher' in which the latter is described as more 'managerial' than the former.

Other researchers have employed Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in seeking to understand fishing (Bear 2012; Callon 2007). Research taking this approach has attempted to explain the phenomena, that despite policy efforts to decrease the fishing capacity, such capacity has indeed increased (Johnsen 2005; Johnsen et al. 2009). By studying the changes to the Norwegian fishing fleet they found that this discrepancy can be explained by looking at how social, political, economic, technological and environmental forces relationally produce the fishery of today (Johnsen 2005; Johnsen et al. 2009). In challenging nature-society dualism and reframing how we might think of human-animal relations an ANT approach can be helpful. Nevertheless it has received a number of critiques. The ANT approach has been questioned for its descriptive nature and the way it fails to see how many actor-networks are driven by similar processes. Most importantly, for the purpose of this thesis, it has been criticised for its neglect of pre-existing structures and a lack of attention to power issues and inequalities (e.g. Castree and MacMillan 2001). The latter critique is a political problem in that the approach fails to see how some 'actants' have the power to limit the agency of others in the network (e.g. Castree and MacMillan 2001). Furthermore, Castree and MacMillan (2001, pp.222–223) suggest that, there is an issue with the thinking about the 'nonhuman' as equal to the human, by writing: "a politics of nature attuned to the needs and rights of both human and natural entities must ultimately be orchestrated through putatively 'social' actors'". The current research is interested in understanding differences in agency between 'actors' – or 'positions' – within the fishing context. Drawing on the critique of the ANT perspective highlighted above, it was decided that such a perspective was insufficient in answering the aims and objectives of this research.

Another common approach to studying fisheries from a social science perspective has been using the 'well-being' lens. This is an approach which draws on a three-dimensional framework which links the 'material', 'subjective' and 'relational' well-being of the lives of fishers and their communities (Britton and Coulthard 2013; McGregor 2009; Weeratunge et al. 2014) and through this well-being narrative it tries to incorporate the social and the 'natural' world (Coulthard et al. 2011). The well-being framework is particularly interested in understanding how individuals adapt to change depending on their material resources (what an individual has), their relational resources (interactions individuals engage in via social relationships) and subjective resources (feelings about what one does and has) (Coulthard 2012b). For example, Britton and Coulthard (2013) apply the well-being framework in their study of the Northern Ireland (UK) fishery to understand how aspects such as resources, subjectivities and relationships together contribute towards the life satisfaction of fishers and members of their households. The well-being approach has proven productive in understanding how fishers, their families and the community derive well-being from the fishery and have, for example, understood women as 'well-being agents' in their support of their husbands' well-being (Britton 2012; Kilpatrick et al. 2015). However, the three dimensional well-being framework has received a number of criticism. First of all, it has been suggested that there is not one specific well-being theory but that this approach draws on several different – and sometimes contradictory – theoretical traditions (see Weeratunge et al. (2014) for a review of these). Second, and perhaps the most important criticism in this context, is that the well-being approach does not explicitly address fishing activities, practice and cultures (other than in the sense that fishers derive well-being from these) and is, therefore, not helpful in

understanding the specifics of fisher's everyday interaction with their environments and how this in turn is embedded within the social context often studied using this approach.

In their studies, Sønvisen (2014) and Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg's (2016) attempt to offer some level of classification in the discussion of fisher 'types' and 'styles' respectively. Sønvisen (2014) uses Multiple Correspondence Analysis and fishers' discourses to develop a fourfold typology – two types linked to ideology and two linked to pragmatism – with the result being a call to revise fishing policy to better target this diversity in perspectives. Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg (2016) make a similar call, and through an integration of quantitative classifications and qualitative analyses identify several 'fishing styles' which, they suggest, may allow for some level of generalisation of fishers' behaviour without negating the individual differences that may be part of this. They suggest that 'fishing styles' is a useful tool for recognising how a seemingly homogenous groups of fishers (grouped together because of shared gear, fishing method, or target species) sometimes behave very differently (see for example Christensen and Raakjær 2006; Hanna and Smith 1993). Rather than 'rational behaviour', Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg (2016) instead suggest that alternative ideas about human 'nature' and actions are needed, and in particular, they emphasise the importance of habits, morals and emotions for fishers actions.

Important across the aforementioned studies is a recognition of the heterogeneity of fishing communities and the temporally dynamic nature of the industry. The collective relevance of these studies for the purposes of this thesis, is the recognition that fishing is historically, socially and geographically situated. The actions of

fishers, be that in relation to others or wider restructuring, is not simply reducible to economic transactions and a more nuanced framing is required. However, after reviewing the existing literature on social and cultural approaches to understanding fisheries there was no specific conceptual framing that draws together fishers' social, cultural and economic reasons (or 'rationalities') for engaging in particular fishing practices in a particular place and context. There was further no framework which could also incorporate the dynamics of gender and change over time. The possibilities for developing such a conceptual framing will be discussed below.

2.2   Emerging themes in social fisheries research

2.2.1   Identity – the 'fisher'

Fishing has been understood as a 'way of life' by many different researchers (Britton and Coulthard 2013; Urquhart et al. 2011; Urquhart and Acott 2013). Fishers adherence to this fishing way of life often serves as the 'cultural explanation' for why fishers tend to fish despite decreasing economic viability (Nuttall 2000; van Ginkel 2001; McGoodwin 1990). One example of this, is the phenomena that fishers tend to cope during financially hard times by believing in a future revival of the fishery and are searching for the 'big catch' (Coulthard 2008; Coulthard 2012a). Important for these authors, however, is the idea that fishers derive non-economic benefits from fishing and being fishers. An example is fishers' sense of job satisfaction which is linked to their sense of independence, freedom, pride, and a fascination with risks (Pollnac and Poggie 2008; Ross 2013; van Ginkel 2001). Furthermore, by interviewing 39 men in the small boat fisheries of Newfoundland Power (2005) found that fishers have 'contradictory class relations' related to the way, in opposition to working class men, they do not distinguish their

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work from their sense of 'self'. Fishers, instead, she suggests define their sense of self in relation to their occupational identity. Such findings have been echoed by, for example, LiPuma (1992) who has studied the Galician fishery in Spain and argues that there is a strong identity tied to being a fisher.

Other research has highlighted that the fishing sector is, however, composed of people with diverse positions and relations to the industry. Onboard the fishing vessels there are different roles, sometimes hierarchical, which fishers can occupy. These roles can be owner, skipper and crew (Cardwell and Gear 2013; Howard 2012). Within the group of 'fishers' Martindale (2012, p.190) finds that different ways of fishing, for example trawling, comprise a different way of life "within the more general way of life of fishing". He suggests that this was because fishers who use different ways of fishing embody different skills, values and traditions. Nevertheless, as Nightingale (2013) suggests, heterogeneity is not only about uses and *users* of different fishing technologies, noting that difference among fishers is also socially constructed within the fishing community. She found that fishers on the west coast of Scotland constructed a particular type of fishing practice as a 'way of life' and another as a 'business':

> "My respondent explains why some fishers are committed to limiting the fishery and others are not by invoking the difference between 'fishermen' who respect the local customs and seek to limit their fishing and a 'businessman' who simply wants to catch as much profit as possible" (Nightingale 2013, p.2371).

As such, the difference between a 'fisherman' and a 'businessman' is constructed around their perceived motivations and attitudes. Nightingale (2013), furthermore, is interested in how emotions and subjectivities, are tied to place and community.

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While the heterogeneity of what it means to be a fisher is interesting, being a fisher is also a collective identity with some shared values across different types of fishers. For instance, Nightingale (2012) suggests that one element of the collective identity of being a fishers is that fishers 'value a working environment', in contrast to environmentalists who instead often value the pristine, untouched aspects of the marine environment. Such findings illustrate the interlinked nature of knowledge and identity and how group identities are formed around shared understandings of who they are as a collective. For the purpose of the current thesis the above discussed research demonstrates that there is an established recognition of the importance of cultural, social as well as economic aspects of fishing in the literature. However, there has been no concerted effort to understand how these dimensions interrelate within one single conceptual framing.

2.2.2 Understanding the fishing 'community'

A number of researchers have focused on fishing 'communities' and various theoretical and methodological approaches have been taken (Angerbrandt et al. 2011; Clay and Olson 2007; Clay and Olson 2008; Urquhart and Acott 2013). From an economic perspective, the fishing community includes not only fishers but also 'interlinked industries', such as fish processing factories (Morrissey and O'Donoghue 2012; Sigfusson et al. 2013; Smith 2013). Yet, the importance of fishing has been recognised as greater than its economic value (Urquhart and Acott 2014) and work on fishing 'dependency' has moved from a focus on economic dependency, such as employment and income, to recognise the socio-cultural dependencies of individuals and local communities (Ross 2013; Urquhart et al. 2011; Urquhart and Acott 2014). In particular, Ross (2013) explores how the working culture of fishing in the Scottish fishery is dependent on strong

interpersonal relations and reciprocity amongst fishers and other local people. As such, the social identity of the fishing community is suggested to lie in the social relation within it – as underpinned by informal labour structures (Symes and Phillipson 2009). Furthermore, Nightingale (2011, p.126) writes that "being a "fisherman" in a locally understood sense is also to be part of the community". A fishing community can, through Nightingale's (2011) lens, be seen as the collective identity of what it means to be a fisher. Within this context, Munro (2000) explores the ways the 'self' and the 'community' in a northeastern Scottish fishing village are interrelated. Drawing on Foucault, Munro (2000) provides a critique of individualism and argues that social relationships such as family and community are important for the choices that individuals take in relation to their work and family life. She explores the themes of marriage, childcare, kinship and social participation and how 'appropriate behaviour' in relation to these positions is socially constructed in time and place, thus shaping the choices and behaviours of fishers. Other researchers have also explored the importance of place (Urquhart and Acott 2013). In particular, through field observations of the physical place and semi-structured interviews, Urquhart and Acott (2013) studied how the Southeastern English fishing town of Hasting is socially constructed as a fishing place and – most importantly, how the cultural landscape of fishing contributes to well-being in coastal communities.

The term 'fishing community' is widely used in the literature as outlined above. However, researchers have argued that it is unclear what defines the 'community' in a fishing context (Angerbrandt et al. 2011). Dalby and Mackenzie (1997) state that "community may be better understood as a political and social process rather than a taken-for-granted social geographical entity". Angerbrandt et al. (2011)

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further argue that discourses of natural resource management often fail to understand the 'community'. They note that the discourse of 'community' often conceives the community as a spatially bounded entity and instead, they argue that, a relational approach to community is needed. Ross (2013) has explored the concept of 'community' on the East coast of Scotland and found that it means more than a spatial location. Importantly, Ross (2013) distinguishes between an 'occupational community' and a 'place-based community'. The 'occupational community' was defined by working relations between fishworkers in distant locations (such as the Scottish East coast and the Shetland Islands) who shared a feeling of connectedness despite the geographical distance. They suggested that the shared 'way of life' and understanding of the industry contributed to a sense of 'fishing community' that was not necessarily place-based and was also shared by fishing household members (Ross 2013). Moreover, a sense of 'community' was also recognised of the fishing town as a 'place-based fishing community', in which local residents constructed their identities of the town (Ross 2013). Extending their work, Ross (2015) draws on Pahl's (2005) ideas of the 'community of the mind' which is shaped by thoughts, feelings and belonging(s) – and binds together the different fishing communities discussed in their earlier paper. This 'community of the mind' is not distinct, but "overlapping and imagined groupings", constructed around the empathy and networks of support which underpins the resilience of the fishing community in face of change (Ross 2015, p.15).

The social science literature on fisheries strongly suggests that fishing communities are not only composed of fishers but include various individuals and – most importantly for the context of this study – fishing families. However, in surveying the literature it is clear that only marginal attention has been paid at understanding

the fishing family. This is despite van Ginkel's (2014) observation that fishing families in Europe are very common, especially in the small-scale fisheries sector. van Ginkel (2014) further suggests that fishing families have proven to be resilient and versatile to change because of the observation that family capital and labor is highly adaptive and works as a common pool of resources. The fishing family will be explored more in-depth while reviewing the literature on socialisation (see Section 2.2.5).

2.2.3 Knowledge

The social sciences have a longstanding interest in understanding how knowledge can be plural and not only composed of that of 'expert knowledge' (see Tsouvalis et al. 2000). One of the main ways in which studies on fisheries have been interested in understanding the knowledge of fishers is through their 'local ecological knowledge' or 'traditional ecological knowledge' (Berkes 2004; Bundy and Davis 2013). However, Hind (2010) argues that fishers' knowledges are more than *ecological* knowledge. In support of this, different types of knowledges have been documented in the literature. Research has suggested that some fishers, especially skippers, have institutionalised knowledge required for them to obtain licenses whilst other types of knowledges are more traditional, learned by experience, and passed down through generations (Draper 2014; Murray et al. 2005; Williams 2008). Fisher's ecological knowledge has been thought of as both generic and place-dependent as the scope of the knowledge is thought to be limited by the fishing grounds that individuals have learned to fish (Williams 2008). Furthermore, it has been suggested that fishers increasingly need technological knowledge for being able to use modern fishing equipment such as radars (Williams 2008). In other words, fishers knowledge can be formalised as well as embodied or tacit

(Hind 2012; Williams 2008; Power 2008). Hind (2012, p.60) defines fishers' knowledge as:

> "a heterogeneous socio-ecological construct built from an individual fisher's experiences in his or her lifeworld. The knowledge can be qualitative (i.e. anecdotal/narrative) or quantitative (i.e. information) as well as conscious (i.e. overt) or unconscious (i.e. tacit)".

More recently it has been argued that the knowledge and skills needed for being a successful fisher have changed alongside changes in fishing technologies, markets and policies in the global North (Gerrard 2008; Johnsen et al. 2004; van Ginkel 2001). More specifically Murray et al. (2006) argue that fishers' knowledge has become increasingly global – by which they mean increasingly rationalised and standardised – as opposed to more 'traditional' localised fishers' knowledge.

By looking closer at embodied forms of knowledge King (2005, pp.359–360) considers how fishers' have a unique understanding of the sea, linked to the way they feel at home there:

> "Some men regularly refer to embarking on a fishing trip as 'going home' to a place more 'real' than that on land. I was told by one fisherman that 'being at sea is reality' while the terrestrial world is 'just shit […] and you don't know until you go to sea'"

Findings like these suggest that the themes of knowledge and identity are closely interlinked. Using the vocabulary of Bourdieu, the sea can be thought of as a particular 'field' in which fishers have acquired a particular 'habitus'. Probyn (2014) refers to the perspective of 'feeling at home on the sea' as the 'oceanic habitus', which she suggests distinguish all different 'seafarers' from those living on land. This way of understanding knowledge – that of the embodied realm and

that of the habitus – will be expanded on within the present study. Helpful in this discussion is to draw on the work of Pálsson (1994) and his ideas of fishing and enskillment. Pálsson (1994, pp.920–921) writes that:

> "Skills – in fishing […] – are indeed individual in the sense that they are properties of the body, dispositions of the *habitus*. However, to isolate their acquisition and application from everything outside the boundaries of their soma is to subscribe to a normative theory of learning and a natural conception of the individual. An alternative approach recognizes the sociality of the individual being and the situated nature of human activities".

Pálsson (1994), through drawing on Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, understands skills and knowledge in terms of individual embodiment and their situatedness in a social context. This is an important perspective that is rarely drawn on in recent debates on fishers' knowledges. Pálsson's (1994) study is geographically specific to the Icelandic off-shore trawl fishery and his ideas of 'enskillment' could be extended on to studies of other fisheries as well as other social and cultural contexts. Although Pálsson (1994) uses Bourdieu's notion of habitus he does not, in any detail, link them to the discussion of capitals – which will be returned to in Section 2.3.1.

2.2.4   Status, reputation and prestige in fishing

Previous literature, particularly that emanating from anthropology, has suggested different ways in which fishers claim status positions within their fishing communities. Status has been understood to be derived from the quantity as well as quality of the catch (LiPuma 1992; van Ginkel 2001) and through innovations in boats and gear (Byron 1994). Furthermore, some researchers have emphasised how status can be arrived at through managing social relations as van Ginkel (2001,

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p.184) writes "it is not necessarily catching the most fish which earns a skipper his reputation of being a good fisherman". Previous research has looked at the ways fishers have an 'egalitarian culture' (McCay 1995, p.105) – in which 'being good' is not the same as being 'the best'. Along the same lines, Power (2005, p.86) talks about a "satisfaction with being average" which she suggests relates to the cultural and historical localised notions of what it means to be a fisher in the coastal inshore fishery of Newfoundland, Canada. Such findings suggest that it is central to understand the fishing culture in context – and here it is important to (re)turn to the earlier anthropological debate on the 'skipper effect' which argues that the definition of 'fishing success' varies in different geographical localities and between different types of fisheries (see van Ginkel 2001; Palmer 1990; Pálsson and Durrenberger 1990). Furthermore, it has been suggested that because of the changing nature of fishing, the meaning(s) of status and how to gain prestige in the fishing community has changed accordingly. One example of this is how the 'catch kings' have been replaced by 'quota kings' in the Icelandic trawler fishery (Pálsson 1994). That is, positions of status changed from being assessed on the quantity of catch to that of the quantity of quotas. The literature discussed above reveal that status positions within the fishing community has been an important theme within studies of fishers. However, most of these studies are conducted in a context very different from that of today. It is therefore interesting to explore the significance of such status – and definition of fishing success – in a more recent context.

2.2.5   Socialisation and intergenerationality

On the topic of 'becoming a fisher' van Ginkel (2001, p.179) writes:

"Each prospective fisher must learn the cultural behavioural modes of the occupational community of fishers to which one is a newcomer (either as a child or as an adult). Through enculturation or socialisation, an outsider 'learns the ropes' of fishing and becomes an insider. This process is not limited to the mere performing of tasks; it includes internalising the norms, values, attitudes, interests, knowledge and skills necessary to become an accepted member of the occupational group".

Becoming a fisher is, as van Ginkel (2001:179) suggests, as much about learning the cultural codes of the fishing community as gaining the knowledge of how to fish. Unpacking these findings, some researchers have explored the pathways of how to becoming a fisher. Through using 'access theory' White (2015) explores how the social reproduction of the fishery has changed – which will be described more in-depth below. Other researchers have, through reviewing previous literature, examined the processes in which new entrants can achieve "access" to the fishery, in particular as they identified that fisheries were often organised into territories amongst the already existing fishers (Durrenberger and Pálsson 1986). Others have explored how fishers learn about fishing – and it has been suggested that young boys learn to fish through listening, talking and observing while hanging around in spaces in which older fishers worked and talked. Later on, in their early teens – often after finishing school at the age of 16 (Britton and Coulthard 2013), prospective fishers would join fathers or uncles as apprentices and learn to fish by accumulating fishing experience (King 2005; Johnsen et al. 2004; Murray et al. 2006; Power et al. 2014). In particular, through drawing on two years of fieldwork in the Port Albert fishery in Australia, King (2005) notes that fishers' skills are deeply interlinked with their experiences – especially those experiences they have had whilst growing up amongst other fishers.

Previous research has suggested that the fishing household has – at least in the past – been the primary way in which socialisation of the next generation of fishers take place (see for example van Ginkel 2014 for the Netherlands). Importantly, van Ginkel (2014, p.17) suggests that processes of succession within the fishing family is important:

> "The predominant goal of (prospective) co-owners of a family firm is to keep the firm afloat even in the face of formidable and enduring adversities. This is so because the firm – symbolized by the family boat – is much more than a material vehicle to earn an income. It is at the same time a source of pride and social and individual identification".

Such suggestions show that the continued existence of the fishing family over time is not only motivated by economic factors. They also identify a number of themes, such as kinship, trust and processes of inheritance to be important for the fishing family (van Ginkel 2014). Several researchers, however, argue that the role of the household in socialising the next generation of fishers has declined (Power et al. 2014; White 2015; Williams 2008). Expanding on this White (2015, p.11) suggests that:

> "the widely held view that docile reproduction in small-scale fisheries relies heavily on the processes of succession and inheritance occurring within a largely closed network of fishing families is beginning to lose its relevance".

To explain this break in what Neis et al. (2013) have referred to as the 'traditional processes' of intergenerational transfer of knowledge and material objects, several different causes have been put forward by a number of scholars. One example include the increased costs of entry to the fishery because of quotas and licenses (van Ginkel 2014; Neis et al. 2013; Power 2012). Others bring forward the observed

changes in fishing households and demographics in which the likelihood of having male successors has become less common – and in line with this women continue to be considered unsuitable successors (van Ginkel 2014). By studying the small-scale Cromer Crab fishery of Norfolk (UK) White (2015) has also observed a reduction in available employment opportunities in fishing. This, White (2015) goes on to suggest, have undermined the opportunity for young people to get experience in the fishing industry. Experience was, at least traditionally, an important way in which young people came to know whether or not they wanted to become fishers (Power 2012; Sønvisen et al. 2011; Sønvisen 2013; White 2015). Another explanation for the changing successional patterns proposed by researchers is that the roles and diverse social background of female partners of fishers have changed. This, Symes and Frangoudes (2001) suggest, has led to a diversified outlook on the future of children in fishing families which is thought to have undermined some of the traditional cultural expectations that sons from fishing families have to become future fishers. Such changes in fishing family structures have, together with a changing educational system (which, as suggested by Sønvisen (2013), placed greater value on continuing education), been thought to discourage young people from entering the industry (Power 2012). It has also been observed that younger people in the wider coastal community have an increasingly negative perception of the fishing industry (Power 2012; Power et al. 2014). Power (2005) notes that changes to socialisation processes could result in more widespread and significant changes in the fishing industry as a whole. Along these lines researchers have expressed concern over the future of the industry (Smith et al. 2014). The literatures discussed above show that recent technological and social changes to the fishery have changed the processes in which prospective fishers

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become fishers. The literature discussed above only looks at a particular life stage of the lives of fishers – that of socialisation and how socialisation processes take place within a fishing family or community context. However, less is known about other stages in the lifecourse of fishers, in particular that of older age. What is missing is a perspective on fishers' lives as a whole – from young to old age – something which will be further explored by the current research.

2.2.6 Women in fishing

Many researchers have documented that men often dominate the fishing occupation. This is, in a discursive sense, illustrated by the locally used term fisher*men,* but also demonstrated by the documented low number of women fishers (Binkley 2002; Nightingale 2013; Power 2005; Power 2008; Yodanis 2000; Zhao et al. 2013; Zhao et al. 2014). Women's contributions and relations to fisheries have been explored in a number of geographical locations, with the most commonly studied areas in the global North being Canada, Norway and Scotland (UK). Research conducted in Canada has, in particular, studied the impacts of the North Atlantic 'fishing crisis' and the associated 'restructuring' of the fishing industry on fishing households. This research found that such impacts have been gendered in nature (Binkley 1996; Binkley 2000; Davis 2000). More specifically, impacts on women in Newfoundland (Canada) have related to their loss of fish processing employment (Power 2000) and the disproportionate burden women have carried as they often have safeguarded their families economic well-being by increasing their level of unpaid labour (Binkley 2002). In Scotland, researchers have looked at women living in 'offshore' fishing families, communities and places and they have studied a number of different themes. First, researchers have explored women's identities and suggest that women in Scottish fishing family value their 'way of life'

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in a similar way to how male fishers often narrate their identities (McKinlay and McVittie 2011). Second, researchers have examined the role of women in the fishing household and community – arguing that women's roles are mainly 'caring' in nature (Munro 2000; Williams 2008), and third, they have found that women take part in many undocumented everyday fishing activities (Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988a). Furthermore, in northern Norway, Gerrard (1995; 2000) has studied the ways in which women have been active participants in fishing communities and how they sometimes have been taking on leading roles in fishing politics as a response to changes in their own and their partners lives due to fisheries restructuring. Other case studies have explored women's positions in fishing in countries such as Iceland (Skaptadottir 1996), England (Zhao et al. 2013; Zhao et al. 2014), Northern Ireland (Britton 2012; Coulthard and Britton 2015), Spain (Frangoudes et al. 2008) and Australia (Kilpatrick et al. 2015). Taken together, these studies strongly suggest that changes in the fishing industry have not only affected male fishers but also women and children in fishing families and communities.

One of the earlier contributions examining women's involvement in fishing was Nadel-Klein and Davis' book (1988b) "to work and to weep" which explores the various different ways in which women have been involved in fishing economies in different places. They argue that women in fishing have been depicted as 'passive' but note that they actually take on specialised roles in production and the domestic sphere and as such make important economic contributions to fishing. In particular, they observe that women have, for example, been heavily involved in fish processing in Scotland (UK), fish trade in Sierra Leone and fisheries finance in Gloucester (Massachusetts, US). More recently, Zhao et al. (2013) have paid

attention to women's role in the fishing industry of Northern England. By employing observations and qualitative interviews in seven case studies, they found that women take on visible and 'invisible' roles in various sectors of the industry, in particular, capture fisheries, processing and administration. Other researchers suggest there is a lack of understanding of women's participation in fishing as there are substantial data gaps on women's fisheries participation globally (Kleiber et al. 2015). Recently, the European parliament's committee on fisheries published a report documenting the knowledge gaps on women's involvement in the European fisheries (Frangoudes 2013). They found that numerical data on women's employment in the fish catching industry is generally missing and that fisheries data do not contain sufficient information about gender (Frangoudes 2013). In the UK context, women comprised 14.6 percent (resulting in about 1400 women) of the total workforce in the fisheries and aquaculture sector in 2012. This statistic, however, provides little understanding of the total number of women who catch fish as the UK, along with other countries, presents data on capture fisheries, processing and aquaculture as an aggregate (Frangoudes 2013). As processing factories is a common workplace for women in the UK (e.g. Zhao et al. 2013), it is not unreasonable to assume that a large majority of the UK's female fishworkers are employed in these fish processing industries.

Notwithstanding the lack of available numerical data, feminist scholarship reminds us that we have to understand gendered power relations in fishing (Munk-Madsen 1998). For example, by drawing on ethnographic data, Gerrard (2008) suggests that the introduction of fishing quotas cemented the ownership of the Norwegian fishery in the hands of male fishers. Moreover, Gerrard (2008, p.68) talks about the way men, aside from controlling the economic side of fishing, also control the symbolic

realm of fisheries as they can draw on the symbolic value of fishing boats and quotas which further marginalise women. Other studies, such as that of Zhao et al. (2013), suggest that there are barriers to women's participation in fisheries as women in fishing frequently become exposed to sexual harassment and are confronted with cultural taboos – such as superstitious beliefs about bad luck having women onboard ships. Zhao et al. (2013) further discuss how women's 'invisible roles' in fishing are tied to their positions in coastal communities and fishing families. They found that women's contributions to the fishery also relate to their childcare work. Recent studies on fishers' health and well-being have also emphasised the important role women play in supporting the well-being of their partners and fathers (Britton 2012; Kilpatrick et al. 2015). Williams (2008, p.160) writes that:

> "As well as there being 'good fishermen', defined by knowledge, success, a well-maintained boat and good crew, there are 'good fishermen's wives', who display competence at running the household".

Williams (2008) describes such 'good wives' as 'strong', 'capable', 'independent' and 'adaptable'. However, as Neis (1999) reminds us, women's social position in the fishery can differ depending on their husbands position in the fishery – that is, whether they are skippers or crewmembers which itself have impacts on the time their male partner's spent away from the home as well as their families economic situation.

Several authors discuss how it has become increasingly common for women to have employment outside of fishing. Zhao et al. (2013) explore how the decreased economic profitability of fishing, due to regulations and markets forces, has contributed to families seeking a second income. As a consequence, it has been

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suggested that women's non-fishing income has increasingly placed women as the primary 'breadwinners' of the family (Britton 2012; Coulthard 2012a; Zhao et al. 2013). Yet several studies suggest women's employment outside of the fishing home has not led to a renegotiation of responsibilities in relation to childcare (Britton 2012; Zhao et al. 2013).

A diversity of women's fisheries and non-fisheries related identities have been discussed in previous literature. In some cases fishing is seen as a 'way of life' valued by wives of fishers (McKinlay and McVittie 2011), and in other cases women do not base their identity on fishing at all (Yodanis 2000). Yodanis (2000) further suggests that women often understand their contributions to the fishery as 'help' rather than work and suggests that the social construction of gender identities in fishing communities construct capture fisheries as 'masculine' in contrast to the 'feminine'. For women to perform the fishing community's ideals of 'womanliness' – or femininity – she argues they could not fish. Yodanis writes (2000, p.268): ""Man" is defined as one who fishes and "woman" is defined in opposition to that which is a fisherman". In this light women have a particular position within the fishing community that Yodanis studied. Others have shown the interlinked nature between positions within the fishing community and the type of fishing knowledge that individuals embody. Gerrard (1995) talks, more broadly, about how knowledge systems in fishing are gendered as women and men occupy different knowledges in relation to the sea, the fish, work, family and community. Being a women and being part of fisheries intersect and creates specific gendered knowledge(s):

> "On the one hand, [women in fishing] share their knowledge with local men; on the other, they share their knowledge with other women in Norway

because of some common experiences and living conditions" (Gerrard 1995, p.610).

Expanding on this, Yodanis (2000) offers us some insight into the social construct of "women don't fish". She suggests that women's marginalisation from fishing was constructed around women's bodies, socialised roles (including reproductive and caring roles), cultural traditions and discrimination. Another commentator discussed how women are "positioned as naturally 'out of place' at sea because of the longstanding social construction of the ocean as dangerous and the bodies of women as weak and emotional" (Waitt and Hartig 2005, p.410). Such social constructs, they argue, act as a barrier to women's participation in fishing. Furthermore, in their study looking at the Australian Southeast trawl fishery through the lens of Haraway's (1991) 'cyborg politics', Waitt and Hartig (2005, p.410) found that male fishers tend to question the sexuality of those women who did fish, and as such they were understood as "unnaturally homosexual". By contrast, Waitt and Hartig (2005) found that the identities of fishers and their partner were often characterised by heterosexuality.

2.2.7   Masculinity and fishing

Expanding on the feminist perspective introduced above, research has also examined the gender identities of men who fish. Fishing masculinities are commonly described as 'macho' in nature (Creative Research 2009). The identity of 'macho fishers' are said to be constructed around a fascination with risk and danger, the physicality of the job, and the way they conquer an unpredictable ocean (Nightingale 2012; Power 2005; Waitt and Hartig 2005). Power (2005, p.87)

suggest that fishing activities are central to how the fishing 'macho' masculinity is constructed as she writes:

> "The act of fishing itself – working with one's hands and the work tasks involved – is important in the construction of masculinity because of the links to physicality, physical risks, and embodiment. Working outdoors, at sea, brings with it a number of physical risks and experiences".

Such observations suggest that masculinities in fishing are closely associated with the practices of fishing. On a different note, Fabinyi (2007), by studying the illegal dynamite fishery in the Philippines, demonstrates how performances of masculinities in fishing carries certain level of status. Fabinyi (2007) finds that local men's fishing practices are performed in specific ways to live up to locally dominant fishing masculinities. Based on these findings he is suggesting that the locally dominant form of masculinity reinforces the use of illegal and destructive fishing techniques. Yet, Fabinyi (2007) does not dig deeper in understanding how masculinities are constructed in his case study. He argues that such an understanding of masculinity was not possible due to methodological challenges with researching illegal fishing – that is, people are not so willing to talk about their illegal practices.

By drawing on the recent developments in feminist scholarship a few researchers have begun to question the singularity of masculinities in fisheries. Waitt and Hartig (2005) contrast the 'family fisher', who was thought of as more 'macho' masculine, and the 'corporate fisher' who does not necessarily go to sea but has ownership and managerial control over the fishing industry. These two different fishers are thought to embody vastly different masculinities. Waitt and Hartig (2005) explain how the 'family fisher' could be seen as embodying a 'hyper-masculine identity'

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characterised by their muscular bodies covered in 'dirt' and the 'toughened' hands and faces from 'sun, sea and salt' in addition to what they wear. In contrast, the 'corporate fisher' embodied what they termed an 'alternative masculinity', and is characterised by a professional body, often wearing the clothes of businessmen. Similarly, Power (2005) makes reference to the potential shifting nature of masculinity by identifying the 'traditional male fisher' and the 'modern male fisher'. The latter being someone who has adopted a more economic-centred (or 'rational') approach towards fishing. Both Waitt and Hartig (2005) and Power (2005) describe how the 'corporate fisher' or the 'modern male fisher' emerged after the introduction of rationalisation policies and restrictions of the fisheries. Yet, they show that such changes have not displaced masculinities but rather 'refashioned' them.

Gerrard (2013; also discussed by Coulthard and Britton 2015) discusses how fishers are at the same time 'fathers' and 'husbands'. Gerrard (2013, p.317) writes:

> "An industrious and clever fisher constructs a good reputation by fishing when fish stocks are present, landing large catches, investing in new technology, and taking care of his boat and his family. However, today fishers are faced with the expectation that they will also have to be present fathers and husbands, and successful innovators. This adds new dimensions to local meanings of masculinities that were less readily apparent earlier".

Through examining fishers bodily and spatial mobilities and drawing on an ethnographic study of the Finnmark Norwegian fishery, Gerrard's (2013) study suggests there is more nuance to what it means to be a fisher than perhaps previously understood. In her study, she finds that being a father shaped what it

means to be a fisher, a theme which this thesis will take forward and explore in greater depth alongside an examination of fishing masculinities.

2.3 Establishing the conceptual framing

Although individual aspects of fishing lives have been looked at previous to this research, the literature review found there is a need for a more holistic approach that synthesises our understanding of fishing lives. More specifically, the themes of identity, knowledge and community alongside temporal aspects of fishers' lives and the construction of gender identities in fishing has to be understood together. To do this the research develops a conceptual framing which will utilise Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual ideas of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. Within this overarching framework three literatures will be drawn together: i) the 'good farmer' literature which has applied Bourdieu's ideas in the case of farming, ii) a lifecourse approach, and iii) a gender identity perspective. The following section will begin with introducing the overarching conceptual framing and then go onto discuss the three additional literatures.

2.3.1 Bourdieu's habitus, field and capital

Bourdieu's conceptual framing understands the social world as a "two-way relationship between objective structures (those of social fields) and incorporated structures (those of the habitus)" (Bourdieu 1998, p.vii). As such *habitus* is also the internalisation of the objective structures of the 'field' leading individuals to develop certain preferences or 'tastes' (Bourdieu 1984). Important from this perspective is that *habitus* is a concept that describes social regularities which occur although people commonly perceive themselves as free agents (Maton 2008). In line with this, Bourdieu's (2005, p.45) concept of *habitus* has been broadly defined

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as: "a set of acquired characteristics which are the product of social conditioning […] totally or partially common to people of similar social conditioning". Habitus, in this light, relates to the transmission of values between parent and child, which shape the way in which children experience and value the world (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 1984). Furthermore, Maton (2008) draws attention to the temporal dimension of the habitus in that the habitus reflects the historical world in which individuals are born, and how they bring their 'history' into being in the present circumstance. Bourdieu exemplified the relationship between the habitus and the field by using a sports analogy where the field could be seen as the football pitch – including the physical characteristics of the pitch that, in turn, shapes the 'rules of the game' of football – the habitus is the internalisation of the field by, for example, individual football players, as they develop a 'feel for the game':

> "The habitus is this kind of practical sense of what is to be done in a given situation – what is called in sport a "feel" for the game, that is, the art of anticipating the future of the game, which, is inscribed in the present way of play" (Bourdieu 1998, p.25).

Further to habitus and field, Bourdieu introduces us to the concept of *capital*. Bourdieu (1986, p.280) stresses the importance of understanding capital 'in all its forms' which should not be limited to the version of capital presented to us by economic theory (e.g. economic capital). For Bourdieu (1986), capital is instead defined as 'accumulated labour', in both materialised and embodied forms and recognises the existence of several forms of capital including social, cultural and economic capital (explained more in detail below). The recognition of several forms of capital is particularly useful for understanding the aspects of the social world that are not easily quantifiable such as that of fishing cultures and other 'intangible

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cultural values' (e.g. Satterfield et al. 2013). In short, social capital refers to the resources accessible through durable social connections and cultural capital refers to the knowledge, skills and dispositions acquired through socialisation or education (both discussed more in-depth below). In addition to cultural, social and economic capital Bourdieu (1986) also talks about symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is in itself not a specific kind of capital but instead is the form that "various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate" (Bourdieu 1989, p.17). Symbolic capital is also commonly described as the 'status, prestige and reputation' that different forms of capital can represent in particular fields (Riley 2016b). Bourdieu (1986; 1998) further stresses that capital can be exchanged in the 'field' (imagining a sort of market) through symbolic capital. Drawing on the football reference, we can understand this as the way cultural capital – such as the skill of knowing how to play a certain position and score goals – through its symbolic value can be transferred into economic capital. Bourdieu presents us with an equation which helps to understand the relations between the different core concepts of Bourdieu's social world:

"[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (Bourdieu 1984, p.101)

As can be seen in the above equation, habitus, capital and field are closely associated with the practices individuals engage in. This way of thinking understands practices as composed of both agency and structure. Important within the Bourdieusian literature is this cyclical relationship between capital(s), habitus and field (Crossley 2001). Notwithstanding this, it is important to note that habitus is not a fixed concept as habitus is capable of undergoing adaptations and change (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Bourdieu also talks about how capitals are valued differently in different fields. For example, Maton (2008, p.57) writes that "the shaping of our habitus may provide us with a practical mastery or "feel for the game" but not for all games equally". Again drawing on the football analogy, being good at scoring goals, which is highly valued within the football field, has little symbolic importance in a very different field, for example, the academic field. Symbolic capital is therefore the type of capital that reflects a 'well-formed habitus', which is a habitus in coherence with the specific field. Accumulation of symbolic capital, in contrast to economic capital, is thought to lead to an improvement of the individual's social standing within a community (or a field) (Moore 2008).

2.3.1.1 Cultural capital

Cultural capital can, according to Bourdieu (1986), be broken down into three forms: institutionalised, objectified, and embodied cultural capital. Institutional cultural capital is the 'institutionally recognised' cultural capital, for example present in the form of academic qualifications (Bourdieu 1986). The second form is the objectified cultural capital, which is the type of cultural capital that is objectified in its materiality such as instruments, painting and monuments (Bourdieu 1986). Nevertheless, Bourdieu (1986, p.285) writes that objectified cultural capital "has a number of properties which are defined only in the relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form". This embodied cultural capital, is the third form, which Bourdieu (1986, p.282) defines as "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body". Embodied cultural capital is linked to the body (embodiment) and is accumulated through investment (such as time and personal cost) by the investor personally. In other words, embodied cultural capital is "work on oneself (self-improvement)" (Bourdieu 1986, p.283). As such, embodied

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cultural capital "declines and dies with its bearer" (Bourdieu 1986, p.283). Bourdieu also writes that because "the social condition of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1986, p.282). Cultural capital has been shown to have symbolic value in, for example, the field of higher education (Waters 2006) and agriculture (Burton 2004). The latter will be explained more in-depth below.

2.3.1.2   Social capital

For Bourdieu, social capital is the access people have to resources from their durable social networks of which they are members. Specifically, Bourdieu (1986, p.286) defines social capital as:

> "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital".

Establishing and reproducing social relations that are 'subjectively felt' (e.g. respect, friendship), Bourdieu (1986) argues, require 'endless effort' and can be thought of as an investment strategy (individual or collective; conscious or unconscious). Such social relations, Bourdieu (1986) argue, can be usable in terms of access to material and symbolic profits.

Social capital, for Bourdieu, is different from other theorist's conceptualisations of the same term. Putnam's (1995) conceptualisation of social capital has often been used in policy discussions and is credited for the wider popularisation of the word (Holt 2008). However, Putnam's (1995) framing of social capital has received a

substantial level of criticism in particular for its inability to understand how social capital is developed (Holt 2008; Portes 1998; Portes 2000). In contrast to Putnam's version of social capital which stands on its own, Bourdieu conceptualises social capital as one form of capital in a system of capitals in which exchange occur between forms of capital – on a material as well as on a symbolic level. One of the most important points to be made here is that embodied cultural capital can generate social capital. Holt (2008, p.232) suggests that embodied cultural capital:

> "inculcates within individuals the disposition and manners that facilitate the types of appropriate sociability which allow the 'alchemy of consecration' to transform contingent relationships into relations of mutual obligation".

Through this process, embodied cultural capital promotes sociability, and can be (subconsciously or consciously) deployed for the purpose of "establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short and long term" (Bourdieu 1986, p.52). Moreover, Bourdieu also recognised the 'dark side' of social capital by talking about how social capital can work towards excluding people and collectives from membership (Portes 1998).

2.3.2   Applying Bourdieu's ideas – the case of the 'Good Farmer'

In moving the discussion of farming beyond a myopic consideration of its economic aspects, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the social world, discussed above, has been drawn upon within what has been termed the 'good farmer' literature and provides a useful blueprint through which we might also consider fishing. Research within farming has considered how behaviours may become consistent when farmers recognise and internalise the 'rules of the game' within that particular field. That is, farmers with a similar habitus give similar value and meaning to symbols

seen as being associated with being a 'good farmer' (Saunders 2015; Sutherland 2013) and, following Bourdieu's (1986) logic, these can be used to (re)position within the particular field. Accordingly, one of Bourdieu's ideas which has been drawn down on most within the 'good farmer' literature is that relating to capital(s), and more specifically, cultural capital has been of key importance (see Burton 2004). Within the 'good farmer' literature, the certification of cultural competence has been exemplified in the discussion of breed societies (Holloway 2005; Yarwood and Evans 2006) with objectified cultural capital being understood as materialised through ownership of farms and farming machinery (Holloway 2004; Sutherland and Burton 2011) and the quality of livestock and crops (Burton 2004). In expanding further on the notion of objectified cultural capital Burton et al. (2008, p.19) suggest that the:

> "value is not in the object itself (which could be obtained through a simple financial transaction), but is instead dependent on its use in accordance with a specific purpose, as actioned through the embodied cultural capital of the agent".

Important, therefore, is having the skill (or embodied cultural capital) to action this capital – or as Sutherland (2013) notes, having the appropriate reactions to typical circumstances. Burton et al. (2008) offer a finer analysis in breaking down this skill, for farmers, into mechanical, motoric and managerial – each of which is central to an individual's project of 'self-improvement' and position within the field of farming. In this context, mechanical abilities include those associated with the maintenance of farming machinery for example, motoric skill refers to abilities such as being able to skillfully handle machinery as well as having 'attention to detail' and managerial skill is the ability to 'do the right thing at the right time' (Burton et

al. 2008). For these three abilities to become known as symbols of 'good farming' three conditions, according to Burton et al. (2008), need to be present: i) the activities must reflect a skilled performance easily understood as 'poor' or 'good' performances, ii) the skill must be manifested in the outcome of activity – that is, an outward sign of the skilled performance must be present and iii) the outward signs must be visible or otherwise accessible to the farming community. This conceptual lens has been useful in understanding how agri-environmental schemes, focusing only on farmers loss of economic capital, also can be seen as 'culturally unsustainable' as it does not allow farmers to produce symbols of 'good farming' – therefore decreasing farmers generation of symbolic capital (Burton and Paragahawewa 2011). The types of cultural capital documented for the case of farming is summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 –Summary of cultural capital in the 'good farmer' literature

Forms of cultural capital		Examples	References
Institutional cultural capital		Breeding societies	Holloway 2005; Yarwood and Evans 2006
Objectified cultural capital		Farming machinery	Holloway 2004; Sutherland and Burton 2011
		Quality of livestock and crop	Burton 2004
Embodied cultural capital	Motoric abilities	Skilfully handle machinery, and attention to detail	Burton et al. 2008
	Mechanical abilities	Maintenance of machinery	Burton et al. 2008
	Managerial abilities	Performing the 'right' tasks at the 'right' time	Burton et al. 2008

A useful extension of this literature is that which has focused more fully on farmers' interactions with each other, which notes that the subject position of the 'good farmer' is not only built through display of embodied cultural capital, but also through a farmer's "reputation for complying with unwritten reciprocal agreements" (Sutherland and Burton 2011, p.249). Having such a reputation, they found, was embodied as social capital in the form of access to machinery and reciprocal labour exchanges with other farmers. The 'good farmer' literature offers a framework pertaining to the interrelations between capital(s), habitus and field (Crossley 2001) which, in the analysis that follows, we can use to explore the distinct field of fishing. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that the social field of farming is different from that of fishing. Therefore learning from the 'good farmer' is not simply applying the conceptual framework onto fishing. Instead, a (re)shaping and perhaps (re)development of the conceptual framework needs to be done, and importantly, a conceptualisation of the 'good fisher' has to be derived from empirical findings and this will be done in Chapter 4.

2.3.3   A lifecourse approach

The review of the literature has identified that there is no existing coherent framework for understanding the temporal perspective of fishers' lives. The review found that previous research has explored processes of socialisation and, to some extent, the importance of intergenerational relations in fishing. However, no concerted consideration of how fishers (re)negotiate their identities throughout the course of their lives was identified. In particular, studies of fishers' older age have been missing altogether despite the observation that there is an ageing labour force in the small-scale fishing industry of the global North (see Neis et al. 2013). In developing the 'good fisher' conceptualisation this thesis will draw in the lifecourse

approach to develop a more nuanced understanding of the temporal dimension of fishers lives.

A lifecourse approach is used to understand social trajectories of the lives of individuals and takes into account four specific aspects (see Table 2.2) (Elder 1994). The first aspect – 'the interplay of human lives and historical times' – takes into account how individuals born in different years are exposed to different historical worlds which present them with specific options as well as constraints (Elder 1994, p.5). The second aspect, 'the timing of lives', refers to the social meaning and 'age norms' attached to particular life stages as well as timings of specific transitions such as that between childhood to adulthood, that of leaving the parental home and that of retirement. This perspective seeks to understand the social norms around the 'appropriate age', which are bound up in a particular context of time and place. Along these lines Wyn and White (1997, p.10) write:

> "Age is a concept which is assumes to refer to a biological reality. However, the meaning and experience of age, and of the processes of ageing, is subject to historical and cultural processes […] Both youth and childhood have had and continue to have different meanings depending on young people's social, cultural and political circumstances".

The third pillar of the lifecourse approach, 'linked lives', represents the notion of 'interdependent lives' – that is, the observation that human lives are embedded in intergenerational social relationships. Elder (1994) further suggests that the term 'linked lives' refer to the interactions between individual's social worlds over the life span – that can lead to patterns reproducing themselves intergenerationally. The fourth characteristic of the lifecourse approach is the recognition of 'human agency' which emphasises how individuals make choices within the constraints of their

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worlds. The lifecourse approach moves away from only looking at particular aspects of the lifecourse – that is socialisation or intergenerational changes, to trying to understand the lifecourse as a whole – from younger age to older age – which takes place in a particular context. The review (see Section 2.2.5) identified that fishers' lives have primarily been looked at through that of socialisation – which is only one out of many important phases in the lifecourse (Elder 1994). By contrast, a lifecourse approach allows for an understanding of how individuals live their lives in particular contexts – linked to the opportunities and constraints in the world in which they were born, the social meaning of particular lifecourse transitions (marriage, getting children, retirement etc) as well as how their lives are interlinked with that of their predecessors which present individuals with different values and resources.

Table 2.2 – The lifecourse approach

Aspects of the lifecourse approach		Description (Elder 1994)
i)	The interplay of human lives and historical time	Individuals born in the same historical time are presented with time-specific opportunities and constraints
ii)	The timing of lives	Takes into account the social meanings and 'age norms' around particular life transitions
iii)	Linked or independent lives	Emphasises how human lives are embedded in social contexts of intergenerational relations
iv)	Human agency in choicemaking	Pays attention to how individuals make choices within the constraints of their worlds

The lifecourse approach was primarily developed within the discipline of demography but have recently been taken forward by geographers (Hopkins and Pain 2007). Hopkins and Pain (2007) suggest that a lifecourse approach can usefully be applied in geography as it helps to reveal situated meanings about individual lives in specific spaces and places. Geographers have studied particular lifecourse transitions such as that from childhood to adulthood (Valentine 2003), that of older age and grandparenthood (Tarrant 2010) and how children's identities are produced in interactions with individuals of older age from other generational groups (Hopkins and Pain 2007). Furthermore, Vanderbeck (2007) in particular suggest that there are two different contexts in which intergenerational relationships take place – that is, familial and extra-familial intergenerational relationships.

The lifecourse approach can further be used together with the conceptual ideas of Bourdieu discussed in Section 2.3.1. Integrating the concepts of capital, field and habitus with the lifecourse approach allows us to understand how accumulation and loss of capitals take place throughout the lifecourse. For example, Bourdieu has noted the importance of the family for the accumulation of capital (or not):

> "initial accumulation of cultural capital […] starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with strong cultural capital; in this case, the accumulation period covers the whole period of socialization" (Bourdieu 1986, p.284).

In the 'good farmer' literature, introduced in Section 2.3.2, several life stages of the lifecourse have been studied. In farming, researchers have looked at how children are socialised into a 'way of life' as farmers (Riley 2009b), how farmers remain 'good farmer's in older age (Riley 2012; Riley 2016b) as well as how different positions in the family farm – such as non-successors, daughters and daughters-in-

law – are associated with cultural expectations of appropriate behaviour in relation to farming over their lifecourse (Cassidy and McGrath 2014; Luhrs 2015; Pini 2007). In farming it has, most importantly been noted that the farm provides an important continuity of capitals across generations and the notion of 'keeping the name on the farm' has been observed as culturally important for farming families (e.g. Riley 2009a). Such research highlights the importance of the field – and field positions – in shaping the lifecourse of individuals in farming which could be further examined in the case of fishing. However, Symes and Frangoudes (2001) suggest that it is difficult to draw on the agricultural literature on succession and inheritance in understanding fishing as there are fundamental differences in terms of ownership and intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Such studies suggest that it is important to examine the specific lifecourse of fishers which will explored in Chapter 5.

2.3.4   A gender identity approach

The review of fisheries social research found that an understanding of gender in fishing is often limited to the examination of women's lives. Bull (2009, p.445) echoes this argument as he writes: "the gender relations in geographies of water remain focused on the politics of gender relations played out through female subjectivities". Insights from the wider gender literature can be useful for the consideration of fishing gender identities. Important here is that, feminist scholarship has, arguably, undergone two conceptual shifts. First, the shift from documenting the lives of women to understanding gender relations and inequalities between sexes. The second shift, and most important to this thesis, is how feminist scholars increasingly became interested in understanding gender identities and the processes through which gender is constructed and performed (Brandth 2002;

Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; West and Zimmerman 1987). From this perspective, masculinities and femininities – in the plural – are separated from notions of biological 'sex' (Berg and Longhurst 2003; Campbell and Bell 2000). These conceptual insights can be drawn on in exploring fishing lives from a gender identity perspective.

In establishing a conceptual framing of gender and fishing this thesis aims to integrate gender into the understanding of the socio-cultural context of fishing lives. However, researchers have argued that Bourdieu's concepts (outlined above) reflect a large amount of androcentrism and that in his writing he also views gender too deterministically (Laberge 1995; McCall 1992). In line with these sorts of arguments, a similar critique have been given to the 'good farmer' literature in that it has only focused on the male 'main farmer' (Riley 2016b). Despite the critiques of Bourdieu's work, some feminist scholarship has taken his conceptual ideas forward in trying to understand its relations to gender (McCall 1992). In particular, McCall (1992) suggests that one productive avenue is to integrate gender distinctions into Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and, as a consequence of this, that of the habitus:

> "Although forms of capital correspond to occupational fields […] they have gendered meanings because they are given form by *gendered dispositions*. In this light, there must be a clearer understanding of the relationship between capital, dispositions, and gender" (McCall 1992, p.842).

They suggest that Bourdieu understands gender as a secondary layer in which the social world is structured. In this light, gender can be understood as an 'embodied gendered disposition' that works towards shaping the social trajectories of individuals which illustrates that viewing gender through this lens is closely linked

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with the lifecourse approach. While Bourdieu fails to see gender identities as multiple and open to change (Skeggs 2004), McCall (1992, p.852) argues that Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the social world offers:

> "a study of the complex process of enacting patterns of gendered social practice in a world that is at once rigid in its enforcement of gender symbolism and inventive in its capacity to challenge such symbolism in everyday life".

Drawing on these insights we can begin to understand how gender dispositions, on the one hand, structure individuals access to capitals in a particular field and, on the other, are arbitrary and open to reworking. However, as Bourdieu does not offer a nuanced account of gender (Skeggs 2004) this thesis will draw on other literatures to understand how capitals in the fishing field become associated with particular gender dispositions. To explore gender identities in fishing, the current research will draw on the following literatures: i) 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987; West and Zimmerman 2009), ii) the literature that comes under the label of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) and Filteau's (2015) extension of this work in the idea of 'locally socially dominant masculinities' and iii) the understanding that femininities is constructed relationally to masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

The first concept important here is that of 'doing gender'. West and Zimmerman (1987, p.126) develop a framing of gender which seeks to understand gender not as a 'role', but as a 'doing':

> "Rather than as a property of individuals, we conceive of gender as an emergent feature of social situations: both as an outcome of and a rationale

for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society".

In order to achieve this they draw on three concepts – *sex*, *sex category* and *gender*. They suggest that *sex* is determined by socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying males and females. *Sex category* is instead the application of *sex* criteria in everyday life, and displays of "socially required identificat[ions]" that assert someone's membership to a particular category. They suggest that sex and sex category are in many situations overlapping – but that it is possible to proclaim a sex category which is not the same as someone's sex. By contrast, *gender*, is, according to them, the "activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category. Gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category" (West and Zimmerman 1987, p.127). Gender from their lens is conceived as a verb, or a 'doing' rather than a 'being', or a 'role'. Instead, gender identity becomes an important concept in using a 'doing gender' approach.

A decade after the introduction of the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity', Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) draw the distinction between 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'socially dominant masculinity'. Inherent to their understanding of hegemonic masculinity is how 'hegemony' legitimises the domination of men over women and that hegemonic masculinity is dominant within the hierarchy of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Socially dominant masculinity, on the other hand, are masculinities that are commonplace, powerful and celebrated in particular contexts albeit not necessarily being hegemonic (Beasley 2008). Helpful in this discussion is Filteau's (2015) use of scale in which brings forward a discussion of

'locally socially dominant masculinities'. Filteau (2015) is drawing on Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005, p.849) discussion on three levels of masculinity analysis:

> (1) *Local*: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research; (2) *Regional*: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, demographic research; and (3) *Global*: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization.

Filteau's (2015) research found that masculinities become reworked when structural changes, such as economic decline, alter the conditions under which men achieve "being a man". In many geographical localities, structural changes have reshaped the employment options available to local men and this has resulted in men entering occupations which were previously understood as feminine – such as the tourism sector (Brandth and Haugen 2005). Instead of men becoming "feminized", Filteau (2015) suggests that masculinities become reconfigured in 'localised socially dominant' forms of masculinity. Such 'localised socially dominant masculinities' do not, however, challenge hegemonic masculinities on regional and global scales. Filteau (2015, p.7) argues that we need to understand "men's ability to define masculinity at the local level in ways that contrast from definitions of masculinity at regional and global levels due to situational constraints". Furthermore, other researchers have emphasised the importance of place and space in the construction of gender identities (Berg and Longhurst 2003; Hopkins and Noble 2009; van Hoven and Hörschelmann 2005). Along the same lines, Brandth (2016) talks about how, in given contexts, individuals consider the

structural conditions and available gender discourses, performances and practices while doing gender.

Exploring fishing from a gender identity perspective also requires an understanding of femininities alongside masculinities as the two are constructed relationally (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). As identified earlier in the chapter, much of the discussion on gender in previous fisheries social research has revolved around women's undocumented participation (Britton 2012; Frangoudes 2013; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988b; Neis 1999; Zhao et al. 2013). Yet, in an attempt to make women visible in fishing, less attention has been paid to understanding the underlying cultural constructs which underpin gender identities in fishing. There are two aspects that can be taken forward here. First, while exploring the ideas of hegemonic masculinity there is a need to understand how women are excluded from fishing within such gender hierarchies and gender relations. Using this perspective the research will be able to examine how fishing labour becomes and remains divided along gender lines. Second, as gender research in other areas reminds us, women also have agency and are not simply passive recipients of gender structures (Bennett 2006; Riley 2009a) in that women are also 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987).

2.4   Conclusion: developing the research focus

Drawing on the review of the literature as well as the conceptual framing outlined above, the thesis will bring forward three distinct, but interlinked, themes. First, by drawing on Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, field and capital as well as the application of Bourdieu's ideas in the 'good farmer' literature the research will seek to develop an understanding of the 'good fisher'. Important in this context is that we need to

understand the ways in which the fishing field differs from the farming field. Developing the concept of the 'good fisher' also requires an examination of what capitals are symbolically valued in fishing and how processes of exchange between different (fishing) capitals can be understood. The second focus of the research is taking a lifecourse approach in understanding fishing lives from younger age to older age, and how lives are interlinked across generations. The concepts of capital might be useful here to understand how capitals are accumulated over the lifecourse – which according to Bourdieu (1986) would be closely associated with initial positions and contexts in which individuals are born into. The third focus of this research, that will be taken forward, is that of examining gender identities in fishing. The 'good farmer' conceptual framework has been criticised for focusing only on the main farmer (usually male) (Riley 2016b). By taking this critique seriously this research aims to understand the relationship between the 'good fisher' and gender identities. Understanding the lifecourse(s) and gender identities of fishing lives are therefore an important part in developing the conceptual idea of the 'good fisher'. After discussing the methods and methodologies used for examining these themes in Chapter 3, the thesis will move on to discuss the findings of this research and how these may help us (re)develop the concepts and themes which have been reviewed in this chapter.

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Chapter 3

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3 Methodology

The previous chapter reviewed the main literature relating to fishing identities, knowledge and the lives of people in fishing household, concluding that an understanding of these fishing lives needs to be embedded in a socio-cultural context. The current chapter discusses how the theoretical perspective of the research is translated into an appropriate methodology for the study. In particular, to meet the aim of the research (formulated in Chapter 1), this chapter outlines the reasons for choosing a qualitative and inductive approach for the study. This consisted of an in-depth case study of a 'small-scale' inshore fishery on the Llŷn peninsula in Wales, UK. First, the chapter will discuss the selection of a relevant methodology, followed by an explanation of the specifics of the research process and some reflections on ethical issues in conducting qualitative research.

3.1 Methodological approach

In the social sciences there is a longstanding debate on whether a quantitative or a qualitative methodology is most appropriate in studying the social world (Bryman 2002; Davies and Dwyer 2007). As Hall-Arber et al. (2009) argue, most natural and economic scientists use quantitative models to examine the lives of fishers and the systems in which they live. By contrast, they argue social researchers have commonly used descriptive qualitative methodologies "filling pages that are neither read nor meaningfully integrated into decision-making in fisheries management" (Hall-Arber et al. 2009). In an attempt to become more 'policy-relevant' many fisheries social researchers have turned to quantitative methodologies (Sønvisen 2014; Turner et al. 2014) or a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (unstructured Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg 2016; or more

structured Rodwell et al. 2013) to understand the lives of fishers. However, some researchers argue that the 'turn' towards quantitative methods within the social sciences served to omit the social and cultural nuances of fishing lives (see Power's (2008) discussion on fishing and safety onboard, for example). Although quantitative methodologies might have the potential to be more 'policy relevant', such approaches make prior assumptions about the research subjects which can be problematic. For example, White (2014) reports on how more structured interview tools, used in her study on fisher's well-being, caused discomfort and frustration for participants leading her to abandon these methods for less structured alternatives. Respondents, in White's (2014) study, referred to the structured interview questions as 'difficult', 'funny' and in essence too abstract, and most importantly, underpinned by assumptions which did not fully reflect respondents' own life experiences.

The aim and objectives of this thesis (formulated in Chapter 1) stated that the research seeks to understand the lives of fishers (and fishing family members) in their social and cultural contexts. To fulfil such an aim the study sought an understanding of people's own views, which gave participants the opportunity to 'tell their own stories' about what it means to be a fisher and living in a fishing family in a particular place. The research therefore took a qualitative and inductive approach and draws on methodological insights from feminist approaches (McDowell 1992; Rose 1997) and those taking a more socio-cultural approach (Riley 2010; Urquhart and Acott 2013). Using such methods, the research examined fishing lives as situated in a social and cultural context of which the thesis brought a nuanced understanding to. To achieve this, it was deemed appropriate to use a case study approach as it allowed for an understanding of fishing lives as embedded

in a particular place. For example, it has been suggested that a case study approach can produce in-depth and context-specific knowledge which can reveal complexities and contradictions of everyday life (Flyvbjerg 2006). Yin (2009) also suggests that a case study approach allows the researcher to focus on the wider contexts while exploring the diversity of how people make sense of particularities and complexities. A caution towards using a case study approach was however noted by Bryman (2002, p.77), who suggests that case studies are not able to produce generalisable knowledge – that is, the observations made in one area cannot be transferred to another area. However, Yin (2009) suggests that case studies have the advantage of being able to explore theoretical and conceptual ideas in a particular place, which themselves can be further explored in other areas. In this light, findings from a case study can be transferred from one area to another on the conceptual level.

Crang and Cook (1995) stress the importance of reading pre-existing literature alongside engaging with the case study participants as certain aspects of the research might be very time consuming, such as establishing access, developing early contacts and building a network of participants, which they suggest can, if not addressed early on, jeopardise the project. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006, p.86) talk about the advantages and disadvantages of early readings. They suggest that the advantages are an increased sensitivity of analysis whilst the disadvantages are a narrowed analytical field and concludes that there is not one right way to do research. Instead, they suggest that choices have to be made. In this research both reading and establishing contacts were done continuously in the first year of the research. Establishing early contacts with the people in the locality also helped to develop the research questions of this research.

3.2 Selecting the sample

3.2.1 Selection of study area

As outlined in the introduction of this thesis the research was particularly interested in studying a small-scale fishery as these fisheries have traditionally been under-researched (Guyader et al. 2013), under-prioritised by governments (Jacquet and Pauly 2008) and under-valued (Garcia et al. 2008). Furthermore, Urquhart et al. (2011) suggest that case studies on fishing communities are often geographically isolated in a limited number of places – in particular Newfoundland, Norway and the Northeast of Scotland fisheries, and calls for research to focus on other localities. Responding to this call, the current research searched for case study areas in geographical localities that had not previously been studied. By reading around the subject it was understood that the small-scale fishery in Wales (UK) had recently (2012) fought a battle against the Welsh government's plans to introduce highly protected Marine Conservation Zones. Newspapers reported that fishers' felt that their livelihoods were 'threatened' (BBC Northwest Wales 2012). The discussion within these newspaper reports focused on the 'economic' threats posed by the new policy and it was evident, as suggested in case studies elsewhere that the social and cultural underpinning remained largely unexplored in fisheries and, in particular, within marine spatial planning (St. Martin and Hall-Arber 2008). After identifying this area as a potential site for the study, initial contacts were established with two local fisheries associations in the affected area – the Llŷn peninsula, Northwest Wales (see map Figure 1.2). As a result of these initial conversations it was decided that the Llŷn peninsula offered not only a site of potential relevance – which allowed for an investigation of how this proposed policy was refuted, but

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also a suitable site to consider how the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones was just one issue within the wider culture(s) of fishing in the area.

3.2.1.1   *Background to the Llŷn peninsula*

The Welsh fishing industry as a whole has some unique features which are different to the rest of the UK. First of all, there are less fishing boats registered than for both England and Scotland, and these boats are most often small in size (426 out of 850 boats are smaller than 10m). Another distinguishing attribute is that a large amount of the registered fishers are part-time fishers (in total 32%) (Marine Management Organisation 2015). Furthermore, the fishing industry in the North of Wales – and in particular the Llŷn peninsula, is different from the larger scale fishing industry in South Wales. In South Wales, many fishing boats fish out of larger harbours like Milford Haven – in comparison, the fishers spoken to around the Llŷn peninsula do not have harbour facilities. Instead, some Llŷn peninsula fishers fish from fishing coves and launch their boats every time they go out fishing whilst others have boats lying on moorings which are accessed by small dinghies. In the ports of Holyhead and Pwllheli fishing boats lay docked in the harbour – but such harbours are generally not used by the small-scale fishing fleet.

The Llŷn peninsula is part of the municipality of Gwynedd – a remote and rural part of Northwest Wales (see Figure 3.1) which has a population of less than 30,000 people (Gwynedd Council 2014). Llŷn peninsula is part of what is often called the 'Welsh heartland' (see Jones and Fowler 2007) and over 80% of the population speaks Welsh as their first language – and almost all of the fishers spoke Welsh in their everyday life. As one respondent explained:

"99 percent of the fishermen here are all Welsh. […] We are all Welsh speakers. We are all from the area. That is part of the community. […] I think 70 – 80 % of the people in this area are Welsh. So I think it's the most Welsh part of Wales. […] The terminology that [we fishers use] are all in Welsh. [...] I struggle to use English terminology because […] you just learn to use Welsh terms for weather, for lobster gear, the boat. Sea conditions..." (Fisher 22).

Whilst the observation highlights that there was a strong sense of history, national identity and place associated within the area – something that the research was keen to explore – it also raised several practical and ethical challenges to the research (discussed in Section 3.7).

Figure 3.1– The Llŷn peninsula landscape

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Pilot interviews with fishers revealed that, in the past, fishing in the area was primarily done on a part-time basis with farmers undertaking fishing in the summer months to supplement their income. Visiting the Llŷn maritime museum in Nefyn, it became clear that the area has a rich maritime history – not only fishing – as often the second son, who did not take over the farm, went to sea as a sailor[2]. As of today, the interviews revealed, that tourism and farming, apart from fishing, were active industries in the area. The Llŷn peninsula fishery is known as a multi-species, multi-gear coastal fishery (Cambiè et al. 2015) – and the research found that fishers fished for lobster and crab with lobster pots (see Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3), whelks with whelk pots (see Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.4), scallops with scallop dredges (see Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6) and sea bass caught with nets (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8) were the main target species and ways of catching them.

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[2] "It was an unwritten tradition in Llŷn that the eldest son would take over the farm and the second would go to sea" Source: Amgueddfa Forwrol, Llŷn Maritime Museum. Visited on 5 March 2015. The museum exhibits material on seafaring and fishing histories of the Llŷn peninsula.

Figure 3.2 – Areas in which fishers fish using pots as fishing gear. Red areas represents lobster and crab pots while yellow shows the areas in which fisher fish with whelk pots. Furthermore, the green areas show prawn pots which was not identified as a fishing method in interviews with fishers (Source: Welsh Government 2016b)

Figure 3.3 – Lobster and crab pots stored onshore

Figure 3.4 – Whelk pots stored onshore

Figure 3.5 – Areas in which fishers fish using scallop dredging for king scallop (see orange) (Source: Welsh Government 2016b)

Figure 3.6 – Scallop dredge waiting to be set on the boat in time for the scalloping season.
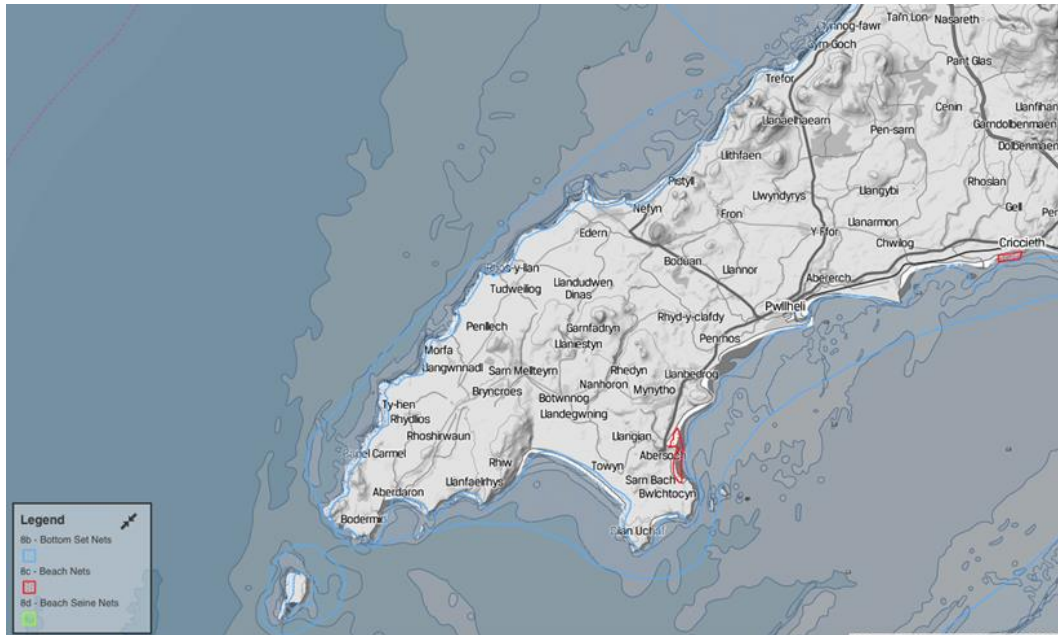
Figure 3.7 – Areas in which nets, bottom set nets (blue) beach nets (red), are used in the inshore waters (Source: Welsh Government 2016b)

Figure 3.8 – A fishing net in a box
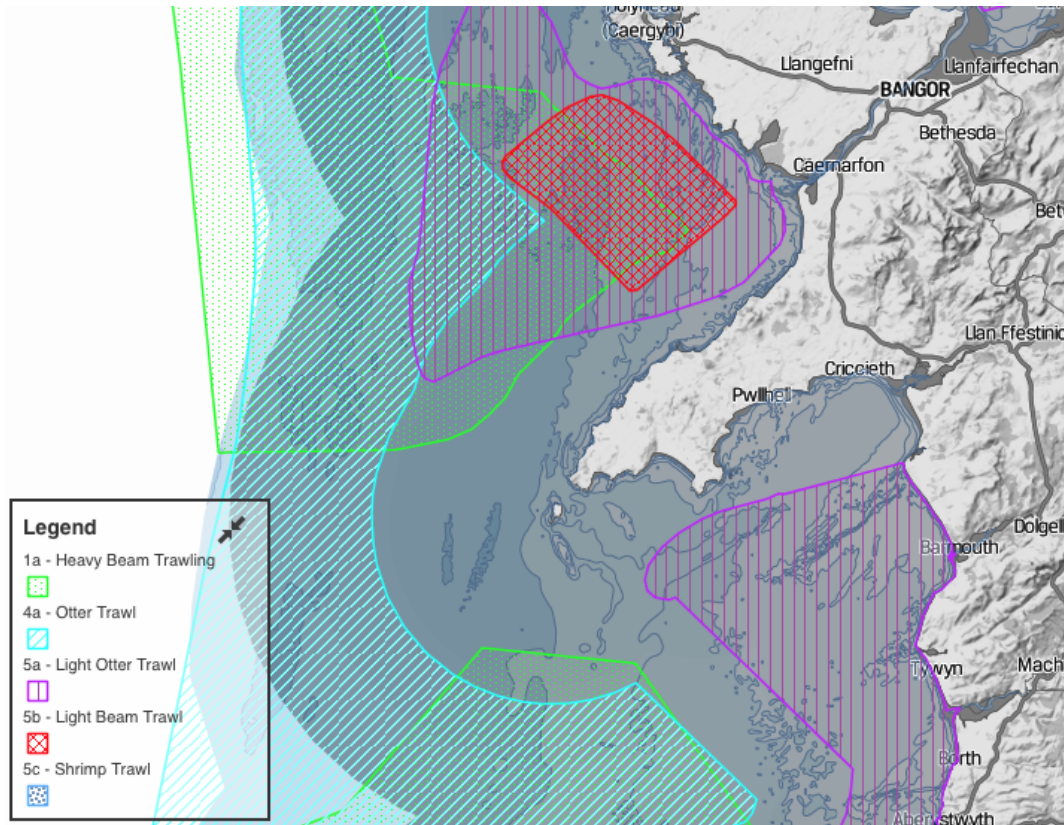
Figure 3.9 – Areas in which fishers fish using different kinds of trawls to catch whitefish. Interviews reveal that only a small number of inshore fishers engaged in trawling and mainly in the area north of the Llŷn peninsula coded red in this map (Source: Welsh Government 2016b)

3.2.2   Selection of respondents

As the research aimed at understanding the importance of fishing for not only those who catch fish but also for their partners and children, the target population was *all* members of fishing families. There are, however, no publicly available records to identify who these fishers and their family members were. As such, fishers represented what Heckarthorn (2002) has referred to as "hidden populations" and purposive chain-referral sampling was deemed most appropriate to identify participants. Here the intention, following Valentine (2005, p.111), was "*not* to be representative (a common but mistaken criticism of this technique) but to understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives".

The research therefore used, what is called theoretical sampling, which is a purposeful sampling technique focused on a selective group of participants with a specific position and perspective on the research topic. Rather than representativeness, position and quality was more important from this perspective (Crang and Cook 1995).

To identify the 'hidden population' early contacts were established through attending and introducing the research at local fisheries meetings. Through this pathway contacts with the fishing associations in North Wales were established. Three pilot interviews were conducted with key individuals of the fisheries associations. The fishing associations provided email and phone contacts to member fishers. Through this pathway, 15 fishers were contacted via phone and 9 interviews were arranged. Thereafter the selection process relied on chain-referral sampling (Heckathorn 2002), with respondents asked if they could refer others who fished or belonged to a fishing family. Crang and Cook (1995, p.17) suggest that establishing as many contacts as possible can increase the speed of access and reduces the likelihood of delays. Taking such recommendations into account, the research continuously identified and contacted new fishers and fishing family members asking if they would be interested in participating in the study. This approach resulted in a widespread collection of participants with various positions within the Llŷn peninsula fishing network.

3.3 Researching fishing lives

3.3.1 Semi-structured qualitative interviews

Other researchers have suggested that interviews, and especially semi-structured interviews using an interview guide, were deemed appropriate to reflect the experiences, practices and beliefs of participants whilst remaining attentive to the wider research interest (Dunn 2010; Kvale and Brinkmann 2011). Such advantages justified the use of interviews in this research. At the beginning of the research, three pilot interviews served both to ascertain more information on the study site generally, but also to trial particular questions and investigate certain themes specifically. After analysing and identifying themes in these pilot interviews an interview guide was prepared with broadly defined questions to guide the semi-structured interviews. These questions included the themes of knowledge, identities, fishing activities, social relations and marine policies. The nature of the questions were open ended and 'probes' were used when deemed convenient to ask the participants to develop certain narratives (cf Dunn 2010). In line with a semi-structured interview approach, the interviews were flexible enough to deal with themes as they emerged in the interview setting, and the interview sometimes took a detour as participant introduced themes outside of the interview guide which provided contextually rich data.

The social science literature on fishing provides little guidance on how to interview fishers and fishing households. As such, wider literature from the social sciences needed to be drawn on in developing the research design and, in particular, research on how to interview farmers was instructive for the current research (Kuehne 2016; Riley 2010). Kuehne (2016) discusses some insights he gained while doing

interviews with farmers – an understanding he argues have to be learned through actually doing the interviews. In particular Kuehne (2016) talks about the particularities of the farming landscape and from his experiences he formulates a few recommendations of how to go about interviewing farmers. It was suggested that it is good practice to try to 'fit in as a good guest' by making the effort to behave as the respondents would expect the researcher to behave. Furthermore, he suggests that researchers should not attempt to be perceived as 'insiders' – as he found that even though the researcher would feel that they were insiders, farmers would not think of them as insiders in their particular farming landscapes. Other suggestions were that the interviews should be thought of as a "purposeful conversation" and that it was important to build basic levels of rapport and trust with the farmers by showing interest and clearly articulating what the expectations of their participation in the research are. Finally, he suggests that the research interview is an opportunity for the farmer to bolster their identity – which of course is an advantage when interested in socio-cultural aspects of their lives. In addition, Riley (2010) highlights the importance of the place and locality in which farming interviews take place. Furthermore, some researchers have particularly looked at the importance of positionality and safety in researching farmers (Chiswell and Wheeler 2016). In particular they found that young female researchers face a number of ethical issues in conduction interviews in rural and remote places – specifically so in the private setting of the farmhome. The importance of location and place and the advantages of different types of interviews are discussed below. The insights discussed above can be drawn on in exploring how to conduct interviews with fishers.

3.3.2 Interview location and place

Recent research has shown that the place of the interview is known to influence the narratives produced in it as places are filled with meaning and can facilitate different memories to be told (Crang and Cook 1995; Riley 2010). Feminist researchers have previously suggested that knowledge is always partial and situated (Haraway 1988), and as such the context of the interview has relevance for what type of situated data is produced. This perspective was incorporated into the research design as when contacting participants they were given the option to choose the interview location. This resulted in a diverse set of interview locations, including fishing coves, inside vans, in people's homes, in their boat sheds, in cafés, on boats (onshore) and in pubs. In some cases, participants wanted to show something that had been talked about in the interview, such as the fishing cove, the boats and fishing gear, the sheds, specific areas of the sea and a maritime museum. By following participants the interview became mobile. This approach is akin to Riley's (2010) approach of 'emplacing' the interview. Although the nature of fishing and the sea mean that walking interviews are more problematic, the approach of allowing fishers to guide the spatial direction of the interview was one borrowed from this literature on mobile methods. This offered the advantage of 'emplaced' discussions in which fishing gear, boats and other fishing places could be described and shown at the same time.

Figure 3.10 – A typical interview location by a fishing cove

Interviews in people's homes as well as other locations (fishing coves (see Figure 3.10), boats, and shed) allowed a private space for discussions and gave opportunities to talk about personal issues and business secrets. William's (2008, p.64) study on fishing households in Northeastern Scotland found that interviews in fishing homes "provided reference points for different stories […] such as photographs of various fishing boats, which were proudly displayed on many of these households' walls". However, other researchers have argued the home is not an entirely 'private' setting, as the participation and presence of a diverse set of family members in the home can influence what narratives are produced. Aitken (2001, p.77) writes: "Lack of privacy during separate interviews can silence participants, but it may also engender coercion if partners are able to listen in on conversations". Nevertheless, the presence of other family members can, in some

situations, be an advantage as other family members incidentally can add important contributions to the narratives being produced (see Riley 2010).

3.3.3 Interview dynamics: interviewing together or separate?

Researchers have documented both benefits and challenges of doing interviews with couples (see Valentine 1999). William's (2008, p.64) writes the following about the challenges of doing interviews with couples in fishing household:

> "My inquiries about housework sometimes caused bristling or sarcasm between couples. However, this is surely true of all interviews, and more often led to laughter. When interviewing couples together it was often difficult to hear the woman's opinion on the fishing industry. Either the husband would immediately answer the question or the wife would defer to him. […] Whereas in one-to-one interviews women usually offered confident, well-informed perspectives on these issues".

Similar issues to those that emerged in William's (2008) study certainly appeared in some of the interviews of the current research. Yet in some joint interviews the female partner contributed extensively to the interview discussion, and most importantly challenged some ways in which their fishing partner was narrating their lives. Interviewing couples together, brought up other perspectives on fishing that had to be reflected upon by both interview participants, which would have been missed if not interviewing the couple together. Valentine (1999, p.73) discusses the issues and complexities of interviewing couples separate or together and conclude that no one way is better than the other. She writes that interviewers need:

> "to be equally reflexive about the way that decisions about whether to interview household members jointly or separately may contribute to the production of particular 'relationships' and telling of particular stories. Specifically, interviewers need to pay attention both to the power-laden and

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ethical consequences of probing joint stories, and to exploring the complexities and contradictions of the contested realities of shared lives".

Drawing on Valentine (1999), the data produced in the current research was interpreted in its context – that is, what was said or not said in a particular situation became an important research finding in itself. Furthermore, while doing couple interviews the researcher tried to be reflexive about the power relations within the couple – and would, if topics emerged as sensitive, refrain from expanding on those themes. In addition to couple interviews, more recent research has begun to explore joint interviews between respondents with other types of relations. For example, Riley (2014) discuss the added value of interviewing fathers and sons together when discussing the topic of family farms. Riley (2014) suggests:

> "the process of co-narration can add to the research encounter not only through the material that it may reveal, but also in terms of how such narratives are constructed, shared and (re)worked within the interview".

By drawing on this perspective the research explored joint interviews with fathers and sons who either fished or did not fish together. Informed by these insights the research used semi-structured interviews in multiple contexts. These multiple contexts extended using different physical localities and included a diversity of interview dynamics such as one-on-one interviews and joint interviews with couples (Williams 2008), fathers and sons (Riley 2014) or with the presence of a diverse set of household members (Chiswell 2014; Riley 2009b). In practice, sometimes one-on-one interviews unexpectedly became group interviews as other people joined in. Such unexpected turns were embraced rather than resisted – partly because it was not possible to control these aspects.

3.3.4 Serial interviewing

As Riley and Harvey (2007) discuss, there are several advantages in revisiting previously interviewed participants – a research approach often called 'serial interviewing'. As an example, they suggested that serial interviews could be located in different places, which have the potential to give rise to different types of 'emplaced' discussions. Another advantage, they suggest, was that serial interviews, undertaken in different contextual settings, can reveal stories and facts that were hidden within previous interviews because of the presence of another family member. Perhaps most importantly, serial interviews enabled the building of mutual respect and trust as well as being able to cover a larger amount of themes than would be possible in a standard one hour interview (Crang and Cook 1995, p.46). In particular, Crang and Cook (1995, pp.48–49) argue that serial interviews "can allow time for researcher and researched alike to begin to think about, explore, and make sense of the contradictory, inconsistent and taken-for-granted natures of their/our everyday lives". In the current study, serial interviews were strived for wherever possible – most often in a different context from the previous interview, to deepen the understanding of the complex lives of fishers and fishing household members.

3.3.5 Participant observation

The research also drew on the participant observation method. The specific advantage of using participant observation is that it allows for an insight into what people do, not only what they say. Watson and Till (2010) notes that it is important to observe what people "do" as "doings" often reflect unconscious practices. Participant observation is therefore useful for making visible the unspoken – such as those fishing activities fishers take for granted and might, accordingly, miss

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talking about in their narratives. Because of these advantages, participant observation was used in the study. In practice the participant observation in the current study took several forms. First, the case study area was visited regularly for periods of two weeks at a time between 2014 and 2015 which in total added up to 2 months in the field. During this time, participant observation were undertaken in onshore spaces – observing interactions between fishers, and observing fishers working separate and together as well as seeing fishing activities and performances taking place in particular onshore fishing spaces. Participant observation on board fishing boats while at sea were, however, not possible as a research method for this study because of health and safety issues. Furthermore, during the time in the field several fisheries meetings were taken part in which made it possible to observe interactions amongst fishers in more formal spaces as well as listening to fishers narrating their concerns to government representatives.

3.3.6 Data recording and research diary

Wherever possible, interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder. In cases where this was not possible notes were taken, with verbatim quotes noted where possible. A research diary were used after the research interaction to i) document and contextualise the construction of the interview data (Crang and Cook 1995, p.31), ii) write down some preliminary interpretations of the interview and iii) record the researcher's own experiences of the interview. Furthermore, the field diary was written whilst engaging in participant observation – in both informal settings and formal meeting spaces. Other researchers have suggested that research diaries are widely used in qualitative social research and are particularly useful for managing the research project as well as being reflexive about the research practices and interview discussions (Silverman 2010; Valentine 2005). In this research, the

research diary improved the quality of the data collection as it developed a more reflexive understanding of how the researcher shaped – or influenced – the findings of the research (see Knight 2002).

3.4   The research in practice

In total the research engaged with 35 participants on the Llŷn peninsula making up fishers and fishing family members of 16 fishing boats from different fishing coves over the Llŷn peninsula, as seen in Table 3.1. In total 48 interviews were conducted, out of which 18 were serial interviews, and 12 interviews had more than one respondent present. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours.

Table 3.1 – Location of interviews and the number of people
formally interviewed

Fishing cove	Number of boats	Number of people formally interviewed
Abersoch	4	6
Aberdaron	2	4
Porth Colmon	3	3
Porthdinllaen	4	9
Pwllheli	1	7
Rhiw	2	6
Total	**16**	**35**

3.4.1   Research participants

The composition of the sample of participants in the study can be broken down into different categories. As Table 3.2 shows, the total number of current fishers interviewed were 21 whereas the total number of fishing household members were 108

15 out of which 8 were women. Out of the 21 fishers interviewed 13 were full-time fishers and 8 were part-time fishers.

Table 3.2 – Number of current fishers and fishing household members interviewed in each fishing cove

Fishing cove	Current male fishers	Fishing household members (of which women)
Abersoch	4	2
Aberdaron	2	2 (1)
Porth Colmon	3	0
Porthdinllaen	6	2 (2)
Pwllheli	4	3 (3)
Rhiw	2	4 (2)
Total	**21**	**15 (8)**

The fishers interviewed in the study engaged in what Cambiè (2015) calls a 'multi-species multi-gear fishery'. As shown in Table 3.3, 17 of the total 21 fishers were pot fishers and fished for both lobster and crab. As fishers also fished for other species it was important to understand what these other species were (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 – The number of fishers fishing for a particular species.

Target species	Number of male fisher respondents
Pot fishers (lobster and crab)	17
Scallop (*winter only*)	8
Whelks	4
Netting (sea bass)	2
Trawl (flat fish)	2

A final issue relating to the sample is the age of the respondents. Table 3.4 shows the distribution of age in the sample of male fishers. It can be seen that the majority of respondents were between 25 and 60. Within the literature there is a general concern for the recruitment of young people into the industry (see White 2015). Important in this context is that the sample of this study has an unusually strong representation of the voice of young people. This conclusion was supported by comments made by government representatives in a fisheries meeting – and it was stated that the North Wales fishery had many young fishers compared to other places. Drawing on such a sample opens up possibilities to explore what it means to be a young fisher.

Table 3.4 – Age groups of participating fishers

Estimated age group	Number of male fisher respondents
18-25	1
25-40	5
40-50	6
50-60	5
60-70	3
70+	1

3.4.2   Lessons learned and reflections on researching fishing lives

The research faced several contextual challenges while researching fishing households. The first point raised here is about arranging interviews. Arranging interviews with people who fish was highly weather dependent as well as seasonal. It was difficult to arrange interviews in advance as fishers first needed to know what the weather would be like and whether they would be fishing or not. Fishers in the case study area were also found to be very busy during the summer months as they try to make the most of the prosperous fishing season. At this time of the year fishers will inevitably be very hard to interview. To get the most out of my time in the field and to make the interviews as convenient for the participants as possible, interviews in the summer months were avoided. Participants who had agreed to be interviewed were contacted by telephone prior to visiting the area and whilst in the area interviews were either preliminarily booked at any day of the visit or scheduled one or two days in advance. Even though this involved a lot of phone calls in an area with poor mobile phone reception, which sometimes caused embarrassing misunderstandings, this proved to be an efficient way to arrange interviews with

fishers in the inshore fishery where fishers are not away longer than a day at the time.

The second lesson learned was that interviews in public locations, such as a pub, sometimes proved difficult due the presence of other people that could overhear conversations. Fishing participants were not happy to share certain types of information in public, and especially with the presence other competing fishers, and, therefore, certain topics were difficult to discuss in this type of place. During the research process it was found that fishers were 'secretive' about their activities (see Chapter 4) which deemed public spaces inappropriate for discussions of fishing activities as well as sensitive personal topics. The latter, was important as for fishers to perform their masculinities (see Chapter 6) they did not particularly articulate emotions in public. These experiences suggest that public places for interviews with fishers should be avoided if the research is interested in business secrets or emotions.

The third challenge faced while studying fishing lives was that of accessing people other than the 'main fisher'. During the research process it was found that establishing contacts with household members was difficult. Contacts with women and children were usually established on the referral from their partners. This approach enabled fishers to serve as 'gatekeepers' by not supporting the introduction of their partners and children to the research (see Mandel 2003 on the issues of 'male gatekeepers'). Also, the process of chain-referral sampling was much more difficult with women than with their fishing partners as women did not share a network in the same way that fishers did with each another. By contrast, not one contact with another partner of a fisher was established through chain-referral

sampling from outside of family members. However, it was recognised in interviews that partners of fishers were most likely to face similar everyday struggles and would have a lot in common with one another (see Chapter 6). In other studies on women in fishing households (Britton 2012; Gerrard 1995) the presence of women's organisations avoided the challenges discussed here, but there was no such women's network present on the Llŷn peninsula. Another challenge in getting women to participate in the research was that some women felt that they had nothing to contribute to the discussion of fishing, something that was also found by Williams (2008, p.62) and reflects Gerrard's (1995) argument that women's knowledges have traditionally been excluded from fisheries issues and politics. These findings offered insights into the construction of gender identities – and Chapter 6 will, in particular, discuss how women 'downplay' their contributions. The suggestion, from these observations, is that it is important to be aware that the initial expression of 'disinterest' – or 'distance' – shown by the female partners of fishers, do not necessarily mean they are not knowledgeable or interested in the study. Instead, this position might be a finding in itself – as well as a barrier that could be overcome by showing an interest in their lives – not only the lives of people who catch fish.

3.5 Data processing and analysis

The digitally recorded data was translated into textual form through the process of transcription. The principal analytical approach for this thesis was thematic narrative analysis (after Braun and Clarke 2006) and the exclusive focus of a thematic analysis is primarily on "what" is said (Reismann 2008). The type of transcription needed for this analytical approach was the 'verbatim' transcript. This

transcript is an account of all verbal utterances, sometimes also including nonverbal expressions such as laughter or sighs (Braun and Clarke 2006; Kvale and Brinkmann 2011).

Importantly, the analytical process of the research began in the initial interviews and continued throughout the data collection phase as 'patterns of meaning' started to unfold in the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). The analytical process was iterative and recursive, rather than linear, and involved all different elements of the research. First of all, transcribing was a process of getting familiarised with the data (see Braun and Clarke 2006; Reismann 2008). The transcripts were thereafter read multiple times with patterns, trends and themes identified in order to understand different assumptions and relationships that shaped the respondent's view on the research topics discussed (McCracken 1988). As Braun and Clark (2006, p.86) suggest, such an analytical approach involves "a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data that you are analysing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing".

The computer based programme Nvivo 10 was experimented with to explore its potential to aid analysis of the data collected. It has been suggested that there are several advantages of using such programmes as it efficiently structures extracts and themes into hierarchical relations and in doing so speeds up the processes of handling the data (Peace and van Hoven 2010). However, after experimenting with the software it was decided against its use. A primary reason for doing so was that the process of coding on the computer felt abstract as the quotes became detached from its wider meanings (cf Weitzman and Miles 1995). In practice this meant that each individual transcript was read on multiple occasions and coded manually.

Broad codes included 'gender', 'fishing activities', 'lifecourse', 'policy aspects', and 'fishing identities'. Extracts from interviews, assigned to specific broad themes, were copy-pasted into a Microsoft Word document and through re-reading the transcripts the themes were refined and broken down into more specific themes. An example of breaking down broader themes into specific themes was that 'fishing activities' was broken down into 'fishing on the sea', 'onshore based activities', 'cooperative activities', and 'fishing skills'. Later on the sub-themes were further spilt into new sub-themes, and if necessary more sets of sub-themes. The final stage of analysis involved binding the themes and sub-themes together into a coherent story. Braun and Clarke (2006, p.86) suggests that: "[w]riting is an integral part of analysis, not something that takes place at the end, as it does in statistical analysis". Throughout the writing process, the full transcripts and the different themes were returned to if contextual information was needed. The initial writing process produced very large document with many extracts symbolising the same themes. During a gradual process these documents were redrafted and written into final chapters containing only extracts considered necessary to communicate the importance of a particular theme.

3.6   Presentation of the Research

'Data' in qualitative research is collected in the form of words and quotes on paper in transcripts. The nature of this data, compared to numerical data, brings with it some challenges on how to present it. In the following chapters of the thesis participants have been referred to based on their position, such as Fisher; Partner; Son; and Daughter. These positions were given the abbreviations F; P; S; and D. Furthermore, all participants in the study were assigned a number. Where a longer

interview extract or a shorter quote is used in the thesis the position of the respondent is combined with their number which is stated in brackets after the quote – for example F-10). Some extracts only have one narrator whereas others were dialogues between respondents or the respondent and the interviewer. When presenting dialogues, the extract was broken down by narrator for clarity purposes. Furthermore, the research diary extracts presented in this thesis were numbered. All fishers (F) interviewed identified as men, and all partners (P) identified as women. Nonetheless the thesis consciously chose a gender neutral language to represent adult participants (reasons for doing so were discussed in Chapter 1). Symbols used in the quotations are listed below:

F   Abbreviation for Fisher

P   Abbreviation for Partner

S   Abbreviation for Son

D   Abbreviation for Daughter

…   Pause by speaker

[…]   Material not relevant to the discussion was excluded

[   ]   Denotes that something have been removed to maintain

       confidentiality, or something is added by the researcher

       to provide clarity to the discussion

3.7   Ethical issues

Ethical approval by the University of Liverpool was achieved in 2014[3]. This required that during interviews formal consent was secured for each participant. An information sheet about the project was handed out to participants alongside a verbal introduction to the project which explained that the interviews would cover the everyday lives of fishing and living in a fishing household. Following this, the standardised ethics procedure was explained, and finally written consent was established. The written consent ensured confidentiality and the anonymity of participants. While formal ethics procedures are important to achieve 'non-exploitative' relations between participants and the researcher, other ethical issues, not dealt with in formal ethics procedures, emerged in all aspects of the research process (Dowling 2010).

3.7.1   Power and knowledge – positionality and undertaking interviews

Due to the subjective nature of qualitative interviews, it has been suggested that interviewing is a skill that has to be embodied by the researcher (Kvale and Brinkmann 2011). In particular, Kvale and Brinkmann (2011) highlight that the researcher has to be skilful in conversations, be sensitive to details in language and linguistics as well as be friendly, open minded, interpretative, and have a good memory. They further go on to discuss that the interview involves a constant process of decision-making in which the interviewer decides what questions are appropriate, how they should be asked as well as what aspects of the participants' stories should be developed further by asking follow-up questions (Kvale and

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[3] FoSEETH/SOES ethics reference number 045

Brinkmann 2011). From such suggestions it becomes clear that the researcher holds an important role in a qualitative interview setting which deserved further attention. One often discussed issue is that of the unequal power relations between the interviewer and the respondent, caused by the observation that the interviewer essentially controls what questions are asked, how the responses are interpreted and presented as research findings (Kvale and Brinkmann 2011; McDowell 1992). In order to address these power imbalances, those taking a more the feminist approach have explored how research can be framed by less exploitative relations between interviewer and interview participants – for example through the means of collaboration and participation (McDowell 1992). In this research, some concrete measures were taken to reduce some of the power imbalances, and to empower participants (albeit only partially). The first way in which this was done was to enable participants to choose their preferred location for the interview (Elwood and Martin 2000). The second approach was to follow participants after the sit-down interview was finished and be guided in spaces of their own choosing which allowed for respondents to shape the direction of the research (to some extent) (Riley 2010) . The final approach mentioned here is that the research tried to take the time commitment of the participant into account and made efforts to fit in around their fishing activities and seasons.

Despite effort to reduce power imbalances, McDowell (1992) argues that unequal power relations are impossible to avoid in research situations and 'escaping' them altogether is a utopian vision. Instead, McDowell (1992, p.409 original emphasis) argues that:

> "we [as researchers] must recognize and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and *write this into our research*

practice rather than continue to hanker after some idealized equality between us".

Along the same lines, other researchers have suggested that, because of the central position of the researcher in producing the data, a process of 'critical reflexivity' needs to be undertaken (Dowling 2010). One way in which researchers have tried to make visible the relations between the researchers and the participants is through the concept of positionality (Rose 1997; Tarrant 2013). Jackson (2001, p.210) further argues that there is a "need to consider the researcher's positionality in relation to the research participants as an integral part of the research process". Researchers like Pini (2004) have explored what such reflexivity about 'self' and research means in practice. She examines the different 'subject positions' she held, in the eyes of the respondents, throughout the research process, and consequently how these 'subject positions' impacted on the research. Pini (2004) identified four 'subject positions' that emerged in her research, that was the 'farmers' daughter', 'Italian-Australian', 'nice country girl' and 'woman'. In relation to these identified subject positions Pini (2004) discusses how these were constructed from the researcher's perceived gender, age, family background, place, nationality, sexuality and the intersectionality of these (see also Tarrant 2013). Pini (2004, p.174) also illustrates how she disguises particular aspects of her identity, especially the aspect of her being a feminist:

> "while the identity of 'feminist' is important to me, it was an 'identity' which brought with it significant negative connotations for participants and I therefore did not think it was prudent to highlight this identity. I do not believe this was being duplicitous because it was a decision motivated by a sympathetic engagement with the context and culture in which I was conducting the research".

In the current research encounter, a similar position to that expressed by Pini (2004) in the above quotation, was taken. However, the context of the current research and the specificities of the research subjects (participants and researcher) was different from Pini's (2004) research and deserves some further reflections.

In this research there were a number of themes that became important through the lens of positionality. First, language was an important theme. As a second-language English speaker I was kindly accepted in the area by a primarily Welsh speaking population. The study area is what is often referred to as the 'heartland of Wales' in which a majority of people are Welsh first-language speakers (Jones and Fowler 2007) – and even more so – the fishing community. Following on from this, an evident challenge was that neither the researcher nor the research participant spoke their first language in the interview interaction, albeit both being proficient in the English language. This challenge, however, became an advantage as in the research encounter, both researcher and respondents had the patience to allow for pauses and struggles to find words in English, a process which with first language speakers can become awkward and embarrassing. This experience thus became generally positive as my positionality allowed respondents to feel happy with (sometimes) not speaking perfect English – which contributed towards reducing some power imbalances. Yet, there were some obvious disadvantages with interviewing participants in a language that they do not use to discuss fishing activities amongst each other. In particular, some of the nuances of expressions might have been lost in translation (as reflected on by Fisher 22 in the quote in Section 3.2.1.1). The experience, however, was that fishers took the time to explain, translate and deconstruct the meaning of the expressions – which if spoken in the original language might have been taken for granted.

Second, there are many factors that would make the respondents think of the researcher as an 'outsider'. In particular my identity as female, middle-class and a young academic – possibly also 'urban', served to construct this outsider-ness. In interviews, many fishers wanted to know about my background and frequently I was asked if there was any family history of fishing as well as respondents making inquiries about the sort of place I was from. The answer to these questions were most often truthful – that is, there was no prior connections to fishing in the family nor was I from a fishing place, in fact I was from what can be seen as an urban place. At one point, a fisher asked whether I had any experience of being on the sea – and again the answer was given – that I had experience of sailing. It immediately became evident that sailing to him was not the same as fishing – sailing instead had a different class connotation. Indeed, he emphasised that he had never sailed in his life. Although attempting to answer questions as truthfully as possible, some aspects of my identity were disguised (such as the example of identifying as a feminist discussed by Pini (2004) above). Being an 'outsider' do not, however, necessarily have to work towards the disadvantage of the researcher. For example, Chiswell and Wheeler (2016) highlight how their identities as 'outsiders' while interviewing farmers led respondents to explain practices of farming in detail as respondents did not assume them to have any prior knowledge about farming. The position of not knowing much about fishing – embodied by the researcher in the current research, proved to be productive in terms of being able to ask fishers to give more details about their practices. In particular, by showing curiosity and interest, people were keen to explain and develop their narratives which probably would been considered as 'taken for granted knowledge' within the fishing community. Furthermore, some aspect of positionality are not possible to disguise,

such as those aspects attached to the body. In another paper, Pini (2005) talks about how she as a young female academic interviewed men in an Australian farming organisation and that, in the research encounter, men tended to display their masculinities through emphasising their heterosexuality and presenting themselves as powerful and knowledgeable men. Indeed, in the research encounters of this study, fishers sometimes performed their masculinity through emphasising themselves as heterosexual, knowledgeable and powerful. As examining gender identities was one of objectives of this research, these performances became informative of the way fishers construct their masculinities. On a different note, Pini (2005) argue that gender performances in interviews, alongside the unequal power that men and women have in patriarchal gender hierarchies (Connell 1995), can make it "problematic for women to interview men, as the availability to men of masculine discourses present them with greater opportunity to exert power when interacting with a female interviewer" (Pini 2005, p.203). Such observations highlight how power relations in an interview settings are not only one-directional – that is, the researcher does not always have power *over* the participant. Instead, power can manifest itself in complicated ways and in some situations the participants might exert power over the interviewer (McDowell 1992; Pini 2005). The experience of this research was that gender hierarchies indeed was present in the research encounter, which sometimes rendered the researcher as 'vulnerable' (McDowell 1992). Nonetheless, drawing on Horn (1997) it was sometime advantageous to be positioned as 'feminine' as the researcher appeared as unthreatening to the research participant. Furthermore, Pini (2005) emphasises the way participants understood her femininity as being a 'respectful listener' which in this research proved to be an advantageous position for getting fishers to talk about

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their lives. My subject position as a 'woman' therefore had mainly advantages in terms of collecting rich data, but in some situations, forced me to compromise with some of my beliefs about, for example, the importance of gender equality.

A final point which needs to be raised here is about the way respondents' expectations of what an interview is may be shaped by previous interactions with researchers. In the year prior to the current research on the Llŷn peninsula, several research projects on biological and economic aspects of fishing had been undertaken in the area, which were unknown to the researcher at the time. The types of interviews that respondents therefore had previous experienced were structured questionnaires about fish – not about them as fishers. Despite repeated efforts in explaining to the respondents that this research would have a different focus – in most cases respondents expected a similar type of experience. Several interviews respondents emphasised that they wanted more direct questions. This led to quite awkward situations in which I felt the need to take a more active role to meet the wishes of the respondents. To further confuse the respondents, my background as a marine ecologist (similar to the background of those researchers they has previous encountered) made it difficult for them to grasp what academic field this project was situated in. One of the draw-backs in trying to answer questions about yourself as a researcher truthfully was, drawing on the experience from undertaking this research, that it can cause confusion as the story told was too complex to explain in full. The ethical issues discussed here were informing the interpretation of the collected data presented in the following chapters.

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Chapter 4

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4 The 'Good Fisher': exploring the socio-cultural context of fishers and fishing

The conceptual ideas of the 'good farmer' and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital were introduced in Chapter 2. It was argued that there is potential for developing the idea of the 'good fisher' and it was concluded that such a (re)development and adaptation of the 'good farmer' concept needed to be derived from empirical observations. This chapter will achieve this through analysing data collected from the fishing community of the Llŷn peninsula (see Chapter 3).

4.1 The fishing field

This section of the chapter will set the context and the 'field' by introducing some background observations on the differences between land and sea space. This is important to contextualise some of the differences observed between how the 'good farmer' and the 'good fisher' become materialised. To start with, the participant observation revealed that fishers move through different types of fishing related spaces which involves specific places such as the sea, fishing coves, landing sites and beaches, fishing sheds, and the 'home'. In this chapter the fishing field is understood, broadly, as all the spaces in which fishers reside. The distinct places are understood as 'sub-fields' – part of the wider 'fishing field'.

4.1.1 The sea

It can be argued that the sea (see Figure 4.1), although only being one of several important sub-fields, is the most important fishing place, in particular in terms of its difference from land. However, it has been suggested that geographers have historically paid little effort to understanding the sea (see Peters 2010; Steinberg

1999). On a similar note, Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' is arguably underlined by a land-bias simply because it is using a term with land-based connotations. In understanding the distinctiveness of the sea, two aspects in particular were found to be important. First, the specific physicality of the sea and, second, the lack of ownership structures of the sea.

Figure 4.1 – The sea as seen from the coast of the Llŷn peninsula

The first observation is that the physical environment of the sea has several distinctive attributes. Unlike the two-dimensional space of land, the sea is a three-dimensional space (see Jay 2012) with sea surface, water depth, and seafloor (see Figure 4.2). Fishers, depending on the way they fish, utilise different parts of this three-dimensional sea space and the way their activities become materialised and/or visible is determined by a number of physical specificities of the sea. First, the

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bottom of the sea is not directly visible to either fishers or public and the surface of the sea is a fluid in constant flux, reshaped by tides, waves and currents, and fishing activities are not shaping its form. Further, the sea is, most often, not visibly accessible to people if they do not have a boat, which is very different from farming in which the road network usually bring both the public as well as other farmers in proximity to the farms.
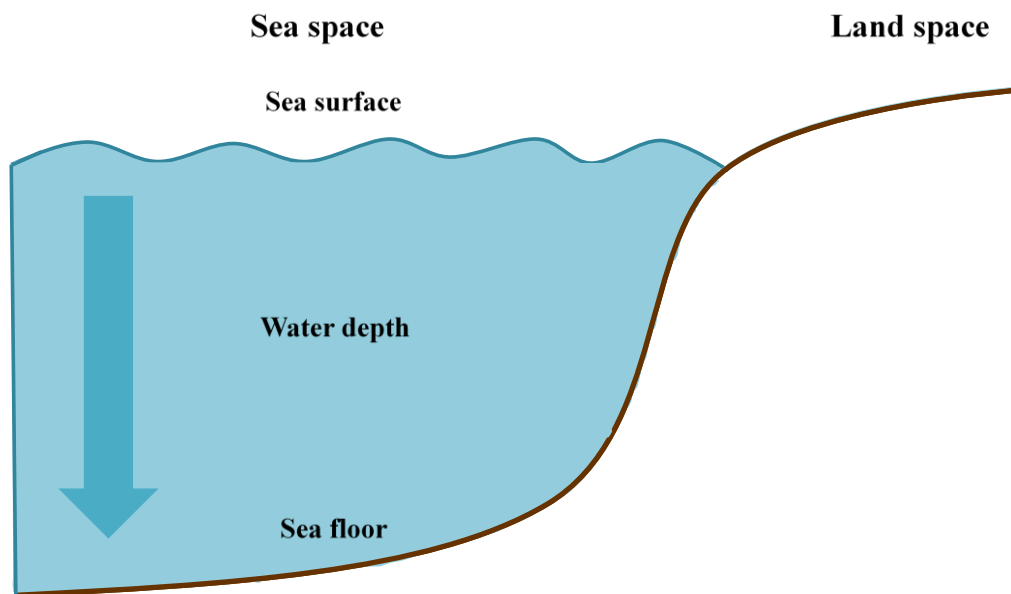
Figure 4.2 – Simplified drawing on the difference between the physical environment of sea space and land space

The second key difference to farmland is that there are less distinct and demarcated patterns of ownership. However, as other researchers have argued the sea is still subjected to different forms of 'closures' (Symes and Frangoudes 2001). As fisheries are regulated by licenses, fishing is not open access but, in fact, entry is controlled by the economic capital needed to buy a license, boat and fishing gear. Furthermore, as will be discuss later in the chapter, there may be rules around

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fishing 'territories' (Symes and Frangoudes 2001). The lack of direct ownership means that the sea does not stand as objectified cultural capital in the same way as farm ownership[4] and thus other forms of capital demonstration are required. As Burton (2004) notes, skill needs to be outwardly available to others and in farming this commonly happens through what he terms 'hedgerow farming', whereby neighbours and other farmers survey the efforts of the respective farmers. Accordingly, high status items such as livestock and high crop yields – or what might be termed 'symbols of production' (Burton et al., 2008) – become important visible signs through which they might gain symbolic capital. By contrast, the less static nature of the sea means that it is not able to stand as a visible, permanent, embodiment of the outcome of fishers' work, whilst the moving and offshore nature of fishers' activities mean that they may neither be clearly visible from shore nor as easy to decipher. As fishers do not fully control their fishing grounds, nor breed the fish, it is different from the case of farming where the farmer can exhibit a clearer and more overt level of control. For such reasons, authors such as Hind (2012) and Martindale (2012) have suggested that there are closer parallels between fishers and hunters than fishers and farmers. In the case of farming, Riley and Harvey (2007, p.402) noted that the farm embodies "the work of previous generations, who inscribed their own meaning and identity on the landscape". In fishing however, because of having less possibility to shape the appearance of the sea – the work of previous generations are not inscribed in the seascape in the same way and the 'sea' is only marginally (if at all), improved over generations through

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[4] The obvious exception to this is the discussion of common land in farming. See Wilson and Wilson (1997) for a detailed discussion of this.

the way fisher engage with conservation practices. The specific (im)materialities of the sea, as the chapter will move on to discuss, have broader implications for the socio-cultural organisation of fishers and intergenerational relations.

4.1.2   Onshore fishing places

'The sea' is, however, not the only space in which fishers reside in their everyday lives. The participant observation revealed that fishers also perform fishing activities on the coast and the beach. The 'fishing cove' is where fishers land their catch and where they occasionally meet other fishers (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4.). This is also the place were some of them moor or launch their boats on trailers with the help of a tractor (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6). The fieldwork observed that catches are sold to fish buyers who collect them in certain locations spread around the coast. Fishers on the Llŷn peninsula usually sell their lobster once a week and interviews revealed that fishers from the same 'fishing coves' gather in a particular place where they meet a lorry from the fish merchant. Before selling their catch, fishers keep their fish in quay pots at sea. Another fish species – whelks – are however sold on a daily basis and scallops are sold when the fishers come back to shore (sometimes after a couple of days at sea). Waiting for the lorry to sell their produce was seen to be one of those places where fishers meet and converse. The participant observation also revealed that fishing activities take place in fishing sheds, usually located in proximity to fishers' homes (see Figure 4.7). These onshore based activities, the observations showed, are also an important part of fishing life. The research further found that fishers also interact in the local town (for example pubs), online through social media such as Facebook, and in the many different fisheries meetings where fishers talk about fishing policies and politics.

Figure 4.3 – A fishing cove on the north coast of the Llŷn peninsula

Figure 4.4 – Another fishing cove on the south coast of the Llŷn peninsula

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Figure 4.5 – A boat onshore. The boat is lying on trailer attached to a tractor

Figure 4.6– Another example of a fishing boat in the studied area.

Figure 4.7 – An example of a boat shed where fishers spend time
doing maintenance work on their fishing gear

The participant observation revealed how the fishing home was an important place
for fishing lives. Research within agriculture has, for example, shown that the
farmhouse is an important space within the micro-politics of agriculture (see
Bennett 2006; Riley 2009a). Not only has this been important in the demarcation
of the home/work boundary, but also in playing to, and reinforcing particular
patriarchal gender relations (which will be explored in Chapter 6). Fishers' homes,
by contrast, are not necessarily located in proximity to the sea and the fishing cove:

Fisher 8: "It is not like [...] the fishing communities in Cornwall. You know the small villages. [...] It is not like that cause we don't live in the same place. You know. We come from here, then there are fishermen who lives in [another town] which is a mile and a bit away. [Another fisher] lives in [another town] which is seven miles away. But he still fish here you see. [Another fisher lives] 25 miles away".

Fisher 27: "So he travels a fair bit to get to work".

Fisher 8: "I wouldn't say it is a fishing community as such [like the one in Cornwall] [...]".

Interviewer: "[But] you know and meet these people?"

Fisher 8: "Yeah we talk to them. We see them on the beach really".

Fisher 27: "Or by the lorry when we are landing" (F-8 and F-27).

In the joint interview, Fisher 8 and Fisher 27, suggest that the fishing community around the Llŷn peninsula is different from that of Cornwall, depicting Cornwall as an 'idyllic' fishing community where all fishers are next-door neighbours. Instead, they go on to suggest that the homes of fishers on the Llŷn peninsula are more dispersed and that fishers mainly tend to meet each other in other sub-fields such as the beach when they land their catch and by the lorry when they sell their catch. The fishing field has to be understood as a set of 'sub-fields' that each provides different contexts in which fishing activities take place. Later on in the chapter, the fishing 'sub-fields' will become important in discussions over how fishers can display specific forms of capital.

4.2 Fishing habitus

As discussed in Chapter 2, habitus, for Bourdieu, is the internalisation of the objective structures of the field – becoming what has been referred to as the 'subjective structures' of the individual. In the Llŷn peninsula fishing community there is an expression that might be understood as an articulation of the fishing

habitus – '*Heli y nein gwaed*' (Hughes 2014) translated as 'salt in the blood'. Two extracts articulate this sentiment:

> "I can't explain it. Salt in the blood I expect. Ehmm. How can I explain? I don't know. It is just the magnet to it. I just love the sea. I just love it. I couldn't see myself not doing it. I don't know" (F-19).

> "[How have I] learnt to fish? I don't know. You just do it really. You know there is a saying in Welsh [speaking Welsh]. 'Salt in the blood'. If you know what I mean?! We have been doing it all our life you know" (F-28).

Such interview responses highlight that this notion, 'salt in the blood', imbued the general embodiment of the field of the sea. However, fishers, as evident in Fisher 19's statement, find it difficult to articulate 'salt in the blood' in other terms. As the two responses above suggest, 'salt in the blood' is closely associated with fishers' "love [for] the sea" (F-19) and, as the second quote suggest, their accumulated experiences of being on the sea. Another researcher, Nightingale (2012, p.142), suggests that the experiences fishers have on the sea shapes fishers sense of self:

> Fishers "have a particular understanding of the sea that derives from their experience of the waves, the water both on and below the boat, the composition of the catch and observations from the boat. Much of this understanding is not even conscious, but rather something they learn over time. […] It is the embodied act of working on wet, smelly, cold and dangerous boats that is important in creating a boundary between the subject 'fisherman', 'community' and the 'sea'".

Such findings, echoing interview responses of Fisher 19 and Fisher 28, suggest that the experience of fishing forms the fishing habitus as fishers develop a 'feel for the game', which Bourdieu argues "is the social game embodied and turned into a second nature" (Bourdieu 1990, p.63). Relating such ideas to the observations from

the Llŷn peninsula 'salt in the blood' is second nature for fishers, which arguably is the reason for it being difficult for them to unpack its meaning. Research has suggested that empirical studies can only see the 'effects of habitus' through the practice and beliefs people have (Maton 2008, p.61). By drawing on such suggestions this chapter will move on to an examination of fishing practices and capitals to understand what it means to have 'salt in the blood'.

4.3 Fishing capitals

Within the 'good farmer' literature, it has been observed that embodied cultural capital takes the form of symbolic capital in those communities (see Burton 2004 and Chapter 2 of this thesis). However, to date little is known about how capitals are symbolically valued in fisheries. As discussed in Chapter 2 Bourdieu suggests there are three principal forms of capital – economic capital, and two forms of symbolic capital – social and cultural capital, each of which were observed in the field research on the Llŷn peninsula. Economic capital was present in the form of ownership of machinery and gear. Some fishers reported that the value of these was often in excess of £100,000 for a boat and £50,000 for fishing gear for some successful full-time fishers. The presence and importance of social capital was also found in interviews and will be discussed more in-depth in Section 4.4.2. Chapter 2 discuss how, in farming, institutional cultural capital is present through breeding societies and agricultural colleges (Holloway 2005; Yarwood and Evans 2006). However, interviews with fishers revealed that such institutional forms of cultural capital were not present on the Llŷn peninsula:

> Fisher 27: "I have learnt through dad [...]. I haven't been to college or anything like that. […]"
>
> Fisher 8: "They can't teach fishing in college anyways [Laugh]".
>
> Fisher 27: "No".
>
> Fisher 8: "So… you know [you learn] on the job really" (F-8 and F-27).

In this joint interview, Fisher 8 emphasises a commonly held view amongst fishers, that "they can't teach fishing in college (F-8)". Although it was observed that some fishers had been to college (although not fishing colleges) these sorts of knowledges and diplomas afforded fishers little credit in the fishing field. Interviews also revealed that health and safety courses ("sea survival", "firefighting", "first aid", "engineering and navigation" (F-27)) had to be completed by the individual fisher in order to get a skipper's ticket and be allowed to fish on their own. Such certificates did not, however, afford fishers the status of institutional cultural capital in the same way as diplomas from agricultural colleges would do – possibly explained by the difference in time commitment of a few weeks for achieving the fishing certificates to that of years attending an agricultural college which many farmers would do (see Morris 2006). Furthermore, such certificates are seen as permitting their fishing activities rather than improving their profitability or the skill with which they may be performed. A similar observation had been made by White (2015, p.6) who suggested that:

> "paper qualifications […] lack credibility among older fishermen […] [as] [f]ormal training requirements are seen by fishermen as 'hurdles without meaning'".

These observations suggest that there was no form of symbolically valued institutional cultural capital in the fishing field of the Llŷn peninsula. Furthermore, the research observed that the second form, objectified cultural capital, is

materialised in fishing through the ownership of boats and larger machinery and fishing gear. However, as evident in Fisher 22's response, the objects themselves are not symbolically valued to any great extent in fishing:

> "[There is] a saying 'any fool can carry money to the sea'. […] Anyone can invest in a big boat, lots of lobster gear but you have got to return a profit […] it is not a hobby" (F-22).

Observations such as Fisher 22 echo the view that objectified cultural capital needs to be actioned through the embodied cultural capital of the agent (cf. Burton et al., 2008). So, in this case, it is not only having a number of pots that is central to the positioning as a 'good fisher' (objectified cultural capital), but the associated skill of predicting and working with the weather so as to use the pots effectively without needing to replace them (through loss or damage). For this fisher, similar to several others interviewed, objectified cultural capital on its own, in the form of expensive boats and gear, was insufficient to be afforded the status of 'good fisher'. This also has important implications for our broader understanding of fishing in that although economic status is one measurement of their status in the field, it also illustrates that it is possible to have high value goods and not evoke the standing as a 'good fisher'.

Interviews highlighted that there are two main processes in which fishers accumulate embodied cultural capital which are learning from other older fishers or learning by experimentation:

> "You know there was direct competition but they were still happy to teach me different tides and things like that… But a lot of it you learn yourself, you have to learn the hard way. I did a lot of mistakes [Laugh]. But through making mistakes […] it also give me an edge of an existing fisherman cause

you are trying different things all the time, which weren't tried before, and that paid off" (F-16).

"You are always looking at your charts aren't you?! You are always sitting in the lounge looking at your charts…" (P-17).

In Fisher 16's response he discuss how an older fisher taught him the essential skills for fishing. The first observation of this research was therefore that fishers can learn from other fishers, most commonly through their intergenerational ties (as will be discussed in Chapter 5). Learning the skills of previous generations was shown to have further economic importance, as fishers suggested that "learning something by yourself costs a lot of money" (F-11). Such an observation highlights the interlinked nature between different forms of capital – that is, in this context, cultural capital is "convertible" to economic capital (drawing on Bourdieu 1986, p.281). The second way in which fishers learn and accumulate embodied cultural capital was by "making mistakes" (F-16) and "trial and error" (F-14). Interviews revealed that learning through experimentation was important as, suggested by Fisher 16, it gave him "an edge as a fisherman". Developing an 'edge' was essential as it afforded fishers 'distinction' and had symbolic value in which such fishers would be known as successful in the fishing community. The research also revealed that such an "edge" was closely associated with fishers' display of independence which was symbolically valued in the fishing community (discussed more in-depth in Chapter 6). Furthermore, Partner 17's response illustrates that fishers have a disposition to constantly improve their fishing practices. By independently improving their fishing practices, through the process of learning and experimenting, fishers become 'good fishers'. This is very similar to the ideas of the 'good farmer' and how 'good farming' is 'a project of constant self-

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improvement' (Burton et al. 2008). This chapter will explore how embodied cultural capital is, primarily, the form of capital that carries symbolic capital in the fishing community and it will highlight both some similarities and differences to the case of farming.

4.4 The 'Good Fisher'

To understand how people occupy the position of the 'good fisher' in the fishing field this section will examine how the fishing field, habitus and symbolic capital interrelate by drawing on the 'good farmer'. In particular the chapter will explore the motoric, mechanical and managerial abilities which have been previously described by Burton et al. (2008). Importantly, as discussed in Chapter 2, Burton et al. (2008) argue there are three criteria that need to be present for embodied cultural capital to be displayed to other farmers. These are i) such farming activities must reflect a skilled performance easily understood as 'poor' or 'good' performances, ii) the skill must be manifested in the outcome of the activity – that is, an outward sign of the skilled performance must be present and iii) the outward signs must be visible or otherwise accessible to the farming community. Earlier in this chapter, it was noted, however, that there are significant differences in the fishing and farming fields which have important implications for how abilities can become accessible and visible to other members of the respective communities. Accordingly, we cannot simply translate the conceptual framework of the 'good farmer' but, instead, we need to (re)develop it to suit the fishing context. Participant observations and interviews alike found that the different fishing 'sub-fields' provide particular conditions for the visibility of certain skill performances that reflect the fishers fishing abilities. While moving between different spaces, from the sea to land,

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different types of performances become socially available to the rest of the fishing community. Furthermore, skilled performances on the sea can be divided into two categories: those which take place on the fishing vessel and those between fishing vessels. For the predominantly single handed small-scale fishery of the Llŷn peninsula, interviews revealed that the display of 'good fishing' abilities *between* vessels were more important for being positioned as a 'good fisher'.

4.4.1 'Good fishing' abilities: seeing and demonstrating skills

4.4.1.1 Working with the sea: displaying skill and knowing the weather

The fieldwork showed that being a 'good fisher' requires embodying an understanding of several aspects of the sea and interviews illustrated how these influence their fishing yield:

> "Yeah, you learn, a bit of wind from the south and you will catch quite well. The wind's from east and you are not gonna catch at all. 'Eh… it is not worth going today because the wind is in the east'. So you save a bit like that as well. Like wind from the south, that's it, I am [having a] full day today" (F-16).

> "Knowing where to go and when to go – that is the most important thing" (F-12).

In the interview responses above, Fisher 16 and Fisher 12 suggest that it is important to understand when it is "worth" (F-16) going to sea. Interviews revealed that displaying knowledge about "when" and "where to go" (F-12) reflects a fisher's ability to respond to changes of and in the sea. First, it was observed that it was important to understand the target species. Fishers often spoke about how the ecology of fish varies according to the species, with some species only available in

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the local sea seasonally, and other species moving around different sea bottom substrates depending on the season. Other research echoes such observations by noting that the availability of fish shapes the types of fishing activities that fishers in the "multi-species, multi-gear fishery" of Northwest Wales engage in throughout the year (Cambiè et al. 2015). The second aspect which was seen to be important was understanding the weather. Fisher 16 suggests weather, and in particular wind, are important factors for the success of fishing trips. As a response to changing weather, fishers often emphasised how they planned their fishing activities in relation to weather predictions:

> "You have got to plan what you are doing tomorrow, 'oh I will try over there or do that'. You just don't get up in the morning [and] jump in the boat… 'oh, you have worked everything out', what you are trying to do – everything! You have spent hours checking the weather to see where you can [put] out the pots. 'Oh, it looks like a fine day so I will put them right close in', or it is gonna go rough, 'oh, I gotta pull them all out'..." (F-18).

> "I work with the tides. If there is a four o'clock morning tide I am out four o'clock in the morning. But if it is a late tide I am out late. I can be out to ten at night if I have to. […] It doesn't really matter. Hours are nothing. You know there is no time. It is just the tide. You have to work with the tide and the sea" (F-19).

As Fisher 18's response reveals, the way the fishing gear is placed reflects the ability fishers have to plan their activities in relation to weather predictions. Responses such as Fisher 19's highlights not only how, on the sea, it is important to work with the weather – it is also important to embody an understanding of the tides. Tides, in particular, structure the fishing activities along particular rhythmic patterns as high and low tide influence the possibility to go fishing at any particular

time. Indeed, Fisher 19 emphasises that "hours are nothing" and that "if there is a four o'clock morning tide I am out four o'clock in the morning (F-19)". Such narratives reveal how fishers have to work *with* the sea. Implicit in Fisher 19's response, and a commonly held view amongst fishers, is that to be a 'good fisher' fisher cannot not be "lazy" (F-22). The skilled performance of being at sea fishing when the weather allows is visible to other fishers in the same fishing cove. This is so because, while at sea, the fishing boat will have left its assigned onshore place or the moorings in the bay. Two aspects are important, here, for our broader understanding of 'good fishing'. First, is that it may not be the activity performed *per se*, which is used by others to assess 'good fishing', but simply that the fisher is out at sea that becomes a marker of 'good fishing'. Second, overlaying this, is the importance of timing, showing that the fishers are able to understand the specific micro-climate of the area – and what that is likely to mean for catch size, and that they have shown the skill to take the specific window of opportunity which good weather and tides afford them.

The research also observed that understanding the weather had other implications beyond knowing when fish are available:

> "Predicting the weather, getting it right, when you move your gear close inshore, then moving them out before a gale. You have gotta be on the ball with thing like that. You can't be lazy. […] And if I do lose gear I am really pissed off, there has been a mistake or I misjudged the weather" (F-22).

Evident in Fisher 22's response is how knowledge of the weather is also an important safety issue. Interviews revealed that such safety concerns were twofold – both relating to the safety of the fisher themselves (discussed in 4.5.2.3) and about not losing their fishing gear. As Fisher 22 highlights, losing gear is the opposite of

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'good fishing' as it reflects how the fisher has "miss-judged the weather" (F-22). Fisher 22 goes on to explain how he would be really "pissed off" if he lost gear, and that if a fisher does this too much it depicts them as "untidy" (F-22) and "lazy" (F-22). Observations such as these reveal that a 'good fisher' understands the weather and is working hard within the limits of the sea. Not losing gear, the research noted, is an important part of being a 'good fisher' as there is an element of economic necessity – with interviews noting that one lobster pot "costs about 60 pound each" (F-14). Such observations reveal that symbolically valued skills are actioned towards "economic efficiency" which relate to similar observations in the context of farming (Burton et al. 2008, p.23). The research found that although the Llŷn fishery is a 'small-scale fishery', the 'good fisher' is underpinned by a productivist culture in which symbolic capital of the field also works towards economic ends.

The research observed that a key issue in displaying skilled performance on the sea was that fishing activities are not materialised in the seascape in the same way as can be seen in the farming landscape. As discussed earlier, Burton et al. (2008) point to the phenomena of "roadside farming" – whereby neighbours and other farmers are able to observe (and monitor) the activities and successes of others through observing their crops and cattle. The interviews and participant observation noted that fishing does not allow such a clear materialisation as neighbours and all other fishers cannot necessarily observe the fishers actions when they are not out at sea. Therefore the way fishers become positioned as 'good fishers' has to be

understood through other mechanisms.[5] One such mechanism is how stationary fishing gear, through the visibility of the buoys above the sea surface, become a display of fishers' fishing abilities:

> Interviewer: "How would you know [if other fishers are successful]?"
>
> Fisher: "If you didn't see what they're actually physically landing... You can see the way the fishing gear, the way they move it around the bay. The way they fish and their style of fishing you'll think 'well, he is going to be catching pretty well' […] the times of the year where they are… and you get other people who are completely random doing it, just all over the shop. But you could tell without physically seeing what they catch, I suppose. Then if they are not putting bait in the pot, then they won't catch again as well. I suppose… [there] are variables..." (F-16).

As Fisher 16 explains, moving the fishing gear around according to weather predictions and seasons develop into a pattern, or 'style'[6] from which fishers can display theirs and read 'good fishing' skills of others. It was observed that each fisher interviewed had their own "individual mark" (F-8) (usually indicated by a particular colour) on their buoys making it possible for others to know who has performed a particular activity. Fisher 16's narrative reveals that although directly observable indicators of production success are not available to fishers in the same way as for farming, this does not mean observations and associated judgements do not occur. Instead, the observations are akin to those of 'straight lines' within crop

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[5] However, the shape of the sea floor has proven to materially change by fishing activities such as trawling and marine scientists have raised concerns over the impact of trawling and scallop fisheries on the sea floor (e.g. Agbayani et al. 2015; Wattage et al. 2011). Nevertheless, the sea floor is not directly visible to fishers and was not mentioned in interviews as important for their identities.

[6] Not to be confused with Boonstra and Hentati-Sundberg's (2016) theoretical concept of 'fishing styles' which talks about a much wider classification of fishers' behaviours.

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planting that have been noted in the 'good farming' literature (Burton et al. 2008; Riley 2016a), whereby it is a practice associated with good production, or in this case a fisher's good catch, rather than the output itself, which is observed (see Figure 4.8 for a photo of the 'visibility' of buoys and Figure 4.9 for the 'invisibility' of pots). Here, these are not only a demonstration of motoric skill – the placing and spacing of buoys being a skill in itself – but also evidence of the managerial skills of knowing when to apply context-specific appropriate actions. The use and placing of buoys thus becomes taken as a proxy for successful fishing. Although crops and livestock, as signs of farming skill, are visible to a wide variety of onlookers – both farming neighbours and beyond – for fishing the display of buoys on the water has a smaller group of observers. This relates both to their offshore locality, but also in terms of those who are able to decode their significance and relevance. As Fisher 16's narrative shows it is necessary to understand, himself, what he refers to as the 'variables' – such as the likely catch in that particular tract of the sea and the impacting weather conditions at that particular time – in order to understand the skill, or otherwise, that the buoys embody.

Figure 4.8 – The photo shows how the buoys (seen as little red dots) attached to lobster gear can be visible above the surface of the sea. This picture is taken from land which illustrate how difficult it is for the public to monitor fishing activities on the sea – in particular if they take place further offshore than these lobster pots
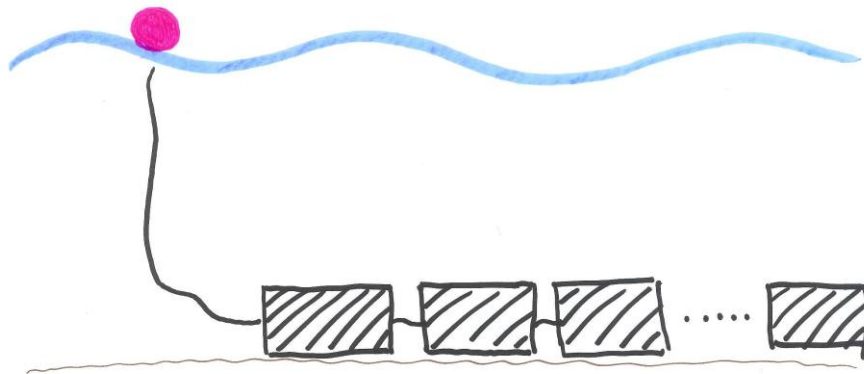
Figure 4.9 – Field sketch showing a pink buoy visible above the sea surface. On the sea bottom there are a number of lobster pots on a "string" which are invisible above the sea surface. Different fishers use different amounts of lobster pots on one string – anything from three to ten was identified in interviews.

4.4.1.2   Embodying the sea: overcoming seasickness

Further to the observations described above, the sea is also physically embodied by fishers. One example of this is how fishers do not get seasick. One partner and daughter explain:

> Daughter: "Not everyone can do it. Well you have to be able to be out at sea… You know rough [weather]... Our cousin tried it and he was there for [a very short time]… He couldn't do it. You know he was ill for the whole trip, very ill, very ill".
>
> Partner: "Violently sick".
>
> Daughter: "He just couldn't do it. Some people just can't do it"
>
> (D-23 and P-5).

Responses such as these highlight how fishing is a deeply embodied experience. Daughter 23 explains how she has known many people who wanted to try working at sea but, because of seasickness, "couldn't do it" (D-23). The extract also points to this as a more general point – that "some people just can't do it" (D-23). Statements such as these illustrate that fishers are operating in an environment very different from the land – that is the rocking fluid of the sea. Another fisher explains further:

> "I was seasick every day for about three weeks. It is the worst thing. Seasickness. And yeah I just stuck to it. […] I am still doing it five years later" (F-6).

Responses such as those of Fisher 6 point towards the way seasickness is a normal initial reaction to the environment of the sea. However, he also explains that by "sticking to it" he overcome his seasickness. Such responses reveal there is a learning process to become at ease on the sea. Seasickness is a bodily attribute but it is also a 'motoric ability' that can be learnt with time as the body gets used to the

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sea world. The research found that overcoming seasickness is an important way in which fishers come to embody the fishing habitus[7].

4.4.1.3 Handling machinery and demonstrating motoric, mechanical and managerial skills

Fisheries involve many forms of machinery – with boats, tractors and fishing gear being the most obvious examples. Boats have objectified cultural capital but, as discussed earlier in the chapter, the boat itself does not have symbolic value in fishing. Instead, interviews revealed that symbolic value is attached to how fishing objects are *used* which displays fishers' embodied cultural capital. The two following quotes reflect aspects of this that emerged in interviews:

> "Using the boat, really you get intimate knowledge of the fishing ground, the patch, and the weather conditions. […] You know, when you can go out, when you can't go out [...] the understanding of the tides and the seasons and how to fish, when to fish, where you fish. What is the best method, the best bait" (F-22).

> "Being able to handle a boat single handed that is quite an achievement. […] Especially, our size boats they are quite big and heavy. […] We have to launch ours we can't moor. [They] have to be hauled in and out, which is hard work. […] You just progress from one boat to the other and they get bigger and bigger. […] There is skill. […] You have to be able to do everything. […] You learn as you go along. […] You just progress" (F-19).

Responses such as those of Fisher 22 and Fisher 19 illustrate how the boat is central for learning the skills of 'good fishing'. By handling objectified cultural capital

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[7] Previous research has echoed these findings by suggesting that overcoming seasickness is part of an 'enskillment' processes in becoming a fisher (Pálsson 1994; also see Probyn 2014 on the 'oceanic habitus').

such as a boat, fishers learn to fish and accumulate embodied cultural capital over the years as they "just progress" (F-19). Such an observation relates to Pálsson's (1994, p.910) argument that "the skilful skipper attends to his fishing technology as if it were an extension of his person". In this way, technology is seen as the mediator in which fishers can access the sea – and without such technologies the sea would have been inaccessible to most humans. A similar point is raised in Fisher 22's response as he suggests the use of technologies enables fishers to learn about fish and the sea. Handling these fishing technologies, interviews revealed, requires many 'motoric skills'. For instance, in the Llŷn coastal fishery, many fishers, but not all, are working from small 'fishing coves' which required specific types of motoric skills:

> Interviewer: "You were saying everyone has their own tractor…?"
> Fisher: "Yes, cause it is […] you leave the boat on a trailer and you have to leave the tractor stuck on the trailer cause when you come in sometimes there is so much of a surf [that] you only have got a few seconds to reverse your tractor and your trailer into the sea and put the boat on" (F-18).

Responses such as Fisher 18's reveal the delicate process of landing the boat onto a tractor and trailer coming back from a fishing trip. This activity takes place in the fishing cove and is thus a skilled performance that can be visible to other fishers. Fisher 19's earlier response further notes that fishers have to be able to "handle a boat", "hauling the boat in and out", and being able to handle "bigger and bigger boats" and Fisher 18 adds that fishers have to be able to handle a tractor. Fisher 22 added to these points:

"If I cock up at sea I can die by drowning … Or you are running through a tidal rip with the boat and the boat gets pushed on its side and you have to recover from it. You know, you test your seamanship" (F-22).

Fisher 22's response highlight the importance of being resilient and able to cope with the unpredictability of the sea – which was underpinned by the knowledge that the sea can be very dangerous. Having a broad set of motoric abilities – that of being able to handle the boat, navigate tides and recover from shock, was as Fisher 22 emphasises important for his survival at sea.

Alongside the motoric skills of handling fishing technology, the research found that mechanical abilities were also commonly referred to by fishers in interviews. Two extracts are illustrative here:

"Since I got my own boat. Oh my god it has blown my mind out, how you gotta be a mechanic, an electrician, an engineer and a skipper, and answer the phone – a secretary" (F-11).

"Cause we have to build our own trailers, […] we have to be welders, we have to be fishermen, you name it we have to do it. […] Engineers. If the engine conks out you have to be able to repair it, […] rebuild an engine, […] it is all part of it. So you have to be a mechanic as well. […] Navigation too. […] You have to be everything – except a millionaire" (F-19).

The two extracts highlight that all the technologies (boat, engines, gear, etc.) involved in fishing require regular maintenance work. Embodying mechanical abilities were, as Fisher 19 suggests "all part of it", highlighting how such abilities had relevance to what it meant to be a 'good fisher'. Interviews revealed that the importance of mechanical abilities in fishing were two-fold. At one level, there was a safety element to this – with fishers noting the necessity to understand the

mechanics of their boat in order to fix it in the event of breaking down whilst at sea. At a second, and interrelated level, was the notion of independence. As Fisher 19 noted, there is an element of economic capital within this, with profit margins tight and thus a need to minimise spend on external labour. Interlinked with this was the need to demonstrate self-sufficiency within being a 'good fisher'. Skill, in this sense, was not just seen to be in the direct activity of landing catch – evidenced in the arrangement of buoys referred to earlier – but in showing a range of different skills which, collectively, facilitate a level of autonomy for each fisher.

Interviews also revealed the existence of other forms of mechanical abilities needed in fishing. Examples included the ability to 'fine-tune the fishing gear' such as adjusting the lobster pots to optimise their catch levels. Fishers spoke about the ways in which this can be done, such as adjusting the "weight in the pot" (F-18); the time they let the pots "soak" (F-28) (i.e. the time you leave the pots before you pick them up); the number of "pots on a string" (F-16); the type of bait used and how this bait has been processed (F-18). Within interviews it became clear that learning these specific ways in which to handle fishing gear were done over the years. However, as discussed earlier by Fisher 16 it is difficult to view some of these skilled performances of other fishers: "Then if they are not putting bait in the pot, then they won't catch again as well. I suppose... [there] are variables..." (F-16). Such responses illustrate that in fishing not all types of activities become displayed to other fishers in the fishing community as they are not directly visible. The bait used in fishing is a good example to illustrate this point. In Figure 4.9 it is clear that the pots are not directly visible on the sea surface, and an additional layer to this is that the content of the pot, such as the bait used, remain invisible. The finding here is that such performances remain hidden if not otherwise accessible –

for example through conversations. However, as will be discussed in Section 4.4.3, 'good fishers' do not overtly boast about their successes or give away their 'fishing secrets'. The finding is therefore that some activities, such as the fishing bait used, might have direct economic advantages for fishers productivity, but, the display of this activity remains hidden and does not inform other fishers' judgement of their 'good fishing' abilities. Instead, interviews revealed that there are more indirect ways in which fishers can display their 'good fishing' abilities. One example being the buoys discussed above, another example is that fishers often spoke about their subtle displays of 'good fishing'. This was for example emphasised as "you keep your boat tidy" (F-22). The following Research diary extract highlights the visibility of such displays:

> "After the interview with Fisher X he wanted to show me his fishing boat. The fishing boat was on a trailer onshore a few hundred meters from the fishing cove. Next to the boat was his fishing gear, lots of rope curled up in tidy bundles. Where he stored his boat was another two boats and the other fishers' fishing gear. I had the sense that if other people did not know about this place they would never have been able to see it. However, whilst out of sight from the public, fishers fishing from this particular fishing cove frequently can view and assess the appearance of the fishing gear and boats of other fishers" (Research diary extract 1).

Responses such as Fisher 22's and the participant observation reveal that the standard of fishers equipment is taken, by other fishers, as an indirect marker of their ability to catch. In this context it becomes a sign of their catching and 'good fishing' abilities. In large part, this was due to the associated perception of readiness, whereby a fisher was ready to take advantage – at any time – of a change in the weather or catch movement in order to land a good catch. The participant

observation revealed that these indirect markers did not become visible while at sea, but rather in onshore fishing places such as the landing site and fishing cove where the boat is kept onshore (see Research diary extract 1).

The reference to being 'on top of things' also highlighted the importance of demonstrating managerial abilities. Importantly a 'good fisher' goes fishing as often as the weather permits[8]. For fishers to make the best of a fishing opportunity and good weather condition, it was important to make sure they were 'ready' to take advantage of such times (as discussed above). In particular, when the weather is too poor for fishing fishers emphasised how they had to keep going and doing the other activities that need to be done in order to go out and catch fish:

> "We couldn't fish if [we didn't do] the work onshore as well. Unless you pay someone to do it for you. […] It works well with us cause a windy day like today we can't fish so we [maintain pots or work on the boat]" (F-8).

> "It is a full-time job just having a boat in itself and maintaining it. Keeping things going you know" (F-11).

Responses such as Fisher 8's and Fisher 11's suggest that fishers "keep busy" (F-14) while the weather is poor to be 'ready to fish' when the weather is good. This is evident in Fisher 8's statement "we couldn't fish if not having done the work onshore as well". Furthermore fishers spoke about how it is important to be "putting the hours in" (F-16) to be successful. In contrast, hard work was the opposite of being "lazy" (F-22) which earlier was suggested to be a sign of poor fishing. Fishers managerial abilities of timing their work according to weather predictions relates to

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[8] For part-time fishers who had another job this was constrained by their other work commitments.

what Burton et al. (2008) refer to as being able to "do the right thing at the right time". Demonstrating their hard work to the rest of the fishing community also has a spatial element, whereby fishers are present in the appropriate space at the right time – and in particular, maintenance work is usually performed onshore such as the fishing cove and shed. Being present in such places at the appropriate time had relevance for being a 'good fisher' as it would display their hardworking nature and their ability to plan their activities around the weather.

Finally, the interviews revealed that fishers 'bravery' – demonstrated by fishing in rough weather, could have either positive or negative undertone for their 'good fishing' status depending on the situation. First, many fishers spoke about liking to "test your seamanship" (F-22) which was an obvious display of their abilities to handle the boat while at sea – and was positively associated with their 'good fishing' status. Second, Fisher 22 noted that it was "foolish" to go out fishing when there is clearly too much wind and it is too dangerous. Such observations reveal that taking unnecessary risks were negatively associated with 'good fishing'. Interviews reveal that the type of boat used took on significance to what was considered to be 'too' windy:

Fisher 8: "[The first boat was] 7 meters long. And the next boat was 9 metres long [which made it possible] to carry more boxes [and to fish together]".

Fisher 27: "More weight. And work more weather. Rougher weather".

Fisher 8: "And this boat now is 9.7 metres long which is only a little bit more".

Fisher 27: "Well its ten metres isn't it?".

Fisher 8: "Bigger boat, wider, deeper".

Fisher 27: "Heavier".

Fisher 8: "Heavier and can work more rough weather".

Fisher 27: "And we can scallop with it. We couldn't scallop with the other boat" (F-8 and F-27).

The joint interview with Fisher 8 and Fisher 27 revealed that different boats have different capacities to deal with rough weather. In the extract they explain that "bigger [and] wider, deeper" and "heavier [boats] can work more rough weather". (F-8). Such responses reveal that the type of boat used has significance for *what* they can be used for. Observations like these also highlight that fisher's display of 'good fishing' – exemplified with their bravery – is conditioned by the fisher's objectified cultural capital – that is, the type of boat they have. The research found that depending on the objectified cultural capital used, the display of bravery in rough weather could either be considered 'good fishing' or simply "foolish" (F-22). Such observations are interlinked with the findings discussed in Section 4.4.1.1 – that fishers work *with* the elements of the sea and the weather. The joint interview above show that fishers also work *with* and within the limits of their objectified cultural capital. It can also be argued that fishers clearly have different capacities to catch fish based around their objectified cultural capital. In particular, the advantages of having a larger boat is that of being able to go out in rougher weather. This can perhaps be compared to farmers' different sizes of farms which will enable

them to produce different amounts of crops, but, an important distinction needs to be made – that fishers compete for the same fish as there are no formally recognised property rights over the fishery. Thus, having a bigger boat has a clear advantage in the 'race for the fish'. However, Burton (2004) notes, in the parallel literature on farming, that for farmers to purchase machinery that is deemed too economically large for its purpose may have negative affect on a farmer's status. In particular, they suggest that farmers without the necessary skills to use such machinery were not considered 'good farmers'. Relating this to the observations of fishers it can be understood that having boats that were too big was deemed, by other fishers, as poor fishing as the fishing opportunity was not there. Furthermore, too big boats and too much fishing gear threatened the fishing opportunity of these other fishers as they were all competing for a shared resource. Such findings highlight that it is not simply catching the most fish (on a short timescale) that position fishers as 'good fishers'. Instead, it might be that displaying a commitment of working within the inshore fishing area limits – such as determined by the availability of fish – which positions fishers as 'good fishers'.

4.4.1.4   Motoric bodily abilities: 'not only strength'

Interviews revealed that the fisher body also carries the motoric ability needed for fishing. As Bourdieu (1986, p.47 emphasis added) argues, embodied cultural capital arises as a "long-lasting disposition of the mind or *body*". The two following extracts reflect two aspects of this which emerged in interviews:

> "Basically it is landing the catches. It is these boxes [that are heavy]. Cause you man-handle them so many times cause you cannot come alongside the quay to land the catch. […] You have got to transfer the stuff into the dingy (a small-boat). That has got to come ashore, and then the tractor and then

the trailer and then you have got to transport it to the lorry afterwards. It is all by hand you see" (F-8).

"[People that have never fished before] come with me sometimes. And they get a hell of a laugh. I ask them to lift a lobster pot into the boat and they can't. I can. Yeah. Cause there is a technique, but also they can't get it in cause it is too heavy for them. But I can, with one arm and they laugh" (F-22).

Responses such as these highlight how bodily abilities have importance to what it means to be a 'good fisher'. At one level, fishers spoke about having to be strong in order to land the catch which, Fisher 8 notes, requires that "heavy boxes" (F-27) are "man-handle[d]" (F-8) from the boat to the shore. At a second level, the bodily abilities were not just about sheer strength. As Fisher 22's underlines, there is a "technique" to how lobster pots can be lifted. The interviews revealed that there are motoric abilities that fishers embody which enable them to fish more effectively. Furthermore, as evident from Fisher 22's response, being able to demonstrate how he could lift the pots with "one arm" while "they laugh" (F-22) suggested a sense of pride and enjoyment. Such observations reveal that bodily techniques are important to be a 'good fisher'. Other aspects of fishers' bodily displays will be discussed in Chapter 6 while examining fishing masculinities. The good fishing skills found in this research was summarised in Table 4.1.

4.4.2 Working together and following 'unwritten reciprocal agreements'

In any field there are specific 'rules of the game' (or *doxa* as Bourdieu (1977, p.164) calls it) which members of the field need to gain an understanding of and relate to and this was also seen to be the case for fishers. As Sutherland and Burton (2011, p.249) argue, farmers need two things to be positioned as a 'good farmer':

"There are two ways in which a reputation for being a 'good farmer' and a good neighbour can be built: through display of farming ability (embodied cultural capital) and through a reputation for complying with unwritten reciprocal agreements".

As discussed earlier in the chapter, Sutherland and Burton's (2011) first point regarding displaying abilities was seen to be important also for fishers, and so too is their second point relating to unwritten reciprocal agreements. In farming, this second point becomes significant for informal exchange of machinery and labour, where 'good farmers' with a reputation to follow unwritten reciprocal agreements were more likely to access and mobilise social capital in the form of machinery and labour (Sutherland and Burton 2011). While exchange of informal labour and machinery takes place in fishing, the importance of complying with the unwritten reciprocal fishing agreements becomes salient in discussions of how to share a 'common' sea without clear ownership boundaries. The paradoxical nature of the relationship between competing for the same resource while complying with reciprocal agreements was highlighted by Fisher 11 who, in the first extract, talks about the competitive nature of fishing and then, in the second extract, the cooperative aspects of fishing:

"Yeah, there is always competition. Yeeah…. It is like whoever scores the most goals, ain't it? Whoever gets the most bags or whoever fishes the most fish. […] It is not a public competition but it is just in everybody's head. […] Not many would admit to that but everybody knows that he wants to do better than you and you want to do better than him you know… It is like a game…" (F-11).

Then later on in the same interview:

> "We are all friends… we all get along. If anything happens to somebody or
> if you want to borrow a tool or something you just go alongside of each
> other and chuck it over. If somebody breaks down and you need a tow in,
> […] everybody helps each other out you know. […] It is a close knit
> [community]. […] Everybody should look out for one another. […]
> [There'll] be certain times in my life when I am definitely going to need
> some kind of help. […] You scratch my back I scratch yours isn't it? I would
> never pass anybody, bloody hell no […] cause I would expect the same you
> know" (F-11).

In the first extract, Fisher 11 emphasises how important competition is for him and
his motivation to improve his fishing activities. Nevertheless, he emphasises how
this sort of competition is not "public" and that it is contained in "everybody's
head". In the second extract, Fisher 11 talks about the importance of helping other
fishers in times of need. This is one example of an 'unwritten reciprocal agreement'.
We can see here that fishing can be seen, at once, as both a cooperative *and*
competitive industry. Echoing this observation, other researchers have previously
discussed this dual nature of fishing from an historical point of view (e.g. van
Ginkel (1996) for the Texel fishing industry in Netherlands and Palmer (1990) for
the Maine lobster fishery in the US). Within the 'good farming' literature, it has
been noted that competitiveness may be part of the social order, with social capital
derived from how higher status cultural goods compare with those of neighbours
and other farmers[9]. However, at the level below this – the everyday working of their
land, farmers are not competing *per se* – with each having their own defined
territory and a resource not encroached on by others. For fishers, however, there is

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[9] Although not often focused on in the 'good farming' literature, so too there is competition when
land becomes available for purchase or rent.

an inherent competition for resource – the sea and the associated catch. Fishing licenses mean that there is some level of formal arrangement of *who* can fish the sea, but the interviews revealed that *where* and *how* they did this was informed by the social relations between fishers. The interviews highlighted that the balancing of cooperation and competition (that is a 'subtle competitiveness' (Riley 2016b)) was central to earning and maintaining the position as a 'good fisher' and four specific themes recurred within interviews: managing territories, respecting fishing gear, safety at sea and, running through each of these, the importance of keeping secrets (all summarised in Table 4.1 and the latter discussed in Section 4.4.3).

4.4.2.1 *Fishing territories: history and "respect"*

The field research revealed that fishing 'rights' were organised in the shape of territories. Having exclusive access to such fishing territories were found to be more profitable than sharing their fishing grounds with others:

> "Lobsters are on certain habitat and if you can keep hold of that piece of habitat, it is good. If you lose it is [bad]. I have lost 6 miles sway of coast that I used to fish exclusively, now there is four boats on there. But nobody is making any money out of it, they are just taking a share. When I [fished it] exclusively to myself it was good, very good. You work in rotation, like a crop. Every pot would yield a lobster. But now it is… [Sigh]" (F-16).

Responses such as Fisher 16's reveal that fishing territories in lobster fishing are linked to "keep[ing] hold" (F-16) of a particular "habitat" (F-16) where lobsters live. Such habitat is, specifically, rocky sea bottom habitats. Furthermore, keeping others away from their fishing territories is a crucial aspect of fishing competition, as exclusive fishing in an area is "very good" (F-16) in financial terms. Interviews

revealed that fishing territories are assembled based on a number of factors, as discussed by Fisher 18 in the following extract:

> Interviewer: "When you say you fish in this area, how did you take up fishing in those specific areas?"
>
> Fisher: "Well, take the cove as a starting point. What I do is that I go as far as I can that way 'til I go up against… if I go further that way there is another three fishermen so there is too many pots so I stop by [place X]. And the same the other side really. And I am at my limits, or what I can work in a day. I work one side one day and the other side the other day. […] [When] I go fishing I work about six hours. And then travelling back and I am back in the cove by eight. So really I can't go any further than that. That is my day. Then it is the same the other side. So the hours in a day and the number of pots you can lift […] and the tide" (F-18).

Fisher 18 spoke about the spatial elements of fishing territories and explained that their location had the fishing cove as a starting point, and that travelling time limited their spatial movements. Furthermore, Fisher 18 spoke of the fishing territories as structured by the tide and the number of pots that he could lift in day. However, Fisher 18 did not mention the social element of fishing territory boundaries as was commonly discussed in other interviews. These other interviews revealed that territories were also linked to notions of respect, fishing history and "gentlemen's agreements" [sic] (F-8). The following extract illustrates how the two first themes interrelate:

> "It is not their patch obviously, it doesn't belong to them but it is just respect. It depends on where you have always fished. Most fishermen, especially around here, it's been handed down. […] You know generation to generation. […] And it is just the thing you know. You keep out of my area I'll keep out of yours. […] My family has been fishing there for years. The same as [another fisher]" (F-28).

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Fisher 28 illustrates how fishers have a sense of "belong[ing]" to a particular fishing territory and highlights that fishing territories are strongly linked to the notion of 'respect'. Several other fishers also spoke about the social elements of the spatial organisation of fishing territories. For example, Fisher 8 emphasised that fishing areas are tightly linked to notions of respect which they call "gentlemen's' agreements" (F-8 and F-27). In the following two quotes Fisher 16 and Fisher 19 highlight the complex ways in which fishing territories are organised and the ways 'rules' about such organisation are followed by "local" (F-19) fishers:

> "We generally fish the same piece of area, but there is also little areas inside that that I don't go and he doesn't go" (F-16).

> "We are all local fishermen. We haven't got any problem really. Everybody knows the rules and stick to it. I don't go to their patch and they don't come to mine. We have words if we do but yeah […] no it is fine [Laugh]" (F-19).

Fisher 19 makes reference to the 'rules' – or what in Bourdieusian terms might be called *doxa* – through which fishing territories are policed. The quotes from Fisher 16 and Fisher 28 go on to illustrate the ways in which these are spatially and temporally defined. Several fishers spoke of the importance of history and, as noted in the extract of Fisher 28, the importance of generational transfer. The interviews showed that a key difference to farming is that although fishers may inherit fishing equipment and boats from their predecessors, these are depreciating goods, as opposed to the transfer of land, seen in agriculture, which invariably increases in value (often exponentially) over time. Where a similarity can be drawn, however, is in how skills and knowledge are passed from one generation to another and shape the fishing habitus. Practically, the cultural capital associated with being a 'good

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fisher' may be accumulated through intergenerational transfer. Such generational transfer of capital, the research highlighted, was sufficient to make the fishing relationships, and associated access to fishing territories, relatively static. Whilst there are some subtle variations in how these sharing arrangements work, the general rule of "you keep out of my area, I'll keep out of yours" (F-28) worked well, the interviews revealed, with few instances of recurring conflicts reported on. Nevertheless, not all fishers had family connections to fishers in the local fishery. The research found that a new fisher had to build a certain amount of social capital to be accepted in the fishing community. Chapter 5 will discuss this process in depth and will show that social background and position have importance for the ways in which young people can enter the local fishery. It will be discussed that for extra-familial prospective fishers to enter the fishery they need to adapt and embody a sense of the local 'rules of the game'.

A second aspect relating to these rules on fishing territories is how 'good fishing' may be seen as spatially specific and how this, in turn, serves to police the boundaries of fishing. Fisher 19 notes "we are local fishermen" and this is important for our broader understanding of the concept of the 'good fisher'. Recent critiques of the 'good farming' literature have focused on the perceived underplaying of what might be regional variations in 'good farming' and context specific symbols of 'good farming' (Riley 2016a; Sutherland 2013). As Section 4.5 of this chapter will suggest, 'good fishing' involves the demonstration of an awareness of the specific micro-climates of coves and stretches of water and, as fishers like Fisher 22 demonstrate below, it is also about understanding the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu 1984) in this particular locality:

"Outsiders you don't like, cause you can't trust them. […] Some people from away you dislike because you know of them and they have a bad reputation. You know like, someone who takes like undersized lobster or whatever, they are idiots" (F-22).

In the interview Fisher 22 spoke about the bad reputation some fishers had as a consequence for not abiding by the 'rules'. Specifically, Fisher 22 talks about taking "undersized lobster" which is in fact illegal in the area (Welsh Government 2016a) and fishers generally supported this piece of legislation. 'Outsiders', the interviews revealed, were both defined as not having a history in that area and, accordingly, not understanding the intricacies of the micro-climate. As a result, as Fisher 22 's response reveals, they did not have sufficient accumulated social capital to afford them the trust of those 'local' fishers in the area – a theme returned to later in the chapter. On the contrary, fishers who have a reputation for following the 'rules of the game', unwritten or formulated in policy, usually – "local fishermen" (F-19) – were found to be positioned as 'good fishers' within the fishing community of the Llŷn peninsula. By following the 'rules of the game' fishers work together and do not have bad problems and argument, evidenced by Fishers 19's comments: "it works" (F-19) and "it is fine" (F-19). Arguably, responses like Fisher 19 and Fisher 22's are implicitly suggesting that there are no "outsiders" (or someone with a difference sense of what the rules are) entering the fishery – and therefore there is no one who is actively challenging the current rules (*doxa*) in the fishing community. By sharing the same habitus and understanding of symbolic value, fishers can keep their fishing territories over time.

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While there is substantial continuity to some aspects of fishing territories, the research also noted that there were other ways in which fishing territories have organised has changed over time:

> "My father always fished there in that area. He always fished there so we fished there. […]. The older fishers died off and it was only us left. […] Not many people have come in since because of the costs to get the license for your boat so we just tend to retain [the territories]. […] Areas are getting bigger and bigger. […] Economy of scale all over. Farms get bigger. Fishing boats get bigger. Lower, diminishing returns… […] There will be less and less [fishers] of course it will be yeah. And we are all getting older" (F-22).

Responses such as Fisher 22's illustrate how the changing 'rules of the game' may arguably have served to change the structure of the fishing territories. The research observed, as since territories are not formally recognised as ownership, they are open to some modification. Nevertheless, Fisher 22's response highlights that fishing territories have become more 'stable' and 'larger'. First, the response points towards how territories have become more stabilised in the area as less fishers have entered (Chapter 5 will discuss the aspects of recruitment in more depth). Fisher 22 points out that new fishers – with a potentially different sense of the 'rules of the game' – could hypothetically challenge some of the existing structures of the fishing territories. However, as few new individuals are entering the fishery, current fishers tend to hold on to the same fishing territories that they have fished in the past. The observed outcome therefore is that territorial boundaries remain intact. Second, the extract highlights how 'economies of scale' have served to increase the overall size of fishing territories. Such observations highlight that with changing recruitment structures alongside the decreased profitability of the fishery, fishing territories have become larger and more stabilised. In other words, fishing

territories have become more similar to private property – although still unrecognised as such by governments.

4.4.2.2   Respecting other fishers' fishing gear

Demonstrating their commitment to the unwritten 'rules of the game' is also about showing respect for other fishers' fishing gear, as the following extract highlights:

> "Like towing through other people's pots? […] That is one reason why I work in the day. I have got the phone number [of everybody that has got pots in the bay] and I telephone them or I text them before I am even going. I will […] say 'I am heading up this way do you have anything up there?' Then they will text me back or they will phone me and [say] 'don't go there I have shit loads of pots there, try to work yourself that way'. […] If I had pots out there and somebody towed through mine I would be mental. I would be red in the face [Laugh]. I would expect someone else to be mental as well if I had done it to them. You just have got to have a bit of respect don't you? [...] Everybody knows where everybody works so you could go there and wait for them when they come in. To avoid shit like that you have got to have their numbers in your phone and you have got to be in contact. […] When there is a little bit of chop on the sea and you can't see their damn buoys and I can't see their flags, well, it is not your fault really if you tow through them if you have texted to ask them [first]?! […] You have tried your best haven't you? […] A thing I detest is towing through somebody's gear" (F-11).

In the extract, Fisher 11 discusses the importance for him, as a mobile trawl fisher, of avoiding towing through other fishers' stationary lobster pots which, if done, could cause conflict between fishers. In the interview, Fisher 11 highlights one strategy through which this could be achieved – that is communicating with other fishers about where he intends to fish. Such observations illustrate three interrelated findings. First, fishers take actions to avoid conflicts through managing their social

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relations to other fishers. Second, fishers build social capital through the process of following unwritten reciprocal agreements – in the aforementioned example the agreement was to respect other fishers fishing gear. However, a third important observation can be seen within Fisher 11's response, in that he spoke about the importance to "hav[ing] tried your best" (F-11). Observations like these could be interpreted as it being more important to show and display a commitment towards the 'rules of the game' than to actually realise them. Fisher 11's response suggests that if a fisher breaks the rules – by mistake or, as he says: if there is a "bit of a chop on the sea and you can't see their damn buoys" (F-11) it is important to at least having displayed to the other fishers that he has tried to follow the rules the best he could. This is evidenced by Fisher 11 statement "it is not your fault really if you tow through them if you have texted to ask them" (F-11). Alongside the importance of respecting others' fishing gear the research found that it was important for fishers to present themselves as 'trustworthy':

> "Because it is all trust down there. You have got to keep your fish fresh for the week so you have got to put all your lobsters in the quay pots. […] And sometimes they wonder if someone is going in them… but then they can't prove that, can they? […] It is all down to trust. […] Like if you lose your pots, and they do come up somewhere else. Somebody would ring up and say I have seen your pots in a certain place. […] You would say 'well thanks very much' and you'd go and fetch them. It is all trust down there. […] I suppose they know who they can trust. If there is any stranger […] or if somebody was cutting their ropes deliberately for them to lose their pots they would soon put that person in place in a way" (P-21).

What Partner 21's quote reveals is that it is important that fishers can trust each other and her response draw on two examples. First, that fishers have to be able to trust that others do not steal their catch whilst it is stored in quay pots waiting to be

sold by the end of the week. Second, trust is about knowing that other fishers would help out if they could – as evidenced by the example of lost and found lobster pots (see Figure 4.10 for a photo on lost lobster gear on the beach). For fishers to be known as someone "they can trust" (P-21) it was important to maintain good social relations to other fishers. Partner 21's extract further reveals several ways in which this was done. First, the example of identifying and contacting the owner of lost lobster gear was a way in which fisher could demonstrate their 'trustworthiness'. Second, Partner 21's response reveals that not "cutting [other fishers] ropes" and therefore respecting other fishers fishing gear was a way to build trust. A similar point was also expressed in Fisher 11's extract above. The third observation was that it was important to be involved in collectively policing the local 'rules of the game' as Partner 21 explains that fishers that do not follow unwritten reciprocal agreement will be "put in [their] place" (P-21). The research found that displaying trustworthiness and showing a commitment towards the unwritten 'rules of the game' was particularly important on the sea for three reasons: i) fishers did not have overt control over these territories which exposed their business to a large amount of insecurity, ii) by collectively enforcing the unwritten 'rules of the game' they could reduce some of that insecurity, and iii) it was found that continually demonstrating 'trustworthiness' directly fed into a fisher's level of social capital.

Figure 4.10 – A lost lobster pot that has been pushed ashore by forces of the sea

4.4.2.3 Safety at sea: "everybody should look out for one another"

In interviews, fishers often draw on television series in arguing that fishing is one of the most dangerous jobs in the world[10]. As the nature of the sea has proven to be dangerous, there are 'unwritten rules' by which all fishers spoken to abide by:

> "Maybe tomorrow I go to sea and my boat engine breaks down. […] I might rely on someone […] who take me to rescue to help me. […] It could happen for a variety of reasons. There is lots of ways to be killed out at sea. […] If I help out one day, maybe they have done the most stupid thing in the world, but you never tell them, you just help them. Yeah. It is important. […] You have got to realise that the best safety rules around are friends. People that

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[10] This is supported by statistics over accidents and fatalities which are very high in numbers (Marine Management Organisation 2015, p.27).

watch out for you. […] Something breaks on one of my gear. I don't have the part immediately, but I know someone that does. I ask him 'can I have it and I'll get you one back'. He says yes, and I get it. […] Then I give it back. If somebody is in trouble they ask me to borrow something, I say 'yes of course you can'. […] It is self-preservation, but it is also common sense. […] The community of fishermen is important, it is more important cause your life may depend on it" (F-22).

Responses such as Fisher 22's reflect an important point, that fishers understand the dangers of the sea and the need to remain friendly with others to remain safe. This is highlighted by Fisher 22 who explained: it is "self-preservation". He goes on to note that having "friends" (F-22) at sea, who can look after him is the "best safety rule around". From observations such as these it can be argued that through following unwritten reciprocal agreement, such as helping out in need, 'good fishers' build social capital which one day might save them from a dangerous situation. Indeed, Fisher 22 argues that his "life depends" (F-22) on his social relations to other fishers. Important in this context is that fishers were found to build social capital, not for the immediate benefit, but so that they could call on it in the future when they would need it. As such the dangers of the sea serve as a 'backdrop' for fishers social relations (echoed by Power 2005).

4.4.3 Secrecy: a well-formed strategy

The following two quotes illustrate one important aspect of secrecy:

> "Fishermen tend to be quite secretive. […] A fisherman's worst enemy is another fisherman in a way. Cause it is competition. It is like farming but it is not. You are sharing the same ground so it is sort of a friendly kind of rivalry. A few people I will talk openly with but with other people you don't. You have to be quite secretive about where you are catching, […] cause you don't want to tell people I have been catching very well in a certain area

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cause then everybody else will descend on that area with their gear so…
There is sort of [a] health rivalry [here]. Everybody will help each other if
something happens or [if] anybody wants a hand with anything" (F-10).

Fisher: "No no, we wouldn't tell each other where we have caught fish".
Partner: "[Laugh]".
Fisher: "We wouldn't tell them… we would say we have been lobster
    fishing a certain day but we wouldn't say how many we have caught that
    day".
Partner: "But what would you be talking about then?"
Fisher: "We would be saying, 'how was your catch?' 'Not so bad'" (F-8 and
    P-9).

The two extracts point towards how it is important to be secretive as it may hold an
economic advantage. Both responses highlight how it is particularly important to
keep the location of where they catch well hidden from other fishers. Fisher 10's
response suggests that being secretive about their catch has the purpose of keeping
other fishers away from the fishing areas which they have found to be productive
and profitable. Fisher 8's response adds another layer to this observation, that is,
fishers control their conversations with other fishers so that information about catch
locations would not be revealed. The participant observation revealed that fishers
meet, interact and converse in numerous places such as on the beach, when fishers
sell their catch, in the local town and in the pub. In these places secrecy became
performed and enacted. In interviews, fishers also spoke about knowing how much
other fishers caught through observing other fishers selling their catches:

"People land in groups of half a dozen fishermen, or two fishermen… you
know they, obviously, [can see] what the other guy is landing" (F-16).

"Yes they see on the Monday night when the wagon comes here to fetch the fish. They have got an idea. And then they all tease each other. 'Well, look at your catch…' 'Oh yeah I didn't get these there you know'. Try to put each other off. […] They all look when the wagon comes here on a Monday night to fetch the fish. […] The lobsters, crabs whatever" (P-21).

"There [are] only two buyers that come around here. So over the years you have seen what every fisherman does, what every fisherman has done, and then you don't bother after that. You have seen it and you know the level they are at and you know the level you are at" (F-18).

Responses such as these reveal that fishers fishing from the same fishing cove did indeed know the yield of other fishers which had importance for how they could compare their productivity with other fishers. Such observations have important implications for competition and knowing who is a 'good fisher'. However, while fishers might know the yield of other fishers, information about the exact location at which the fish have been caught remain hidden through their performance of secrecy. In the lobster and crab fishery, fishers only land their catches once a week and the yield known to others is a display of the average catch over the whole week. Therefore, fishers cannot track the origin of the catch.

The research also found that fishers' conversational skills of keeping secret were tested in interaction with other fishers. It was observed that the social space of the pub was perhaps the location in which secrets where the hardest to keep, especially over a few pints:

"You have to be careful if you are in the pub or something you have to keep your mouth shut. Which is quite difficult. If someone asks you [something and you're like:] 'oh yeah I'll tell you' and then you are like: 'oh no, what have I said?!' [Laughing]" (F-16).

Responses such as Fisher 16 highlights how keeping secrets can be thought of as a skill (see Table 4.1). Fisher 16 further emphasises that certain places – such as the pub – are places in which the performance of this skill becomes more challenging than in other places. However, being secretive has importance for the display of embodied cultural capital as it is a skill that not every fisher embodies:

> Fisher 27: "He will tell me things though. He told me where to go scalloping a few months ago".
>
> Partner: "So he is nicer than you? [Laugh]".
>
> Fisher 27: "Yeah. [Smiling]".
>
> Fisher 8: "No it's just his tongue is a bit looser... [Laughing]".
>
> Interviewer: "So there is nothing like I tell you something and you tell me something back?"
>
> Fisher 27: "No. That is just up to him isn't it? That is his problem [Laugh]" (F-8, F-27 and P-9).

> "But well, it is worth a lot of money to them isn't it? It is the competition again. They don't want to see me doing better than them do they? You know. Even though I grew up with one of them in school. […] They still won't help me [Laughing]. They would tow me in if broke down, pass me a tool, borrow me whatever I want but they just won't tell me how to do it" (F-11).

The first extract above illustrates that some people are better than others at secrecy. Observations like these reveal that secrecy is itself a skilled performance of 'good fishing' with economic implications if not performed properly – as emphasised by Fisher 11 in the second extract. Furthermore, in the first extract it becomes evident that there is no moral requirement to reciprocate the sharing of fishing information. Sharing, in this case, is instead a performance of poor fishing. Indeed, Turner (2014) observed in her study of the Northumberland lobster fishery that fishers who shared

the least information were the most successful. In the above extracts it can be understood that having a long-lasting durable social relationship (which is the basis for social capital) does not mean fishers will share all information with each other. Nonetheless, the research revealed that social capital becomes present in other forms, such as sharing "tools" (F-11), and "towing […] in if broken down" (F-11).

Alongside the economic advantage of secrecy, interviews discovered that being secretive was also a strategy to maintain good social relations with other fishers:

> "You don't boast. No, that is stupid. You invite disaster if you boast. […] Yeah, sure, you keep your boat tidy […] [but] you never boast. Never never never. You know at sea things can change like that [snap fingers]. An engine can blow up, or, you know… You pride yourself in the good season, that you have caught well, but you, you never never boast. But it is stupid, if you say I have had a fantastic season, I had so much money. Maybe someone else will come into your patch" (F-22).

In Fisher 22's response he suggests that "boasting" is "stupid" and may invite disaster". Such statements clearly support the earlier finding that it is important for fishers to be secretive. Indeed Fisher 22 recognises the economic aspects of being 'too showy', echoing Fisher 10 and 8's responses earlier. However, Fisher 22's extract also adds another dimension – that is that fishers do not boast in order to maintain their relationship with others – which he suggests is important on a sea as "things can change like that [snap fingers]" (F-22). What is implicit in such statements is that fishers depend on other fishers and social capital for their safety (see Section 4.4.2.3). Section 4.4.1.3 and Fisher 22's response suggest that there are other ways in which successful fishing can be displayed to others – one example mentioned is that of "keep[ing] your boat tidy" (F-22). Using such subtle displays of 'good fishing' meant that fishers did not have to overtly position themselves as

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better than others to be known as 'good fishers' in the fishing community. Therefore, by downplaying the differences in success levels between fishers, fishers could build long-lasting durable relations with other fishers which gave them access to social capital in the form of others respecting their claims to a particular fishing territory, others helping out in need with tools, machinery as well as looking out for one another while at sea. As such, secrecy, and downplaying differences in success levels, proved to be what Bourdieu would understand as a 'well-formed' strategy (Lamaison and Bourdieu 1986) in which 'good fishers' managed to balance competition and cooperation. Such a strategy enabled fishers to keep a competitive edge whilst gaining access to social capital needed while at sea – in particular to ensure their own safety.

Whilst "boasting" was considered a performance of poor fishing for individual fishers, keeping secrets on a collective level were also shown to have practical implications:

> Fisher 27: "Like in Scarborough now, there is a lot of scallopers now, […] they have been catching well, apparently, for years there. But now the secret is out that there is a lot of scallops there. Everybody has gone there. […] So that is why you don't want people to know".
>
> Interviewer: "How does [the secret come out?]"
>
> Fisher 27: "It is Facebook and things like that these days. People talk".
>
> Fisher 8: "Usually people talk on Facebook don't they. [And] people boast as well, they can't help themselves. I don't know why. [Laugh]" (F-8 and F-27).

> "Little cliques that you build up in your area is also to preserve your fishing ground as well isn't it? The stronger you are as a group to keep outsiders away the more profitable it is to be in that area" (F-16).

Such responses revealed that keeping secrets is not only an individual activity but is a collective performance of fishers fishing in a particular locality (see Table 4.1). Fisher 16 refers to "cliques" as being important for maintain fishing territories. In the first extract, Fisher 8 and Fisher 27 refer to the UK mobile scallop fishing fleet in which fishers travel to distant places with a reputation of good fishing opportunities. Drawing on the earlier finding about the importance of keeping "outsiders" (F-22) away (discussed in Section 4.4.2.1) the research found that secrets have to be kept on a collective level in order to achieve this. Secrecy therefore involves keeping secrets away from the UK fishing industry as a whole. The 'managerial ability' of keeping secrets is highly visible to others and was found to have significant symbolic value within the fishing culture, as it is a display of fishers' 'good fishing' skills as well as 'trustworthiness'.

Table 4.1 –Summarising the 'good fisher'

The 'Good Fisher'	Practices and abilities	Display of
i) Demonstrating skills	Working with the sea – understanding weather and tides	Motoric and managerial abilities
	Embodying the sea	Motoric
	Handling machinery	Motoric, mechanical and managerial
	Bodily abilities	Motoric
	Conversational skills	Motoric and managerial
ii) Reputation of following unwritten reciprocal agreements	Respecting fishing territories	Trustworthiness
	Respecting fishing gear	Trustworthiness
	Keeping collective secrets	Trustworthiness
	Helping out in need	Trustworthiness

4.4.4 Policing 'good fishing'

As discussed above, the research found the strategy of secrecy as a successful way in which fishers balance competition and cooperation. Earlier in the chapter it was found that 'good fishing' was demonstrated in two ways: i) through fishers' display of their embodied cultural capital – which was in some contexts convertible to economic capital as it, in part, reflects the economic success of being a fisher, and

ii) by fishers trustworthiness to abide by the unwritten reciprocal agreements of respecting fishing territories and fishing gear. By having a reputation of following the unwritten 'rules of the game' fishers were able to gain social capital which is fundamental in fishing because of the dangers associated with the sea and their occupation. Interviews observed that fishers monitor the fishing activities of others and any transgressions, by those not attuned to the 'rules of the game' in the fishing field – such as "outsiders" (F-22), will be policed. Interviews revealed that policing of 'good fishing' relates to two key aspects: i) if fishers do not follow unwritten reciprocal agreements they might be exposed to repercussions, and ii) if fishers fail to display 'good fishing' abilities in lobster fishing they are labelled as 'flag-hunters'.

The research identified specific consequences of failing to live up to the 'good fishing' ideals:

> Fisher: "I wouldn't bother going all the way to the north coast. Cause I'd burn twice as much fuel and I'd probably get my ropes cut and stuff you know".
> Interviewer: "Because...?"
> Fisher: "Because I am not supposed to be there. You know" (F-28).

Fisher 28's statement points towards the types of consequences that could occur if fishers did not follow the unwritten reciprocal agreement of respecting other fishers' territories. As Fisher 28 emphasises he is "not supposed to be there" and as a consequence of not belonging he would "get [his] ropes cut" (F-28). Cutting someone's ropes was a clear signal to another fisher that he had transgressed the 'rules of the game' in the particular fishing field with the outcome of economic capital loss (found to be £60 per pot (F-14)) for the transgressing fisher.

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The research found a number of other ways in which respect of fishing territories and gear were policed. In particular, interviews revealed that there are different levels of policing which can be the result of transgressions. The two following extracts refer to the more subtle approaches taken to this policing:

"What I tend to do is that you increase your levels of fishing to try and make it unviable to be alongside you. You try to fish better than they are […] so they think 'what is the point of being here?'" (F-16).

"But it is […] they probably do the same thing towards us as well. If we went on their patch. […]. Last case scenario we would cut their ropes and, you know, they obviously wouldn't come back. But normally what I'd do is, […] if someone does come into our area we just put a load of pots around their pot... so they can't fish for it anyway. Or just pick them up and open their cages. And then they know that, okay, hang on a minute, someone has picked this up" (F-28).

The interviews revealed that fishers use an 'incremental' policing response. At a first level, fishers can 'crowd out' other fishers by increasing the numbers of pots placed in a particular area, which would make it economically unviable for other fishers to fish in those areas. Fisher 28's interview revealed, first fishers would "put loads of pots around their pots" (F-28) and, as such, this first strategy was more indirect. If this did not work fishers would move onto more direct measures with more severe consequences exemplified by Fisher 28's response: we would "pick [their lobster pots up] and open their cages". Such strategies all have the purpose of sending a message to transgressors that what they are doing is not going unnoticed. And if that did not work, fishers would use the "last case scenario" (F-28), that is "we would cut their ropes" (F-28). Furthermore, interviews revealed that as the

'rules of the game' in fishing have changed the mechanisms of policing have changed too:

> Fisher: "Yeah, it can become quite nasty".
>
> Partner: "Oh yeah, […] I call [the fishermen] little gangsters".
>
> Fisher: "No…"
>
> Partner: "I say that a lot. The things that you have to do to stop people coming on your patch is like gangsters".
>
> Fisher: "Oh yeah, I get it the same…"
>
> Partner: "You get it the same".
>
> Fisher: "Yeah I do it".
>
> Partner: "They put razor blades […] in the ropes".
>
> Fisher: "That is years ago".
>
> Partner: "People do".
>
> Fisher: "When we were hand hauling".
>
> Partner: "They put razor blades in the ropes, stops the ropes from being pulled up, they put messages on the buoys, and you put messages on the buoys… oh yeah… Don't be deceived it is very… it is a rough tough world isn't it?"
>
> Fisher: "Oh I push it and you get pushed in the corner and if you think you can stop somebody coming in where you fish you push back. If you think that you are not going to come well out of it you give a bit and try to haggle" (F-16 and P-17).

In the joint interview, Fisher 16 and Partner 17 talk about how fishers police their fishing territories. Important in their discussion is how fishers in the past, when they were still hand-hauling their pots[11], put razor blades on the ropes to prevent others to empty their pots. Such observations reveal that changes to the 'rules of the game'

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[11] Today they use winch technologies that mechanically pull up the lobster pots and razors blades would hence not be as dangerous as in the past when fisher hand hauled their pots.

have (re)shaped fishing practices over time and that fishing practices adapt to a changing fishing field. A second observation within Fisher 16 and Partner 17's responses is their discussion about "haggling" (F-16). Fisher 16 discusses how he considers the chances of success of expanding his territories by 'pushing it' and the contrary scenario of 'pushing back' by stopping other fishers coming in to his territory. Such observations reveal that it is important to know what the appropriate action to take is, given a particular situation and the particular fisher he face in the competition. This also suggests that there is practical implication to knowing the fishing success of other fishers as it would be important to know the 'strength' of another fisher in case fishers ended up in a dispute over fishing territories. Such knowledge can inform the fisher's decision whether 'pushing it', 'pushing back' or 'haggling' is the right strategy to take. This observations relates to Bourdieu's (1998, p.77) concept of habitus and having a "feel for the game" as knowing which strategy to take given the situation can be seen as 'tacit' or 'embodied' knowledge which becomes accumulated over time. The interviews also revealed there was a performative element to being a "gangster" (P-17), that of appearing 'aggressive' and 'threatening' to transgressors although such threats would never materialise. Appearing 'aggressive', the field research found, was about creating a "fierce" (F-18) impression of themselves to make other fishers (and sea-users) believe they should not challenge such a fisher. Important here is that many fishers spoken to recognised that too severe strategies should be avoided as best they could, as Fisher 27 explained: "Some fishermen would cut their pots to stop them, but that creates a war then" (F-27). To avoid unsettled situations of 'war at sea' most fishers made reference to avoiding severe levels of policing. Instead most fishers carefully balance their use of "gangster" (P-17) style activities with the respect that their

position as 'good fishers' imbued. The overarching finding here is that while policing their fishing territories fishers avoid overstepping 'subtle boundaries'. If fishers used too severe actions it could lead to 'war at sea' with obvious economic consequences for their fishing businesses. Instead, the research showed that amongst 'good fishers' fishers rely on the reciprocal notion of respecting territories rather than more aggressive strategies which could cause conflicts.

The interviews further revealed that not all fishers are 'good fishers'. In interviews with lobster and crab fishers it was observed that counter-identity of the 'good fisher' is the 'flag-hunter'[12]:

> "You will get people that just come down and they look around for other lobster pots and they will put [their pots] there. 'Ah there is one there, I'll just lay one next to him'. […] That is a bad fisherman. […] Flag-hunters we call them […] cause they just hunt flags and 'there is a flag there, there must be a lobster there'" (F-28).

Interviews, such as Fisher 28's response revealed that the 'flag-hunter' is a fisher that does not use his skills (or embodied cultural capital) to catch fish, but tries to capitalise on the embodied cultural capital of other fishers. This process of flag hunting was seen to be the antithesis of 'good fishing' and the associated demonstration of skill discussed earlier (see Section 4.4.1.). Their failure to demonstrate the necessary cultural capital resulted in little or no social capital amongst their fishing peers in this area. Accordingly, their field positon is such that they do not have access to the reciprocal arrangements which are central to survival

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[12] In the past on the Llŷn peninsula fishers had flags attached to their buoys. However, in interviews is was noted that they no longer used flags. Nevertheless, the term 'flag-hunter' have remained unchanged.

in the fishing industry in this area. Fisher 28 went on to show how more overt actions may take place in some situations:

> Interviewer: "So… if someone does that, flag-hunting. What can you do?"
> Fisher: "Pick their lobster pots up and then empty them […] Have a word with him, [make sure they] get shouted at" (F-28).

As Fisher 28's response reveal, flag-hunters' are risking all sort of policing from other fishers, such as getting their ropes cut or their pot cages opened as their way of fishing is considered illegitimate according to the 'good fisher' ideals. Although cutting other fishers' ropes, in some situations, is considered 'poor fishing' interviews revealed that such practices can be considered legitimate in defence against 'flag-hunters'. One key finding of this research, evident in the discussion of the 'flag-hunter', is that their field position is such that they do not get access to the reciprocal agreements present amongst 'good fishers' which have been shown to be essential for fishers' survival in the fishing industry of the Llŷn peninsula.

4.5 Knowledges and marine conservation zones

The findings from the earlier sections of this chapter are useful for understanding the socio-cultural aspects of fisheries management. As discussed in Chapter 2, the 'good farmer' has been a useful framing to understand how environmental policies may be 'culturally unsustainable' (Burton and Paragahawewa 2011) in cases where such policies have limited the possibility for farmers to accumulate and access cultural and social capital. As introduced in Chapter 3, the Llŷn peninsula was chosen as a case study site because the area was in 2012 subject to the Welsh

governments plans to introduce highly protected Marine Conservation Zones[13] which would have resulted in several no-fishing areas in the inshore waters (see Welsh Government 2012). Four zones were proposed on the Llŷn peninsula (and in total six across North Wales as shown in Figure 4.11) and all of them are areas in which local fishers have fished, both historically and in the present (compare with Figure 3.2, Figure 3.5, Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.9). After public consultation and resistance from the local communities the plans were dropped.

Figure 4.11 – Map over the different potential areas of highly protected Marine Conservation Zones shown in green. (Poor quality in original) (Welsh Government 2012, p.11)

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[13] EU countries are obliged to reach 'good environmental status' in the marine environment by 2020 through the Marine Strategy Framework Directive (MSFD). Within the MSFD, Marine Conservation Zones have been used as a tool to fulfil one of those aims, that of 'protecting the environment' (The European Parliament 2008). The environmental policy of Marine Conservation Zones is also part of a global narrative of 'marine spatial planning' (Jay 2010), and findings from this study can feed into broader debates on the social impacts of this type of policy in particular places.

Whilst the media attention at the time focused on more general concerns for the potential financial loss to fishers and wider communities (BBC Northwest Wales 2012) the interviews brought forward more subtle nuances of how fishers argued against the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones proposals – in particular relating to the problems of zoning and the knowledge conflicts associated with the proposals. Two particular aspects were often spoken about in interviews – these were the knowledge conflicts associated with zoning and the way it would challenge current social relations amongst fishers. These two aspects are illustrated by the following extracts:

> "I would only lose a small area of my fishing. But there were some fishermen that fished all in that area. And those were very angry. And I can understand it as well. Cause you couldn't say, 'well I go there', that is full already, there is five fishermen there,' 'oh, I'll go there' there is three there. So there is no space for people to move sideways" (F-18).

> "Yeah it would have caused conflict probably when people are moving into somebody else's area… war at sea then" (F-8).

The quotes show that a key issue in trying to introduce highly protected Marine Conservation Zones was the complexity and rigidity of the system already in place. As suggested earlier in the chapter (see Section 4.4.2.1), cultural capital might be derived from avoiding overlapping activities with those of other 'good fishers' in the area and, more significantly, active sanctions might be taken in order to keep people moving into new areas (see Section 4.4.4). As Fisher 12 notes there is, accordingly "no space for people to move sideways". Even where new territories might be available, the interviews revealed that the ability to demonstrate place-specific embodied cultural capital and understandings of these areas is no simple or

short-term task and their positioning there would thus be precarious. In not having 'good fisher' status in this new area – and hence a claim to social standing there – they would be less able to defend their fishing position against others and hence lead to the possibility, as Fisher 8 suggested, of "war at sea" in the area. Observations like these illustrate the importance of existing territories for how fishers achieve 'good fisher' status and maintain functional social relations amongst themselves. Arguably, in the lobster fishery, fisher's 'good fishing' status was associated with their fishing territories because of primarily two reasons. First, the 'rules of the game' in fishing were founded on the existence of such territories and the research suggests that the context-specific fishing field would dramatically change if the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones would have been introduced. Second, fishing cultural and social capitals were deeply attached to a particular territory. This latter suggestion is evidenced by two points: i) the place-specific knowledge about the sea, weathers and tides (discussed in Section 4.4.1.1) and ii) the way fishers social capital is linked to particular fishing areas (see Chapter 5). The observations discussed in this section points towards another finding – that is, if current organisation of territories would have been undermined by zoning – the research shows indication that a period of unrest would follow, in which fishers either stopped fishing altogether, fought the government and would "probably [end up] in jail" (F-19) or would adapt to the new 'rules of the game' and fight a "war at sea" (F-8).

One fisher illustrates the significance of intergenerational relations for the local fishery in relation to the proposed highly protected Marine Conservation Zones:

> "And once you stop people fishing there, you know, you would break that
> relationship. Would they then turn around in 20 years' time? 'Actually this

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doesn't work.' […] Who would come back then? Who would be left to fish there? You know. You would have affected the community so much. […] That link with it. It would be lost for ever I think" (F-22).

Fisher 22's reference to "break that relationship" is telling – here the concern was not simply focused on financial loss, but also the importance of reciprocal arrangements, intergenerational ties and knowledge transfer within the area. His interview went on to highlight the cumulative nature of these relations. They were not something, he suggested, that could be replicated or redrawn easily and once one element of this changes, the whole system can be irrevocably damaged. A key aspect in both of these examples is that of relevant knowledge. Such knowledge of specific areas might be seen as a 'cultural competence' which, as Bourdieu (1984, p.245) suggests, "yields profits of distinction for its owner". Several fishers used this knowledge to draw distinction between their own understanding and that embodied within highly protected Marine Conservation Zone proposals, with two approaches apparent. First was to challenge the assumption that their existing fishing practices were environmentally deleterious:

"Cause, who has the right? Somebody that has a piece of paper, yeah. That doesn't even know the area, I don't think so. That doesn't make sense to me. [Laugh]. Yeah…we look after it I think. Without us it would be in worse state" (F-19).

"If a scientist has found a rare sea urchin, well, how long has the fisherman been there? Years and years. How many generations? Surely that fisherman hasn't done any harm to that sea urchin, or it wouldn't be there would it. That is my opinion. You know" (F-10).

The interviews revealed that their longevity in the area was seen by fishers as testament to their 'good fishing' abilities (cf. Sutherland and Darnhofer 2012 for

agriculture). In interviews, the fishers discursively placed this longevity alongside the high environmental status of the proposed highly protected Marine Conservation Zones in order to position their fishing practices as not detrimental. An interrelated approach was a questioning of the science and policy makers – or what, borrowing Morris' (2006) terminology, might be referred to as 'policy knowledge culture' surrounding highly protected Marine Conservation Zones. At one level, there were those who suggested there highly protected Marine Conservation Zones represented a "blanket ban with no evidence at all" (F-12). At another level, were those such as Fisher 10 who questioned the context specific nature of the knowledge on which the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones proposal drew:

> "They were quoting European, and other 'success-stories' […] most of them were either from California or Australia for example. The difference there is that you have got huge areas. A lot of the areas weren't fished because they are so remote anyway. […] In Wales here, you have got a lot of coastline. […] And from evidence coming from Lundy, where they have closed [an area]… Their idea was that if we close an area it would then sort of help restore and replenish other parts with over spill kind of theory. Which was complete nonsense, cause we all know that […] lobster are territorial, they don't move, crab as well, they don't move much, they migrate more than lobster, but lobster they stay in their own area, we know that from our experience fishing. They totally disregarded our views" (F-10).

Important in Fisher 10's response is that he suggests that the physical differences between fishing regions, the differences between species of fish and their mobilities, and the differences amongst people of difference cultures were ignored by the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones proposal which instead drew

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on "success-stories" (F-10) from other localities. Fisher 10 demonstrates a similar critique to that shown in the literature relating to farming which considers the decontextualised and placeless nature of scientific understandings and how these may be at odds with the more experiential and contextual knowledge of 'good farmers' (Burgess et al. 2000). Fisher 10 does this by highlighting both the physical differences between the Llŷn peninsula and the regions on which the scientific 'evidence' was based and the different cultures of fishing within these areas. Important for our broader understanding is that in the same way social status is afforded to fishing for knowing the specificities – such as micro-climate or particular species – of their area, so too it is the same logic applied to those attempting to govern fisheries. Not being 'local', these interviews suggested, amounted to not having legitimacy in the fishers' eyes, to comment on the management in the area.

Furthermore, as part of the organisation against the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones the 'Welsh fishermen's association' hired a consultant to write the report "Striking the balance" (Woolmer 2012) which challenged the government's plan and presented alternative ways in which to manage these waters. The association presented a more adaptive and flexible approach in which fishers took on a key "stewardship" role in the management of the inshore water (Woolmer 2012, p.30). Such an approach positioned fishers as 'knowledgeable managers' of their fishing areas which is a very different position from the assumptions made about fishers in the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones proposals. This observation reveal that the resistance to the introduction of conservation zones revolved around conflicting 'knowledge cultures', and interrelated to this, the place of fishers within these environments.

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4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the value of using Bourdieu's thinking tools of habitus, field and capital for analysing the socio-cultural contexts of fishing activities have been highlighted. Through a focus on 'good fishing', as defined by fishers' interviews, this chapter has seen how cultural and social capital(s) are central to the functioning of fishing and intersect with fishers' generation of economic capital. Drawing on the 'good farmer' literature has enabled several insights to be developed. Foremost, is a recognition that the fluid and varying nature of the sea – as a field of activity for fishers – means that demonstrating the necessary facets of being a 'good fisher' is complicated. Unlike industries such as agriculture, where farmers may be (implicitly) assessed by neighbours as well as other passers-by, the sea provides a less concrete depiction of 'good fishing' activity. As a result, it is in the subtle performance of particular activities (the demonstration of embodied cultural capital) and the handling and particular utilisation of status-giving goods such as boats and fishing gear (objectified cultural capital) through which fishers may accrue social capital. The particular 'good fishing' abilities identified in the chapter were: i) being able to work *with* the sea by understanding the weather, tides and seasons, ii) embodying an ability to be able to cope with (and appreciate) the moving world of the sea, iii) having the motoric, mechanical and managerial abilities needed to handle the boat and fishing gear, and iv) having strong bodies and being able to use bodily techniques for lifting heavy lobster pots. Furthermore, 'good fishers' have to have a reputation of complying with the unwritten 'rules of the game' as well as to demonstrate their 'trustworthiness'. The research found that being positioned as a 'good fisher' led such fishers to gain social capital, which was necessary for survival on a dangerous sea. This latter aspect cannot be

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underestimated because, as the chapter has seen, even where fishers do not overtly rely on reciprocal help from other fishers, it exists in the background in terms of safety – with each needing the insurance of other fishers "watching their back" in the event of breakdowns or accidents. Three specific unwritten reciprocal agreements were identified in this chapter: i) 'good fishers' respected other fishers' fishing territories, ii) it was important to show respect for other fishers' fishing gear and iii) there were unwritten safety rule about helping out in need, which could simultaneously be seen as an unwritten rule and social capital. Important to this discussion is how unwritten 'rules of the game' become more frequent and significant in fishing than in farming. It is suggested that this is a consequence of that fishers share the sea together with their knowledge of the sea as dangerous.

The chapter observed that attempts to regulate fishing territories, such as the Welsh government's attempt to introduce highly protected Marine Conservation Zones, will come against a complex web of pre-existing, long established and hence quite durable, social relations. A significant challenge for those seeking to manage those waters is that these social relations and forms of understanding remain largely undocumented. The interviews showed that these largely exist through verbal communication and 'gentlemen's agreements' (see also Woodhatch and Crean 1999). Indeed, fishing activities remain consciously 'secret' within the fishing community in order to maintain territories and catches. The research also found that secrecy and 'not boasting' was a successful strategy to balance competition and cooperation. Using such strategies, fishers could retain a competitive edge while accessing the necessary social capital from other fishers to remain safe at the sea. Furthermore, the research found that 'good fishing' abilities and unwritten

reciprocal agreements were monitored and policed. In particular interviews identified the 'flag-hunter' as the anti-thesis of the 'good fisher'.

Chapter 5

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5   The fishing lifecourse: contexts, capitals and age

Expanding on the concept of the 'good fisher' developed in Chapter 4, this chapter will explore the temporal aspects of fishers' lives by examining the fishing lifecourse. The 'lifecourse approach' is one which pays attention to social trajectories and transitions, such as work careers, family pathways (Elder 1994) and the transition from childhood to adulthood (Valentine 2003) in order to understand the lifecourse as a whole rather than compartmentalised age categories (Hopkins and Pain 2007; Tarrant 2010). In this light, the lifecourse approach recognises that fishing lives are not static (e.g. Pain et al. 2000). As discussed in Chapter 2, the lifecourse approach takes into account four aspects: i) the interplay of human lives and historical times, ii) the timing of lives, iii) linked lives and iv) human agency in choicemaking (see Elder 1994). Chapter 2 identified that drawing on this approach has the advantage that it "relate[s] individuals to broader social context" (Elder 1994, p.6) fitting within the wider Bourdieusian conceptualisation of the social world as a "two-way relationship between objective structures (those of social fields) and incorporated structures (those of the habitus)" (Bourdieu 1998, p.vii). Although there has been a growing presence of lifecourse studies in the wider geographical and social science literatures (see for example Bailey 2009; Riley 2009b; Tarrant 2010), to date there has been very little attention given to a lifecourse perspective within studies on fishers (as discussed in Chapter 2). Where themes which are part of the fishing lifecourse have been present, they have focused on processes such as socialisation and intergenerational relations in the fishing community (Neis et al. 2013; Power et al. 2014; Symes and Frangoudes 2001; Sønvisen 2013). As such, the lifecourse approach offers the possibility to understand how such themes are just one part of the whole lifecourse.

Throughout the chapter the metaphor of 'getting on the ladder' will be used. This metaphor has previously been used in agriculture to describe processes of social mobility of farmers (Bates and Rudel 2004; Spillman 1930) and will be used in this chapter to analyse how individuals get on (or stay off) the ladder and how they can climb it to eventually become respected in their community as 'good fishers'. Furthermore, the chapter will examine adulthood as well as older age and how, if at all, fishers 'step down from the ladder'. Before turning to the empirical findings the importance of this study will be situated in broader debates on the future of small-scale fisheries.

5.1   Concerns over the future of the fishing industry

The review of the literature in Chapter 2 highlighted that the future survival of the small-scale fishing industry as a key issue (Neis et al. 2013; Power 2012; Power et al. 2014; White 2015). In particular, concerns centre around who will be the future generation of fishers as the average age of fisher has seen to be increasing (Neis et al. 2013). In interviews, fishers on the Llŷn peninsula expressed similar concerns:

> "It is very rare now that you get young people going into the industry, which is probably gonna be a problem in the future" (F-10).

> Partner: "Yeah, but I don't know who is going to do it after you guys. I really don't".
> Fisher: "I hope somebody wants to do it" (P-17 and F-16).

> "I think there is less fishermen, don't you think? They are dying. Around on the Llŷn anyway. I think it is gotta be one big fisherman instead of the little cove – you know a lot of little fishermen. There was a cove just down the coast that had three [fishers] – they have died and gone. There is no one to replace them which is a shame I think" (F-19).

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As a result of both the wider concerns expressed in the academic and policy literatures (Neis et al. 2013; Power et al. 2014; Seafish 2016; Smith et al. 2014) as well as the common reference made to it in the interviews themselves, it is important to understand the processes of how individuals become fishers. This is further important as it relates to the future sustainability of the local fishing industry. This chapter will explore these issues using a lifecourse approach which has important implications for how to assure long-term sustainability of the local fishing industry.

5.2 Socialisation and different contexts

The fishing habitus was examined in Chapter 4. It was discussed how, for Bourdieu, the habitus is the internalisation of the objective structures of the field (see Bourdieu 1998) and it was suggested that the expression "salt in the blood" (F-28) serves as an articulation of the fishing habitus (Section 4.2). Important, though, is understanding the ways that fishers come to embody this habitus. When asked specifically about this, one fisher responded:

> "[How have I] learnt to fish? I don't know. You just do it really. You know there is a saying in Welsh [speaking Welsh] 'Salt in the blood'. If you know what I mean?! We have been doing it all our life you know. We have been going with dad since we were small" (F-28).

> "If you are born a fisherman you can't get it out of… It is like an illness" (F-10).

This and several similar responses revealed that one of the key ways that fishers articulated how they acquired 'salt in the blood' was through the accumulation of experience (and capitals) gained through "going with dad since we were small" (F-

28). In interviews, fishers often made reference to the way they were born with 'salt in the blood' or as Fisher 10 explained "born a fisherman" (F-10). Other ways in which this was expressed included statements such as "fishing is very very addictive" (F-10), or:

> "I always wanted to go fishing. When I have a few days home I always want to go fishing. I don't say 'oh thank god I am home.' I always want to go back fishing" (F-18).

However, Fisher 4 gives a different account of what 'salt in the blood' means to him:

> "People say that the sea is in your blood. I don't know if I believe that or not. Well I don't in fact. I think it is just the way I got brought up, and my dad got brought up. Obsessed about fishing since [we were] young" (F-4).

Fisher 4's response is an interesting one in that it moves beyond the *genetic* overtones of the 'salt in the blood' reference to a less essentialist position which recognises the importance of *social context*. Although 'salt in the blood' was a term commonly used when fishers were asked about this in detail, it was, most commonly, the social relations – particularly with fathers – that were pointed to. By non-essentialising the fishing subject, Fisher 4 reminds us that there are different contexts in which individuals can become fishers through different processes of acquiring the fishing habitus – as long as individuals can access the experience of fishing which lead them to accumulating fishing capitals. Access to fishing will be discussed in relation to Bourdieu's different forms of capital in Section 5.3. Before that, the contexts of the fishing family and the coastal community will be discussed respectively.

5.2.1 Fishing family context

While discussing how fishers learnt to fish, some of the specificities of growing up in a fishing family were drawn out:

> "I learnt as a little boy really. Just going out with my parents and fishing and, you know, you have to help. You […] are not allowed to sit [and] do nothing. So I had to go out and fish. […] Just progressed from there really" (F-19).

> "We help out. I move his boat for him, move it around the place. If he wants to move the trailer [I help him with that too]. We help out I would say. Don't get paid for it though… [Laugh]" (S-25).

Responses such as those of Fisher 19 and Son 25 represents a common perspective of fishers from fishing families and demonstrate that fishing is not entirely a choice for these fishers and family members. Instead they explain that as children they took part in fishing activities and were 'helping out' on a regular basis. Indeed the contribution of family members have been documented previous to this study, and it has been argued that the labour that they contribute is underpinning the resilience and high adaptive capacity of fishing families which has ensured its continuation over time (van Ginkel 2014, p.2). Such observations show how fishing lives are interdependent – or linked – across generations of fishers within the fishing family. While young sons help their fishing fathers, the fieldwork revealed, they also start accumulating knowledge about fishing. Sons from fishing families were found to take part in a socialisation process in which they accumulate fishing capital from an early age and the specific ways in which capitals were accumulated will be examined in Section 5.3. Implicit in these findings is, as identified in interviews,

that daughters were not considered suitable successors (see also van Ginkel 2014) a theme which will be returned to in more detail in Chapter 6.

To understand the processes by which young sons from fishing families become fishers the research looked at the practice of succession in the fishing family context:

> "Oh, I hope to encourage my son, or my daughter, if they want to carry on. If they want to they can start fishing and they can take over from me. […] But I would have to get them interested. […] I'd love if [my children took over after me]. I would be really happy" (F-22).

> "If he had an interest it would be alright but otherwise it is useless taking them [out fishing]. If you have got no interest you are not gonna do it. That is what I say – do what you want" (F-12).

It was identified in interviews that many fishers would "love" (F-22) if their children or grandchildren took up fishing. Fisher 22's response highlights how the majority of fishers make attempts to teach their children to like fishing through encouraging them. However, if such interest was not generated, it was generally considered to be "useless taking them" to sea, as Fisher 12 emphasises. Fisher 12 further explains that prospective fishers must have an 'interest' in order to be able to go fishing, which was a widespread notion amongst current fishers. Such observations reveal that sons from fishing families have a level of 'autonomy' in that they can choose if they liked fishing or not. This finding demonstrates that the lifecourse pillar of 'human agency' is quite strong for sons of fishers in deciding whether to become fishers or not. Throughout the fieldwork it became evident that the notion of succession in fishing was different from that of farming:

"Lots of people, the same age as me, they […] knew early on [that] they were going to take over the family farm. Now that is all they have known all their life, to do that. And they complain. They are not happy because they have never seen anything different. Maybe they go to a shit job somewhere else and they'd realise life on the farm is fantastic. 'I want to do it'. But they have never seen anything else. [They have always been] preparing [for] farming. But if you want to do anything and enjoy it you have to see for yourself that it is good. […] You can't force children to do it. They can come with me in the evening. They can see what I do. And if they enjoy it I will encourage them. But if not, that is it. But you know, as a child, if you get them to do something too heavy, too difficult, in the beginning, or you try to force your idea on them [they won't do it]. You try to give them your love for something. They have gotta catch it [for] themselves" (F-22).

In the extract, Fisher 22 contrasts fishing succession with farming family succession. He explains that in fishing families there is a different expectation for young sons to succeed their fathers. Fisher 22 emphasises how children need to internalise the "love for something", and that "you can't force children". Instead, in the discussion of succession within agriculture, it has been argued that the discourse of "keeping the name on the farm" (Riley 2009a) is very pervasive. Research on farming succession has shown that the discourse of "keeping the name on the farm" tends to manifest itself in great levels of expectations on younger generations to move into the occupation. Indeed, several authors have pointed to the negative consequences of this as the weight of expectation may be a burden to male farmers in particular (Bryant and Garnham 2015; Price and Evans 2009). By contrast, it became apparent that fishing was seen as more of a career *choice*. These findings indeed reveal how the lifecourse of fishers is different from that of farming as the sons of fishers have more agency in shaping their future. In Chapter 4 it was

suggested that there are a number of key differences in the respective fields of fishing and farming, and here it is suggested that such differences might give some account to why the processes of succession differ in the two fields. The first difference, also discussed in Chapter 4, was the way the work of previous generations' is inscribed in the animals or the landscape of the farm (Gray 1998; Riley and Harvey 2007) which is not the case in fishing as, firstly, fish are not bred nor domesticated and, second, the sea is a three-dimensional fluid space in constant movement and fishing work does not shape the surface of the sea which might lead to less pressure to carry on and uphold the work of previous generations. The second noticeable difference was the lack of defined ownership of the sea while the farm, in most cases, is a private property. Other researchers have also suggested that it is difficult to draw on the succession processes of farming to understand fishing because of the fundamental difference of ownership structures between the two fields (Symes and Frangoudes 2001). In the family farming context, sons often inherit a large piece of land worth a substantial amount of economic capital[14]. Chapter 4 noted that heritable assets in fishing come in the form of boats, gear and other technology which are depreciating goods, meaning that their value and quality have a finite lifetime, in comparison to farm land that generally increases in value (often exponentially) over time. Whilst many fishers express pleasure at the thought of their children joining them, the lack of having land to pass on in the fishing field resulted in a lower sense of expectation and 'capital pressure' that would come with the inheritance of land and large amounts of economic capital (see for example

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[14] Although the law for inheritance of farms have changed women are still marginalised in these processes (Haugen et al. 2014).

Calus et al. 2008). Indeed it was found in Fisher 10's case that there was an active encouragement *not* to go into fishing:

> "I was told not to fish. To go and look for another job basically. I wasn't really encouraged to fish. […] They thought it is a hard way of life. And they thought I would be better off doing something else. To get an easier kind of living" (F-10).

Nevertheless, whilst encouraged not to take up fishing, Fisher 10 is now an active full-time fisher himself. The finding of this research, and research in other localities (for the Netherlands van Ginkel 2014), suggests that the fishing family is still an important context in which the next generation of fishers are formed. Drawing on a lifecourse approach we can argue that the aspects of both linked lives and human agency were important in the fishing family context. However, the fishing family is only one particular context in which individuals fishing lives are shaped – the chapter will now turn to discuss the extra-familial context.

5.2.2   Coastal community context

Interviews revealed that fishing as an occupation is not isolated from other sea-based occupations in the area. A partner of a fisher explains this point: "They are all a seafaring family. Not really fishing" (P-9). Other interviews echoed this observation:

> "There is a sea connection from every side of my family. Not all of us are fishermen" (F-11).

> "[My husband's] grandfather used to go out fishing but not as a full-time [fisher]. But he was very keen on it. So I think that is where [my husband] has learnt lots about fishing. But I don't think there was anybody else. [His]

father was a sea captain, I mean, nothing to do with fishing, but sea is in the blood really" (P-9).

Responses such as Fisher 11's and Partner 9's reveal that the fishing community is not isolated from the rest of the coastal community. Indeed, in the past on the Llŷn peninsula it was common for the second son, who did not get the opportunity to take over the family farm, to go to sea as a sailor[15]. Interviews revealed that for some young men in the coastal community, 'playing' or 'hanging around' was the beginning of a fishing career as it facilitated opportunities to get fishing experience:

> "Obviously my family was fishing so that helped. […] But a lot of other people go into it through starting helping people onshore or on the boat. You might just get a few days' work here and there but then you get an interest and [an] insight into the job and then decide if you like it or not" (F-10).

In the above extract, Fisher 10 talks about how people outside of fishing families can get into fishing by starting off small, helping out current fishers and showing an interest. Eventually, they might get some work on a boat and from there on they can accumulate experience to eventually become fishers themselves. Another fisher without family ties to fishing interviewed, explained how he started fishing by "purchasing a boat from a retiring fisherman. […] And he offered it to me for 700 in the first year and to pay him 700 afterwards in the second year" (F-16). In Fisher 16's case, economic barriers of access were reduced by splitting the costs for the boat over the course of two years. Stories like these reveal that young men can enter the fishing industry through an extended *'fisheries friendship network'* which is not solely based on family ties. Such findings suggest that even within the coastal

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[15] See Footnote 2 on p. 93.

community context, the fishing lifecourse can be linked across generations, a theme which will be returned to later on in the chapter. This finding is echoed by White (2015) who, through studying the Norfolk (UK) 'Cromer crab fishery', found that the majority of 'prospective fishers' in that area came from outside of fishing families. On the Llŷn peninsula, it was however, observed that both familial and extra-familial contexts were normal starting positions for prospective fishers.

In the studied area, the broader coastal community was important to recruitment of the next generation of fishers. In particular the *geographical location* of being close to the sea enabled young people to get experience of fishing. The following extract discusses how a lot of local people fish for recreational purposes because of the closeness to the sea:

> Son 24: "Fishing is part of pretty much everybody's lives down here. Because you are so close to the sea. When you are youngsters you go fishing with a rod and reel off the rocks. From when we were what, about ten?"
>
> Son 25: "Yeah, younger probably".
>
> Son 24: "So I mean everybody does it. It is just something to do on a weekend. And it is a good way to socialise with your mates" (S-24 and S-25).

Responses such as those from Son 24 and Son 25 highlight that fishing has a broader significance on the Llŷn peninsula, than that of the commercial fishing community, as many young men engage with fishing for recreational purposes. Further, Ota and Just's (2008) study on the Kent, UK inshore fishery observed similar trends. They found the importance of "proximity to the sea" (Ota and Just 2008, p.305) for young men without familial ties to fishing to become fishers. For our wider understanding of fisheries the research revealed that there are a number of contexts in which

individuals can become fishers. First, being born into a *fishing family* is the most straightforward context in which young people become fishers. Second, it is important to be (or become) part of the '*fishing friendship network'* and become invited into the fishery by existing fishers, and third becoming a fisher is about being in the right *geographical location* (echoed by Ota and Just 2008).

5.3 Capitals, contexts and positions

The research has identified that prospective fishers can be born in a variety of different social contexts and in drawing on Bourdieu's conceptual idea of capital we can start thinking about how different positions in the field are imbued with different forms of capital which have relevance for how the fishing lifecourse unfolds. The research found that this conceptual framing enables an understanding of how prospective fishers become fishers over time through the accumulation of capitals to improve their positions in the field. Chapter 4 specifically noted the importance of symbolic capital in being positioned a 'good fisher'. In interviews, fishers often proved to be nostalgic about the journey they have undertaken from prospective fishers to become 'good fishers', with a lot of them talking about how they started small-scale and later built up their fishing gear:

> "I think the job found me, really rather than me finding the job. […] I used to have two or three pots that I used to play with. And carried on from there" (F-16).

And later on in the interview:

> "The capital cost invested as well. That is another item you know. 100.000 for the boat, 50.000 for the fishing gear. It is an item. It is not small change. Well, it is not to me anyway. [Laugh]. I had a rowing boat. To me that is

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like a dream. […] How the heck did I ever afford a boat? I grew up from a rowing boat basically. That is what it was. […] I am the happiest man on the planet sometimes. Doing what I do. I am living my dream" (F-16).

Such responses highlight how becoming a 'good fisher' was about building up capital over time and Fisher 16 talks about this process as a "dream". Interviews revealed that several forms of capital needed to be accumulated to achieve this "dream" (F-16). Even though Fisher 16 mainly spoke about economic capital, other fishers suggest that accumulating embodied cultural capital is also important: "You have got a few pots and you build your gear up and you learn all the way" (F-10). The context in which prospective fishers are born into is important here, as the position for someone in a fishing family or someone without family ties will be different in terms of: a) the initial capitals available to them (economic as well as symbolic) and b) the pathways in which they can accumulate capitals. In the following sections, the chapter considers how, over time, different forms of capital are accumulated and how prospective fishers have different pathways in doing so depending on their social background.

5.3.1 Economic capital and 'getting on the ladder'

For young people to 'get on the ladder' and to become 'good fishers' they need to have a certain amount of economic capital. A common theme emerging from interviews was that there are large economic barriers to entering the local fishery:

> "And it is quite an expense to set up. You have got [to have] your boat and your license and all your pots and things… and then [you need to] get your bait. It is quite an expensive thing – to set up" (P-21).

Fisher: "It is a job to get [it] started. When I started we didn't have… what do you call it? A license. […] All you did was you registered your boat and that was it. Today you have got to have a license. When we were fishing we got the license for free… But if you want it [now] you have got to buy them".

Interviewer: "So it is more expensive?"

Fisher: "Yeah yeah, you know it is hard for a 17, 18 year old who wants to have his own boat" (F-12).

Responses such as those above, echoed by many interview respondents, reveal it is expensive to "set up" (P-21) a fishing business. Partner 21 identifies that economic costs are high for fishing licenses, boats, fishing gear and bait. As discussed in Section 5.1, it is widely acknowledged in the fisheries literature that the future of the owner-operated small-scale fishing fleet in Europe and North America is threatened by the economic barriers to entry; especially the high costs of fishing licenses and quotas[16] (Power 2012; White 2015). Interviews, such as Fisher 12's response, revealed that fishing licenses were handed out without costs when most of the older fishers started fishing[17]. Furthermore, research has shown that the fishery is struggling with costs of compulsory courses, something that White (2015) finds adds up to a cost of £430 in the first three months of employment for UK fishers.

Nevertheless, interviews revealed that these economic barriers were not absolute as there was ways to reduce some of them. For example, interviews found that young

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[16] The studied fishery was, however, not a quota fishery.

[17] Supporting this observation, Ota and Just (2008) found that governments handed out licenses for free before 1993 across England and Wales.

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people who wished to enter the fishery could deploy innovative and low-cost fishing techniques:

> "I only had a few pots when I started. I think I had about 60. […] That year [I started] whelking and whelk pots were much cheaper to buy so… and you can make a bit of money with the whelks so… just concentrating on the whelks then" (F-27).

> "I have always fished for bass... always because it is a cheap method of fishing. You lose a [lobster] pot you lose 60 quid. You lose two pots you lose 120 quid... and you have got to replace them. You don't ever lose a net… It gets damaged in storms, and stuff like that, but that is all. A [new] net will cost you 70 quid" (F-14).

Responses such as these highlight how fishers can engage with non-traditional fishing methods to reduce costs. Fisher 27 spoke about whelking being a cheaper fishing method than fishing for lobsters as the whelking pots are cheaper. Indeed, the participant observation revealed that whelking pots were homemade from plastic drums (see Figure 5.1) compared to lobster pots made out of steel and most often bought from manufacturers (see Figure 5.2). Furthermore, Fisher 14 highlights that the financial risks are lower for fishing with nets as these are less susceptible to bad weather and not as expensive to replace. Observations like these, show how fishers can deploy certain 'tactics', such as low cost fishing technologies, to reduce the costs of entry into the fishing industry. Learning to use other types of fishing gear was not only a way to reduce financial barriers to enter the fishery but also a way to build up and trial new forms of capital.

Figure 5.1 – Homemade whelking pots made from plastic drums

Figure 5.2 – Lobster pots made out of steel and most commonly
bought from manufacturers for £60

5.3.1.1 Economic aspects of succession in fishing families

One fisher explained how it was quite unusual for sons to follow in their father's footsteps these days. Instead he explained how there "is quite a few people who fish and their son does it on a part-time basis. But not full-time" (F-8). Sons of fishers seldom called themselves fishers, unless they were full-time fishers themselves. Nevertheless, they often played a significant role in the running of the everyday fishing business (as discussed throughout this chapter). Taking such observations into account, the fishing fathers could be described as the 'main fisher' and the son as the 'prospective fisher'. Furthermore, it was observed in interviews that sons often had achieved many of the formal requirements for becoming a fisher:

> "I have got all the certificates for [fishing commercially] I went away and done that. So it is sort of a possibility for me [to become a fisher]. Something to look into doing in the future. But the way it is at the minute there is no way that it can sustain both me and my dad. To work of the same boat. So… he might want to give up one day. So I might take over from him. […] I am definitely interested in doing it" (S-24).

In the extract above, Son 24 describes how he, because of his interest and aspiration to one day become a fisher, has attained all the necessary certificates to become a commercial fisher. Interviews identified several barriers for young sons to follow in their fishing father's footsteps. First, responses such as Son 24's highlight the way young people 'wait their turn' in the generational hierarchy. However, as will be discussed later, older fishers do not plan their retirement to any great extent and, hence, it is difficult for young people to know when 'their time will come'. The second observation relates to how there are limited economic opportunities for young people from fishing families in the small-scale family fishing firm, as Son 24 emphasise "at the minute there is no way that it can sustain both me and my

dad". Interrelated to this is that, if young sons started fishing on their own boat while their dads still fished in the area, they would be in competition with their fathers – which Son 24's narrative suggest is undesirable, especially if the fishing opportunity is not there. These findings particularly relate to the single-handed small-scale lobster and crab fishery while the research also found that larger boats fishing for scallop or whelks, had the potential to provide enough income to sustain two generations of fishers within one family. Interviews also found that young people are tied to regular working hours in their non-fishing related work roles:

> "Obviously, when you get a job you are tied down to your job. Cause fishing is really more a way of a life than a job isn't it?! Unless you are doing it every day and you haven't got another job, you can't balance both out. And frequently go out with the boat. Cause obviously you have got to keep going to work haven't you?!" (S-24).

Interviews also revealed that sons of fishers in other full-time employment could not help their fathers as much as they used to. This was because they have commitments to their 'normal' jobs with inflexible working hours. Such observations works as a barrier for young people to take part in fishing on a more regular basis. Fishing on the other hand is about working with the sea regardless of the time and day, as previously discussed in Chapter 4.

Another son explains how he took up fishing for a couple of months because of particular circumstances:

> "Just something to get by when I didn't have any other work. […] Just a way to cover that month cause I didn't have any work. You have got to earn something to pay the bill" (S-25).

Son 25 described how he was unemployed for a couple of months and during this time he took over the netting part of the fishery from his dad (without having to pay for use of equipment). Such responses reveal that sons of fishers can (re)turn to fishing in times of need. Observations like these highlight how fishing sons transition in and out of fishing quite frequently. Being part of a fishing family, therefore, serves as a 'backdrop' to the lives of sons of fishers. However, because of issues identified above (such as economic costs to enter, low economic opportunities to support two generations of fishers fishing from the same boat, and difficulties in combining fishing employment with 'normal' wage employment), it is not definite that sons of fishers will ever 'get onboard the fishing ladder'.

Other researchers have found that official statistics on the number of fishers in an area can be quite misleading. Ota and Just (2008) found that such statistics, based on the number of issued licenses and registered boats in a fishing area, tend to overestimate the total fishing effort as many fishers registered are not as active as is assumed. This research extends such observations by showing that sons from fishing families, although not being the 'main fisher', often come and go into the fishing industry throughout their lifecourse. It can be argued that the number of people registered as fishers are misleading as, although there may be only one registered fisher, there may be a transient – but nonetheless crucial – involvement of sons' of fishers. These findings, contrary to Ota and Just (2008), show that the statistics on the number of fishers might instead by underestimated.

The research noted that young sons from fishing families have a difficult pathway into the fishery as they cannot access enough economic capital through their family connections (social capital) to start fishing full-time. Nevertheless, it was observed

that their access to economic capital enabled sons of fishers to be part-time fishers. In contrast, young people from non-fishing families did not have the advantage of being able to draw on the economic capital of their parents – and sometimes had to invest a lot of economic capital before accumulating the necessary experience of fishing (discussed in Section 5.3.2.3). Despite the advantage sons from fishing families have in terms of social capital, other researchers have recently argued that being from a fishing family is no longer the most common route in which individuals become fishers (Power et al. 2014; White 2015; Williams 2008). Such a pattern was not traceable in the current study, which might be explained by the relatively small sample – or the presence of a different geographically particular pattern of succession on the Llŷn peninsula.

5.3.2   Symbolic capital and 'getting on the ladder'

Economic capital was found to not be the only barrier to accessing the fishing ladder, as the interview extract below reveals:

> "It is very rare now that you get young people going into the industry. Which is probably gonna be a problem in the future. Because if you don't start early and young. Don't know, you learn from your mistakes and it is a steep and costly learning curve cause you know I learned from my father and his family and… When you start young... You have got a few pots and you build your gear up and you learn all the way... [On the other hand] if you sort of decided: 'Oh I want to be a fisherman'… We have seen it happen so often here. They invest a lot of money and it is not […] half as simple as people think. It is very difficult to make a living" (F-10).

Fisher 10's response, similar to responses across all interviews with fishers, highlights that having the 'right' economic capital is not enough for becoming a 'good fisher'. Chapter 4 discussed how economic capital does not always take on

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symbolic value in the fishing community as the ownership of machinery *per se* does not make a profit – instead it was found that the skills (embodied cultural capital) needed to capture fish took on symbolic value within the fishing field. In the extract above, Fisher 10 highlights that fishing has a "steep and costly learning curve" which relates to economic costs involved in accumulation of embodied cultural capital. This part of the chapter will examine the importance of symbolic capitals for 'getting on the ladder' as well as 'climbing the ladder'. In particular, interviews revealed that access to the fishery is constrained by social capital:

> "Well you have to start young. You can't just, well you can, there is nothing stopping you jumping into a boat fishing but I would imagine other people having comments and quarrelling. So I think you have to start young and be local to the area. I know the Llŷn peninsula is a very small area but it is, as I was saying, territorial. And you have to be part of that community and the area to be able to do it" (F-19).

Fisher 19's response highlights that there is a social element to access to the Llŷn peninsula fishery. In the interview, Fisher 19 emphasises how prospective fishers have to be "local", "young" and part of the "community" (F-19) to be assured access to the local fishery and to 'get on the ladder'. He goes on to explain that otherwise newcomers might face "comments" and "quarrelling" (F-19). Important to the social organisation of access to the inshore fishery the interviews revealed that fishing was spatially organised in terms of informal territories (also discussed in Chapter 4):

> "Every fisherman has their own patch. […] It is not their patch obviously. It doesn't belong to them but it is just respect. It depends on where you have always fished. Most fishermen, especially around here, it's been handed

down and it's been handed down. You know generation to generation" (F-28).

Such responses revealed, that fishers have their own patches – or territories – which was based around the notion of "respect" (F-28). The fieldwork observed that territories are not formally recognised and do not represent economic capital of individuals, instead, territories are constructed around the social capital of prospective and current fishers. It was observed that territories served to include and exclude newcomers from entering the fishery depending on individuals' levels of social capital. Fisher 28's response shows how sons of fishers entered the fishery with higher levels of social capital than newcomers from the wider coastal community. Indeed, Fisher 28 explained how fishing territories are more or less handed down as heritable goods in the fishing community. In addition, interviews revealed that prospective fishers from the extended family, such as nephews or grandson of fishers, can also draw on social capital to construct themselves as members of the 'fishing network' which have a 'right' to fish in the local area (interviews with Fisher 11 and Fisher 10). However, newcomers without ties to the 'fisheries network' started their fishing careers without much social capital and had therefore to build up capital to become accepted members of the 'fishing network'. A key observation therefore is that a prospective fisher's background holds importance for their initial levels of social capital which in turn has importance for how high up the ladder their initial entry point will be.

Other researchers have looked at the importance of informal property in lobster fishing (Acheson and Gardner 2004; Turner et al. 2013; Wagner and Davis 2004). Echoing the current finding about the social importance of fishing territories Turner (2013) found that informal property rights in the Northumberland (UK) lobster

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fishery were shaped by 'social norms' rather than 'economic calculations'. Other researchers, however, understand territoriality and the strategies fishers engage in to maintain their territories as profit maximising, rational decisions studied using the conceptual lens of 'game theory' (Acheson and Gardner 2004). Whilst Turner's (2013) study is most closely aligned to the current study in moving beyond simply an economic focus, it is expanded on here by reinforcing that individuals from different social backgrounds embody different initial levels of social capital – and that social capital have importance for understanding access to territories.

Symes and Frangoudes (2001) write about two important intergenerational aspects in fisheries: the intergenerational transfer of access to the fishery and the private transmission of knowledge. Above it was noted that, access to fishing territories is dependent on social capital but that this is not absolute as 'outsiders' can still physically enter the fishery. Interviews identified three specific pathways in which to become a good fisher. These were i) being a son of a fisher, ii) being from the wider coastal community and entering the fishery at a young age, and iii) entering the fishery later on in the lifecourse. The chapter will now consider how knowledge (or embodied cultural capital) is accumulated throughout the lifecourse of fishers depending on this social context and background. Figure 5.4 summarises and simplifies these three different lifecourse trajectories and their respective processes of capital accumulation.

5.3.2.1   *Familial context: drawing on their social capital in getting on the ladder*

The interviews revealed that sons from fishing families generally had better access to boats, and living close to the sea provided opportunities for play on, in and by the sea:

"I used to do potting when I was a little kid. Just one or two pots. I used to haul them by hand" (F-8).

"Dad bought me the first boat. A 10 foot rowing boat when I was 8. So I have been on my own, rowing around in a little boat, since I was 8 years old. Doing just little bits of rod fishing and things like that" (F-27).

Such interviews highlight how younger sons typically started 'playing around' on the beach with nets, rod and lines and sometimes lobster pots. Apparent, therefore, are that formative aspects of the fishing occupation arguably started early in the lifecourse. In addition to the social capital of having access to the fishing network, this also provided the material context (the fishing cove, the boat, the gear) to afford them the opportunity to start to develop their embodied cultural capital (see Figure 5.4 for an illustrated representation of how sons of fishers ascend the fishing ladder).

In interviews, sons of fishers discussed how important their family connections were for them to start fishing:

"Well there were three fishermen here when I started and I started by, you know, my father being a fisherman, so [the other fishermen] knew him and [I was] just helping them to begin with. Going out and having an interest as a very young boy. I was born and raised to it. You know, I was part of it" (F-19).

Such interviews revealed that fathers (and in some cases grandfathers) have paved the way for sons to enter the fishery by building up social capital, which younger generations can draw on. Apparent within interviews was that capitals can be transferred across generations and resulted in sons from fishing families arguably finding it easier to 'get on the fishing ladder' because of the social capital associated

with their familial position. This transfer of capital across generations arguably provided fishers with 'breathing space' (after Burton 2012 in relation to farming) within which they were able to be on the fishing ladder – partly based on the reputation of their fathers – whilst they developed their own social and cultural capitals, before they 'stand on their own feet' and develop their own businesses (and accumulating their own economic capital, see Figure 5.4). Indeed, interviews revealed that prospective fishers who had already accumulated some embodied cultural capital before getting on the ladder would enter the ladder on higher rungs than prospective fishers without those ties, familial or otherwise, to the fisheries network. Within the familial context, the lifecourses of sons and fathers are linked across generations in the way capitals also are linked across generations.

The interviews also revealed a further advantage of coming from a fishing family:

> "When I was [fishing] on my own, I lived here [at home]… so I didn't have any bills really. So I could experiment more. […] [Fishing] on my own, cause I didn't have to employ anybody. So if you did have a bad day it didn't really matter too much. Whereas if we have a terrible week [today] we still have got bills to pay" (F-27).

Fisher 27 describes how he was freed from the economic pressures of everyday life during the time he spent accumulating embodied cultural capital – and he "could experiment more". Such observations can be made sense of through Bourdieu's (1986) discussion on how the accumulation of cultural capital is dependent on the time needed for acquirement of such capital, and how families who share the same habitus are more likely to support their children through such time investments. Bourdieu's (1986, p.284) writes:

"the length of time for which a given individual can prolong his [sic] acquisition process depends on the length of time for which his [sic] family can provide him [sic] with free time, i.e., time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation".

Interview responses, such as Fisher 27's, revealed that parents who themselves are part of fishing families understand the importance of "experimenting" in fishing to accumulate embodied cultural capital. Arguably, this is because fathers and sons both share the same fishing habitus and associated understanding of symbolic value in the fishing field. As there is a shared understanding of the symbolic importance of fishing capitals in fishing families, the process of entry could be easier simply because of the way their parents would see their experimentation phase as an investment for a fishing career. Sons of fishers could finish school early and learn about fishing while being spared from having to pay bills at home. Such a 'window of opportunity' was an important advantage for sons of fishers which young men without family ties to fishing would not have access to.

In addition to their familial ties, the research found that it was important to have connections to other fishers in the fishing network:

> Interviewer: "How did you learn to fish?"
> Fisher: "From my father".
> Interviewer: "Did you go out [fishing] with him?"
> Fisher: "With my father yeah. But we also had my father's cousin [who] fished. Friends of the family fished and they taught us. And then you learn from the people here. […] [Another fisher's father] taught us a lot of things and helped us. Cause my father was [older]. The techniques he used… he used willow pots… but by the 1980s [fishers] had moved to using [pots] with an iron frame. […] You know my father wasn't like too modern with these techniques… but we learnt off friends then. But it was

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through my father. He knew people that could help us… Without my father's connection it would have been much more difficult" (F-22).

The research found that technologies have changed in fisheries as the older generation had used "willow pots" (see Figure 5.3) in comparison to more modern "iron pots" (F-22) (see Figure 5.2) to catch lobster. In line with this transition some aspects of the knowledge of previous generations of fishers became outdated. Fisher 22 explained that his father did not know about new technologies and could not teach him about these. Such observations illustrate that the particular historical time in which individuals are born shape the embodied cultural capital needed to be a 'good fisher'. However, the social capital that sons of fishers embodied made it possible for them to access this new knowledge through friends of their fathers. Important for our wider understanding of fishers, and their accumulation of capital across the lifecourse, is that this need not always be vertical or one directional. Through his contact with other fishers – that is his horizontal networks – he is able to acquire knowledge of these new techniques. Such techniques were not passed down from his father (through vertical networks) but in this case passed from his horizontal networks.

Figure 5.3 – Willow pot that was used in the past to catch lobster

The interviews also found that the way knowledge is embedded in intergenerational relations provided a historical continuity and a place for 'cultural transmission' (e.g. Vanderbeck 2007) to the fishing community:

"It is knowledge of nature, the fishing condition, but it is also anthropology. You know the specific names where you are. Ehmm… the status of the tide, that is knowledge that is not written anywhere. It gets passed down. It is like that kind of thing. Lots unwritten and will never be. You just carry it in your head" (F-22).

"Cause I can name all the rocks and coves and everything from here all the way down to the [fishing place X]. All features and everything, they have all been passed on to me" (F-10).

In interviews fishers explained how they had a lot of place specific knowledge, such as knowledge of "tides" (F-22) and names of "rocks and coves" (F-10). It was observed how these forms of knowledge were "passed down" (F-10 and F-22) and were cumulative across generations within fishing families. The research revealed that intergenerational transfer of knowledge was partly about teaching and learning the skills needed to perform 'good fishing'. In addition, both Fisher 22 and Fisher 10's responses talk about knowing the places of rocks, which had been important practical knowledge in the past, as it provided reference point for fisher to be able to orient themselves on the sea. However today fishers orient themselves on the sea using electronic technologies (cf Murray et al. 2006). The research found that knowing the names of rocks and coves take on a different meaning for current fishers – that is for fishers to construct themselves as 'in place' and part of a historic fishing lineage. This knowledge was therefore found to be more symbolical than practical. Nevertheless, by associating themselves with older generations of fishers, current fishers can draw on the social capital of their ancestors. This has the advantage of gaining easier access to fishing territories. Furthermore, the research showed indications that the reputation for being a 'good fisher' might be passed across generations:

> "My granddad used to be a fisherman. As soon as I started [fishing myself] I had the bug and I was stuck [Laugh]. Think it was probably hearing stories from my uncle and stuff and my family talking about my granddad. Cause I never met my granddad, he died before I was born. It is probably just hearing stories […] about the romance and adventure of it all, oh yeah. I think that is what caught me anyway. […] [My granddad] was building his own boat and making his own nets, you know. […] Not many people in [this place] did that. I just wanted to be like that as well. [Other] people talking

about me in 50 years' time when I am dead. Oh he used to do this, he used to do that. You know [Laugh]" (F-11).

Responses, such as Fisher 11's, point to the way reputation and stories about forbearers are significant for how capitals may exist across generations. The rethinking of such stories had a twofold importance. At one level, embedded within these stories were fishing knowledges – such that they included information about places that were good to catch at certain times of year, information about potential dangers and weather lore. At a second level, these stories had a performative importance. Their telling in itself was a statement of connection and a claim to heritage. Knowing and being part of these stories carried capital in itself and allowed fishers to legitimise, and in some ways, devote their position in the fishing community.

5.3.2.2 Extra-familial context: entering at a young age and 'raising the tiger'

As established earlier in the chapter, not all fishers come from fishing families. The interviews revealed that fishers who started fishing from a position outside of the fisheries network, however, had quite a different experience in terms of gaining access to fishing grounds and 'getting on the fishing ladder'. This section will discuss how young men from the local community can become 'good fishers'. Such young men, the interviews revealed, accumulated both social and cultural capital alongside each other (Figure 5.4):

> "Because my dad was friends with [a] few of them and my mum was friends with few of them, you know, I have kind of spread myself about talking to everybody. So I have gathered a lot of knowledge just being noisy. [Laugh]" (F-11).

As Fisher 11 explains, young men from the local area could access knowledge of older fishers and opportunities for learning by "talking" (F-11), "helping" (F-16) and "going out fishing" (F-19). Such findings show that the fishing ladder is not only available to those who are born into fishing families. However, the research found a difference in the way sons of fishers and young men with looser ties to the fishing network learnt about fishing:

> "I have always done it, after school, after work, after collage. Yeah, always has. It is like a way of life". (F-22)

> "I was just looking at what everybody else was doing. I started hanging around the beach. Cause I have grown up here, like I used to live next doors to one fisherman when I was a kid. […] I grew up amongst them all. I have known their sons and their fathers. I started pestering the fishermen asking them if I could go out to sea with them. One day one of them said 'yeah come with me' and then I went. And then I started talking to the others. […] Just taking it all in like a 15 year sponge. […] When I was a kid I used to listen to everybody. I used to be a gabby little kid, but I used to listen and I used to take note and I always used to remember how everything was done. […] What I find now [is that] what I have learnt when I was really young […] is coming back to me every day. […] Even something that I forgotten for 15 years still comes back. 'How did he do it back then?'… You can't phone him to ask because he might be dead…" (F-11).

The two extracts above represent two different pathways in which fishers learn how to fish. Being a son of a fisher, Fisher 22, was going out fishing with his father "after school", "after work" and later on by himself "after collage" (F-22). In comparison, Fisher'11 response represents how a local young man with looser ties to the fishing network learnt how to fish. In the interview, Fisher 11 specifically emphasises how he needed to be "hanging around", "being noisy", and showing

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interest by "pestering the fishermen" (F-11). On the other hand, Fisher 22 was invited to fishing spaces onshore and at sea by his fishing father. In comparison, Fisher 11's response reveals the importance for other prospective fishers to get access to the different fishing sub-fields. Fishing spaces onshore are essentially public spaces while getting access to the private spaces of the boat and fishing at sea required permission. By being present in spaces where fishers work, Fisher 11 explained that he could "take it in like a 15 year old sponge". Such observations reveal that young men not from fishing families, but in the fisheries network, needed to display a strong interest and desire to learn about fishing. Sons of fishers, on the other hand, "have to help out" (F-19) and did not have to seek the opportunity to go fishing in the same way. The research found that the involvement of fisher's sons can be quite 'passive' whilst young men without familial relations had to be 'proactive' in seeking to become involved in the fishery. As such, young men without familial ties accumulated cultural and social capital in parallel in contrast to sons of fishers that could draw on their social capital in accumulating embodied cultural capital (see Figure 5.4).

Interviews also revealed that it is important to have the appearance of youthfulness while 'getting on the fishing ladder' from a position without familial ties:

> Interviewer: "Do you think there is an element of you being younger?"
> Fisher: "Yeah that is what the old guys, exactly [!] what the elderly guy said to me. I think he was about 60 at the time and he said 'have you ever heard the phrase'… I will say it in English… 'raising a tiger', I said 'what do you mean raising a tiger?' He said 'I feel I am raising a tiger, when they are little they are all cute and cuddly, but when they grow up they will eat you.' That is a fair call… [Laugh]" (F-16).

Fisher 16's response highlights the importance of being young and other fishers also emphasised this aspect: "if you don't start early and young..." (F-10) and "you have to start young" (F-19). Interviews revealed that these young men are considered non-competitors, but as evident in Fisher 16's response, young fishers will grow up one day and can become fierce competitors. This illustrates an important aspect of the lifecourse – that is, the 'social meaning of age'. The metaphor 'raising a tiger' was used by Fisher 16, and it explains the transition from a young, innocent "cute and cuddly" (F-16), child to a competitor that will "eat you" (F-16). The metaphor explains how younger men can have access to "private transmission of knowledge" (Symes and Frangoudes 2001) from older fishers which would not be accessible later on in the lifecourse. Such young people, the research found, were seen as non-competitors and were therefore trusted with the secrets and the 'tricks of the trade'. Furthermore, training a younger fisher to fish did not only pass on technical knowledge of how to fish but also transmitted 'cultural competencies' which, as Bourdieu (1984, p.245) suggests, "yields profits of distinction for its owner" to the next generation. The research thus found, that by 'raising the tiger' the older generation can transfer their version of 'good fishing' across generations. As such they train young fishers in their own 'style'[18]. The 'raising the tiger' metaphor was drawn on by a fisher without a familial position within the fishing community. By contrast, sons of fishers could access the knowledge of their fathers who would be able to guide their sons throughout the whole learning process – as sons were seen as non-competitors at both young and

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[18] A fisher's fishing 'style' was the individual mark fishers had on the pattern in which they fished, as discussed in Chapter 4.

old age. Such difference highlight the importance of social context in the ways capital are accumulated throughout the fishing lifecourse, see Figure 5.4.

Interviews highlighted that fishers were generally considered fierce competitors once they had a boat of their own (which could be already as young as at age 16):

> "No they wouldn't tell me certain things like that. That they might have said 15 years ago, when I was a child and I didn't have a boat. […] I still ask but I won't be told the same. When you are a child or a kid and when you tend to ask questions they seem to take more… 'Oh you have got to do this, and you have got to do that', but when you are older and you ask them something they go around the question and don't give you the answer" (F-11).

As evident in Fisher 11's response, owning his own boat positioned him as a competitor that was playing by the same rules as all other fishers. It was observed that secrecy towards him became important and part of the other fishers' display of 'good fishing'. The interview with Fisher 11 highlights how he became treated as someone who should be using his own hard-won knowledge (embodied cultural capital) to catch fish – not someone who simply capitalises on the knowledge of others. Young fishers with boats need to use other methods to continue learning, which the interviews revealed was primarily done through the experiences they gained while fishing. Observations like these point towards a key finding of this research – that accumulating knowledge was a two-part process. The first step was about learning as much as possible from others, which was conditioned by the position and capitals imbued in the position in which prospective fishers enter the fishery from. In the second step it was important to "develop an edge as an existing fisherman" (F-16) by individual experimentation while fishing (as discussed in Chapter 4).

5.3.2.3 'Getting on the fishing ladder' later on in the lifecourse

The research further found an additional route into the fishing industry. The following quote represents a fisher who got on the fishing ladder later on in his lifecourse:

> "And you always hear them talking 'so and so has started fishing', 'oh I hope he doesn't come on my patch'. But you never hear [my husband] saying that. He says 'well you can't do anything about it can you?' They have got the right to. You know. He is quite easy going compared to some of them. And I suppose in the beginning he found a bit of animosity, you know, when he put his pots out and... I remember [another fisher] saying 'oh god, [my husband] was taking over the whole area, and was taking food off their table' type of thing. But then they get used to each other and that is it isn't it?! You can't stop anybody. Cause, as I said, the sea is free for everybody isn't it" (P-21).

Fishers who entered the fishery later on in their lifecourse, such as Partner 21's fishing partner, often had access to the economic capital needed for starting a fishing business. Such fishers, who did not have familial connections to the fishery, was shown to discursively construct the sea as "free for everybody". As there is no private ownership of the sea, fishers from fishing families – by contrast – often emphasise the way fishers have "their own patch[es]" (F-28) and that if you do not belong to the place "other people [will be] having comments and quarrelling" (F-19). Indeed, Partner 21 explained how her fishing partner experienced a degree of "animosity" when he started fishing – and such observations reveal that prospective fishers outside of the fishing network start off their fishing careers without, or at least with low levels of, social capital. The interview with Partner 21 highlights that such fishers needed to go through a period of contestation (and sometimes arguments) in order to establish themselves in the fishing network and gaining some

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level of social capital. This 'hurdle' was something that those from fishing families and those men who had entered the fishing network at a young age did not have to overcome. There were two main ways in which prospective fishers at older age could accumulate enough symbolic capital to be accepted as members of the fishing network and 'overcome the hurdle'. This was by displaying their 'good fishers' abilities – that is: i) displaying their 'good fishing' skills and ii) displaying their trustworthiness by following 'unwritten reciprocal agreements'. In the interview with Partner 21, it was highlighted that her partner became an accepted member of the fishing network through living up to the 'good fishing' ideal of being trustworthy and being skilful over time.

The antithesis to the process discussed above is a prospective fisher without initial social capital who fail to display 'good fishing' – as was discussed in Chapter 4 in the case of the 'flag-hunter'. Chapter 4 found that 'flag-hunters' were exposed to severe levels of policing and social exclusion from the fishing network by being shouted at and getting their ropes cut. These findings points towards a different scenario – that is, if prospective fishers from extra-familial backgrounds enter the fishery without complying with the 'rules of the game' and showing themselves as skilful – they may not last long in the industry.

5.3.2.4 *Climbing the ladder: from deckhand to skipper*

Once young men got on the fishing ladder there are a number of different transitions in a fishing career which they may undergo. The most obvious example is moving from being a deckhand to becoming a skipper on their own boats. As mentioned earlier, many fishers build up capitals throughout their fishing career and most commonly if able to accumulate enough economic capital end up skipper their own

boats – either as single handed fishers or with a small crew. These transitions are however, not straightforward as the following quote explains:

> "When I first wanted to buy my own boat in my mind it was like 'it will be easy, I will be home every night, I can [come and] go as I please and it will be a lot easier on my body, not so much stress'. Not so much stress on my body but I never thought it would be that much stress on my mind. You know. Time to run the boat and time to catch fish. Just being on the deck and being in the wheelhouse is completely different. [Laughing]. But sometimes I have gotta do it both now, before I only had to worry about being on deck. I didn't have to worry about the weather and I didn't have to worry about the tide, I didn't have to worry about ordering a lorry to come and collect the scallops or whatever. I didn't have to worry about where the fish was going, I didn't have to worry about the tractor, I didn't have to worry about insurances. […] I never took much attention to how to maintain engines […] because I was solely on deck. […] But since I got my own boat. Oh my god it has blown my mind out. How you gotta be a mechanic, an electrician, an engineer and a skipper, and answer the phone – a secretary. In my mind before it was 'I will buy a boat, be a fisherman, simple!' Go out every morning, go in, sell it, make money, pay the mortgage and go to bed. Like fucking hell, it is not like that at all. It is like get up in the morning, go through all the paperwork, check the weather, check the tides, oh I forgot to text, oh I need to order, ahhh, I need to order fuel, oh I forgot to, damn the insurance is due next week, it is like 'ahhhwww' [Laugh]. […] Before I was thinking about the glory and how good it was gonna be when now it is kind of reality, it is like shiiiit. [Laugh]. I like it, I wouldn't change it for the world. But it is a lot more burden and stress on your mind then I thought it would be" (F-11).

Fisher 11's response highlights that 'climbing the ladder' and moving on from being a deckhand to becoming a skipper requires a number of additional skills. These skills are however difficult to learn as Fisher 11 experienced. Skippers need

to have a larger range of fishing abilities than crewmembers as explained by statement such as "[having my own boat has] blown my mind" and "you gotta be a mechanic, an electrician, an engineer and a skipper, and answer the phone – a secretary" (F-11). It was clear from such responses that there is a distinction to be made between the mind and the body, as he explains that being a skipper is "not so much stress on my body, but I never thought it would be that much stress on my mind" (F-11). Skippers of boats need to have accumulated additional embodied cultural capital – and especially 'capitals of the mind' – that of knowing how to fish, how to deal with machinery in a fishing business (mechanical abilities) and knowing how to run a fishing business (managerial abilities). However, climbing the ladder in the small-scale fishery was not a matter of completely changing positions. Interviews revealed how skippers "need to be both" (F-11) meaning the 'old' and 'new' skills were needed to be able to be a successful skipper in the inshore fishery.

In addition to having the intellectual capacities to undertake these additional, and often more skilled tasks, the research revealed that familial context was again important. Where sons of fishers were able, as discussed Section 5.3.2.2, to work alongside their fathers whilst ascending the fishing ladder, this process could be a gradual and cumulative process. Here, they could learn these multiple facets in turn and over time as there were no secrecy between father and son. By contrast, those not working within a familial context did not have access to this learning structure – and such prospective skippers often did not have people that could directly teach them the individual skills – nor how these range of skills worked together. Figure 5.4 illustrates the processes in which fishers from different positions climb the fishing ladder.

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The 'good fisher'

| Sons of fishers | Young 'local' men | Older 'newcomers' |
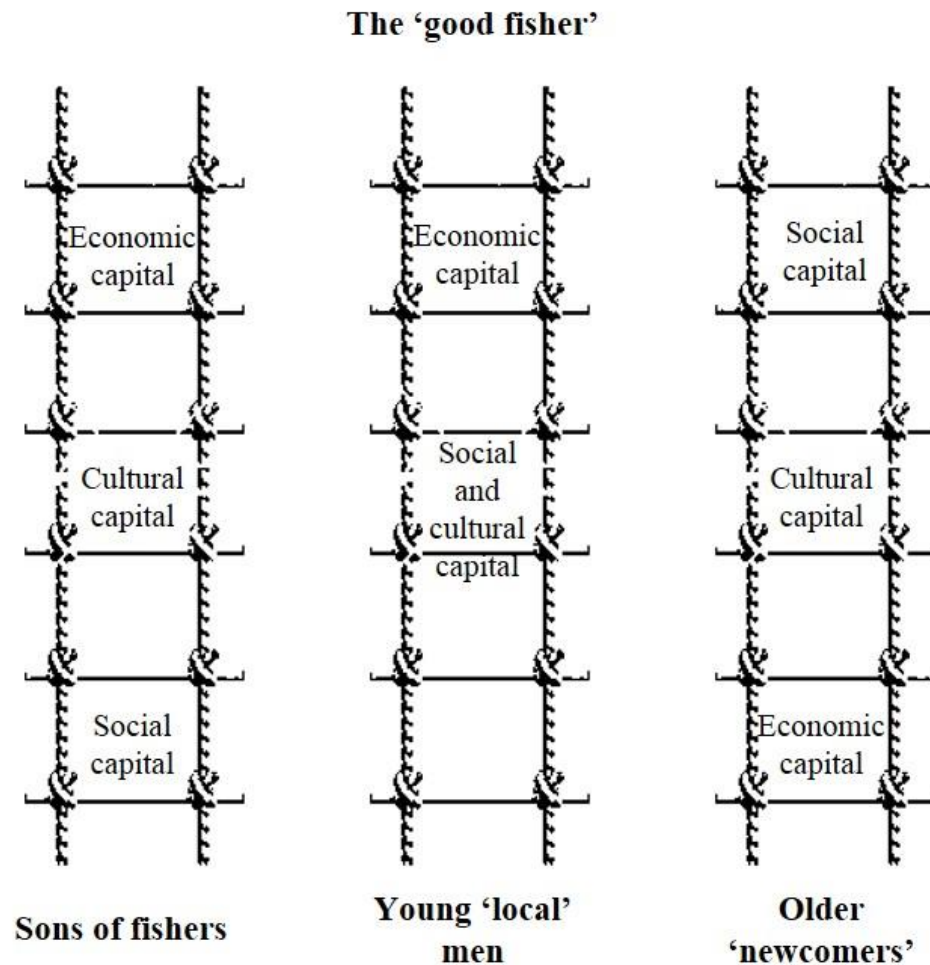
Figure 5.4 – The different trajectories in which prospective fishers, from different initial positions, accumulate fishing capital to become 'good fishers'

5.3.3 'Off the ladder': young men who do not fish

So far the chapter has explored how prospective fishers from fishing families and extra-familial networks can become fishers. However, not everyone wants to, or is given the opportunity, to get on the ladder and become fisher. In the parallel literature on farming recent research has called for greater attention to be paid to the voices of non-successors (Cassidy and McGrath 2014) and a parallel for this

can be made for the fishing literature. In interviews it was found that young men often perceive fishing as a negative career:

> "It is a lot of hard work for very little back. That is what I would say, from what I hear from me dad and what I take from what he gets. You put a lot into it and get very little back. And, and that is probably one of the reasons why a lot of people are moving away from it. […] Not him [my father], because he is obviously too old and grumpy to move away from it ain't he? But all the young lads they can see how much hard work they would have to put into it. And you can generate the same amount of income doing something else and you don't have to work half as hard" (S-24).

Sons of fishers' often find fishing to be "hard work" for "very little back" (S-24). Son 24 goes on to explain that he has a sense of what a fishing way of life means in practice as his father is an active fisher and he has seen and heard about his struggles. In the interview with Son 24 it was also highlighted that there were good alternative jobs available, which will both give more income and less stress (physically and mentally). Because of these perceived negative aspects of a fishing way of life many young people stay 'off the fishing ladder' altogether. Furthermore, the younger generation also view the part-time inshore fishing 'way of life' as difficult in the context of the current job market:

> "But it is too demanding. You have got to go out every day. I have got to work every day but going to sea you don't know what you are going to get. There can be really bad weather sometimes. And then, obviously, in the winter you can't go out fishing. […] So you have got to find a way to get an income for the winter. So you have got to have two jobs anyways really. Especially with a small commercial boat. It is different for people who have larger commercial boats cause they can go all year around… […] I don't see, at the minute, that you can make enough money over the summer to sustain yourself over the winter as well" (S-24).

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Such interviews highlight that being a small-scale part-time fisher, who can only fish during the summer months, is not considered viable without additional sources of income. This additional source of income has to be a part-time job which is flexible enough to enable fishers to go fishing depending on weather conditions and tides – which is not easy to find in the current local job market (as discussed in Section 5.3.1.1). Son 24 goes on to suggest that the small-scale fishing industry is very different from larger scale fishing operations where fishers are able to keep fishing as a full-time job throughout all seasons. A limited number of inshore fishers around the Llŷn are full-time fishers but they have often deployed a multi-species, multi-gear mode of fishing which increases profitability, earlier explained as 'tactics', or have diversified their business in some way. In addition, interviews also revealed that negative perceptions of the future of the fishery also comes from the perception that the sea has been overfished and that it would be a wasted effort to become a fisher – "at least at the minute" (S-24). Furthermore, the economic barriers to entry in the fishery, discussed earlier in the chapter (see Section 5.3.1.1), are in part responsible for fostering a negative culture amongst young people, who under other circumstances could have imagined themselves as future fishers:

Interviewer: "What would stop you to go fishing independently of your dad?"

Son 24: "Money to set it up. […] Not at the minute anyway. And again, the financial side of it, to set up [the fishing business]. It is gonna be really expensive. Yeah. Cause to get the boat and the license for the boat, you need all the gear to go with it as well. […]"

Son 25: "It is like digging yourself a hole. There is no point getting into fucking debt when there is nothing out there to catch anyways" (S-24 and S-25).

Interviewer: "Are there any young ones [fishers] coming in?"

Fisher: "No. no. They are not mad enough. Who the hell want to do this? God. […] And they can't afford to do it. It costs too much money to start up and stuff. […] You have got the boat and gear and stuff. […] A £100.000 it has got to be. Where are you gonna get a young lad with a £100.000 and if he has got a £100.000 he is not gonna put it in [the sea] you see" (F-19).

In the first extract, Son 24 and Son 25 argue that in order to make the large economic investment to enter the fishery it has to be economically viable. Furthermore, Fisher 19 notes that if young people had the money to start up a fishing business it would be unusual for them to invest in fishing. One key concern expressed in interviews was that the sea had been "overfished" and therefore Son 25 argues: "There is no point getting into fucking debt when there is nothing out there to catch anyway". Responses such as those of Son 24, Son 25 and Fisher 19 highlight how young people (not only from fishing families) weigh up the initial financial barrier alongside the long-term financial insecurity in deciding whether or not to 'get on the ladder' and start fishing. Such responses highlight that economic concerns are a major reason why fishing sons may 'stay off the fishing ladder'. The research found, in particular, that the economic concerns revolved around the cost of starting

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up a fishing business and a declining economic profitability, which was set alongside a sense of that the fishery had been overfished – which, altogether, created a sense that a fishing investment might not pay back. Despite the observation that many young people have an interest in fishing, and the fishing way of life, there is a sense of impossibility around entry into the small-scale fishing industry amongst young people in the local area, which was found to be underpinned by structural barriers to starting a fishing business. Power (2012, p.2) has previously studied the place of youth in fishing communities in Newfoundland, Canada, and she writes:

> "young people […] do not see fisheries as a viable career option, even though some young men in more rural and remote communities would like to work in fisheries. Instead, young people see fisheries as something that happened in the past".

It was found that young men in this research shared similar negative perceptions about the future of the fishery to that observed in Canada.

The research further found that sons from fishing families could make informed decisions on whether or not to 'get on' or 'stay off the ladder' because of their insight into the industry:

> "Son 24: "I have got more insight into fishing cause I have to deal with [dad] every time he comes home winching. […] That it probably one of the main reasons why I wouldn't go into it. Not at the minute anyway".
> Son 25: "I would agree. There is not much else to say to that really" (S-24 and S-25).

Fisher: "[My son] doesn't want to be a fisherman".

Partner: "Yeah come and tell this lady about being a son of a fisherman".

Fisher: "Do you want to be a fisherman?"

Son: "No".

Interviewer: "Why not?"

Partner: "Tell her why not".

Son: "Back".

Partner: "Yeah, bad back".

Son: "Stress, eh..."

Interviewer: "What do you want to do instead?"

Son: "Anything else except that".

Partner and Fisher: "[Laugh]".

Partner: "Straight from the mouth. What do you want to do, maths teacher?"

Son: "[silence]"

Partner: "Yeah, I think what it is, is that they know how hard it is".

Fisher: "It is as hard you want to make it".

Partner: "Yeah but you try to put rose colour spectacles. But the reality of it is [that it is] hard, I don't know a harder job really. And then it is dangerous as well isn't it" (F-16, P-17 and S-34).

Interviews revealed that young men growing up in fishing families had a more realistic understanding of the negative sides of fishing than perhaps young men from the rest of the community. Furthermore, Son 34 gives health concerns such as "stress" and "back pain" as reasons why he would not want to fish. From such observations an important finding was highlighted – that beyond economic concerns there was also concerns over health which was found to be important in sons decisions to "stay off the ladder". As discussed in the last chapter, much of the fishing occupation is 'invisible' to those from outside the immediate context. So whilst there may be elements of the occupation that appear attractive from the outside (for example Fisher 11 referred to this as the "glory" of fishing in Section

5.3.2.4) – such as being able to work outside, and the ability, at times, to land very lucrative catches – fishing sons are able to observe the less glamorous and less rewarding aspects of the job. Importantly, these observations afforded fishing sons to be able to see the *full* picture of fishing over time. On the one hand this means that they may observe how, over time, the physical and mental strain may take its toll, and on the other hand they are able to observe the changing fortunes of the fishing industry – recognising how changes in, for example, policy have made the occupation less desirable.

Many current fishers' emphasised how society has undergone changes and the younger generation are less interested in 'hard work':

> "[Children] don't really like hard work these days do they. […] Not at that age anyway. You know, it is alright he say 'yes I will go out' and then he realise that he has to go out early in the morning and… [Silence]" (P-21).

> "I think no one has an interest in it [fishing]. This generation don't. Years ago when I was young-er [Laugh]… I used to go around with mackerel. Sell mackerel door to door. If it is not in a package and it is not processed […] they don't want to know what it is. […] I think we have got to, kind of, get these people back to reality. Ehmm. It doesn't come in a package. [Laugh]. It comes live from the sea. […] People have changed more than anything else. I don't know why" (F-19).

Responses such as these above, point towards a societal change in which fishing is no longer looked upon as a positive career option, because of "hard work" (P-21), "early mornings" (P-21) and as Fisher 19 states, a sort of disconnection from "reality". Other researchers have tried to understand how fishers' exit from the fishing industry is a combination of 'push and pull' factors (Johnsen and Vik 2013). Johnsen and Vik (2013) studied why the numbers of Norwegian fishers are

declining by speaking to fishers who had exited the industry. Importantly they find that societal expectations have changed which has coincided with improved access to alternative opportunities in local fishing areas of Norway which served to reduce entry of newcomers into the fishery. The current research observed that education might have something to do with changing people's expectations:

> "I think it is the way that things have changed… I think it is through the education system. Everybody these days think that they have got to go to college and university. […] I am not saying that is bad but people then don't think of fishing as a sort of career. Because they have been taught through the education system that you have got to go to college and university and that [is] the way forward. I think the education system should look at [the way] you could have a good career by doing something more, sort of, practical. And using your skills you know. That is the way they are going to get more people interested in fishing you know" (F-10).

Fisher 10's narrative pinpoints education as changing the younger generation into not viewing vocational career paths, such as fishing, as viable futures for themselves. Previous research has discussed how 'secondary socialisation' through education have had similar consequences for the Norwegian fishing fleet (Sønvisen et al. 2011). Observations from this study, together with such previous studies, have importance for the future recruitment and continuity of inshore fishing on the Llŷn peninsula. How fishing lifecourse processes have changed alongside a changing fishing field will be further discussed in Section 5.6.

5.4 Adulthood: balancing family life and fishing

This chapter has so far discussed the earlier phases of the fishing lifecourse. Taking a lifecourse approach it is also important to look at transitions between different life

stages – as well as particular events which can take precedence in the lifecourse of fishers. Valentine (2003) talks specifically about the lifecourse transition from childhood to "adulthood". She finds that such a process can be quite complicated as "changes associated with growing up such as leaving home, getting a job, becoming a parent may be or may not be connected and may occur simultaneously, serially or not at all" (Valentine 2003, p.48). Chapter 2 identified that very little previous literature has explored the lifecourse of fishers. Some researchers have touched on the aspect of fishers lives that subject them to being fathers (cf Coulthard and Britton 2015; Gerrard 2013) – but thus far there has been little exploration of the fishing lifecourse as an interconnected whole. This part of the chapter will look at what it means to be a fisher later on in life – in particular when fishers decide to start and raise a family.

Interviews revealed that the theme of being a father was important for the lifecourse of fishers:

> "[I was fishing] part-time […] and taking the kids out in the boat to catch mackerel. And going out in the evenings to fish off the point there. I had to take [the kids] with me cause there was no one else" (F-12).

Responses such as Fisher 12's highlights that fishers have caring responsibilities for their children. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, many women in fishing families have non-fishing related employment and therefore, as Fisher 12 explains, some children 'had to' go fishing with their fathers while their mothers were working. Moreover, interviews found that balancing fishing with having a family shaped fishing activities:

"There was a point that I thought I maybe liked to up[scale] the whole operation to stay out maybe for four or five days at a time. And trying to get in for the weekend or whichever way the weather played at. It would have involved a lot of investment and involved all of my time I think. But then I thought that is not really fair on anyone. If I was on my own it would have been different. I would have considered [it]. The family decision did make me say no, don't do that, it is not really the right thing to do. […] If I would have been on my own, I would have taken that decision I think. Stayed out there for as long as I could" (F-16).

As Fisher 16 discusses, motivations and responsibilities change throughout the lifecourse. Through responses such as these it was observed that decisions about fishing are not in isolation from considerations of the family as the presence of the family shaped the rungs on the occupational ladder. Such findings were evidenced by, for example, the observations that while having a family, many full-time fishers still fish full-time – but would stop investing time to accumulate embodied cultural capital in the same way they were doing at younger age. Fisher 16 described in interviews how he is no longer 'pushing it' as he would have done in younger age and such observations reveal that fishers, who have 'gotten on the ladder' and later 'climbed the ladder', can later on 'coast on their reputation' in remaining 'good fishers'. Indeed other motivations have entered their lives and, in the example mentioned, such motivators were tied to fishers' subject positions as fathers and partners.

The research observed that some fishers continue fishing full-time while starting a family:

"If I reduce my pot numbers […] I wouldn't make a living for myself and the family and pay my bills" (F-10).

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Responses such as Fisher 10's highlight that the family is discursively used to justify a particular level of fishing effort. In this example, Fisher 10 had developed a profitable business which supported a family. Some fishers, on the other hand, decided to become part-time fishers in order to balance family and fishing life:

> "And I have always fished since very young age. Full-time to begin with and, obviously, when we got a family and a mortgage and all the rest of the things that come with it, we kind of had to do other things as well just to make a living more than anything. You can make a living out of fishing. I am not saying you can't, but it is a very hard living. So, that is why I do other things as well. […] And once [the children] have grown [up] I will probably be a full-time fisherman again" (F-19).

Interviews revealed that some fishers chose to become part-time fishers when getting a "family and a mortgage" (F-19). The reasons behind such decisions was two-fold. First, it was financial, as with a family and mortgage you have got to make a stable living, as Fisher 19 suggests. Second, Fisher 19 explains how he wanted an 'easier life', meaning he wanted to make a living while also having time for the family, and therefore took up another occupation as well. Furthermore, in interviews it became clear that the importance of a 'stable income' changed throughout the lifecourse. Fishers' decisions, temporarily or otherwise, to take on a different job and fish part-time, arguably depended on financial pressures with having a family. For our wider understanding of the fishing lifecourse, it is important to note that the fishing ladder is not uniform and the transitions through it may be varied, as observed in the discussion above. Whilst the earlier sections of this chapter noted a desire amongst many fishers to 'get on' or 'progress up' the ladder, this section has found that other lifecourse events may intersect with and therefore alter the occupational fishing ladder. The example of having a family was

useful in exploring this. For one fisher this may involve a slowing of their progression along the ladder – where they are happy to reduce their time input into fishing in order to spend more time with their children. Indeed in some cases this might be seen as moving down on the ladder in terms of the number of pots or number of days at sea. In other cases, the need for extra income to look after their family may mean an attempt to speed up the progression through investing in more equipment or investing more time in being on the sea. Following on from this discussion, Chapter 6 will explore how masculinities are (re)configured in relation to fishers' subject position as fathers.

5.5   Older age and 'stepping down the ladder'?

In following the fishing lifecourse it is important to understand how older age is negotiated. Chapter 2 identified that this perspective has been missing from the social science fisheries literature. By drawing on how older age has been understood in the wider social science literature (Hopkins and Pain 2007; Wyn and White 1997), as well as in the parallel literature on farmers (Riley 2016b), we can begin to understand how older age (re)shapes fishers practices and identities.

5.5.1   Fishers (non)retirement

The fieldwork observed that fishers do not overtly plan for their retirement:

Fisher: "I will have to stop sometime when you get too old".

Interviewer: "What do you think is too old?"

Fisher: "When your body tells you to. That's what it is. Your body just can't take it anymore. […] At the end of the day your body aches a little bit as you get older. But by the next morning you are ready to go again" (F-8).

Interviewer: "So when do you plan to retire?"

Fisher: "I don't know. […] The day will come when you can't and that is it I should think. When you are ill or when your hips or your back goes too bad. Cause we lift pots full-time. You know we [fishers] get a lot of problems. […] Back and hips yeah. That is just fishing ain't it. One day it will be so bad that you can't and then you will have to retire I should think. […] Age doesn't matter at all. It is like days it doesn't matter what day it is. And the age is the same. As long as you can keep on doing it you carry on, that is it. […] I am so used to getting up in the morning working all day, what the hell will you do all day [if you retire]. […] Oh my god. […] No thank you I don't want that day" (F-18).

Responses such as those of Fisher 8 and Fisher 18 highlight the way fishers do not overtly plan their retirement. Rather, they spoke about wanting to remain in the industry but often expressed that "there will come a point when [they] can't physically do it" (F-16). To make sense of such observations we can draw on the ideas that age is relational discussed in Chapter 2 (Hopkins and Pain 2009; Wyn and White 1997). Such insights note the important of understanding the particular process of ageing in the fishing lifecourse – and the fishing lifecourse can be seen as a particular social and cultural circumstance in which age takes on a particular meaning, drawing on Elder (1994). Using this conceptual lens, Fisher 18's response "age doesn't matter" is telling. For fishers, retirement is often a consequence of poor health and is a process of 'force' – independent of 'age' as defined by number of years lived. The interviews revealed the importance of physical capacity rather

than age itself in framing how long they would be able to continue fishing. Nonetheless, Fisher 18 talks about how he will continue fishing until he can no longer physically do it. In the parallel literature on farming, Riley (2016b) discussed how older farmers can remain 'good farmers' through the process of 'winding down' whereby they remain on the farm an engage in less physically challenging aspects of farming, relying on successor generations to provide labour alongside the help of technologies which can substitute the bodies of farmers in older age. However, the current research observed that these positions are not available to fishers in the same way as for older farmers. The research found that in small-scale inshore fisheries, where fishers are fishing without port facilities, there is a lower potential of technologies to substitute fishers ageing bodies. This is because the lack of port facilities forces fishers to carry "heavy boxes" (F-27) with their catch manually, which in interviews were described as physically challenging – especially in older age. The research found that there were no external structures in place to assist fishers in older age that wanted to continue fishing. The following section will explore the ways in which fishers could remain in place despite the lack of such infrastructure.

5.5.2 Remaining in place and 'slowing down'

Interesting themes emerged from interviews while discussing how fishers continue fishing in older age:

> "And my grandfather has got a boat. To do lobster pots and stuff. […] He is 70ish. Mid 70. He is still working… If he stopped working he will be dead. You know he is still working. […] He has slowed down a lot now, you know, obviously he is getting old, but yeah… otherwise he would be stuck at home with grandmother shopping [Laugh]. He loves it" (F-28).

"Now in the latter years, because he is over 65, [he doesn't do] as many hours. Say he goes out at 8 o'clock in the morning and could be back at 2 or 3 in the afternoon. But there were times he was going 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning and came back sometimes at 5 o'clock at night. And it is a long day. It was a long day for me by myself. […] He was falling to bed and then up again the next morning. He doesn't do as much but he is still doing too much" (P-21).

"One day will come when I can't lift this amount of pots. But I want that day to be my decision. 'Oh I am tired now I can't do this many [pots] I've got to cut down'. I want to decide that myself" (F-18).

Comments such as those above reveal several approaches to how fishers (re)negotiate older age. First, the two first extracts reveal that it is important to 'still work'. Evident in Fisher 28's discussion about his grandfather is that fishers tend to 'slow down' in older age. Echoing this, Partner 21 talks about her partner as 'slowing down' in older age and she describes that he is working less hours. Towards the end of the extract she explains that, even though he is working less, "he is still doing too much" (P-21). This statement points towards the way 'good fishing' becomes reconfigured in older age. It was observed that despite his reduced bodily capabilities her partner is working hard, in relative terms, and is, as such, remaining a 'good fisher'. Fisher 18 further emphasised how his bodily abilities have declined in older age – which was a 'natural' consequence of his past fishing effort. The research therefore revealed that, similar to Riley's (2016b) observation in the case of farming, fishers might 'still be' 'good fishers' in older age. The differences between 'slowing down' in farming and 'slowing down' in fishing, again, relates to the differences in the two different fields. As discussed above (see Section 5.5.1), older fishers do not have the same opportunities to substitute for

their ageing bodies with technological help as farmers might do in older age. As fishers spoke about wanting to remain fishing in the small 'fishing cove fishery' – they see themselves as largely immobile – the research found that there is only a certain extent to which fishers can be 'winding down' or can 'slow down' while still 'remaining in place' because of the lack of harbour facilities discussed above. Interviews highlighted some of the ways in which 'slowing down' took form in fishing – whereby fishers were doing less hours, or only going out fishing when the weather was nice:

> Fisher: "I still get up in the morning longing to go out when the sun is shining and the sea is flat. I can't wait to go out".
> Interviewer: "Even on a bad day?"
> Fisher: "Not so much now on a bad day, years ago yes on a bad day as well" (F-16).

As illustrated in Fisher 16's response, older age was about enjoying the positive aspects of fishing, whilst not being forced to go out on the bad days to make a profit. The following extracts, from the same interview, highlight how fishers can draw on their fishing histories to justify 'slowing down' and remain 'good fishers':

> "Normal day 12 hours, 10-12 hours. I have in the past been up to 15 every day but I can't do 15 [any longer], I am 50 years old. Yeah. It hurts now" (F-16).

And later on in the same interview:

> "I was doing 40 [lobster pots] a day, all by hand. Yeah. It was heavy. But when I was 17, 18, 19 [years old] that was nothing, you just fly through them. Great fun" (F-16).

The difference between how Fisher 16 narrates his fishing effort and strength at younger and older age draws a clearer picture of how the 'good fisher' is re-configured in older age. Here, we can see that fishers can draw on the symbolic capital which they have accumulated through past fishing efforts to justify 'slowing down' in older age without threatening their 'good fisher' status. Such findings indicate that some of the 'good fishing' symbols, such as going out to sea as often as possible, take on a different meaning in older age.

The interviews also revealed a spatial element to how fishers 'remain in place' in older age. Fisher 28's response above reveal that it is important for fishers in older age to not be 'stuck at home'. A partner of a fisher expand on this point:

> "[Another fisher's] father has retired. But he goes and help [his son] sometimes. I don't know if he is actually on the boat now… I am not sure. But he does go down to help with the catch. And bring it ashore and… So that is still not actually away from it all. […] I don't think they can actually let go" (P-9).

Responses such as that of Partner 9 highlight how older fishers, despite no longer being active fishers (or what has here been called the 'main fisher'), 'help' their children with certain fishing activities. Partner 9 explain this as not being able to "actually let go". From statements such as these it can be understood that fishers in older age 'remain in place' by keeping on being present in onshore spaces and by performing certain 'good fishing' activities – despite no longer being active fishers. Another way in which fishers narrate 'remaining in place' is through the way some fishers keep on fishing as a 'hobby', which mediates access to the fishing space of the sea:

"But even if we had all the money in the world he wouldn't stop fishing. But he would do it as a hobby. Because that is what he likes doing. You know. He would never really retire. Okay, maybe not going out every day as he is now, sort of thing. [Only] when the weather is okay. But he would never [stop fishing]. Cause he is just not the sort that sits at home. […] He is still physically capable now of doing it so… He still wants to carry on really. […] Although he would be retired from the boat, maybe in a couple of years, he would still want to go out. Cause he has got [a] retirement boat. […] He is actually not retired yet but that was the idea. To just get that so that he could pot around a few. […] So he will never retire properly. No, because he just loves being on the sea" (P-9).

Interviews such as Partner 9's revealed how her partner has, contrary to many other fishers, planned his retirement from the 'boat' and the succession to his son. Partner 9 explains that his idea was to get a 'retirement boat' to go out on good days when the weather is nice. Whilst being able to spend time in fishing spaces onshore was important, spending time at sea was even more important for Partner 9's partner as "he just loves being on the sea" (P-9). To facilitate this he had bought himself a boat, which Chapter 4 noted, is an extension of the body that makes fishing, and being on the sea, possible. In exploring older age Ekerdt (1986) has noted that people in retirement transform the construction of their identities from the 'work ethic' to that of the 'busy ethic'. As an example, Riley (2012) particularly notes how farmers may stay busy during retirement by engaging in activities such as gardening. Drawing on these sorts of insights it could be argued that fishing as a hobby is a way to attempt a smooth transition from that of work to retirement as it facilitates "moral continuity: how to integrate existing beliefs and values about work into a new status that constitutes withdrawal from work" (Ekerdt 1986, p.243) as well as minimal need for reconfiguration of fisher's identities. A key observation

of the current research therefore was that fishers who have formally retired from their boats, can still 'remain in place' by being present in fishing sub-fields onshore. Yet it was found that it is more difficult to remain physically present on the sea without having access to a boat. The attachment to the sea led some fishers to take up fishing as a hobby – as they could not let go of the sea and the cultural values they associate with working on the sea and fishing.

5.5.3   The importance of the 'potential successor'

The research showed that the presence or absence of a successor was important for how the business was developed (or not) in the later stages of the fishing lifecourse:

> "I am not completely ignorant but if it has got to be bought it has got to be bought hasn't it? As long as he doesn't want a new boat [Laugh]. Not at his age. That will become completely different. No" (P-21).

Partner 21 discusses the process of buying a new boat, which was deemed inappropriate in older age. The interviews revealed that decisions about the development of the fishing business was conditioned by certain circumstances – one of them being age. Such observations highlights how age takes on social meaning in the fishing lifecourse. In this case, Partner 21's fishing partner did not have a successor to his fishing business. In contrast, a main fisher with a succeeding son recently purchased a new bigger boat to be able to fish together, "to carry more boxes" (F-8) and support both of their incomes. Such observations reveal that the ways in which fishers older age becomes materialised depend on their specific context – in this case in relational to what succeeds the fisher. This finding points towards another aspect of the lifecourse approach – that is, 'linked lives', in that how the lifecourse unfolds for the older generation depends on what or who

succeeds them. Furthermore, some fishers who do not have family successors talk about how they can pass some of their fishing capitals on to someone from the local community:

> Interviewer: "[Speaking about your] children, none of them wants to take up fishing?"
>
> Partner: "No, very sad I suppose, all that knowledge".
>
> Fisher: "Yeah I suppose it is".
>
> Partner: "You often talk about that don't you?"
>
> Fisher: "Yes".
>
> Partner: "And [our daughter] was going out with a fisherman [...] well, third generation fisherman isn't he? Oh [you] were made up, [my husband] was like 'oh it is going to be lovely'. [...] [But] it only lasted a couple of month. [Laughing]. [...]"
>
> Fisher: "I thought it would be nice to sort of give it all to somebody, who are gonna use it sort of thing" (P-17 and F-16).

The extract was later in the interview followed by:

> "If none of my family or [...] partners of my family wanted to do it I would like to take somebody [on]… maybe as I get older. [...] There will come a point when I can't physically do it and you could share the workload and maybe bring a [young person] into it. Maybe sell everything on to them…" (F-16).

Such responses reveal a ranking of priorities for succession where the first option would be to pass on experiences and material possessions within the family (son or son-in-law). If that option were not an alternative fishers would "take somebody on" (F-16) from the local coastal community – to pass on both material possessions and embodied knowledge. As Fisher 16 discusses, taking on someone young will also help him fish for longer as that person would be able to substitute his own

decreasing physical abilities by "sharing the workload" (F-16). The research found that those fishers with successors are afforded a greater opportunity to 'slow down' and maintain their 'good fishing' status. Drawing on such observations, this research has observed that the ways in which the lifecourse unfold in older age depend on what succeeds the fisher. These observations reveal that the lives of fishers in older age and their successors are intricately interlinked. Such findings are echoed in the parallel literature on agriculture, in which Chiswell (2014) has looked at the important role the 'potential successor' play in decisions around the family farm and she argue we need to bring this intergenerational link into focus in order to understand decisions made about the farm in the present. This call for more engagement with this intergenerational perspective is echoed in this research – as it was found that what comes in the future (that is presence or absence of a successor) has importance for current fishing practices.

In interviews, it became evident that the 'potential successor' had relevance for how fishers engaged in voluntary conservation practices, in particular fishers' engagement in v-notching schemes[19]. This activity is generally done to secure a future lobster stock in the local area by making sure there is a breeding stock of lobsters (see also Acheson and Gardner 2011). However, the fieldwork found that older fishers who did not have successors did not participate in such voluntary conservation schemes to any great extent, as Fisher 8 suggests "it wouldn't benefit

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[19] Fishers can voluntarily 'v-notch' berried lobsters (female lobsters with eggs). In practice, this means that they make a v-shaped cut in the lobster tail which indicate that the lobster has been caught and released. Fishers who were to re-catch a v-notched lobster are not allowed to land or sell that lobster (Welsh Government 2016a). This conservation scheme was used to ensure the future vitality of the local lobster stock as the eggs which the female lobster carried would hatch into a new generation of lobsters.

them" (F-8). A younger fisher explains that, "the older generation don't do it. Cause they are not gonna benefit from it" (F-27). At the same time, there is a general attitude amongst younger fishers that v-notching is 'good':

> "I am young. I want to be doing this for 20-25 years. And I hope so, until I die anyways. I want there to be something there for me tomorrow. And maybe I will have kids one day and I want something there for them or my nephews. […] I want to keep the fishing [industry]" (F-11).

> "It is that understanding and appreciation that you have got to look after what you have. Cause some of the older fishermen would take all the lobster and the little once so that they would not breed" (F-22).

> Fisher 27: "The younger fishermen are more conservationist than the older". Fisher 8: "Well they are thinking of the future aren't they?" (F-27 and F-8).

Responses such as these show how young people in the area are concerned about the future productivity of the fishing industry and therefore tend to be more "conservationist" (F-27) than the older generation. However, if there is a successor – or a 'potential successor' – current older fishers were found to engage more in v-notching schemes:

> "I do it because of [my son]. […] If I was fishing by myself maybe it wouldn't be worth of me throwing them back because I wouldn't benefit. I would be retired in ten years' time probably. So the older men usually keep [the berried lobsters] you see" (F-8).

In his response, Fisher 8 discusses how fishers' engagement in conservation practices relates not only to their individual benefits but also to the benefits given to those who succeed them. By contrast, the research found that older fishers without successors did not do as much 'v-notching'. The ways in which older

fishers engage with voluntary conservation practices echoes the earlier finding –
that the 'potential successor' has importance for current fishing practices.

5.6   Changes in lifecourse trajectories

This chapter started off with a discussion about how the lifecourse was not a static
phenomenon. Indeed, interviews from this research observed that lifecourse
processes have changed in the area studied – partly as a response to changes in
structural conditions. This has implications for how fishers can get on, progress and
step of the ladder. This section will discuss primarily three key findings related to
this – that is the changing regulatory landscape, the lack of opportunities to
accumulate experience of fishing for prospective fishers without familial ties and,
interrelated to this, the decreased opportunities for children of fishers to go fishing
after school because of increased intensification of fishing businesses.

The first finding is highlighted by the following extract:

> "I started fishing quite early. Before I left school. I was about 13-14. I used
> to get a small boat and just, you know, go fishing. It didn't used to be any
> licenses or any regulations, you just got a boat and a few lobster pots and
> the way you went. But these days you need a license. All these regulations
> with safety courses. It would cost you a fortune to start fishing" (F-10).

Responses, such as Fisher 10's, reveal that the introduction of "licenses", and
"safety courses" have disrupted historical patterns of 'getting on the fishing ladder'
by accumulating experience through going out fishing with fishers in the
prospective fishers social network (as discussed earlier in the chapter). Interviews
revealed that changes to the 'rules of the game' – in particular changes externally

imposed, such as the introduction of fishing licenses and other regulations – have altered the historical lifecourse trajectory of fishers.

Another finding was that the economic hardship amongst current fishers added to the difficulty prospective fishers has in gaining experience in fishing – which was in Section 5.3.2.1 found to be crucial to accumulate embodied cultural capital:

> "Yeah you can't go and ask somebody 'do you want to work over summer?' That is the trouble. Sometimes you get people asking, 'son are you interested in fishing' or 'can you come and help me in the summer'. And years ago I could be like: 'come on then I can give you a bit of a wage, and you come and give me a hand'. But these days you can't do that because they gotta do the training courses which costs, probably you are looking at 6-700 pounds. Just the basics courses. And then maybe pay someone to just come and work for a few weeks… Or they just do a week and decide they don't like it. And the insurance as well, you know, to pay [the insurance for] the boat. You know. Public liability. That is very expensive. […] That is how I started fishing. And how I got an interest in fishing, really was. Obviously my family was fishing so that helped and [I] was involved and showed a keen interest in the job. But a lot of other people go into it through […] starting […] helping people onshore or on the boat. You might just get a few days work here and there but then you get an interest and insight into the job and then decide if you like it or not" (F-10).

Fisher 10's narrative clearly articulates how the way he started fishing is not a viable option today because of the costs involved in finding out 'if you like it or not'. Fisher 10's narrative draws the distinction between young people from fishing families and people who get into the fishery by "helping people onshore or on the boat". Young people from fishing families would, as Fisher 10 suggests, already have an 'insight' into the industry and would know if they had an interest or not, while people born in a different context would need to get the experience of fishing

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to know 'if they like it or not'. For our wider understanding of fishing such observations highlight how changes in the regulatory landscape and the government's lack of consideration of the pre-existing structures in place (see Chapter 4) – have had unintended consequences whereby previous recruitment processes became undermined. Along these lines, Neis et al. (2013) have argued that many fisheries policies have been 'intergenerationally blind' with associated unintended consequences. The current research found that this has become materialised in that it is more difficult for young people to gain enough experience of fishing to find out if it is an occupational career they wish to undertake or not. This lack of experience sometimes demands prospective fishers without familial ties to make a large economic investment before they have accumulated enough cultural capital to know much about the industry at all. Thirdly, and interrelated to the second finding, is that the ways prospective fishers from fishing families can get on the ladder has also changed:

> Fisher: "My grandfather was a fisherman and my father and me. And I have got two sons and they are not fishermen no. […]"
> Interviewer: "Did your sons come out with you when they were younger?"
> Fisher: "Not too much. Cause I am out 7, 8, 9 hours and it is a bit too much I think. When you are young a couple of hours is enough [...] but I was always out for many hours".
> Interviewer: "How was it when you were younger, did you go out with your [father] fishing?"
> Fisher: "I did, every day [when] I was home from school. I didn't want to do anything else" (F-18).

Interviews revealed, such as the response of Fisher 18, that the adoption of full-time fishing around the Llŷn peninsula has changed the opportunities for bringing children along with them while fishing as they fish for 'too many' hours. In contrast,

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when many current fishers, such as Fisher 18, were young, their fathers were fishing part-time which gave them the chance to go fishing with their fathers after school. Such observations also point to the finding that the productivist culture of fishing leave little time for teaching young people about fishing. The consequence of this is that young people from fishing families do not accumulate embodied cultural capital in the same way as was done in the past. Earlier in the chapter it was found that such embodied cultural capital was crucial for embodying the fishing habitus and getting on and climbing the fishing ladder. Instead, as exemplified by Fisher 18's response, sons more often stay off the fishing ladder. The research found that both regulatory changes and the intensification of fishing have decreased the opportunities available for young people – from fishing families as well as young men without familial ties – to 'get on the fishing ladder'. Such findings clearly reinforce and underline the previous concerns expressed for who the next generation of the fishing industry will be (see Neis et al. 2013; Power et al. 2014).

5.7 Conclusions

The research has found that using a lifecourse approach to understand the temporal aspects of fishers' lives – from younger to older age – has been productive as it has moved beyond a static understanding of fishers' lives. The first finding was that new entrants, within the system of fishing territories, are often not welcomed when they are from outside the fishing region or where they do not demonstrate the shared fishing habitus of the area. It was found that young people have different opportunities to get onto and climb the fishing 'ladder' depending on their initial positions with uneven amounts and forms of capital. It was shown that sons from fishing families often have the smoothest entry process, albeit still struggling with

high economic barriers. It was observed that sons of fishers had the advantage that they could draw on the social capital of forbearers to start accumulating embodied cultural capital of their own. On the other hand, there were two pathways for prospective fishers without familial ties to 'get on the fishing ladder'. First, young men from the local area could start 'hanging around' in fishing spaces and onshore and eventually be invited on the private space of the boat. Through this process these young men simultaneously built up social and cultural capital. It was also important for these young men to be perceived as 'inexperienced' and 'youthful' and not to have a boat of their own as this would position them as competitors. However, it was shown that for current fishers to be taking a young person onboard was expensive and was considered an investment, and therefore, this route to entry has become increasingly more difficult. Second, fishers without familial ties could enter the fishery later on in their lifecourse when they already had accumulated enough economic capital to start up a fishing business. However, these fishers had to slowly build up social capital for being accepted members of the fishing network by displaying their commitments to the 'good fishing' ideals.

The research further found that fishers have to learn new skills as they progress up the fishing ladder to eventually become skippers. These skills were identified as belonging to the 'mind' rather than the 'body'. Sons of fishers could ascend up the ladder alongside their fathers who could teach them the new skills needed as the lifecourse moves on. On the other hand, prospective fishers without familial ties needed to learn these additional skills largely on their own. Another research finding was that the transmission of knowledge from older to younger generations of fishers was, not only, of practical use in fishers' everyday fishing activities – but, also had symbolic importance as it helped fishers to construct themselves as 'in

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place' by drawing on the symbolic capital of their forbearers who had previously fished in the area. Furthermore, the research found three main reasons as to why young men decide to 'stay off the ladder' – that is, they have concerns over the economic viability of starting up a fishing business, they have concerns over health problems associated with the occupation and, finally, they had changed expectations on life in which they wanted an 'easier job' with better work-life balance. The chapter also found that balancing family life and fishing activities was an important lifecourse stage as starting a family could lead fishers to either intensify or decrease their fishing activities.

The chapter found that the ways in which fishers negotiate older age depended on whether or not there is a present successor. The presence or absence of successors also had importance for fishers (non)engagement in voluntary conservation schemes. Successors could further aid fishers of older age in continuing fishing. In older age, the chapter found that fishers want to 'remain in place' which was done by continuing to work albeit in a slower pace. However, the process of 'slowing down' was only available up to a certain point because of the specific nature of the inshore cove fishery and the little potential for technological substitution of older fishers decreased physical abilities.

A final finding was that a number of processes have changed the historical lifecourse trajectories in the fishing community. It was observed that young people's expectations of life and work balance have changed. These societal changes were linked to changes in education systems (also discussed by Sønvisen et al. 2011), reduced opportunities to get experience in fishing, and new marine and fisheries policies that undermine traditional routes into the fishery. Furthermore, it

was found that changes also related to the changing regulatory landscape in fishing as well as the transition from part-time to full-time fishing which allowed little opportunity for young sons to learn to fish for only a few hours after school.

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Chapter 6

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6 'It is a man's job': exploring gender identities in fishing

The review of this thesis suggested that an examination of fishing lives in their socio-cultural contexts needs to include a perspective on how such lives and contexts are gendered. This chapter will explore this by seeking an understanding of how capitals and the fishing habitus have "gendered dispositions" (McCall 1992) through looking at the way in which gender identities are constructed in the fishing field. It has been suggested that social science research on gender has evolved from understanding gender as naturalised sex categories to viewing gender as a process of social construction in time and place (Berg and Longhurst 2003; Brandth 2002; Campbell and Bell 2000; Liepins 2000; Little and Panelli 2003). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, little research on fisheries has understood gender through a gender identity lens (with Gerrard 2013; Yodanis 2000 as important exceptions). Drawing on ideas of bodies (Brandth 2006; Little and Leyshon 2003; Longhurst 1997) and how people 'do' gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987; West and Zimmerman 2009), this chapter will explore gender identities and performances in fishing and fishing households to understand how fishing spaces and activities become gendered. The chapter will examine how the 'good fisher' is coded as masculine in terms of fishing bodies as well as fishers' performances whilst working.

In order to explore these themes, the chapter draws conceptual inspiration from four main literatures. First the literature on 'hegemonic masculinity' which recognise that masculinities and femininities are constructed relationally (Connell 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Second, the chapter will draw on the extension of this work seen in Filteau's (2015) idea of 'socially dominant masculinities' at

the local level. Third, the literature that highlights the importance of place and space to gender identities (see Berg and Longhurst 2003; Hopkins and Noble 2009; van Hoven and Hörschelmann 2005), and four, that intersecting work which comes under the label 'rural masculinities' (Campbell and Bell 2000; Cloke 2005). Alongside looking at masculinities, women's gender identities will be examined by drawing on studies of femininity (Brandth 1994; Yodanis 2000) and, in particular, the chapter will look at constructions of femininities in the fishing family and seek to understand women's (non)participation in fishing and women's agency (Bennett 2006; Riley 2009a).

6.1 Anchoring fishing gender identities and new conceptual approaches

In Chapter 4 it was noted that the social position of the 'good fisher' was constructed around 'good fishing' abilities and the display of skilled performances on the sea as well as onshore. What was not discussed is how the subject position of the 'good fisher' simultaneously relates to what it locally means to be a man. Other researchers have shown how occupational identities and gender identities are co-constructed in fishing communities. For example, Power (2005, p.80) notes that: "The self, work, culture and masculinity are all intimately connected for fishers". Furthermore, Nightingale (2013, p.2367) has observed that fishers become 'men' by engaging in fishing, arguing that:

> "The sea is dangerous, unknown, and unpredictable, and these hardships are integral to how people are subjected as 'fishermen', and in Scotland why fishing is dominated by men".

To date there are only a limited number of studies which have paid attention to masculinities in fishing (see Fabinyi 2007; Gerrard 2013; King 2007; Power 2005; Waitt and Hartig 2005) (discussed in Chapter 2). The commonly portrayed image of fishers, similar to Nightingale's (2013) depiction above, is a monolithic one of the 'competitive fisher' who, through being "brave at sea" (van Ginkel 2009), catch as much fish as possible. While examining a statue of a fisher in Northeastern US, St Martin (2005, p.73) notes:

> "[The fisher statue is] depicting the neoclassical subject and space of fishing. Individual, rugged and independent, this fisherman appears to work alone in his struggle against nature and in competition with other fisherman. The space into which he ventures is a location unspecified and his individuality is deeply entwined with his freedom to roam widely in search of fish".

Although not explicitly discussing masculinity, St Martin (2005) eloquently articulates the common depiction of fishing masculinities that will be further unpacked in this chapter. Although there have been studies which have started to challenge the 'rational', "myopic and short-run profit maximizers" (Sønvisen 2014, p.194) depiction of fishers seen in St Martin's (2005) description, such positionings are still prevalent in both the popular discourses of fishers as well as much academic research (Creative Research 2009). Indeed, when questioned directly about masculinity in fishing, many respondents drew on similar language:

> "So there is that macho aspect I guess. There is. I am not denying there isn't. But it is all part and parcel of the atmosphere" (F-22).

Statements such as those of Fisher 22, which were common across several interviews, illustrate how fishers identify with a particular type of masculinity,

which can be described as "macho" (F-22). Fishers explained how such a 'macho' masculinity permeates the fishing culture as it is part of the "atmosphere" (F-22) of fishing. Drawing on Connell's (1995) ideas of 'hegemonic masculinity' Bryant and Garnham (2015) discuss how, in farming, farmers who live up to 'hegemonic masculinity' ideals are seen as 'stoic', hard-bodied, hardworking and come across as emotionless as they are unwilling to articulate emotions. Such notions were seen to be central in fishers' description of the 'macho' culture they observed in the area. Whilst the term 'macho' was one commonly used in interviews, the label itself contradicts the complex "configuration of practices" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.5) which the research found to underpin fishing masculinities. Although reference to fishing being a 'macho occupation' was often an initial response given in interviews, it was found that there were multiple ways, underneath this umbrella term, that the fishing men 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987). Taking up West and Zimmerman's (1987) invitation to consider gender as a verb rather than an adjective, the following chapter explores how fishing men do gender through their practices and performances.

In recognising the idea of gender as performed, the chapter draws out three observations from the wider masculinities literature. First, extending West and Zimmerman's (1987) work, is the recognition that masculinities are rarely static, and are constantly open to (re)negotiation and evolution. As Power (2005) and Waitt and Hartig (2005) have understood, fishing masculinities are more than a singular blanket performance of 'macho' masculinity by all fishers. They instead observed a new type of fishing masculinity – a 'managerial fishing masculinity' that has evolved in fisheries following the professionalisation of the industry. However, despite recognising more than one type of fishing masculinity, their

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conceptualisation of masculinity only allows one form of fishing masculinity to be embodied by an individual fisher. Second, and interrelated, is the recognition that masculinities are situated. On one level research has highlighted the importance of space and place (see Berg and Longhurst 2003; Hopkins and Noble 2009; van Hoven and Hörschelmann 2005). At a second level, there is a recognition that there be scalar difference in which 'socially dominant masculinities' can be more prevailing than 'hegemonic masculinity' on the local level (Filteau 2015). Third, is the recognition that masculinities and femininities are constructed relationally (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Although existing research on fishing masculinities has noted that fishing may not be reducible to an unchanging 'macho' masculinity, it has only moved as far as discussing fishers as 'managers' (Power 2005; Waitt and Hartig 2005). Arguably such dualistic thinking masks the complexity of fishing masculinities, and this chapter will instead examine how fishing masculinities are multiple and performed in specific contexts.

6.2 Hegemonic fishing masculinities

6.2.1 'It is a man's job': exclusion of women's bodies

Within the interviews, one of the most overt ways in which the fishing occupation becomes gendered is through the positioning of women's bodies as unable to fish:

> "The only thing against it is the hard work. Hard manual work. That is the only thing […] It is very very heavy work lifting […] lobster pots in and out of the boat all the time. And for long hours every day" (F-10).

> "I am not against women doing anything at all. But there is no way I could lift those things. […] Because [a fisher] is really strong. […] I just don't think women could do it" (P-9).

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> "It is quite hard work as well, heavy work. Lots of women are a lot weaker than men" (F-8).

In everyday language, within the studied area, the fisher is a masculine subject. Rarely, as the extracts above show, was this discourse challenged in interviews with either men or women. Instead, most women – like Partner 9 – had internalised the notion of "it is a man's job" (P-5). Commonly, the reasons given for women's non-participation in fishing centred on the idea that "women are a lot weaker than men" (F-8). Such statements served to draw a distinction between men and women that was underpinned by naturalised ideas of biological difference between sexes. Accordingly, as noted by Yodanis (2000) in the Eastern coastal region of the US, gender identities on the Llŷn peninsula focused heavily on dominant ideas of male bodies as 'strong' and female bodies as 'weak'. The responses quoted above, which reflect general responses from research participants, show how, both advertently and inadvertently, physically strong bodies – constructed as masculine – work "to exclude women from fishing and to legitimise such exclusion" (Power 2005, p.89). Men's domination over women, from this perspective, represents a classical example of what Connell (1995) refers to as 'hegemonic masculinity' whereby women become excluded by being positioned as less capable than men. However, the research also observed how such naturalised biological categories in fact are quite arbitrary, as this extracts reveals:

> "I have seen a girl going out with her boyfriend and she worked damn hard. […] You would have to be a pretty tough lady, I would think, to go out [fishing]. To do that kind of work. It wouldn't be any good for a gentle sort of person. [Laugh]. […] But women can't haul something very very heavy up can they? Or very few women can. If you are a strong person, more like a fella than a women…" (P-21).

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Partner 21's response makes visible the general masculine culture of the fishing occupation by saying that you have to be a "pretty tough lady" to fish and that you cannot be a "gentle sort of person". Being masculine in this context means you are "tough" while being feminine means you are "gentle". Similar views are articulated by Partner 5 in the following extract:

> "I remember once a girl asked [my husband] for a job. I can't remember who it was now […] but she did ask for a job on the boat. And I am sure [he] would have thought 'gosh she couldn't do the job that men do' sort of thing. Definitely he would have thought that. I am sure he did. […] Then again, saying that, he has a sixteen year old going sometimes, so that is the difference. And he is tiny. So, I don't know. I wouldn't like to do it. Gosh, I would be seasick. Well it is really hard work isn't it" (P-5).

Partner 5's response makes visible the contradiction of drawing on bodily strength to exclude women from the fishing community as young boys, although lacking the 'needed' physical strength – similar to how women are "weaker than men" (F-8) – are considered suitable fishers. This observation highlights that women are not only excluded because of their lack of strength but also because of their feminine gender identity. What is important here is that even when there is a challenge to the naturalised ideas of women having insufficient strength, fishing work becomes positioned as un-feminine. Being able to fish would involve being a "tough lady" (P-21) – that is, someone performing masculine traits rather than a more "gentle" (P-21) femininity. What we see here is a subtle reinforcing of the hegemonic masculinity put forward by the men in the earlier extracts. Although Partner 21 and Partner 5 challenge the general assumption that women are not able to undertake fishing tasks, they go on to reinforce their exclusion by implying that they would lose their feminine status if they do become involved. Thus, the research found that

women cannot only be seen as passive recipients of gender structures but also as agents taking part in their construction by 'doing gender' (see for example Riley 2009a). Exploring women's relation to fishing will be returned to later on in the chapter. The chapter will now explore how a hegemonic form of fishing masculinity is present on the Llŷn peninsula inshore fishery.

6.2.2   Hegemonic fishing masculinities, rurality and the 'rules of the game'

As Brandth (2016) have noted, men draw on available discourses in positioning and performing their own masculinities. Common amongst respondents was the drawing out of the outdoor, rural, nature of the occupation and using this in constructing themselves in contrast to more urban forms of masculinity:

> "Getting up and going and doing the same thing day in and day out [like working in an office]. I couldn't cope with that" (F-10).

> "I have like a Neanderthal yearning inside me. […] There is just this yearning, you get close to nature, get my hands dirty, […] [I] just like doing something that is close to the earth" (F-22).

> "[Paperwork] is completely the opposite to what I am about you know. I didn't do the job [fishing] to do that sort of stuff. I did the job to keep away from all the paperwork" (F-16).

Apparent within such interview responses was, firstly, how fishers think of themselves as 'other' types of men in contrast to the urban man working in an office. Second, the extracts highlight the way fishers see themselves as part of a different time, antithetical to the 'modern' way of life, salient in the way the Fisher 22 talks about a "Neanderthal yearning". A third observation was the way Fisher 22 refers to liking to "get my hands dirty" and being "close to nature" which

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represents a particular rural, embodied, element of fishing masculinities (see Little and Leyshon 2003). A fourth notable remark is how Fisher 16 strongly resists having to do paperwork reflecting his opposition to the life as an office worker. Taken together such observations signal a strong message about how those fishers interviewed constructed their fishing masculinities in relation to rurality and often in opposition to the urban 'office worker'.

In reviewing previous studies on rural masculinities Cloke (2005) points to two ways in which the 'rural' becomes intertwined with masculine identities and performances – the 'rural masculine' and the 'masculine rural' – and both of these approaches were apparent within the interview narratives of the fishers on the Llŷn peninsula. The 'rural masculine' (Cloke 2005) refers to how, similar to Fisher 10 in the previous quote, the masculine ideal is written in opposition to that of urban men. In addition, previous research has seen that aspects of 'ruralness' become central to the way masculinity is constructed. As Power (2005, p.87) has noted for fishing, fishers' "ability to face and defeat a dangerous and unpredictable Mother Nature provides self-affirmation". In discussing this idea of masculinity being constructed through 'facing the elements', Brandth and Haugen (2005, p.17) note that for forest loggers: "Bad weather does not stop a forest worker from doing his job". As discussed in Chapter 4, however, it was seen that fishing is dependent on the weather, and the 'good fishing' ideal involved working *with* the sea, rather than disregarding it. Such observations have a twofold importance for understanding fishing masculinities. First, as discussed earlier, physical strength is important but it is not simply brute force alone which constructs fishing masculinities. Here, it is not simply ignoring the weather and carrying on regardless, but having the skill to work with the weather. Second, and extending on from this, we can see that fishing

masculinities are set within wider masculine hierarchies (or at least perceived hierarchies). This was illustrated by Fisher 14 who referred to how farmers in the local area referred to fishers as "fair-weather farmers" (F-14). Just as fishers may position themselves hierarchically in relation to urban men, so too they may be positioned subordinately to farming men who draw on the hegemonic masculine quality of toughness and resilience in the face of the elements to draw distinction between their activities and those of fishers. This depiction of fishers as "fair-weather farmers" (F-14) highlights that fishing masculinities are similar to other types of rural masculinities although there are important differences associated with the particular field in which fishers operate. Specifically, the interviews revealed that fishers have a different relationships to nature, the sea and the weather than that of farmers. These particularities relate to the 'the masculine rural' which Cloke (2005, p.46) suggests describes the way "particular characteristics or significations of rurality [or in this study fishing] help to construct ideas of masculinity". Arguably, the research found that aspects of the fishing 'rules of the game' shape the ways fishing masculinities are performed, which differs from that of other rural occupations. To understand fishing masculinities we cannot therefore simply transfer the vast amount of literature on masculinities in rural spaces and farming contexts (see Brandth 2002 for a review of previous literature). These examples remind us that fishing masculinities are both relational and often quite particular to place and in the following section, the chapter unpicks further some of the characteristics of fishing masculinities noted in the research.

6.2.2.1 Competitiveness and "gentlemen's agreements"

An overt performance of masculinities was that associated with competiveness:

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"yeeaaahh, I got more than you... [Laughing]. It is just male, what's it called? A man thing, I have got to do better than him, kind of thing, I don't know. Or it is just a fishing thing?" (F-11).

Competition, as Fisher 11 highlights, is both a 'man thing' and a 'fishing thing' and the difficulty he has in assigning fishing or 'being a man' as an explanation to the competitiveness, reflects how the two subject positions are closely intertwined in his self-construct. Observations like these reveal that being a fisher is, at the same time, 'being a man' – that is, the very word 'fisher' has a masculine gender identity – echoed by Nightingale's (2013, p.2367) findings, about the two being co-constructed in Scotland, discussed in Section 6.1.

Whilst competition is one element of fishing, it was seen in Chapter 4 that fishers showed elements of cooperation. It was found that there is a 'subtle competitiveness' (drawing on Riley 2016b) in fishing evidenced by the observation that 'good fishers' also abide by "unwritten reciprocal agreements" (Sutherland and Burton 2011). At first sight cooperative activities do not fit well with the previously discussed common depiction of fishers as 'rugged', individual, 'macho' men and Connell's (1995) earlier writings on 'hegemonic masculinity'. When this was explored further it was found that fishing cooperation is a central element of hegemonic fishing masculinity. The cooperative arrangements were referred to in interviews as "gentlemen's agreements" (F-8) and are based on respect of others fishing activities and areas, as discussed in Chapter 4. Fisher 12 explained:

"It is better to be friendly than unfriendly I think. Ahh, what [did] my uncle use to say? […] Two mountains will never meet but two men will" (F-12).

Whilst competition, and indeed potential aggression, are implicit – through Fisher 12's reference to "two men will meet" (F-12) it is explicit how competition is superseded by a desire to be "friendly" (F-12) and avoid conflict. Crucial here, however, is that this is a reciprocal arrangement – that this compliance and cooperation with others is predicated on the formation and maintenance of "*gentlemen's* agreements" (F-8). As noted in Chapter 4, these agreements are underpinned by 'good fishing' ideals. Those who are allowed to enter into these agreements are those who adhere to the 'rules of the game'. Important in considering masculinity is a recognition that these agreements are only between men and hence play to traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity in excluding women, and also then perform the social strategy of reinforcing the socially dominant masculinity in the area. On an interrelated level, interviews revealed, that there could be situations where aggressive and competitive behaviour could come into play when fishers failed to adhere to the 'rules of the game'. Examples of these were present whilst fishers engaged in policing of 'good fishing' and, in particular as actions towards 'flag-hunters' (consult Chapter 4 for further discussion). These observations feed into debates about the role of water in the formation of masculinity. Bull (2009) has previously examined masculinities on the water – so called "watery masculinities" – by studying recreational angling in the UK. Bull's (2009) research found that competition was central to the ways in which recreational fishers perform masculinity and the theme of cooperation was missing altogether. However, drawing on the findings presented here, it can be argued cooperative elements were an important part of commercial fishers' fishing masculinities. The research therefore observed crucial differences between masculinities performed while fishing for recreational purposes and masculinities

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performed while fishing for commercial purposes. A finding of this research is, therefore, that the way 'watery masculinities' take shape depends on the 'rules of the game' of the particular watery activity being undertaken. More specifically, Chapter 4 discussed how water (and the sea) was central to why fishers engaged in cooperative activities – in particular, it was found that the sea exposed them to dangers while working. However, this finding was not as detrimental for recreational fishing in Bull's (2009) study. As the current research found that different 'watery' activities are shaping very different masculinities tied to those activities – the research suggests that, instead of water being the single determinant of the shape of masculinities, the 'rules of the game' of the watery activity undertaken is more important for how such 'watery masculinities' are constructed.

6.2.2.2 *Independence and risk*

Within the interviews, fishers commonly made reference to their independence and autonomy:

> "You are on your own out there, away from the herd to do your own thing. No red tape, no biros, no paperwork. Nothing. Just your own back really" (F-16).

> "It is the freedom. […] No day's the same. Weather, challenges, the season changes, it doesn't catch. You can have very poor days fishing and you can have very good days. You never know what kind of day you are gonna get. And you can be, like they say, the master of your own destiny. If you want to work hard [and] put the hours in you can make a good living" (F-10).

Fishers describe how the fishing way of life provides them with certain "freedoms" (F-10) – "no red tape", "away from the herd" (F-16) – emphasising how fishers value independence, loneliness and being "your own boss" (F-19). Such references

to individuality can be related to what Burton et al. (2008) refers to as a "project of self-improvement" and can be seen as a process of self-actualisation for men, whereby they are positioned as "master of [their] own destiny" (F-10), and enables them to establish themselves as 'good fishers' within the fishing community through the display of their (individual) embodied cultural capital. Furthermore, Fisher 16 describes how he has to "[watch] your own back really" emphasising the importance of fishers to be 'self-reliant' and 'resilient' men who can handle all situations while at sea. This relationship between self-reliance and masculinity have previously been touched upon by King (2007) in exploring the relationship between crew and skippers in the Australian shark fishery.

The fieldwork also revealed that the themes of independence and risk were actually closely intertwined within fishers' narratives and performances of masculinity:

> "Cause everything is so sterile in society these days isn't it? And there is no 'natural'. You know people go on climbing holidays to get these adrenaline rushes. If I cock up at sea I can die by drowning. Know it gives me that sense of danger in life. That adrenaline rush. When you go out when the weather is a bit stormy. Okay, you judge it the best you can – but you still go out. Or you are running through a tidal rip with the boat and the boat gets pushed on its side and you have to recover from it. You know, you test your seamanship. […] But it's personal for me. You know like, when you are good at what you do…" (F-22).

> "If I wanted to get a rope around my foot that is my business. It is not for anyone else to tell me that the boat is not safe enough to go to sea. If I want to drown in my own boat that is my business. Not that I try to drown myself on me own boat, I look after it but you know…" (F-16).

For Fisher 22, the process of taking risks is also about performing a particular type of masculinity and proving his independence to both himself and others, as he notes "you test your seamanship". Further, Fisher 16's response highlights how managing risks are part of fishers' enactments of individuality. In Fisher 16's statement there is a strong sense of not wanting outsiders to get involved in how he fishes, as he notes – it is "my business" and "it is not for anyone else to tell me that the boat is not safe". From such responses, representing a view common across interviews, it was noted that engaging with dangers in fishing has symbolic value to fishers. Through showing risk-taking and 'bravery' ("you go out when the weather is a bit stormy. Okay, you judge it the best you can, but you still go out" (F-22)), and by using their 'good fishing' skills ("the boat gets pushed on its side and you have to recover from it. You know, you test your seamanship" (F-22)), fishers can prove themselves 'enduring', 'resilient', 'strong' and 'hardworking' which are all found to be performances of hegemonic forms of fishing masculinities.

Another perspective on risk was articulated by Fisher 10 who emphasised how fishing is 'addictive':

> "Fishing is very very addictive. Once you have got it in your blood, if you are born a fisherman, you can't get it out of [you]. It is like an illness. It is like an addiction. If you like fishing you like fishing and there is nothing you can do about it. […] If you […] feel tired and frustrated – you say 'I want a break' but after a day's rest you always get itchy for getting out fishing again. Especially if the weather looks nice. It is quite sad in a way but we are all the same" (F-10).

'Being addicted to fishing' as expressed by Fisher 10 was a common theme throughout all interviews. Pollnac and Poggie (2008) interpret this 'addiction' as that fishers are embodying a particular 'personality type'. This personality type,

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they argue, is positively influenced by the risks involved in the occupation of fishing and takes the form of "an active, adventurous, aggressive, and courageous personality" (Pollnac and Poggie 2008, p.197). This personality type is also referred to as fishers being 'adrenaline junkies' (Pollnac and Poggie 2008, p.196). However, the authors describe this personality type as a combination of individual, cultural and *genetic* factors, resorting in a naturalisation of the fisher person. In contrast, this research observed that 'addiction' to fishing – as well as aggressiveness, was closely associated with the masculine performances of risk-taking and proving their 'good fishing' abilities. Such observations suggest that the 'addiction' to fishing is linked to fishers' masculine gender identities as well as to their adherence and policing of 'good fishing' ideals – and is therefore embedded in the fishing culture itself rather than a *genetic* property assigned to individuals in isolation.

6.2.2.3   'Boys' toys': technology and masculinisation

The research found that there was a clear connection between masculine performances and machinery:

> "It is boys' toys. You get to play with the tractor [and] a boat" (F-22).

For Fisher 22, tractors and boats can arguably be seen as masculinised objects – or what Saugeres (2002a, p.149) refers to as things which "boys are supposed to be naturally attracted by". As suggested in Section 6.2.1, a common way in which women were marginalised in the practice of fishing was through their positioning as being "weaker than men" (F-8). In theory, the use of machinery has the potential to overcome this marginalisation by reducing the need for physical strength (see Figure 6.1 for a photo of a winch). However, the research found in practice that this was not the case:

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"It is hard manual work for a women to haul in pots from the water because they can be quite heavy. I am not saying there isn't a winch on boat these days to help you. [But] you would have to be a pretty tough lady, I would think, to go out" (P-21).

In the response, Partner 21 explain how the introduction of technological substitution for manual work has not reshaped the way in which women's bodies are constructed as unsuitable for fishing. What is significant here is that a secondary form of marginalisation occurs (cf Brandth 1995; Saugeres 2002a for agriculture). This is not based on physical characteristics (such as strength) *per se*, but on the exclusion of women from machinery operation. This less overt forms of exclusion revolve around the construction of machinery as a male domain. This aspect is touched upon by Gerrard (2008) who argue that boats and handling of boats are important markers of the male identity in the Norwegian fishery. Here, masculine performances become associated with demonstrating technical knowledge and skilful machinery operation as highlighted in the following research diary extract:

"Today I had a joint interview with two fishers. They were working on their boats onshore. I was sitting in one of the boats and the second boat was close enough for the other fisher to take part in the conversation. While I was asking questions the fishers kept working. Throughout the interview I watched them work and asked a few questions about what they were doing. One of the fishers was fixing his engine. He explained that the 'so and so part', and 'so and so thingy' was broken and needed fixing. The language used was too technical for me to follow. I guess that wasn't the purpose of his speech. The two fishers were not only explaining to me what they were doing, but I felt they were portraying themselves as being knowledgeable of machinery. Complicated stuff – and, stuff that a young women like me wouldn't understand" (Research diary extract 2).

As discussed in the Research diary extract 2 above, fishers performed their masculinities by using overtly technical language in front of the interviewer. Technical knowledge – along these lines – becomes "masculine knowledge" (Bull 2009, p.451). Such a masculine performance of showing themselves as 'knowledgeable men' while excluding the interviewer (in this case a young female researcher) has previously been described by Pini (2005).

Figure 6.1 – A lobster pot winch while not in use

6.2.3   Fishing bodies: fishing history, ignoring pain and older age

Strong physical bodies, as found in Section 6.2.1, are a central aspect of the construction of the hegemonic fishing masculinity. Nevertheless, bodies are more than just an instrument of work and can also be seen as symbols of work – and as such carry symbolic value (Brandth 2006). An example of the symbolic value of fishers' bodies was revealed in the quote below, whereby a fisher narrates his relationship to his strong body as a 'natural' part of what it means to be a fisher:

> "I get my exercise lifting lobster pots. Naturally. I don't have to go to a gym.
> I am quite strong. […] But I am naturally strong. You lift 20 kg lobster pots
> into the boat" (F-22).

While fishers have strong bodies, Fisher 22 highlights how he is 'naturally' strong in contrast to people who go to gyms. Whilst strength is commonly associated with masculinity, how this strength is arrived at is important to the relative positioning within masculine hierarchies. As the research on body building has observed, muscular bodies, although representing strength, are often not highly prized within masculine hierarchies because of the performative nature of their creation (Bridges 2009; Wiegers 1998). For fishers, it was important that both their muscular bodies and strength are born out of their connection to repetitive manual labour. Here, their bodies are not the show of strength *per se*, but are the embodiment of many years of hard work and 'good fishing'.

The research also found that symbolic value of fishers' bodies is not only attached to strength, as is revealed below:

Interviewer: "Can I ask you how old you are?"

Fisher: "56. I look 70 I should think" (F-18).

A similar point is also made in the following research diary extract:

"You can tell from fishers' wrinkled faces that they have spent a lot of time outdoors. Although it was almost winter the fishers spoken to were not pale… I have noticed that a lot of them have coarse hands and dirt under their nails. I remember talking to a young fisher and he referred to some other fishers as: 'that fisher look like 80 but he is only 50…' I think he had a point. The fishing life seems to make fishers look older than they are. Perhaps it is the salt, the sea, the sun… living outdoors and being on the sea that has these effects on the body?" (Research diary extract 3).

Fishers' bodies, the participant observation revealed, have the appearance of weather-beaten and sunburnt skin, large and coarse hands. These bodily attributes, create the illusion that fishers look older than they are, as pointed towards by Fisher 18 and Research diary extract 3 above. Indeed several references were made to the way in which fishing histories may be imprinted on the body (cf Longhurst 1997), and it was found that these carry symbolic value for their masculinities and fisher identities:

"In the morning I visited Fisher 16 in [place X]. I was waiting for him outside of the café and I could see him approaching the place where I was – limping. He made reference to having a bad back, said it was a natural effect of lifting millions of lobster pots in his life. I can't remember exactly how many he mentioned, but it was a lot. Millions. I felt a little surprised that he had calculated the exact numbers. Perhaps this was to show that he was not only moaning but that his complaints were reasonable given all his past fishing efforts" (Research diary extract 4).

In Research diary extract 4 above, it was noted that fishers narrate their bodily pains as a marker of past fishing success and hardwork. The fisher referred to in Research diary extract 4, was not only complaining, he was performing the dominant hegemonic fishing masculinity by displaying how he was continuing working whilst in severe pain. Within interviews, it was also revealed that fishers downplay physical pain:

> Fisher: "Once the pressure came off my leg then it was pretty painful. […] Cause it was just tourniquet down my leg. Sat down, had a cup of tea. Rang [my wife] saying I am gonna be a bit late today I think. [Laughing]. I started off again but really really slowly. It took me about two hours extra that day to go around [the pots] and finish because I was really cautious and watching the ropes".
>
> Interviewer: "But you didn't go back home?"
>
> Fisher: "No I didn't go home, no, no".
>
> Partner: "Naaaa that is fishing for you..." (F-16 and P-17).

After recovering from the dangerous situation, Fisher 16 described how he continued the fishing trip, albeit in a lot of pain. In addition to the fisher's body being a marker of hardwork, responses such as Fisher 16's (alongside the above Research diary extract 4) reveal that the ability to withstand physical pain was also seen to be a significant masculine performance. Through 'ignoring pain' or 'absenting the body', fishers conform to hegemonic fishing masculinity ideals by showing themselves as 'stoic', 'hardbodied', 'enduring' and emotionless. The research found that fishers 'absent their bodies' as a display of hegemonic masculinity – in particular at young age, as Chapter 5 discuss how fishers' 'good fishing' practices change throughout the lifecourse.

The research also observed a difference in how crew and skippers construct their masculinities in relation to their bodies. In Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.2.4) a longer extract from an interview with Fisher 11 was presented, where he makes the point that being a crew and a skipper is very different as a skipper needs to learn additional 'capitals of the mind'. Before purchasing his own boat, Fisher 11 explained that fishing was very physically hard on his body, and now that he is a skipper he needs to use both his mind and body. Such statements reveal that fishing masculinities changes throughout the fishing lifecourse. In particular, Fisher 11's statements show that at a younger age, masculinities are constructed around bodily abilities – such as strength and endurance, but in older age 'capitals of the mind' and display of these becomes important for fishers' masculinities. Furthermore, Chapter 5 discussed how in older age, fishers' relationship to their bodies changes as they are not able to do some of the heavier work involved. It was shown that 'remaining in place', such as being continually present in fishing spaces although not fishing full-time, was important. Such findings have implications for how fishing masculinities become reconfigured in older age. Fishers were shown to be able to draw on past fishing efforts to remain 'good fishers' and to continue performing – albeit a reconfigured version – of fishing masculinity. The research observed that the relationship between strong bodies and fishing masculinities changes throughout the lifecourse. Instead, other aspects of fishers' bodies become significant for fishing masculinities in older age, such as the imprinting of fishers' fishing history in their bodies which is a display of previous hard work.

6.2.4   Spatial performances of hegemonic masculinity

As suggested earlier, important to the conceptual framing of this chapter is the recognition that masculinities are understood as a "configuration of practices"

(Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) which are situated and relational and thus accomplished in specific contexts (see Hopkins and Noble 2009). Inherent to a situated understanding of masculinities is the importance of space and place for masculine practices (Riley and Sangster 2016). As Chapter 4 discussed, the sea is not the only space in which fishers work and reside. The participant observation revealed that fishing masculinities are performed in other fishing spaces, including fishing coves, sheds and boats as well as onshore in the pub and the fishing home. In onshore fishing spaces, it was observed that fishers can display many symbols of masculinity. For instance, other fishers can view the appearance of machinery such as boats and tractor, which reflect both the objectified cultural capital and their embodied cultural capital (discussed in Chapter 4), as well as symbols of masculinity as machinery are coded as masculine (see Section 6.2.2.3). Indeed fishing spaces were masculine spaces as their gender construction served to marginalise women from those spaces, echoing Power's (2005, p.160) observations. In particular, the research found that the pub was important for younger fisher's masculine performances:

> "You have to be careful if you are in the pub or something. You have to keep your mouth shut, which is quite difficult. If somebody asks you [something you are like] 'oh yeah I'll tell you' and then you are like 'oh no, what have I said?'" (F-16).

> "I went to the pub to interview two fishers for a joint interview. They had been drinking a bit. It was 11 o'clock in the morning. It was a windy day so they had finished early. We sat down at the table. I ordered a coffee. They ordered another round of pints. Once the interview started they laughed and joked amongst each other and I found myself feeling a bit frustrated. They would speak in quite a clique way – at one point they described their relationship as a 'fairy-tale love story' – obviously playing on their close

male relationship (they were fishing together) in emphasising their (hetero) sexuality. After a while another fisher walked in. They said hi. He sat down in the bar, ordered a pint. They spoke in Welsh. Laughed. After a while I realised I couldn't ask most of my questions – as they avoided answering questions about their fishing activities in front of another fisher… While attempting to ask a few other questions I realised I didn't understand the subtle boundaries of conversation which fishers held while other fishers were present. They mainly laughed a lot. The pub was obviously a particular place for the interactions between fishers. From my perspective this interview was very different from the other once – in particular those set in more private places" (Research diary extract 5).

Throughout the course of the participant observation (see Research diary extract 5) and noted in interview with Fisher 16, it was found that many fishers – especially the young – meet in the pub after the end of their fishing trip. While fishers undertake masculine performances in the space of the pub, it is also where they can make mistakes by giving away secrets which they had rather kept for themselves as explained by Fisher 16 (and discussed in Chapter 4). Conversations between fishers can be decoded by other fishers and as such the places where fishers meet and talk are sites of performance of their fishing masculinities. The pub was an important place, not only for masculine performances in themselves, such as using technical language discussed earlier (see Section 6.2.2.3), but also a place to narrate and rehearse masculine performances undertaken at sea. This was so because, while at sea, fishers are on their own and some of their performances of masculinities only become accessible to the fishing community through conversations – in for example, the pub as the above research diary extract highlights. Similar to this, Bull's (2009) study of angling and masculinities discusses how masculine performances without an audience become socially accessible through storytelling.

Bull (2009) suggests that storytelling is an important node in connecting the multiple spaces involved in 'watery masculinities'. Bull (2009, p.451) writes:

> "the lonely encounter with nature is set against a highly social scenario. Thus the majority of the macho posturing comes after (or before) the event […] in other social spaces such as pubs. Therefore it is through the narration of life histories that the heroic angler [or fisher] is formed – the story, rather than the event, affirms the masculine".

Similar to Bull's (2009) finding, fishers' masculine performances often only become accessible through storytelling. Indeed the oral accounts given throughout this chapter may be seen as performances of masculinity through storytelling.

Although fishing places onshore have been touched upon in previous research, the fishing home has been underexplored. The home presents a different relational context than fishing spaces which needs to be explored in more detail. Through interviews it was identified that women, historically and at present, have been the principal carers for children in fishing families. This also meant that women were in charge of everyday housework, although with a little 'help' from their male partners:

> "But [my husband] is good cause he will cook a meal, or whatever, if I am not here. It has taken a long time to train him. [Laugh]. […] He will put the washing on and take it out but he won't do the ironing… [Laugh]" (P-21).

Clear in this response and several others are two important findings. The first part of Partner 21's response suggest that the domestic space is shaped by patriarchal gender relations. However, the second part of the quote hints at a reconfiguration of these relations after a period of "train[ing]" (P-21). Arguably these suggests a softening of the hegemonic positions of housework being coded as female. Yet the

quote suggests that this has only happened up to a point – that of "ironing" (P-21). Furthermore, interviews also revealed that typical housework practices take on different meanings depending on the context in which they are practiced:

> Partner: "I have always said that. He is always taking care of his boat... and you know… has to be spick and span before leaving the boat for a weekend. But…"
> Fisher: "What do you mean...?"
> Partner: "I have never seen you hoover".
> Fisher: "I put things in the dishwasher all the time".
> Partner: "Yeah he does things like that".
> Fisher: "[Laughing]" (P-5 and F-3).

In Partner 5 and Fisher 3's dialogue it become clear that it was considered good practice to keep the boat tidy which displays the fisher's embodied cultural capital. However, as discussed in the interview, cleaning the house was not masculine at all and is further not a display of fishers embodied cultural capital in the same way as cleaning their boats are. The research therefore found that it is the context that genders these activities. It is not that cleaning is unmasculine, as many men made reference to doing this on the boat, but it was cleaning in the home that made the practice less masculine or even feminised. For agriculture, researchers have also drawn the distinction between the masculine space of the farm and the feminine space of the farmhouse (Little 2003). However, for the context of fishing Power (2005, p.159) writes:

> "while the sea is a male sphere, the land is not exclusively a female domain. […] Patriarchal ideologies have not only denied women access to fishery resources but have shaped the sort of work women do on land".

In other words, it has been argued that we cannot understand fishing spaces as masculine and home spaces as feminine in binary terms. This research echoes Power's (2005) finding that hegemonic masculinities shape the way in which women perform practices in the home – as exemplified by women's subsidiary activities discussed below. However, interviews also revealed two other important points. First, women are not solely bound to the space of the home as they are found to have professional identities of their own, and second, through taking part in decision making over the fishing businesses they also shape fishing space which makes it not exclusively a masculine domain (discussed in 6.2.5).

6.2.5   Women's subsidiary role(s)

In the introduction it was argued that to better understand how hegemonic forms of masculinities structure the lives of women we need to explore women's gender identities:

> "Sorry about being so honest about being a fisherman's wife. I said once that I would set up a support group you know, for fishermen's wives… it is not easy" (P-17).

All of the women spoken to take part in the everyday running of the fishing enterprise, as well as in running the household, and as Partner 17 notes – fishing poses certain challenges for their lives. Indeed, from Partner 17's response it could be suggested that some women in fishing families saw themselves in a position of 'suffering'. Examples of activities that women performed were discussed in interviews:

Partner: "Ehmm... I have helped to fetch things for you and..."

Fisher: "Rang people up..."

Partner: "Or take the fish here or everywhere [Laugh]. You know. You don't think about it, you just do it automatic don't you. Or fetching things if he needs a part and [then I] have got to go and fetch it. And I do the running" (P-21 and F-12).

"Well, occasionally I help with the nets and [...] cutting the nets and things like that. [...] No, not a lot" (P-9).

As expressed in the two extracts above, women's participation was constructed as 'help' rather than work. Partners such as 21 and 9, talk about how women perform tasks onshore such as transporting the catch, collecting parts needed for fishing, and helping out with the fishing gear. Other research has referred to this position as 'gofers' – always available on phone to collect things for their fishing partners (Yodanis 2000), and similar observations have been made for farming women (Garkovich et al. 1995). Interviews also revealed that there was a spatial element to women's contributions:

"Well I do like boats but not fishing boats. Too smelly" (P-9).

Interviewer: "You were saying before that you have only been on the boat a few times…"

Partner: "Yeah... Oh no, I have no interest. Really. No. It is... the smell of the boat. It is just the smell of diesel. And the…"

Fisher: "Fish".

Partner: "Yeah" (P-5 and F-3).

In the above extracts Partner 9 and Partner 5 spoke about how a typical fishing place, the fishing boat, was a place in which they did not spend much time. This observation reveals that women spatially distanced themselves from fishing places,

which has relevance for how women construct their own gender identities. Even when women were in the more visible and recognised space of the boat, the work tasks on board were gendered and their contributions constructed as help: "I will *just be helping out* with taking the crab and lobsters out the pot and things and let him drive the boat" (P-15). Such observations highlight that the tasks women do to 'help' were gendered with men doing 'masculine activities' such as operating machinery while women help with the catch or other onshore supplementary tasks such as "cutting nets for the pots" (P-9) and "fetching things" (P-21). The research observed that activities performed in fishing were sharply divided along gender lines:

> "If the weather is nice he fishes. So […] what I do is that I just carry on. I look after the kids and do everything and we just carry on without [him] so we just plan stuff. And if he is with us he is with us and if he is not he is not. So a lot of the time he is not cause he is fishing. And he can fish seven days a week for weeks on end... Like you know when you hear other people say 'oh I had to work Sunday' or 'I had to work a weekend' […] it makes me laugh!" (P-17).

Partner 17 explains how she supports the hegemonic masculine identity of fishers by taking on the responsibility of the family and her having an accepting attitude toward her partners's absence because of fishing work. Responses such as Partner 17's also suggest that fishing activities are 'gendered through routine', that is – the man follows similar patterns day in and day out whilst the women by contrast have to remain flexible. In line with the findings here, Zhao et al. (2013) argue that women carry out 'invisible', 'unpaid' and 'unrecognised' roles in fishing. However, the current research expanded on their finding by showing that this 'invisibility' of women's contributions were twofold: as first, women's help did not to any great

extent operate in the visible spatial context of fishing space and, second, women were discursively playing down their contributions by talking about themselves as 'help' and expressing such statements as "I do not know a lot about fishing" (P-9). Fieldwork in this study showed that women in fishing support the masculine identity as well as the 'good fishing' identity of their fishing partners through their subsidiary activities. This observation became particularly salient in discussions about the interviewed women's worries below.

Statistics have shown that the fishing occupation is exceptionally dangerous (Marine Management Organisation 2015, p.27). In the studied area, two recent fatalities (one as recent as one year prior to the research) had occurred and interviews revealed that family members worried for the safety of their fathers and fishing partners:

> "But people used to ask me if I worried when he was out at sea. […] [My husband] used to take a little bit of a risk. Other fishermen wouldn't go out when it was blowing. [I am not talking about] too much of a gale now cause [then] he wouldn't go. But he'd be a bit more of a daredevil and he would have gone when the others wouldn't. So that used to worry me. [He used to say:] 'Oh I'm fine, I'm fine fine'. And I used to say: 'but nobody else is out'. [And he would reply:] 'Oh they are all chickens.' […] You have to put that aside and don't think of the danger or else you wouldn't let them go out and do it would you?! […] You know you can't stop them from doing what they want can you?! So… you just have to go along with it and don't think too much about the danger of it. […] It is a danger in every job really. But at sea I suppose... you haven't got much of a chance if you fall over board or anything, have you? But, he says he is always careful but it is always that one time when you are not looking and things happen and… [Silence]" (P-21).

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"Because [my husband] has always been at sea I don't worry as much I think. Because I know how qualified he is. […] You know people always ask me when they know what he is doing. 'Oh, are you not worried?' You do get used to it you see" (P-9).

"I don't worry about [him] because […] I don't listen to it partly, and because that is all he has done, that's what he knows, that is the way it has always been all along" (P-2).

Partners, as the extracts above reveal, often highlight that fishing is what their fishing partners "knows" (P-2) and often expressed a deep sympathy for the difficulties their fishing partners would have to find another job. Interrelated to this is that women tend support their partners' identities as fishers. Female partners kept referring to the trust they have in their male partners to do 'the right thing' or to be capable in situations of danger and to be careful at sea. Observations like these show that fisher's partners take part in constructing the 'good fisher'. Women often emphasised how they do not worry on an everyday basis as explained by Partner 9 and Partner 21. Yet, most of the women spoken to shared narratives of particular events from the past when their underlying worries came to the surface. Usually these events were based on 'out of the ordinary circumstances', such as unusual behaviours, suspicious phone calls, or knowledge of accidents at sea. During conversations on the topic of 'not worrying' a salient theme and coping strategy was that partners did not think about the danger, as explained by Partner 21 and Partner 2. Such an adaptation shows that women had internalised the 'rules of the game' in fishing, and through their own understanding of their gender position supports the hegemonic masculine fishing identity – as one women explains "otherwise you wouldn't let them do it, would you?!" (P-21). Partner 21's statement is telling – to challenge the present gender hierarchies would be to challenge the

fishing occupation and what it means to be in a partnership with a fisher. By not challenging the hegemony of the fishing masculinity women construct a version of themselves in relation to it and, in particular, a sense of themselves which is distant from that of being a 'fisher'. Indeed it was shown that women are discursively playing down their fishing contributions as a way to demonstrate their own femininities (Yodanis 2000). Fishing, as the fieldwork shows, is coded masculine and is therefore seen as 'unfeminine' in the study area. Female partners reinforced patriarchal gender relations of fishing through constructing their own identities relationally to the hegemonic masculinities.

Within the interviews with women it was clear that women do not understand themselves as fishers:

> Partner: "Noooo... I don't class myself as a fisherman".
> Fisher: "You just do the work don't you…"
> Partner: "You do cause you have to" (P-17 and F-16).

> Interviewer: "Maybe we can talk a little bit about how fishing has been part of your life?"
> Partner: "Hmm… I don't know a lot about fishing" (P-9).

As discussed in the extracts above, women tend to talk about fishing as distant from their sense of self. Observations like these illustrate the way that women tend to construct fishing within the sphere of masculinity. Whilst women, in the first instance, took the approach of distancing themselves from the occupational identity of 'fisher', they nonetheless went on to talk about how fishing is still part of the everyday lives of fishing families. However, it was common for women to emphasise how they were not interested in fishing, fishing activities and fishing spaces. The research found that for women to perform local femininities they

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distance themselves from fishing practices, spaces and identities as fishing is locally constructed as unfeminine in line with it being coded as masculine. Such observations illustrate that the way women construct their femininities does not challenge, but rather reinforces, patriarchal gender relations as fishing identities, activities and spaces will remain within the masculine domain. Indeed, these responses also highlight how symbolic capital in fishing is only available to the masculine gender position. Yet, although not having access to symbolic capital, women make important economic contributions to fishing through their subsidiary activities and carry an important position within the fishing field. Another partner of a male fisher explained her experience of helping her partner unload the quay pots when he was too ill to do so himself:

> Partner: "I have had to help. I had to go out and help him, once he was really ill and he rang me and said you have got to come. I can't get all the stuff out of the quay pots and put it in the boxes. So I came to the boat thinking that he would be alright and he wasn't. And I had to unload…"
>
> Fisher: "I was really unwell!"
>
> Partner: "All the crab and his lobster… Oh my god. It took about two hours. It was awful. It was the worst day of my life. I had crab gunk and I had blood and…" (P-17 and F-16).

The experience Partner 17 refers to is a point in time when, out of necessity, gender identities had to be transgressed, something neither of them wished to repeat. In particular 'blood' and 'crab gunk' did not sit well with the feminine identity of the female partner. At the same time, not doing the work did not sit well with the masculine fishing identity of this fisher which became noticeable in the way that the fisher defends his masculine position by repeatedly emphasising how poorly he was. Such observations, again, strongly show that women are active agents in

intentionally reinforcing dominant discourses of hegemonic masculinity by not taking part in typically masculine activities (see Riley 2009a for the case of agriculture).

A further way in which women can be seen as 'distanced' from fishing was observed in women's social life:

> Interviewer: "Do you know any other women who are married to fishermen?"
>
> Partner: "Oh yes. My friend [X] is married to [another fisher]. Ehm... I know her. Well I know, it is [another fisher] down here. I know his wife. […] Yeah I know quite a few women with their men fishing."
>
> Interviewer: "Do you ever talk about something that has to do with fishing?"
>
> Partner: "No, not really. Or you always ask them has he gone out today. […] I just hear from [my husband] here how other men are doing, what their complaints are…. More so than talking to the women" (P-21).

Partner 21 explains how women tend to know other neighbouring women in fishing families but that these relations are not only centred on fishing. Interrelated to this observation, interviews also revealed that there was no fishing women's social network across the Llŷn peninsula. In contrast to women's relation to fishing, this chapter has found that fishing men's social and professional networks are more closely intertwined. This is clearly different from women as their lives are more separate from fishing and, hence, the research has found that women are less wedded to the occupational identity as fishers.

Despite this apparent 'distance' women in fishing families held from fishing itself, it was suggested that things had not always been that way:

Interviewer: "Would you, for example, call yourself a wife of a fisherman?"

Partner: "No, I don't think so. No I don't think so. Years ago I suppose it would be different when the wife didn't work and they would live in a little cottage by the beach and you were all waiting for the men to come home… That was a different kind of industry then, to today. Ehm... I suppose they used to call them fishermen's wives in them days but not now" (P-21).

Partner 21 talks about how the label of 'fisherman's wife' depicts a traditional image which she cannot relate to. Observations like these show that women's gender identities are fluid and have changed more than that of fishing men. In her response, Partner 21 draw on her own professional career to refute the label of 'wife of a fisher'. She, instead, argued she has her own professional identity and does not want to be defined by the profession of her partner. The finding here relates to Power (2005) who talks about how the way women invest a sense of self in fishing has change over generations and that the changed from a 'fisherman's wife' to a more independent woman has coincided with women's participation in the work force. Most of the women spoken to, if in working age and healthy, have occupational independence of fishing – mainly as caretakers or teachers in the local area. The following quotes narrates the values attached to women's non-fishing work:

"I wanted to work. Yeah. If I want to change job I [would] just tell him. I suppose there was a time when the children were younger that it was financial more than anything. You know. To buy extra clothes and things for the children. But as they have grown up there is no need for me to work. No. But it is nice to have your independence isn't it? If I want a new car tomorrow I will go out and get a new car tomorrow without asking. [Laugh]. I just tell him" (P-21).

"[My wife] is a teacher in a secondary school so… that helps as well with the income... a lot!" (F-10).

The responses reveal that women's employment has both symbolic and functional value as it provides a sense of independence for women as well as an important contribution to the household economy. Partner 21 further emphasises that the importance of her income has changed throughout her lifecourse – in her case shifting from a functional importance while having a young family to a symbolic significance in older age when economic pressures had subsided. The observation that women's contribution to the family economy is important shows that women initially entered the labour force because of structural changes – in particular, that of economic pressures. These observations have been echoed by studies on agriculture (Kelly and Shortall 2002). Indeed, in some examples women were identified as the main (functional) 'breadwinner' of the family, although men did not emphasise this aspect of their family lives. Fisher 10 is an important exception in this context as he emphasised the importance of his wife's contribution to the household economy. However, this might only be something he shared within the context of the interview – something that if widely known would threaten his position as the 'breadwinner' which was found to be an important aspect of the hegemonic fishing masculinity. Along the same lines, women rarely spoke about their financial contribution to the fishing family, which might have been a way to uphold the fishers' identity as the breadwinner despite changing economic circumstances.

Despite these mentioned changes to the lives of fishing women, the traditional image of the 'fisherman's wife'[20] is something that women have to relate to when they interact with people outside the fishing community. In the interviews it was often explained that other people would frequently ask partners of fishers if they worried when their partners were out at sea. In line with this, women in relationships with fishers often assumed that interviews would cover this topic. The weight of this specific theme reflects a broader and traditional image of the 'fisherman's wife' who sits onshore awaiting the return of her partner – the male fisher (as narrated by Partner 21's response above). Yet, based on female partners' responses in interviews, the research found that female partners are not just 'fishermen's wives'. Indeed, women emphasised how they are also professionals, 'breadwinners', 'helpers' and 'women' which support the finding that women's roles have changed more than that of men in fishing families.

The research also found that women further exert their agency in more overt ways, such as taking formal part in making decisions over the fishing business:

> "So in a way I have helped [him]. Financially in the beginning of course. Cause I worked and he wasn't earning a lot until things became better for us" (P-21).

Some women spoken to, such as Partner 21, contributed with financial means to set up the family fishing businesses. It was also shown that women, despite not being readily publicised, took part in making decisions about the family fishing business:

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[20] The link between the historical representation of women in fishing and tourism has been explored by Nadel-Klein (2000).

Interviewer: "If for example he buys new things for the boat, is that something that you are involved in?"

Partner: "Well he wouldn't ask me. He would come in and say I have got to have this for the boat, I have got to have that. And then he would order it and I would say, how much does that cost? And he would probably tell me and I can look in the books. […] I am not completely ignorant but if it has got to be bought it has got to be bought hasn't it? As long as he doesn't want a new boat [Laugh]. Not at his age. That will become completely different. No" (P-21).

Responses such as Partner 21's highlight how women have an oversight over the fishing business without necessarily intervening in decisions over small everyday purchases. However, Partner 21's response highlights how larger investments and changes in business directions is something that she would actively take part in. Examples such as these demonstrate how women are not deprived of agency and are not simply passive recipients of patriarchal gender structures. The research observed that women do not always exert their power on an everyday basis but would, given the scale of the decision, take part in decision-making about the fishing business. However, the interviews revealed few examples when such decision-making was publicly visible as it was isolated to the space of the home. Such an observation reveals that men might be seen as the decision-maker in the public space, although interviews revealed there are nuances to the sharing of power which might not be visible to people outside the fishing family. The findings echo Bennett's (2006) view that there are complexities in power relations in which women, albeit not being the dominator, resist and challenge dominant power structures. In addition to exploring the way that women were 'doing gender' by constructing their feminine identities in relation to men, an emerging theme within the interviews and participant observation was how women exert their agency (see

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Bennett 2006; Riley 2009a for the case of agriculture). Two primary ways through which women's agency became important was, first, how they constructed their own femininities in oppositions to hegemonic masculinities and, second, how women may actually be important decision makers over the fishing activities and businesses.

6.2.5.1   Women's socialisation, entry point and fishing knowledges

In interviews it was identified that the main entry point for women into fisheries is through marriage or partnership with a fisher. Previous research on agriculture has argued that women's *a prior* socialisation has importance for their farming identities (Pini 2007). The majority of women interviewed had no previous personal link to fishing. Fishing has, nevertheless, become part of their lives in perhaps unexpected ways. While most women were not socialised into a life of fishing, a lot of them were born in the local area, some of them with a farming background:

> "My wife is fortunately from a farming background. Because she […] knows that you have to work and that you can't sort of just have a day off or go on holiday or whatever. So when [the children] are off, this week with half-term, you are trying to take a few days off. But […] with the weather dictating – especially in the winter – you gotta go fishing cause the [sea]days are very limited" (F-10).

As articulated by Fisher 10, but also discussed in interviews with female partners, there was a tendency to believe that women socialised into a rural life would find it easier to adapt to a 'fishing way of life'. Such observations highlight that socialisation can be 'indirect', and by that it is meant that women do not have to know about fishing *per se*, but can be socialised into a life with similar hardships

and sacrifices – such as farming which Fisher 10 suggests. Despite not having prior experiences of fishing, a lot of women have intimate knowledge of fisheries:

> "I don't know much about [fishing]. I wouldn't know how to catch crab and lobster. But I know a lot about fisheries. Do you know what I mean? I know a lot about that and as a family how to make a living out of fishing. I know quite a lot about that" (P-17).

Interviewees, such as Partner 17, discussed how female partners of fishers would not know how to catch a crab or lobster but that they have knowledge about the aspects of fishing which relates to their lives, such as being a fishing family and running a fishing business. The research found that women's positioning within the fishing family and the fishing community is associated with a particular knowledge position (Gerrard 1995). Important to understand in this discussion is how women gain knowledge about fishing:

> Fisher: "It is taking part isn't it?"
> Partner: "Yeah, this is it. You go day in and day out, or, I mean I used to go out on the boat more regularly than I have been as late. So you get involved and it is sort of hands on and then you ask what do you want me to do, and you just pick it up along the way. Yeah" (F-14 and P-15).

And later on in the interview:

"Interviewer: "I was thinking the way you have learned to fish is basically quite similar isn't it?"

Partner: "Yeah".

Fisher: "Yeah. Except you have been ordered to do it".

Partner: "Yes".

Fisher: "I have just been mad enough to do it".

Partner: "Yeah yeah. Labour of love" (F-14 and P-15).

As Partner 15 explains, most women learn about fishing through living with and helping a male fisher on an everyday basis – something which relates to that women perform many subsidiary tasks. Women overhear conversations as well as take part in certain fishing activities while 'helping out'. The fieldwork therefore showed that women in fishing families learn how to fish through their particularly gendered experience (shaped by their femininities) and their direct involvement reflects a different type of relation to the fishery as a 'way of life' than the position which male fishers hold. In other words, women learn more indirectly through their supportive role as partners rather than their own desire to become fishers, a point emphasised in Partner 15's second extract and her use of the phrase "labour of love". The research found that women's affection and "ties of love" helps their male partner's occupations but do not make them independent fishers (see Kelly and Shortall 2002, p.337 for agriculture). Along these lines, women – although knowledgeable about fishing – do not embody symbolically valued cultural capital which the research suggests is because of the gendered disposition of the fishing habitus, embodied cultural capital and symbolic value. Such findings are echoed by Gerrard (2008) who argue that men control the symbolic realm of fishing.

Another important difference between men and women in fishing is the way men have access to the knowledge of older generations of fishers. Transmission of

fisheries knowledge has historically been from father to son, which has been described by other researchers as "patrilineal transfer of ecological and experiential knowledge" (Neis et al. 2013, p.64). In Chapter 5 it was discussed that in order to access such intergenerational knowledge, it was important for young men to 'hang around' in fishing places, such as fishing coves, beaches, boats – places which this research has shown are coded as masculine (see Section 6.2.4). Chapter 5 showed that sons and other young men had access to such spaces. Much less is known about the position of young girls and daughters in the fishing family and the way they access knowledge about fishing. As one daughter suggested in her discussion of her participation in the fishing family business:

> "I think it is a bit useless for me trying to do anything [related to fishing].
> Cause I don't think I would be very good at trying to lift pots and things like
> that. So it is just a no go for me" (D-26).

It was observed that daughters of fishers, such as Daughter 26, tend to not get the opportunity to accumulate embodied cultural capital from an early age in the same way as sons do. In her response, Daughter 26, constructs her own body as unable to fish, similar to the earlier discussions (see Section 6.2.1) of women's bodies as "weaker than men" (F-8). These observations reveal that daughters' senses of 'self' are distant from the 'fishing habitus'. Furthermore, there are indications from interviews that daughters did not take part in 'play' around fishing in the same way as their brothers:

> "I didn't go around selling [fish] or anything like that. Just took some for
> the family […] I helped with the winkles, did a bit of the winkles, but not
> much else. Not very good at it so…" (D-26).

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Statements such as these are in contrast to the ways young boys socialised with their "mates" (S-24):

> Son 24: "Fishing is part of pretty much everybody's lives down here. Because you are so close to the sea. When you are youngsters you go fishing with a rod and reel off the rocks. From when we were what, about ten?"
>
> Son 25: "Yeah, younger probably".
>
> Son 24: "So I mean everybody does it. It is just something to do on a weekend. And it is a good way to socialise with your mates" (S-24 and S-25).

The differences between the two extracts above show how gender identities in fishing are learnt at an early age through the process of socialisation. Having access to those spaces in which young people can access intergenerational knowledge and hear stories being told by older fishers was an important part of socialisation which young girls did not access in the same way as young boys. Responses such as Daughter 26's, Son 24's and Son 25's show that daughters have a very different gender position to sons and that this gender disposition embody a lower level of social capital than that of boy's gender disposition. This was supported by the observation that young girls are not included in the wider fishing community in the same way as young boys would be. Daughter 26 explains: "I don't personally [know anyone]. But I know of people. Don't know much about them" whereas her brother would call many people in the fisheries network 'friends'. Such observations suggest that daughters as well as female partners of fishers do not occupy a position with high social capital in the fishing community in the same way that their brothers and fathers do. The observation that daughters did not 'play' and 'socialise' around fishing while growing up, does not, however, mean that daughters do not contribute

to the fishing family. In many instances they even take part in certain fishing activities:

> "I will go and check [the nets on the beach]. If [dad] wants me to, if he is not about. But usually there is not much in them at that time. Luckily. [...] I enjoy going on the beach so that is more pleasurable for me than going on the boat" (D-26).

Where a son's participation in fishing activities is seen as an investment for their entry into the fishery, daughters' participation in fishing activities are, by contrast, constructed as 'help'. This finding is very similar to the findings about women's subsidiary activities and how they are constructed as' help' rather than work in fishing. Another interesting observation is how Daughter 26 does not get excited about the masculine performances in fishing (such as catching fish), which becomes salient when she is happy that there is nothing caught in the nets. The research highlights that the constructions of gender identity underpin the difference in what women and men do, know and take part in in the fishing community of the Llŷn peninsula. Similar to angling, the participant observation suggested, fishing knowledge is "masculine knowledge" (Bull 2009, p.451). The research revealed that the gendering of women's early socialisation has knock-on consequences for the gendering of fishing practices, networks and spaces. For the context of family farming it has recently been argued that studying daughters has been overlooked in favour of studying boys, men and adult female partners (Luhrs 2015). The findings of the current research echo Luhrs' (2015) call for paying more attention to daughters. This chapter has found that by studying daughters we can understand how hegemonic gender identities are internalised at early age through socialisation within the fishing family.

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6.3 Localised socially dominant fishing masculinities

In the introduction it was set out that hegemonic forms of masculinities did not tell the full story about fishing and gender identities. This section will discuss how, what Filteau (2015) has referred to as 'localised socially dominant' masculinities (which can be non-hegemonic) have evolved in fisheries alongside the hegemonic forms discussed earlier in the chapter. Through interviews it was also observed that what it means to be a fisher has changed over the lifecourse of current fishers:

> Fisher: "Oh, these old fishermen were characters. […] At the time you didn't think about it but when you look back bloody hell they were cases you know. And you had a laugh and the things they said and did. God all mighty... And the things they thought. Oh god. Hilarious. Funny.
> Interviewer: "But today?"
> Fisher: "They are all serious now aren't they?! God. It has changed a lot. I think it has changed generally. People have change" (F-19).

Interviews revealed that there have been changes in fishers' beliefs, practices and attitudes over generations. It is commonly understood that fisheries have undergone many structural changes, relating to fishers knowledge (Murray et al. 2006), technologies, markets (Säwe and Hultman 2014) and regulations, and a combination of all the aforementioned in complex entanglements (Johnsen 2005). These changes to the 'rules of the game' in fishing have, in parallel, changed what it means to be a fisher. As Fisher 19 explained: "people have changed". In interviews, some fishers referred to the importance of finding 'added value' for their fishing products – expressed as the ways in which "we can turn something that is worthless into 10 pounds" (F-16). Underlying such statements is an economically rational way of thinking. Changes to fishing masculinities that are more economically oriented have previously been understood by Power (2005) and Waitt

and Hartig (2005) as the development of a new 'corporate', 'alternative', 'modern' and 'managerial fishing masculinity'. Similar to Power (2005) and Waitt and Hartig (2005), this research also observed a new form of 'managerial masculinity'. However, within the Llŷn peninsula, this research found that the new masculinity was not detached from the historic hegemonic masculinities previously described. For example, interviews observed that the new economically rational way of acting was also linked to the way fishers wanted to keep fishing and had to make their businesses viable:

> "With fishing […] you don't know what you are gonna earn every year. I suppose we have pushed it so that we have got other things. You need other things really. So that […] it is more stable. [The] economy" (P-17).

Partner 17 discusses how looking for ways to stabilise the economic return from fishing was something fishers and fishing families had to do in order to secure the future of their existence. Partner 17's response highlights that fishers' practices have changed in relation to structural changes. Alongside this observation, interviews with fishers highlighted how this new form of 'managerial masculinity' does not undermine more longstanding forms of masculinity:

> "It is the freedom. […] the only sort of last place in this country were you have got freedom to […] do what you want really" (F-10).

And the same fisher later on in the interview:

> "So, in a way you are forced to have to go [fishing] cause they [merchants, hotels and restaurants] depend on you for supplies as well" (F-10).

Fisher 10's first extract narrates aspects of the old hegemonic masculinity while the second extract articulates the newer managerial masculinity. Drawing on Filteau's

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(2015) concept of 'localised socially dominant fishing masculinities' can be helpful to make sense of these observations. Filteau (2015, p.15 original emphasis) notes: "When the local economy changes, local men become accountable […] to the *new* structural conditions that arise". Drawing on Filteau (2015) it can be argued that fishing masculinities have been adapting to changes in the 'rules of the game' under new structural conditions – which have led to an emerging 'managerial masculinity'. Such observations reveal that fishers become subjected not only as physical workers – but also managers – echoing previous studies on farming (Brandth and Haugen 2000; Pini 2008). Whilst it can be tempting to develop two categories of fishing masculinities, one being the traditional fisher and another being the modern managerial fisher – as Power (2005) and Waitt and Hartig (2005) have previously done, this research agrees with the observation that masculinities are much more fluid in nature (Brandth 2016). Fisher 10's response shows that the *new* order of managerial masculinity does not replace the *old* hegemonic masculinity. Instead, Fisher 10 is embodying both old – "it is the freedom" – and new – "have to go cause they depend on you" – masculinities. Rather than being seen as the primary masculine identity, 'managerial masculinities' are instead narrated as a 'necessary evil' which safeguard that fishers remain in the industry and ensures the continuation of the older version of masculinity. The research therefore finds that the new form of 'managerial masculinity' does not undermine the old types of masculinity – instead they have become supplemented to older forms in a non-binary relationship as fishers have had to develop more hybrid masculine identities. This localised socially dominant masculinity is however, as Filteau (2015) suggests for other contexts, not challenging or threatening masculinities on regional or global levels – which is evidenced by the observation

that tourists from other geographical localities would hold the local fishers 'accountable' (West and Zimmerman 1987) to regional versions of masculinity:

> "When they come ashore in the summer there are lots of visitors here [and] they are surrounded by people asking questions. People flock cause they are not used to seeing fishermen and they are amazed by the catch" (P-9).

> Partner: "[My husband] is like a tourist attraction".
> Fisher: "All fishermen are when you come in".
> Partner: "[The tourists] love it. People are obsessed with fishing. […] They love the fisherman's cove. Everybody always goes to the fisherman's cove" (P-17 and F-16).

Responses such as the two extracts above show that localised socially dominant masculinities do not challenge the masculinities present at other levels as fishers are still publicly known as 'macho men'. The nuances revealed in this chapter remain hidden from the wider public and fishers' performances of masculinities are continuously accountable to hegemonic masculinities at other levels – as evidenced by the interaction between the fishers and the tourists discussed in the extracts above.

6.3.1 Fishers as fathers: moving towards non-hegemonic masculinities?

In the past fishers were commonly 'absent fathers' who would be the 'breadwinners' of the family:

> "Lots of hard work. It depends on the tides. So you can't sort of [just] turn up here and go fishing. […] So if the weather is good I would probably fish you know seven days a week. I don't know. And as many days as I can really in the year. So it does sort of play with family life because of holidays and family time and stuff like that. Especially in the summertime. I have

basically worked this year nonstop from sort of end March 'til now [end of October] really" (F-10).

Partner: "You do very long hours don't you. I mean, it is hard with a family. Because you know... you basically…"
Fisher: "I miss out on a lot".
Partner: "He does miss out, cause that is what he does, if the weather is nice he fishes" (F-16 and P-17).

Both of the extracts above show how fishers, while occupied with being hardworking 'good fishers', compromise the time they spend with their families. Interviews revealed that, in particular, the seasonal variation of the industry makes the summer a time when fishers have very little, or no time at all, with their families. The 'absent father' and 'good fisher' rely on female partners to take care of the children and the household in their absence (discussed in Section 6.2.5). Interviews revealed that the 'absent father' has longstanding roots in fishing and it was found that such observations are compliant with hegemonic masculinity ideals. Nonetheless, the research observed alternative ways of fathering being developed on the Llŷn peninsula fishery:

Fisher: "I do have a wife and kids. Two [young children]. Growing fast. And once they have grown I will probably be a full-time fisherman again. [Laugh]. But at the minute I have to do other things. […] I am not grumbling I enjoy it. [Laugh]. Yeah".
Interviewer: "You mean you need time for…"
Fisher: "The family as well. Cause you know with fishing it is very… Hours are nothing and you are not paid by the hour. You know you are paid by what you catch. […] If you counted the hours you might get […] a pound

an hour or something. [Laugh]. You know, if you want a life you have got to do other things as well I think" (F-19).

Interviewer: "And your children were older as well when he started fishing?"

Partner: "Yeah it was easier wasn't it? If he had done it right at the beginning, oh, I don't think we would have survived" (P-21).

As Fisher 19's response highlights, the family is important to decisions made around fishers' fishing activities. Fisher 19 explains how he decided to only fish part-time during the years with young children, although hoping to return to fishing when family circumstances changed. Fisher 19 explained how his decision was financial but also made with consideration of the time spent with his family (also discussed in Chapter 5). Furthermore, as Partner 21 explains, her fishing partner waited to start the fishing business until the children were older. Although fishers and their partners often talk about fishers as being absent from family life as fishing takes up most of their time, the interviews revealed that there are situations when fishers subject position as 'family men', 'partners', and 'fathers' take precedence in their everyday life and over being a 'good fisher'. Observations like these show how fishers are embedded in fishing households, communities and place, which has to be understood in parallel to 'good fishing'. This highlights a key finding – that fishers also construct non-hegemonic socially dominant fishing masculinities (drawing on Filteau (2015)) in which caring for children and family *sometimes* takes precedence over the performances of hegemonic masculinity which has a one-dimensional focus on being a 'good fisher'. Furthermore, because of the weather dependency of the fishing occupations the research revealed that fishers fathering practices followed the patterns of the season. That is, they were largely absent

fathers during the busy summer season while being more present fathers while the weather was too bad to go fishing. Interviews also showed that the socially dominant fishing masculinities had not fully undermined the hegemonic masculinity symbolised by the absent father and 'good fisher'. However, fishers often reflected over how they would want things to change:

> "I think [with] the lad I have tended to maybe extend some of the fishing trips so that I know, if there is bad weather […] coming up, that I was home for all of the day rather than going out doing a bit of fishing. I would be around to watch him with his football" (F-16).

In the extract Fisher 16 reflected on how he changed his fishing practices to make more time for his youngest son by, for example, taking him to football. Drawing on the findings of Brandth's (2016) study on agriculture in Norway, it is suggested that this type of fathering – taking his son to football – is in itself a performance of masculinity in rural life of today. Brandth (2016) further finds how fathering moralities have changed in rural society in Norway. This is echoed by Fisher 16 who explains that he would like to get the "work-life balance slightly better" (F-16). Such responses indicate that there are changes in underlying fathering moralities on the Llŷn peninsula, although not always achievable in the current structural context. Rather, it was found that fishers have to negotiate between being a 'good fisher' and a good father. A relational and situated understanding can give some insight into how fishers draw on different versions of themselves in particular contexts:

> "But I don't push my luck. I don't want to drown, I don't want to leave my family without a father. […] I go out but I like to think I am really careful. I try to be as careful as I can. I won't take unnecessary risks. But also there is a great thrill if you manage to take your boat through heavy weather or if

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you can go through a really bad piece of tide and you can do it properly. Yeah, there is big pride in that. Of course. Yeah" (F-22).

Responses such as Fisher 22's show that the types of hegemonic fishing masculinities performed on the sea, such as risk-taking, are challenged while considering his subject positions as a father. In particular, Fisher 22 explains how he takes less risks as he does not want to leave his family without a father. In other words, hegemonic fishing masculinities, such as risk-taking while at sea, were found to be bound by his identity as a family father. However, the research found that fathering masculinities shape, but do not replace, the socially dominant fishing masculinity of this area – incorporating notions of hegemonic masculinities, managerial masculinities and fathering masculinities.

Interviews also observed that changing fathering moralities had implications for the gender identities of the future generation of fishers:

> Interviewer: "Has any of your children been out with you fishing?"
> Fisher: "Yeah yeah, the eldest she comes out now and again in the summer holidays. […] She is very competent in handling the boat".
> Interviewer: "Usually these things are passed down to… [sons]?"
> Fisher: "Yes that is the thing you know. It is a shame with, you know I have got two daughters. […] But, I don't know, it is up to them if they want to become fishermen, or fisherwomen, whatever you call them. The opportunity is there you know. But I am not bothered. I rather they did something else. But I wouldn't sort of stop them from going into the industry if they wanted to go into the industry. So the opportunity is there. […] There is always a first no? You always need somebody to push the boundary. […] Like I said the only thing against it is that it is hard work" (F-10).

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Fisher 10's response highlights a number of key aspects. First, he describes his daughter as 'competent in handling the boat', highlighting the arbitrary construction of handling the boat as masculine. Second, he draws attention to the changing demographics in fishing families meaning that it is not always the case that a family gives birth to a son (also discussed by van Ginkel (2014)), which disrupts patrilineal inheritance patterns. Following these changes he spoke about the opportunity as being there if she wanted to and that "he wouldn't sort of stop them from going into the industry if they wanted to". Importantly, Fisher 10's response "you always need somebody to push the boundary" is telling. Through such expressions he brings attention to the changeable nature of the gender 'boundary' whilst also acknowledging that there is such a boundary affirming that women are still in minority in the fishing industry. While highlighting the possibility of change to gender configurations he draws on the common construction of the 'good fisher' as a masculine subject based on bodily abilities and hard work, which reinforces the present configurations of fishing gender identities. From Fisher 10's statement it is also possible to understand that daughters have a different initial position to sons because of current construction of gender identities in fishing – although these are open to change in the future. While such changes have not been shown in practice, there are changes to the way fishers speak about women's abilities and bodies. The most striking difference is that of a shift from narrating women's bodies in fishing as "ballast" on the boat (F-8) to "competent in handling the boat" (F-10).

6.4 Conclusions

The chapter has found that the current configuration of gender identities in fishing creates particular 'gender dispositions' in relation to the embodiment and

accumulation of symbolically valued fishing capitals in the fishing field. The chapter shows how the 'good fisher' position is only available to men although women make several contributions to fishing family businesses. Yet, the chapter also observes how some of these positions have changed and softened over time.

The chapter opened with a discussion of how previous literature has viewed masculinities in fishing as individual, competitive, 'macho' men (e.g. Creative Research 2009; St. Martin 2005). Through a focus on how gender identities are configured on the Llŷn peninsula, this chapter has seen how fishing masculinities are indeed multiple, situated and hybrid. In the beginning of the chapter, it was found that hegemonic versions of masculinities permeate what it means to be a fisher, what fishers do and the places fishers occupy. Drawing on the concept of 'rural masculinities' (e.g. Cloke 2005) the research found that the fishing field and associated masculinities differ from other rural occupations as the fishing 'rules of the game' shape how hegemonic forms of fishing masculinities take shape. The chapter found that this form of masculinity was hegemonic as it worked towards marginalising women from the fishing industry – which was constructed around the bodies of women as unsuitable to fish but also around a notion of activities, objects and spaces of fishing as masculine – and thus unfeminine. Along these lines it was found that for women to perform local versions of femininities, they distanced themselves from the fishing industry and in the process reinforced patriarchal gender relations. However, it was also noted that women are not merely passive but also take active part in 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987) as well as taking part in decision-making over larger fishing investments.

The research found that 'new' forms of masculinities do not replace 'old' hegemonic notions of fishing masculinity – instead, they become supplementary to 'old' notions, and are seen as a 'necessary evil' to the continuations of old notions of fishing masculinities. As such, fishing masculinities are multiple and hybrid – in contrary to previous research on fishing masculinities which has understood fishing masculinities as multiple but intact within an individual (Power 2005; Waitt and Hartig 2005). These findings have wider implications for studies on masculinities in particular. This research found that there are 'localised socially dominant masculinities' (Filteau 2015) which incorporate hegemonic forms of fishing masculinities together with notions of 'managerial masculinity' and 'being a father'. The chapter end by observing some possibilities for future changes in the construction of gender identities in fishing. It was identified that by looking at gender identities the chapter manages to move away from documenting the lives of women and men and opens up possibilities to understand the underlying cultural beliefs and constructs which reproduces gendered differences in life experiences over time. Taking this approach, the chapter has provided important insights into the way the socio-cultural contexts of fishing lives is divided along gender lines.

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Chapter 7

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7 Thesis conclusions

This thesis has been situated within the wider debates on socio-cultural studies of fishing and responds to Urquhart et al.'s (2011) call for an increased understanding of socio-cultural aspects of 'fisheries sustainability' and Symes and Phillipson's (2009) concern that the social aspects of fishing have been overlooked in marine and fisheries policy. In building on these points William's (2008) suggests that this omission has had impacts on fishers' identities and Neis et al. (2013) have raised concerns that policies have been gender as well as intergenerationally 'blind'. To contribute to this literature the thesis has developed a conceptual framing and methodological approach which has taken into account the need to move away from descriptive accounts of fishers lives (Hall-Arber et al. 2009) into a more 'holistic approach' which can be taken forward by other research. By taking forward the conceptual framing of Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, field and capital in understanding the socio-cultural contexts of fishing lives this thesis has the advantage of being generalisable on the conceptual level (Yin 2009) whilst remaining sensitive to the nuances and context specificity of fishing lives.

For the broader understanding of fishing lives, this thesis has contributed to advancing knowledge on the topics of fishing identities, fishing spaces and places, fishing practices together with a deepened understanding of the concepts of fishing families, fishing gender identities and the fishing lifecourse. More specifically, the thesis has, first, understood the importance of symbolic capital – in particular embodied cultural capital, for what it means to be a 'good fisher', and second, has highlighted the significance of space and place for fishing identities and for the performance of these. Furthermore, the research found that the sea – especially the

dangers of the sea – has significance for the importance of social capital in the fishing field. The research also revealed that the socio-cultural contexts are important for prospective fishers to become 'good fishers' (see Figure 7.1). As such, fishing lives are interlinked across generations which was shown to have significance for fishers' (non)participation in conservation practices. The thesis also found that fishing capitals were accumulated and embodied by primarily men (see Figure 7.1) and as such the 'good fisher' was a masculine position in the fishing field. Women, on the other hand, made important economic contributions to the fishing field but did not have access to symbolic fishing capitals. However, the thesis also found that gender identities in fishing were open to change, and noted that recently some fishers' masculinities have moved from hegemonic masculinities to that of 'localised socially dominant fishing masculinities' which were multiple, hybrid and situated. These key contributions, and their wider relevance to current academic and policy discussions will now be considered in more detail.

7.1   The 'good fisher'

The research has found that the fishing habitus is often articulated by fishers as having 'salt in the blood'. This was, however, not a *genetic* characteristic, but instead fishers emphasised how their life experiences had shaped and been shaped by this habitus. It was further found that the form of capital which took on the status of 'symbolic value (or capital)' in the fishing field was that of the embodied cultural capital. The research developed the conceptual idea of the 'good fisher' by examining how fishers could demonstrate, and make visible, their embodied cultural capital to other fishers. The thesis found that for fishers to live up to the 'good fisher' ideal they needed to, i) display 'good fishing' skills and ii) comply

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with unwritten reciprocal agreements – which were similar to the ways in which the 'good farmer' has been constituted in previous literature (cf Burton et al. 2008; Sutherland and Burton 2011). There were, however, a number of important differences. First, the ways in which 'good fishers' can demonstrate their skills was through demonstrating their motoric and managerial skills of being able to work *with* the sea – that is being responsive to and adapting to the tides and the weather. Furthermore, being a 'good fisher' was seen to involve such abilities as embodying the motoric abilities of not getting seasick. Other abilities were that of the being able to handle machinery (such as boats and fishing gear) and these involved the mechanical abilities of, for example, being able to do maintenance work as well as the managerial ability of planning their maintenance activities around the weather and tides. The 'good fisher' was also found to embody the motoric ability of being strong and being able to use 'bodily techniques' to lift heavy fishing objects. The ways in which such skills became displayed and visible to others are exemplified by activities such as fishers' movements of buoys in the lobster fishery and the appearance of their boats and fishing gear onshore.

The second way in which fishers become 'good fishers' is through following unwritten reciprocal agreements – or the unwritten 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu 1990). The research found that such 'rules' were based around fishers' fishing territories and fishing gear. In particular, the notion of showing 'respect' became salient in interviews while discussing such unwritten rules. It was found that through showing themselves as 'trustworthy', by respecting others fishing gear and territories, fishers become positioned as 'good fishers' which also meant that they could gain access to social capital. This social capital became materialised in the form of access to tools, being towed into shore in case of emergency at sea as well

as getting other fishers to respect the boundaries of their fishing territories. The research found that the dangers of being on the sea led social capital to take on a particular meaning in the fishing context. That was, social capital was important for the safety of fishers. Such findings show that the second way in which fisher become good fisher – through following these unwritten 'rules of the game' – was more significant in shaping the 'good fisher' ideal than what has previously been documented in the 'good farmer' literature for the parallel case of agriculture. This finding can be explained through considering some of the fundamental differences in the two respective fields. First of all, the fishing field is a field in which fishers share and compete for the same resource(s) which is, most often, not the case in farming. Second, the fishers spoken to highlight the importance of the element of danger, which this research found to have crucial significance in shaping the 'rules of the game' in fishing. This latter observation has not been descried as equally important in the case of farming.

The research found two further important unwritten 'rules of the game', which were keeping collective secrets and helping others out when they were in need. The latter is both a form of social capital and an unwritten rule in this particular geographical context. The former was significant as the group of fishers, fishing in a particular area, did not want the UK's mobile fishing fleet to know how productive their area was as that would lead to 'outsiders' fishing in their areas. The idea of the 'outsider' was important to the research as this label represented groups or individuals who were not attuned to the unwritten 'rules of the game' in this particular fishing area. 'Outsiders' from this perspective constituted, for example, fishers from other areas as well as local fishers who did not live up to the 'good fishing' ideals. Important for our wider understanding is that the notion of 'good fishing' could potentially be

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very context specific and vary across geographical locations, as has been shown to be the case for the notion of the 'good farmer' (see Riley 2016a). More research is needed in other geographical locations as well as other types of fisheries to explore these nuances (see Section 7.5 for an extended discussion of this).

The research also found that secrecy was a well-formed strategy in which fishers could balance their competitive edge with that of being cooperative and complying with the unwritten 'rules of the game'. By being secretive fishers could hide the information about which areas were most successful for them whilst appearing helpful and cooperative to other fishers. The research also found that fishers monitor and police the 'good fisher'. In particular, if fishers were not living up to the 'good fishing' ideals (such as in the example of the 'flag-hunter') they would receive sanctions from other fishers. These sanctions were incremental in nature, ranging from being 'crowded out' to getting their lobster pot ropes cut.

For the wider understanding of fisheries management the chapter offers some insights on how to increase 'fisheries sustainability' through changing the way fishers perform fishing practices and interact with the marine environment. This thesis suggests that without recognising how practices have social as well as economic value, little externally induced change will be able to materialise without undermining how fisher generate, accumulate and access cultural and social capitals. More specifically, some interfaces between specific policies and fishing lives have been discussed in the thesis. In relation to the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones the research found that fishers questioned the 'policy knowledge culture' underpinning this proposal as they argued their knowledges were more contextual and place-specific. Furthermore, this thesis has found that the

existence of fishing territories were largely undocumented and their importance for fishing identities, practices and social relations were poorly understood. Furthermore, fishing territories are often passed down through generations – not, importantly, as legally binding ownership rights, but as closely tied to their fishing status over several generations. This is important for those seeking to develop fishing policies and management. On the one hand, it highlights the importance of recognising fishers' activities and decision-making over longer time horizons. Many of these fishers have been in the industry for most of their lives and often across several generations of their family, at various times supplementing this with work outside of fishing, and shows the need to recognise that short-term activity is set within the wider framework of keeping this longer fishing heritage intact. As such, displacement from the areas in which fishers have fished in the past are likely to come will come against a complex web of pre-existing, long established and thus quite durable, social relations. The thesis therefore finds that new policies are likely to be challenged when the conflict with the pre-existing notion of 'good fishing'. Indeed, this was the case for the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones.

7.2 The fishing lifecourse

The research has found that prospective fishers become 'good fishers' by accumulating different forms of capital. This part of the research drew together the lifecourse approach with that of Bourdieu's ideas of capital to understand the processes of how capital becomes accumulated over time. This is an important contribution to the fisheries social sciences which helps to understand fishing lives, not as static but, as changing over time and over the lifecourse (see Hopkins and Pain 2007). Such an approach brings forward several original findings. First it was

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found that the pathways in which prospective fishers become 'good fishers' depend on social background and initial levels of capital(s) – that is, prospective fishers' socio-cultural contexts. In particular, the research found that young men from fishing families embodied higher levels of initial social capital than young men without family ties to the industry. For sons from fishing families to enter the fishery they could use their social capital in accumulating the necessary embodied cultural capital to become 'good fishers'. For young men without familial ties, the research found they started off without social and cultural capital and had to accumulate both capitals simultaneously. The process in which such young men accumulated capitals were through helping current fishers, often onshore, and later getting invited to the private space of the boat. The third route into the fishery was through entering the fishery with already sufficient levels of economic capital. Fishers who got on the ladder through this route often did so later on in their lifecourse. The research found that these prospective fishers often faced an initial phase of resistance from the other fishers but could through displaying their 'good fishing' skills and 'trustworthiness' become accepted members of the 'fishing network'. These processes are graphically represented in Figure 7.1.

The research found that not all the sons of fishers wanted to take up fishing. Sons spoke about their concern over the economic viability, that the fishing way of life was too demanding and that they had concerns over health in choosing to not become a fisher. The research also found that the biggest barrier for sons of fishers to enter the fishery was that of the high economic costs in, for example, getting their own boats and fishing gear. In terms of the wider policy significance of this finding, there have been attempts to develop schemes for encouraging new entrants, for example discussed by White (2015). Whilst such schemes might recognise the

economic capital needed for 'start up' in the industry, the current research has shown that such schemes must also factor in the social and cultural capital which needs to be accumulated in which the 'rules of the game' in this region become internalised. To facilitate the accumulation of these sorts of capital, apprenticeship programmes could be put in place. However, the research suggests that such programmes have to be thought through quite carefully to be successful. A first observation that needs to be taken into account, is the place-specificity of fishing capitals, which suggests that new fishers have to learn to fish and accumulate their social and cultural capitals in a particular place. Apprenticeship programme must therefore factor in the importance of building place-specific capitals. The second point related to the design of apprenticeship programmes is the observation that regulations has made it more difficult, and economically costly, for current fishers to take on new and young prospective fishers. This point highlights that schemes to support newcomers must support and cover the costs of current fishers for teaching and introducing new prospective fishers to the fishing network. The lifecourse approach taken in this research has shown that the lives of younger and older generations are linked and, as such, the research suggests that the capital constraints of both the current fishers and prospective fishers have to be taken into consideration if such apprenticeship programmes were to be successful.

It was found that in the later part of the fishing lifecourse fishers negotiate having a family with the time they dedicate to their fishing businesses, and fishers were found to take two approaches. First, the research found that some fishers intensified their fishing businesses to stabilise their income from fishing, however this compromised the time spent with their families. The second finding was that some fishers chose to only fish part-time whilst starting a family in order to give them

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more time with their families. Such fishers often took up alternative employment which was another way to stabilise their incomes. Findings like these show that fishers who start a family employ different strategies to stabilise their incomes which either reduce or increase their fishing effort with implications for environmental sustainability. The research also found that fishers often articulated a desire to spend more time with their families. The wider relevance of this finding is that to support fishers in achieving better work-life balance governments could introduce policies aimed at establishing alternative part-time employment or promote more profitable diversification strategies.

The research also found that fishers do not often consciously plan their retirement. Instead, retirement is narrated as a process of force in which their bodily pains become too intense. Yet it was found that fishers want to 'remain in place' (Figure 7.1 illustrates how 'remaining in place' allows fishers in older age to hold on to some level of symbolic capital), which was found to be more achievable if they have family members who succeed them. Such successors were found to help older fishers to keep on fishing as younger sons could substitute for their aging bodies. In the small-scale cove fishery, fishers did not have harbour facilities and could not completely substitute for their ageing bodies with that of technologies. In light of these findings on how fishers (re)negotitate older age future research could explicitly focus on retired fishers and their experiences of post-retirement.

This thesis has also begun to understand the importance of the fishing lifecourse for understanding fisher's (non)participation in voluntary fisheries policy schemes. In particular, the research found that younger people engaged in v-notching schemes (which were designed to preserve the local lobster stock for the future) with more

enthusiasm than older fishers as they often spoke about the benefits they would get in the future. Notwithstanding this, it was found that older fishers with successors engaged in these schemes as it would benefit their children or 'potential successor' (cf Chiswell 2014). The research therefore found that the lifecourse aspect of 'linked lives' across generations have direct implications for policies concerned with sustainability and the marine environment.

By comparing the different ways in which the fishing industry is currently being managed for increased sustainability we can begin to understand how some approaches have been more 'culturally (un)sustainable' (after Burton and Paragahawewa 2011) than others. Important in this context is the observation that the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones is more or less coerced and designed by external bodies in a 'top-down' fashion whilst the v-notching scheme is a policy which does not, at present[21], have external incentives and which fishers themselves can engage in (or not) on a voluntary basis. The research found a more general acceptance of v-notching than the highly protected Marine Conservation Zones which, as discussed above, may be linked to the finding that v-notching is more 'culturally sustainable'. V-notching was 'culturally sustainable' for some fishers as is it would help sustain the fishery in the future, whilst the conservation zone policy denied the existence of fishers in these areas at present and in the future. Such findings relate to Nightingale's (2012) discussion on how fishers value a 'working environment' and use of the sea in contrast to that of conservationists who

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[21] Originally, the v-notching scheme was introduced by the government and financial compensation was given to fishers for taking part in it. However, after a while the incentives stopped but the regulations were still in place and some fishers continued to v-notch berried lobsters in their fishing areas.

value a pristine and untouched nature – a 'nature' where there is no place for fishers. In other words, the v-notching scheme is a policy conserving fishers' cultural values of maintaining a 'working environment' over time whilst the Marine Conservation Zones is a policy attuned with conservationist values of an 'untouched nature'. These two different examples of marine and fisheries policy demonstrate the fundamental differences in underlying values of these two ways of governing marine space. Because of the reasons discussed above, the research, in particular, found the Marine Conservation Zones to be exceptionally culturally *un*sustainable.

This thesis has found that fishers do change their fishing practices over time and it suggests that such change may be most productive if it works within the pre-existing socio-cultural system already in place (such as with the example of the v-notching scheme). An avenue for future research, which could feed into the debates on how to change practices in fishing, might be to examine the processes in which the v-notching 'knowledge culture' was taken on by fishers. Such research could help to identify ways in which new policies and conservation practices can be productively introduced to the fishing industry. For example, research on the 'good farmer' has noted that introducing new practices was most successful if such policy attempts engaged with farmer's own knowledge cultures (Riley 2016a). Similar to Riley's (2016a) study the current research found that fishers do take onboard 'scientific knowledge' and integrate it into their own 'knowledge culture' – as demonstrated by the adoption of v-notching schemes and the ways fishers used scientific knowledge to argue their case against the Marine Conservation Zones. Another route in which fishers take onboard knowledge and practices was through their horizontal networks. Such findings show that there is potential for change within the 'fishing knowledge culture'. The current research findings suggests that a

potential way in which to engage with fishers and the ways in which fishers learn about new ways of fishing could be to embrace the experimental nature of fishers' learning styles. For example, Riley (2016a) suggests that letting farming view how other farmers have used particular practices in a farm context lets farmers imaging and translate such these practices into their own farm context. Future research on fishing could focus on how to work with fishers through engaging with their own way of learning. Another important insight here is that fishers were found to embody different levels of social and cultural capital. Through working with fishers with high levels of such capital – and getting them to adopt new ways of fishing – there may be potential for wider acceptance of new practices within the wider fishing community through their horizontal networks (see Riley 2016a for similar suggestions for the case of farming). Future studies on these aspects is needed to understand how fisher's practices and knowledges become mobile and adopted within these horizontal networks of fishers.

The thesis also found that those government officials who attempted to govern the fisheries through the Marine Conservation Zones became positioned as 'outsiders' as they did not demonstrate knowledge about the 'micro-climate' of the particular areas they tried to govern. Such findings has wider significance for the understanding fisheries as it highlights that conservation officials or government representatives can demonstrate and accumulate their own fishing capitals. Similarly, research on the 'good farmer' has suggested that conservation officials who work with farmers have been seen to build their own social and cultural capital through their engagement with farmers, the specific geographical context and their demonstration of contextualised knowledge (Riley 2016a). Extending these observations such findings have wider implications for the fishing context. This is

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so because the research observed that local enforcement officers take on an important role for the everyday lives and practices of fishers at the local level. The local enforcement officer is an individual that fishers often spoke about in interviews. Previous research has found that enforcement of fishing regulations on the sea is a key concern in the fishing context and primarily small-scale fishers often complain about the failure of such enforcements (see Yates 2014). Future research could study, more in-depth, how local enforcement officers can (or cannot) build fishing capitals and through which routes. Findings from such research would have wider relevance for fisheries policies as it could feed into debates on how to improve interactions between fishers and local enforcement officers and could give suggestion for better enforcement of fishing regulations at sea.

7.3 Fishing gender identities

The research has found that access to fishing capitals and the fishing lifecourse is mainly an opportunity open to men (see Figure 7.1 for the gendering of symbolic capital over the lifecourse). Fishers construct hegemonic fishing masculinities which may serve to marginalise women from the fisher identity through overtly narrating their bodies as unsuitable for fishing. The research further found that the hegemonic forms of fishing masculinities are constructed around a number of attributes which shaped the 'good fisher' ideals as well as the fishing lifecourse. First of all, this hegemonic masculinity is constructed in opposition to that of urban men. The research found that although fishers' hegemonic masculinities were found to be different from that of other rural masculinities, these are closely associated with the specific 'rules of the game' in fishing. Hegemonic fishing masculinities are constructed around the notions of competitiveness and "gentlemen's

agreements", the latter being a cooperative agreement amongst men. The research also found that fishers construct their hegemonic fishing masculinities around the notion of independence which position them as 'self-made' men and strongly reflected their individually embodied cultural capital – which also take on symbolic value in the fishing field. Other attributes include taking risk and displaying their bravery and that machinery and technological knowledge become masculinised in fishing. Such findings reveal previously 'hidden' forms of marginalisation of women in the fishing field. In addition, fishers' bodies were shown to have importance for fishers' hegemonic masculinities in three main ways. First, fishers' bodies are seen as naturally strong as the strength is arrived at through their physical efforts undertaken while fishing – in contrast to other men who had to go to the gym to become strong. Such findings reveal that fishers position themselves above such men in their masculine hierarchy. Other example of performing their hegemonic masculinities include, secondly, fishers bodily display of their past fishing histories, and third, the way fishers were found to 'ignore' or 'absent their bodies' in that they downplay physical pain. The research found that, although many masculine performances are out of sight of other fishers – such as in the space of the sea, they become displayed to others in, for example, the pub through narrating their experiences in particular ways.

As discussed above, women were found to be marginalised from the fishing occupation in both overt and subtle ways. Indeed it was found that women construct their own gender identities in relation to that of hegemonic fishing masculinities. Whilst the research observed that men are most often the ones involved in actual fishing activity, the research also found that there are myriad networks which women are involved in, including supply chains, wider communities and familial

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relations. In particular, the research revealed that women constructed such subsidiary activities as 'help' rather than work. The research has expanded on Zhao et al.'s (2013) findings that women's contribution to fishing are 'invisible', by arguing that such 'invisibility' is twofold. First, women's 'help' does not operate in visible fishing space such as the boat and other fishing places. A second layer is that women downplay their contributions to fishing as they emphasise their own femininities by distancing themselves from masculine spaces and activities. Although it was found that women are sometimes important decisionmakers in fishing families, the research also found that women were not found to challenge their (marginalised) position within the gender hierarchy. For example, women's decisionmaking was not publicly advertised and often remained isolated to the invisible space of the home. In relation to fishing capitals it was found that women did not have access to symbolically valued capital such as embodied cultural capital or social capital which this research found was because such capitals and the fishing habitus had particular gendered predispositions. As such, women's gender identities are not associated with the social capital that sons of fishers had access to before they decided to get on the fishing ladder (see Figure 7.1 for the difference between fishing family sons and daughter in relation to symbolic capital). Accumulation of capital over the fishing lifecourse therefore becomes structured along gender lines. Findings from this research thus show that the 'good fisher' and the fishing lifecourse are closely associated with a masculine gender identity. Whilst men were found to occupy the symbolic realm of fisheries (echoed by Gerrard 2008) women made many economic contributions to the fishing family and industry.

These observations discussed here have implications for policies that attempt to manage the fishery, and in particular, such attempts have to take into account that women make important contributions to the small-scale fishery even though they most often downplay their own contributions. Further to this, an interrelated suggested avenue for future research could be to explore the role(s) and importance of women in recent diversification of the fishing family businesses which has taken place as a response to changing structural conditions. Examples of such diversification aimed at economic development[22] could be the selling or processing of fishing products or the establishment of other interrelated businesses such as restaurants which targets tourists. For example, Salmi (2005) has observed that 'pluriactivity' has been one coping strategy to changing circumstances for fishing families in the Finish archipelago small-scale fishery. However, Salmi (2005; 2015) does not explore the gendered dimensions of these changes other than touching upon that women in fishing families sometimes have public sector employment outside of fishing. By drawing on the literature on farming which have explored women's role in farm diversification and how their off-farm work helps to maintain the farming identity over time (Evans and Ilbery 1996; Kelly and Shortall 2002), future research on fisheries could explore how the work of women in fishing families – both that related to diversification and non-fishing employment – supports the fishing family business and the continuation of their male partners fishing identities.

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[22] The Gwynnedd and Anglesey FLAG (Fisheries Local Action Group) has through EFF Axis 4 promoted initiatives which have focused on encouraging diversification of economic activity in the studied area (Gwynedd and Anglesey FLAG & Menter Mon 2014).

Although hegemonic fishing masculinities are important in fishing the research also found that fishers construct alternative masculinities based around 'managerial masculinities' and changing 'fathering masculinities'. Managerial fishing masculinities emerged with new structural conditions leading fisher to develop a 'localised socially dominant masculinities' (Filteau 2015). Previous research has described a more business-like masculinity (Power 2005; Waitt and Hartig 2005), however, the current research found that *new* forms did not replace *old* forms of hegemonic masculinity on the Llŷn peninsula. Instead, managerial masculinities became supplementary to these older forms and needed to be engaged with for the continued existence of *old* versions of masculinities. Such findings show that although fishing masculinities are open to change, hegemonic fishing masculinities are still the most prevalent form observed in the areas studied. Nonetheless, masculinities in the fishing field are found to be multiple, hybrid and situated – and most importantly open to change of some form. These findings have implications for how the fishing industry can transition from the more hegemonic forms of masculinity to that of more alternative and less hegemonic masculinities.

Another theme which can be taken forward and explored more in-depth is that interrelatedness between fishing masculinities, bodies and health. Here, there can be some productive cross-fertilisation with recent progressions in other areas of fisheries social research which looks at fishers' well-being and health. In particular, such research has found that fishers often have low health status and are unlikely to seek medical help (Turner 2016). The observation from this thesis suggests that fishers' 'absent the body' or 'ignore pain' as a performance of their hegemonic fishing masculinities which could be drawn together with the work of Turner (2016)

to identify ways in which to improve fisher's health by exploring how their masculinities constrain them from, for example, seeking help.

The thesis has shown that researching fisheries through a gender identity perspective can reveal some of the cultural beliefs and constructs which contributes to the gender division of fishing labour observed in the fishing industry. A number of themes identified in the research can, however, be explored in future research. In particular, the finding that machinery and knowledge about machinery becomes masculinised in fishing can be taken forward in understanding what happens to women's gender identities when they do use fishing tools and machinery. In the case of agriculture, Brandth (2006) has studied women's femininities in relation to their use or non-use of machinery. The current research has shown that women who do not use machinery largely maintain the current patriarchal gender relations – but it remains to be studied what happens to the configurations of gender identities when women do use machinery in fisheries. Studies on farming have for example shown that even in the cases when women work on the farm, including women's use of machinery, this work is valued less than that which is done by men (Saugeres 2002b). Future research on fisheries could more explicitly study those women who do fish to examine if these women can take on the status of the 'good fisher' or if, as in the case of farming, their status within the fishing community becomes inferior because of their gender identities.

Another important finding is that daughters are not considered 'suitable' successors in the same way as their brothers are. Figure 7.1 shows this in relation to the fishing lifecourse – that is, women do not accumulate symbolically valued capitals in the fishing field. Nevertheless, the research has observed that there is broader scope for

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change to the way in which gender identities are configured in the fishing field. In particular this research observed that the way fishing fathers spoke about their daughters as being able and competent and that the opportunity was there for them if they wanted to take up fishing one day showed potential for changes to gendering of the fishing field in the future. Future research could further explore the role and identities of daughters and young women in fishing families and places to better understand the potential for them to become fishers in the future. Future research could also study young people at early age to explore their (gendered) socialisation into the fishery (see Riley 2009b).

7.4 The fishing field, symbolic capital and the fishing lifecourse

To make visible some of the relations between symbolic capital, gender identities and the fishing lifecourse it was decided that a graphical representation of this could be useful:
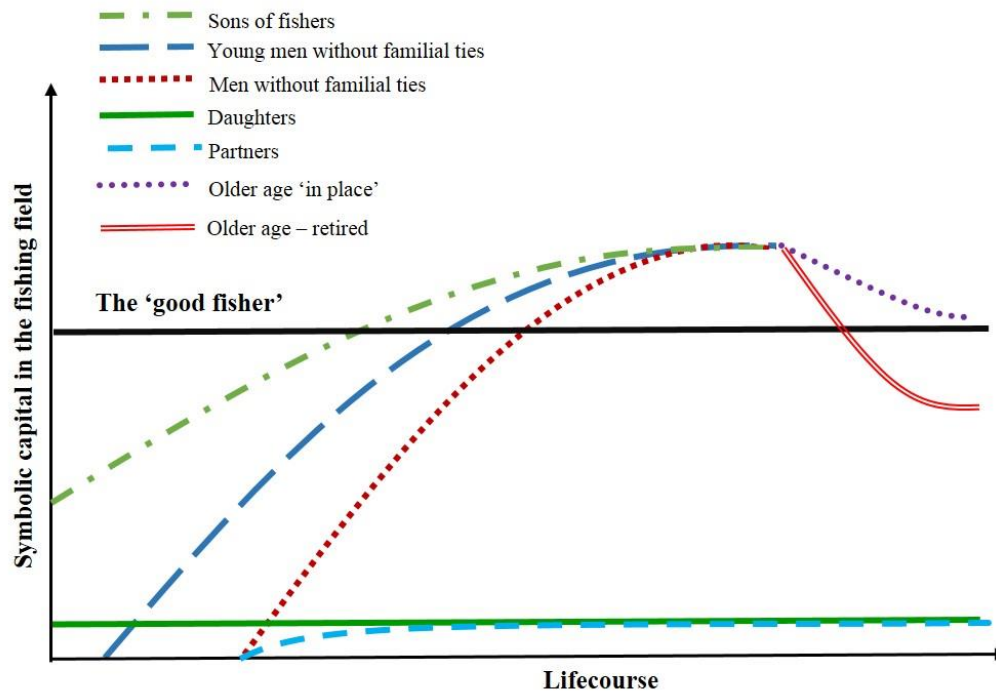
Figure 7.1 – A simplified representation of symbolic capital
accumulation across the fishing lifecourse.

Figure 7.1 illustrate how sons of fishers have access to symbolic capital at birth
while younger men start off their fishing careers without such capitals. Fishers who
enter the fishing lifecourse later on in their lives also start off without symbolic
capital. Nevertheless, all fishers from all these three positions ('sons of fisher',
'young men without familial ties' and 'men without familial ties') can become
'good fishers' through their accumulation of symbolic capital over time. At older
age, the figure illustrates how fishers who 'remain in place' –   rather than retire
from the fishery – retain some symbolic capital. The figure further illustrates that
daughters from fishing families and partners (who enter the fishing field through
partnership with a fisher) embody very little symbolic capital in the fishing field –
if any at all.

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7.5   Reflections on study and future research avenues

This thesis has been the first contribution that utilises and develops the conceptual framing of Bourdieu's concept of habitus, field and capital in applying it to the fishing context in the conceptually coherent way done here. In exploring the potential of Bourdieusian ideas to inform the discussion of fishers, this thesis also highlights the need for further research in this area and some aspects of this has been discussed above. A first, more general, area requiring further exploration is the extent to which notions of the 'good fisher' and the associated practices of 'good fishing' may be geographically specific. This is a theme considered in the 'good farming' literature (Riley 2016a; Sutherland and Darnhofer 2012) and may appear more magnified for fishing. The thesis has seen that even more so than in agriculture, fishing involves a close and iterative relationship with the environment, with the need to understand the intricacies of a particular area of the sea and to react to any rapid changes therein. In order to comprehend and unpack the intricate and complex relations that we have explored in this thesis, a logical approach has been to take an in-depth approach to a specific geographical locality – the Llŷn peninsula. This, of course, in addition to the specific fishing cultures alluded to in the thesis, has particular environmental conditions which are likely to shape the fishing habitus and notions of 'good fishing' in particular ways. Further comparative work is needed to understand how different physical and environmental conditions might, or not, lead to variations on the notions of 'good fishing' we have observed here. Related to this, the outward demonstration of fishing skills and abilities is likely to differ for contrasting scales and types of fishing in differing localities. Furthermore, the research considered how new policies – in this case that of highly protected Marine Conservation Zones – can be challenged when they conflict with pre-

existing notions of 'good fishing'. Future research could usefully consider how other policies, such as quotas (the fishery researched in this thesis was a non-quota fishery) conflict or not with the notion of 'good fishing' and whether these are similarly refuted by fishers, and what the consequences of their eventual introduction are. Exploring such differences is relevant as it could reveal important variances and nuances to how good fishing and the fishing habitus varies in different contexts.

A second research trajectory relates to fishing conflicts (see for example Stepanova and Bruckmeier 2013). The case study presented here is one where the apparent shared consensus around what 'good fishing' is, and the adherence to these rules by most working in the area, leads to a somewhat settled pattern. Areas of known conflict – such as that observed between those using stationary and those using mobile fishing gear (for example de la Torre-Castro and Lindström 2010; Gustavsson et al. 2014; Nightingale 2013) – might be considered through the conceptual lens of the 'good fisher' which has been developed in this thesis to examine how such conflicts may be better understood and minimised.

A third and related area is to consider potential changes to the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu 1990) – or the code of a particular culture. Feeding on from the aforementioned changes to fishing policy, this area of research could consider how these new horizons (re)shape what it means to be a 'good fisher'. Whilst our study has revealed a certain level of continuity in fishing patterns and tradition, it must also be recognised that fishers have also evolved – evidenced in particular through their embracement, over time, of new fishing technologies. More research is needed on how new 'rules of the game' – in the form of technologies, policies and

environmental changes for example – become internalised into the fishing habitus and what it means to be a 'good fisher'. The 'good farmer' literature is instructive here (Sutherland and Darnhofer 2012; Sutherland 2013), in particular in highlighting the temporal discordance between the implementation or onset of new 'rules of the game' and the changes in farming identities such that these new rules become seen as 'good' practice. Existing fisheries research which has touched upon this, with Pálsson (1994) for example noting how the prestigious position as 'catch-king' within the Icelandic fishery became the 'quota-king' after the introduction of quotas. Findings such as these point towards a change in what skills become symbolically valued and thus how capitals can become displayed in a field. Such future research could draw on longitudinal studies in exploring how the fishing habitus becomes (re)shaped in light of these changing 'rules of the game' (see Riley 2016a).

The thesis has also responded to calls within the 'good farmer' literature to pay attention to individuals other than just the male 'main farmer' to explore what it means to be a 'good farmer' (see Riley 2016b). This was achieved by incorporating a gender identity lens, which has made visible the marginalisation of women from fishing capital and the 'good fisher' position. Studies in other geographical contexts could explore the variance and nuances to these findings by exploring how gender identities varies in different contexts as well as if women can be 'good fishers' in other places.

7.6   Final conclusions

To conclude, this thesis has deepened the understanding of the importance of socio-cultural contexts in the discussion of fishing identities. The thesis has developed

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the concept of the 'good fisher' and drawn on new conceptual approaches in which to study fishing lives from. These have been Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital alongside a lifecourse and a gender identity approach. The thesis conclusions have presented some ideas and avenues for future research in which these concepts and conceptual approaches can be taken forward. Finally, the thesis has shown the importance of fishing identities and the socio-cultural contexts for the successes of marine policies – both from a cultural and environmental perspective.

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