

FISHING AS A
CULTURAL SYSTEM

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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10271



FISHING AS A CULTURAL SYSTEM

by

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ABSTRACT

The ethnography for this thesis was carried out among Spanish deep-sea trawlermen fishing in the Northwest Atlantic ("Terranova"). After an introductory chapter, in which the spatial and social structures on board are outlined, as well as the juridical status and the specific technical performance of a Pareja ("Pair" of cod-trawlers dragging conjointly), the main body of the thesis aims to examine the features that culturally define the occupation of fishing. Emphasis is given to the proposition that fishermen create their own cultural context in response to their ecological and institutional experience.

Although economic motivations are the *raison d'être* of the "Terranova" fishing, the relations that the seamen evolve from within the marine environment, and the translation of the economic motivations to the levels of cognition and emotion, are direct subjects of this cultural analysis. The unpredictable fishing fluctuations are mentally organized around the key concept of luck, that becomes the condition of possibility for economic and emotional gratification. The conceptual order emerging from the indeterminacy of luck is systematically described. The view is taken that power on board participates in the system of signification involving luck.

Likewise, the organization of social reality on board, in the forms of time schedules, working conditions, safety guarantees, and so on, can only be understood in the light of a peculiar sense of order that the arbitrary causation of luck originates.

Fishermen's emotional life is structured on the triangle represented by ship, foreign port, and home. The projective nature of the relations with family is stressed, in contrast with the severe limits of the actual family relations on shore. The foreign port offers the opportunity for a sexual double standard, which is revealing of the nature of the institutional life on board. The peculiar ethos of "being a fisherman" is described in the context of the relations developed from the ecological and cultural reality.

Finally, the seamen's saying that "Terranova is a very round wheel" is intended as a metaphor, its signifying unity bringing together the environmental, social, cognitive, and emotional relations of fishing, as well as serving to recall the recent Canadian declaration of the 200-mile limit that implies for the near future a sudden end to all Spanish fishing in Terranova.

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the approximately two thousand Spanish deep-sea fishermen whose livelihood has traditionally been the catch of codfish in the North Atlantic seas. "Terranova", although it literally refers only to Newfoundland, is the Spanish name that for centuries has lumped together the Northwest Atlantic waters; in the Northeast Atlantic are the Norwegian fishing grounds, visited more recently by Spanish seamen.

Rather than adding more data on the technological or economic aspects of deep-sea fishing, my search has been for its "socio-cultural concomitants" that thus far "are only fragmentarily and unsystematically documented" (Andersen and Wadel 1972:164). More specifically, my concern is with fishing as a cultural system, a title that paraphrases C.Geertz's interpretive essays on cultural systems (Geertz 1973). The aim is to provide the structures of signification developed by the fishermen in the course of pursuing their occupation. Since the enquiry explores how natural, social and conceptual facts are ordered at sea in creating a certain cultural context, this analysis can be viewed as primarily focused on the relations between man and nature as they become translated into social, ideational and emotional categories. This perspective has the advantage of partially avoiding the question of how far the "fishing culture" of the Spanish Terra nova fishermen is simply a common Spanish culture carried to

the sea from land. Some of the issues that fishermen's natural and mental ecology brings forth can be stated as: how men conceptually order their environment; how economic needs legitimize institutional deprivations; how distance shapes emotional relations.

A fundamental concern for me as a beginner in the field of anthropology has been to decide how far culture is defined by the methodology used in its study. A lesson I have been taught by the Terranova fishermen is the singular relevance of mediating elements for anthropological analysis (Schwimmer 1973:61). The ideological function of luck is viewed here as an asymmetrically mediating conceptual device, rather than a sequence of interaction "systematically governed by reciprocity" (Barth 1966:4).

Fishermen's behaviour points out the limitations of a theory that describes their social life basically in terms of the ship's physical and psychological isolation (Aubert 1965: 236-58). Although granting full validity to the total institutional features of the ship, this thesis claims that fishing originates its own cultural context (the institutional aspect being one fundamental aspect of it), and that without underlining this context any analysis of the fishing occupation remains incomplete.

Against my initial expectations that the social-structural or institutional elements would be among the deep-sea fishermen the main ethnographic area of description, I soon

realized that the formal social organization as such was secondary ^{to} on the boardship's cultural context. Since what really seemed to determine our everyday experience was "luck" and longing for "return", the drawing of cognitive and affective relations appeared as central to any cultural analysis of the Terranova fishing occupation.

It could well be argued that these relations are ultimately the result of socio-economic circumstances, (for instance, that a settled salary would free them from the dependence on luck), and that change in these relations would automatically turn into change in their cultural manifestations. Although there is much intelligence in this argument, what we are interested in here are precisely those cultural "symptoms" that point to larger issues. It is not simply that the expression of cognitive and affective culture forms an indissoluble system with the socio-economic structure, but also that the permanency of the structure is significantly maintained by the other elements of the cultural system.

Technologically, the Spanish fishing in Terranova is performed in two very different ways: the Bou and the Pareja. While the Bou is a single large trawler, the Pareja or "Pair" consists of two trawlers dragging jointly, the same trawl's two wings being pulled one by each trawler. The present ethnography deals with the Pareja system, and, within the Pareja, with the social unit formed by the twenty-six seamen in each trawler.

The field work was carried out during a complete fishing voyage, leaving the home port of Vigo (N.W.Spain) on the 21st of August, 1976, and returning on the 9th of January, 1977. After ten days of sailing, we reached the Greenland Banks, where we stayed for twenty days, until an engine problem forced us to make for St.John's harbour. The rest of the voyage we fished off the Newfoundland coast, mainly on the Grand Bank, Bank of St. Pierre, and Banquerau.

It has been customary among Terranova fishermen to complete two or even three voyages per year, in recent years each voyage yielding around a thousand tons of processed fish. Due to the declining fish stocks (Warner 1977), the declaration of the 200-mile limit by Canada, in force since January 1977, has drastically changed the fishing possibilities of the Spanish fleet in Terranova, for a single voyage is more than sufficient to catch the 300 tons of processed fish allowed by the Canadian quotas during this year (with the addition of 100 tons by Greenland and 50 by Norway). For the year 1978 the Canadian quotas have been reduced to half those of 1977. The obvious consequence is that this sudden reduction of the catches to about 1/7 of the potential, means practically the end of the Spanish fishing in the North Atlantic. This ethnography is not, however, intended as a description of a vanishing "traditional" fishing culture. Although the particular cultural context described here is soon going to disappear with the Spanish Terranova fishing, the cultural systemic elements that the deep-sea fishing as

an industrial adaptation presents should be validly applicable to similar occupational conditions in other places.

I participated in the voyage as a full crew member for all purposes. As Cooke my job was to assist the Cook in the kitchen duties. Because Galician (N.W.Spain) labour is cheaper, the Shipowner would accept only Galician deckhands, and therefore I was very grateful to the Cook (who was Basque like myself) for his willingness to take me as his Cooke, this being the only possible way I could join a Pareja. Although at the beginning of the voyage I kept my identity secret for fear of being isolated by the crew, as soon as I made friends with them I revealed my intentions, which did not bring about any negative reaction. My relations with the entire crew, officers, engineer-oilers, and particularly fishermen, were excellent during the whole voyage, with the exception of some minor incidents. The role of Cooke and waiter happened to be ideal for my field work, because, more than any other job on board, it put me in constant interaction with all the groups of the ship. Moreover, the position of Cooke is considered the lowest on board, and this ensures that even the fishermen relate to him as an inferior from whom any service can be demanded, and who serves frequently as the butt of jokes for the whole crew.

PART I - I N T R O D U C T I O N
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Chapter I - THE PAREJA AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Chapter 1 - THE PAREJA AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

0.

This introductory chapter aims to outline the basic features of the institutional and social structures of the Pareja ("Pair" of cod-trawlers dragging conjointly). My intention is to consider the economic determination, the use of power, the cultural tradition, the fishing technology, and the legal status, as composing a particular institution, the Pareja, which, as such, modifies those constituents and whose description is essential to the understanding of Terranova fishing.

An ethnographic preliminary is to define the organizational units; the two trawlers of the Pareja make up one economic and operational unit under the same power structures; therefore, one single trawler, independently of the other, is not self-sufficient in terms of fishing and navigational operations. In practice, the social unit constituted by each trawler's crew lives as a totally autonomous community, with no other relation to the Companion trawler's crew but physical proximity.

The application to Terranova of the Pareja fishing is only recent (since 1940's). The Bou system (1), of which the Pareja is an historic offshoot, was used previous to the Pareja which gradually has taken over the Bous, in 1976 the proportion being of ten Bous (with an average crew of forty-five seamen) and thirty-four Parejas (with an average crew of fifty seamen). Many Pareja fishermen have worked in Bous as well,

and therefore the Bou is generally considered among them as an immediate past and single alternative way of fishing in Terranova.

A - THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAREJA

1. We describe in what follows the four main aspects that make a Pareja a single organizational entity:

(a) Technological collaboration. No fishing operation can be carried out by one single trawler. Each trawler has its own trawl composed of two wings that are moored to the winch. For the dragging, one wing of the trawl is moored to the starboard side of the trawler's own winch (the trawler whose net is dragging is always placed on the starboard side), and the other wing is given to the Companion trawler (or sister ship) which fixes it on the portside of its winch. When trawler A hauls in the net, after receiving the wing that the Companion trawler B seizes through the cord that is attached from inside the net to it, then it is the turn of trawler B to "shoot away" its own net, while trawler A stores the fish caught and seizes the portside wing of B's trawl.

In our Pareja at least two casts of around ten hours each were done per day, and more frequently three casts of around seven hours each. One lance ("throw") means two different manoeuvres: largar (to let the net go) and virar (to haul the net in). A day of two casts means that both trawlers come very close to each other four times, for the operation of taking or giving the wing of the trawl.

The net (or trawl) is by definition the constant bond that ties both trawlers in a single dragging and purpose. Sometimes the manoeuvres of hauling in the net of one's own trawler and letting go the Companion's are done at once. Other times, depending on the yield of the fishing area, distance is covered between the two manoeuvres to gain other places or to go back to repeat the same dragging. The turn of the trawlers in the throw was strictly observed during our whole voyage. The time needed for the two manoeuvres of a cast, without taking into account the hours of dragging, is about an hour and a half, depending on the volume of the catch.

(b) Earnings. In the everyday estimate of tons fished on the voyage, we used to keep one account recording both trawler's catches. It was the Pareja which had caught a certain number of tons in a week or a month, never one trawler. When we returned to home port, the salted fish stored in both holds was treated as a single amount of which an equal percentage was shared by every crew member regardless of the catch in each ship: we had "turned over" so many million pesetas in nearly five months, and so our money was a percentage of that total figure.

(c) Authority structure. There is a double authority structure in a Pareja: one derives from the Shipowner and is headed on board by the First Pesca (technician responsible for the fishing strategy of the Pareja); the other derives from the ship institution and is headed in each trawler by the Captain.

The saying goes that "the Shipowner gives the Pareja to the Pesca". This Pesca is, thus, the direct representative

of the Shipowner's interests on board, and is the point of connection between him and the Pareja regarding major decisions, such as the beginning or end of the voyage, extension or reduction of the time at sea, unexpected entrances in harbour, the volume of supplies or repairs to be made in harbour, etc. Moreover, all decision-making regarding fishing strategy, location, schedules, and so on, exclusively comes from the First Pesca whose fishing authority at sea over both trawlers is supreme.

The concentration of ownership in the hands of the Ship owner (although the father was the owner of the Pareja, the son was the manager of it: both were present all the time at Vigo's home port, but they were always referred to in the singular as el Armador, "the Armourer" or Shipowner), and his exclusive delegation of authority to a single man, the Pesca, means that both ships of the Pareja are minutely coordinated by this short line of management.

What makes one trawler to be "first" and the other "second" (on route the first always goes ahead) is the location itself of the First Pesca. Second Pesca's authority is reduced to directing the technical manoeuvres in the second trawler, in close contact with First Pesca's wish. Thus, any decision regarding a fishing operation affects both trawlers equally, since it comes from the same individual authority. (From now on, when referring to the Pesca as representative of the Shipowner and decision-maker, it is always meant the First Pesca).

As the First Pesca is responsible for the Second Pesca's performance, similarly the Captain of the first trawler is responsible for the Captain of the second trawler (however, we shall see later on that this hierarchy is very unstable). Each Captain has ultimately exclusive formal jurisdiction in his own ship, and as such he is also in direct connection with the shipowner regarding matters that concern safety guarantees and crew's contractual relations; the Pareja's practice is nevertheless that the second trawler depends on the first trawler's navigational or administrative decisions. Thus, the Pareja acts as having a single institutional authority that is carried out simultaneously in both trawlers.

A radio system connecting both trawlers's bridges is essential to the single decision-making in the Pareja. Due to my personal location, this ethnography reflects the Pareja's decision-making from the first trawler; it does not describe the forms that the second trawler actually adopts in its dependence on the first's decisions.

(d) Juridical status. According to the Ordinance of Work for Fishing in Cod Trawlers of 22nd April, 1976, which "will apply to trawlers dedicated to the fishing of cod (cod trawlers and Parejas of cod trawlers)" (Art.3), the officers of the category of the "nautical-fishing professional formation" are ranked as follow: "Fishing Captain", "Patron of deep-sea fishing with command" and "Patron of deep-sea fishing official". In a Pareja this hierarchy is frequently distributed between both trawlers. For instance, in our

Pareja the "Fishing Captain" was placed in the first trawler, and the Captain of the second trawler, who also held the title of "Fishing Captain", figured for the Spanish marine authorities' record as "Patron of deep-sea fishing official", since for a Pareja one Captain is sufficient by law.

In general, the Pareja is considered as a single juridical and administrative entity for any purpose, as when, after the 200-mile limit was imposed, a quota had to be assigned to the trawlers, the Pareja counting as one unit.

(The following four sections are dedicated to a more thorough description of the above-sketched four main aspects of the Pareja: the technological, economic, authority and juridical structures, respectively).

2. Technologically, each trawler is equipped with modern gear that in our Pareja included: two Sincro Fishloops to detect the fish, two Echo-Sounders, Decca Radar RR 914, Decca Radar RM 316, Loran, Gyroscopic Rudder, Manual Rudder, UHF Radiophonic System, Panasonic 23-Channel Citizen Band Transceiver.

In the traditional fishing technology of the Pareja the composition of the trawl occupies an outstanding place. Each Pesca makes up his own trawl in a different way, according to his own experience, the secret knowledge involved in its construction ensuring his fishing expertise. The trawl is a complicated construction of nets (the main parts of which are usually known as wings, bellies and cod end), bobbins (heavy

steel roller balls that keep the net dragging on the bank), floats (aluminum balls that lift the net vertically), plus towing hawsers of different diameters. The weight of the trawl in each ship of our Pareja amounted to approximately seven tons.

What follows is a description of a manoeuvre on deck, seen from one trawler. During the two manoeuvres of letting the net go or hauling the net in, the crew positions are: on the bridge, the Pesca supervises from the central window that opens on the deck; the Helmsman under orders keeps the trawler in position. On deck, the Boatswain, being the foreman responsible for the fishermen's technical performance, and the single connection between deck and bridge, holds the attention of all the fishermen; three winchmen (and two deckhands during the hauling in) are on the winch in the forward part of the deck; the remaining eleven or nine deckhands are strategically distributed on each side of the deck. The engineer on duty is ready to carry out Pesca's orders, received through a telephone that connects with the bridge, regarding the engine and winch power to be used. The synchronization of the eighteen men requires total attention during the manoeuvres.

When the two trawlers are side by side, the manoeuvre of letting the net go (largar) starts. The cod end is hauled in to the stern side with a snatch block and let out while the trawler is moving ahead. Each time work with the net is held up in its running across the deck, or that ropes, bridles,

wing rubbers, floats and bobbins are entangled, the fishermen jump over it, clear it, and return to their positions. The wing-end bobbins are stuck with stoppers at each side of the deck. The portside wing-end bobbin is coupled with a rope. A heaving line is thrown over to the Companion trawler, and this line is moored to the rope that is coupled with the starboard wing-end bobbin which will go to the Companion trawler's winch. The stoppers that had fixed the trawl at the ramp are let go and the wing-end bobbins pass out through the ramp. The hawser is loosened according to the depth of the water. The hawser is then coupled in the towrope hook.

The manoeuvre of hauling in is still more complex. With the two trawlers side by side, the hawsers are taken into the winch, until the portside wing-end bobbin reaches the ramp. A rope that goes inside the net and ties both wing-end bobbins of the trawl is moored to a hawser that takes in the starboard wing-end bobbin that was attached to the Companion trawler. Once both wing-end bobbins are in the performing trawler's ramp, they are hooked to hawsers that haul them back to the winch, where they are fixed. The heavy hooks coming from the bridge tower are taken back and fastened to the straps that encircle each wing of the trawl, and hauled in again and again, until the bobbins appear. If the haul is big, double and triple blocks are needed to take in the cod end. When the cod end is on the deck, the rope knot that ties the tail is let go and the fish tumble into the park through the hatches. Sometimes even the triple block is not capable of taking in

the whole net and the operation called saguear is necessary: this consists of making use of a metallic belly line that goes around the net and pulls back the terminal part of the cod end that is taken in, in portions of approximately six tons, cut off by straps, until the whole cod end can be hauled in.

In addition to deck manoeuvres, the second and more tedious stage of fishermen's work is fish-processing, which in a Pareja can easily be extended to fifteen or twenty hours. This includes selection of the fish: good cod is "clean", and small cod or any other species is "garbage" to be thrown to the sea (this practice is avoided now by a few Parejas that are provided with cold-storage); beheading, that in our trawler was performed both manually and with a machine; splitting, performed manually and with two splitting machines; mechanized cleaning; manual salting and storage.

At times the net comes in broken, and four, six or all the fishermen spend long hours on the deck repairing it. This activity, carried out on deck with bare hands during the freezing days and nights of a Terranova winter, gives the fishermen memorably cruel hours. Knowledge of the net and efficiency in repairing it are regarded as core skills.

3. From the economic viewpoint, a question that brings us straight to the nature of the fishing institution of the Pareja is: what is the purpose of the Pareja for the Shipowner, the officers and the fishermen?

The Shipowner's bold answer is: the Pareja is an investment of about 200 million pesetas (\$3 m.), placed at sea in two fishing trawlers, with the aim of getting a profit that will compete with the same investment of capital in some other industry. As a social unit, the Pareja is the institution that serves to channel that investment.

The Spanish fleet fishing in Terranova is privately owned. In 1976 a private shipping company owned ten Bous. The rest, an estimated thirty-four Parejas were in the hands of individual private owners. In the Parejas in which I did the field work, even the names of the trawlers were the same as the owner's name, adding the serial numbers "Two" and "Three"

However, Spanish investment in ship-building during the past decade has shown noteworthy characteristics (TEIMA, num.7). At the beginning of the sixties the Spanish Government had the choice of alternative fishing developments, to escape from the crisis; one, to increase the exploitation of coast resources that would affect a large fishing population, implying huge investments of funds in creating a substructure of harbour facilities that would make possible the establishment of marine cultivation, plus an urgent plan of bio-ecologic investigation of the continental platform to realize the optimum fishing possibilities; two, the creation of a modern deep-sea fleet with a capitalist mode of production, implying more investment in the construction of large trawlers, with the application of new technology, and the fleet not knowing the potential of the banks. The choice was clearly

in favour of the second alternative and the massive ship-building enjoyed loans of up to 83% of the total costs of the trawler, with great detriment to the coastal fishing industry. In addition, incentive bonuses and tax reductions were used as a stimulus for ship-construction.

The total profits of our voyage, according to the report of the Shipowner, who privately sets the sale price on an unfixed basis with the retail outlet, were 61,803,366 pesetas (nearly \$1 m.). The distribution of the profits was made approximately as follows: 48% in salaries; from 16 to 25% in preparation and maintenance. A tax rate on fishing incomes is omitted for lack of knowledge, for shipowners have enjoyed protective economic measures. When asked about the Shipowner's net profits, the officers' estimate was between 20 and 30 percent (the Shipowner himself dismissed this figure for net profits as totally unrealistic).

As for the officers (Pesca and Captain), as well as the Chief Engineers, and to a lesser extent for the remaining four engineers, the job of the Pareja meant a very good salary. The officers and engineers were titled as "Nautical-Fishing Professional Formation", as opposed to "Official" entitlements, the difference being that the latter titles require attendance at a Nautical School of university rank, while the former base their training mostly on their experience at sea. The Captain, with no previous high school requirements, had attended for three years a Nautical Fishing School. The Pesca's and Chief Engineers' theoretical training

consisted of passing a course of nine months.

The officers' attitude towards the institution of the Pareja at sea was that their command is a grave responsibility, since they are invested with an authority which potentially, due to the peculiarity of the ship's juridical condition and the sovereignty that its isolation creates, could demand from them a paramilitary application of discipline. Their exchange for the splendid economic alternative was to hold an authority which, at the same time that delegated by the shipowner and subdued to his economic interests, was invested with a burden of unusual social responsibility.

Finally, for the fishermen, the Pareja is a Shipowner's property that allows them one good economic alternative to making a living in reward for the peculiarly harsh conditions that work at sea entails. The wage alternative in the Pareja, on the basis of the profits made in our voyage, is at least twice as much as the home coastal fishing, and around 50% more than in a merchant ship.

Two facts are fundamental, in order to realize the kind of contract we had with the Shipowner: (a) The real salary was a percentage of the gross profits; we had a minimal salary of 6,700 pesetas (\$100) per month, which eventually amounted to 10% of the real salary at the end of the voyage; therefore, the 90% of the real salary was percentage. Also we had a guaranteed salary of 20,537,50 pesetas (\$300) per month, in case the sum of the minimal salary plus our share of the catches did not reach the guaranteed figure. (b) The

temporal limit of the voyage was undetermined: this, translated into economic terms, meant that, since ideally we were going to fill up the holds, the monthly profit was to be calculated by dividing these gross earnings by the number of months spent at sea. To fill up the holds in three months or in six months signified that, roughly, in the first case we were going to earn twice as much as in the second. We had agreed in the contract for a stipend of 25,000 pesetas (\$360) in case we had to stay at sea during Christmas.

The economic concept that the fishermen always emphasize about working in Terranova is the compulsory saving. At home your small amount of money goes in socializing; in a merchant ship you are frequently in harbour and therefore spending money; at Terranova you are bound to be working practically all the voyage and you cannot spend the money you do not get until you are back home.

This is the salary scale of the whole crew of the Pareja, according to a conversation with the Captain: First Pesca, 6% (2); Second Pesca, 1.50%; Captain of the first trawler, 1.50%; Chief Engineer of the first trawler, 1.25%; Captain of the second trawler, 1%; Chief Engineer of the second trawler, 1%; Second Engineers, 0.75%; Third Engineers, Boatswains and Chief Salters, 0.50%; Cooks, 0.45%; twenty five fishermen, two Helmsmen, six Oilers, and two Cookees, 0.35%. The top in the scale (First Pesca) earned four times as much as the next in the scale (Second Pesca, Captain of the first trawler), and eighteen times as much as the bottom (the fishermen). The percentage scale should be completed by the base salaries

regulated by the Ordinance of Work, according to which the Captain figures on the top.

4. Within the internal order of the ship there is a double structure of authority -one headed by the Pesca and the other by the Captain. The interplay between these two structures and its use by the Shipowner is an important expression of the institutional reality of the Pareja.

The recruitment follows closely the Shipowner's source of power. The Shipowner personally chooses a Pesca, to whom he "gives" the Pareja, and who is ultimately the only person responsible for the Pareja's catches on behalf of the Shipowner. As to the election of the Captain, the general opinion among Pareja seamen is that he is personally chosen by the Pesca. In order to get the Pareja ready for sailing, the Shipowner selects an Inspector, who is usually responsible for finding the Chief Engineers and the personnel for the engine-rooms.

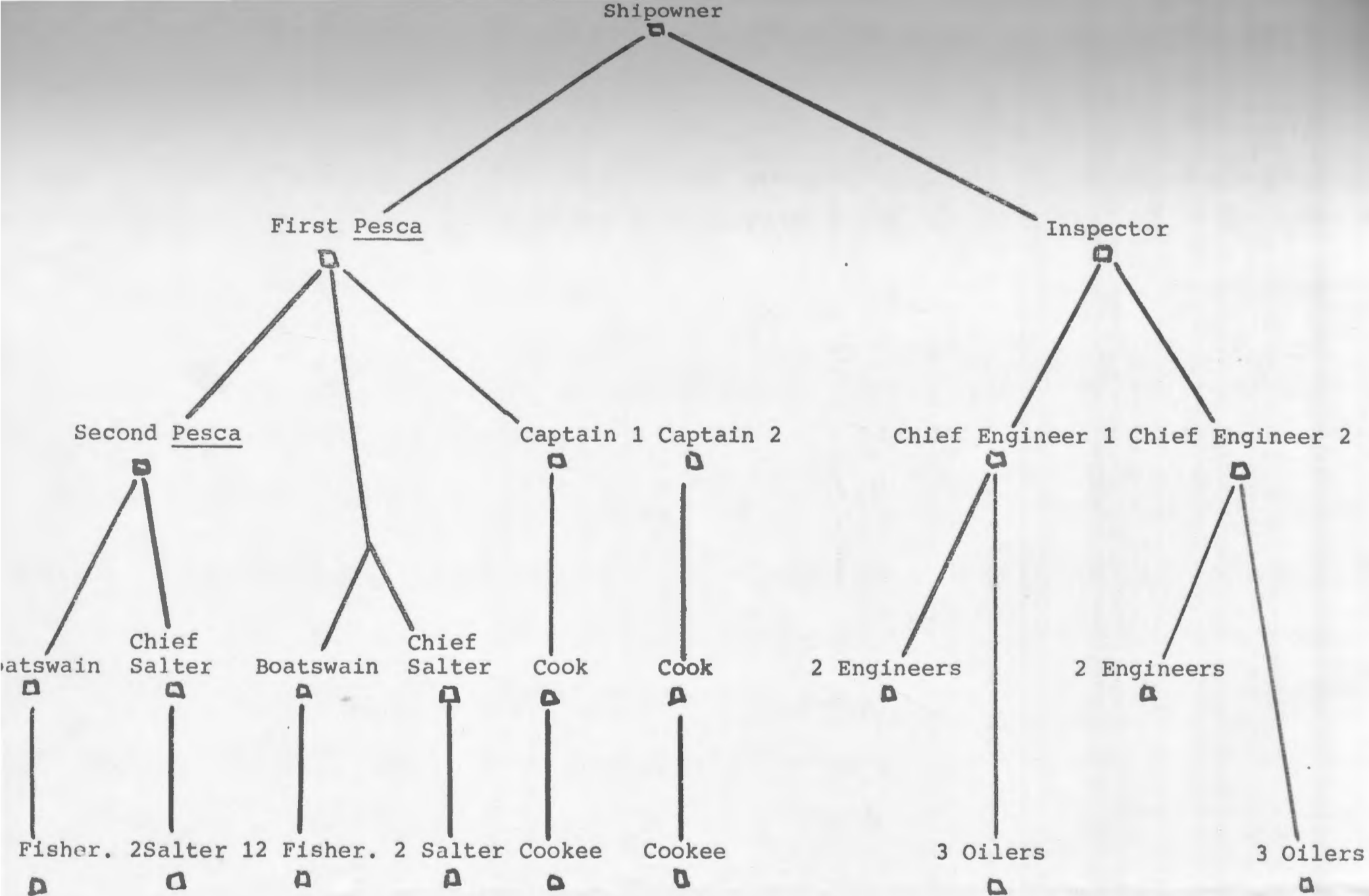


Fig.1: Normal line of recruitment
in a Pareja

Figures 2 and 3 show the double structure of power in a Pareja

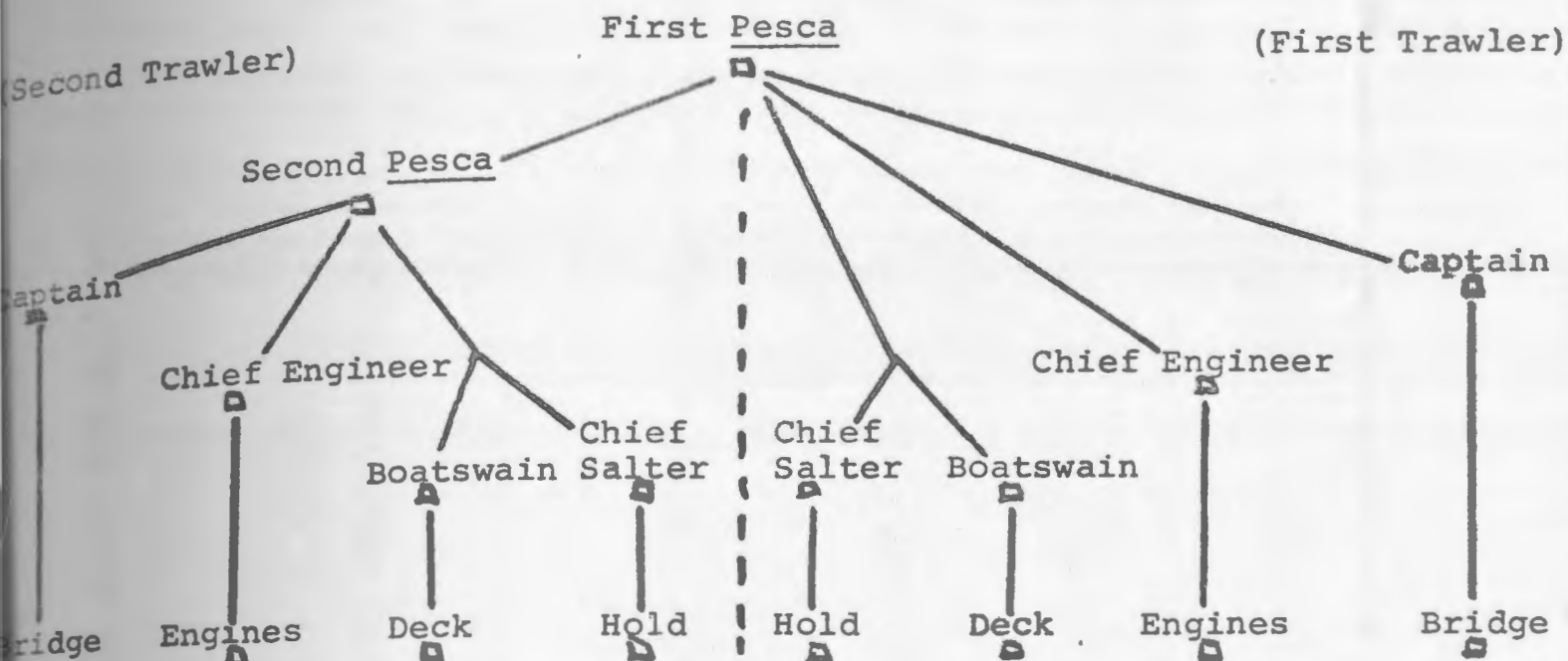


Figure 2: The authority structure delegated from the Shipowner

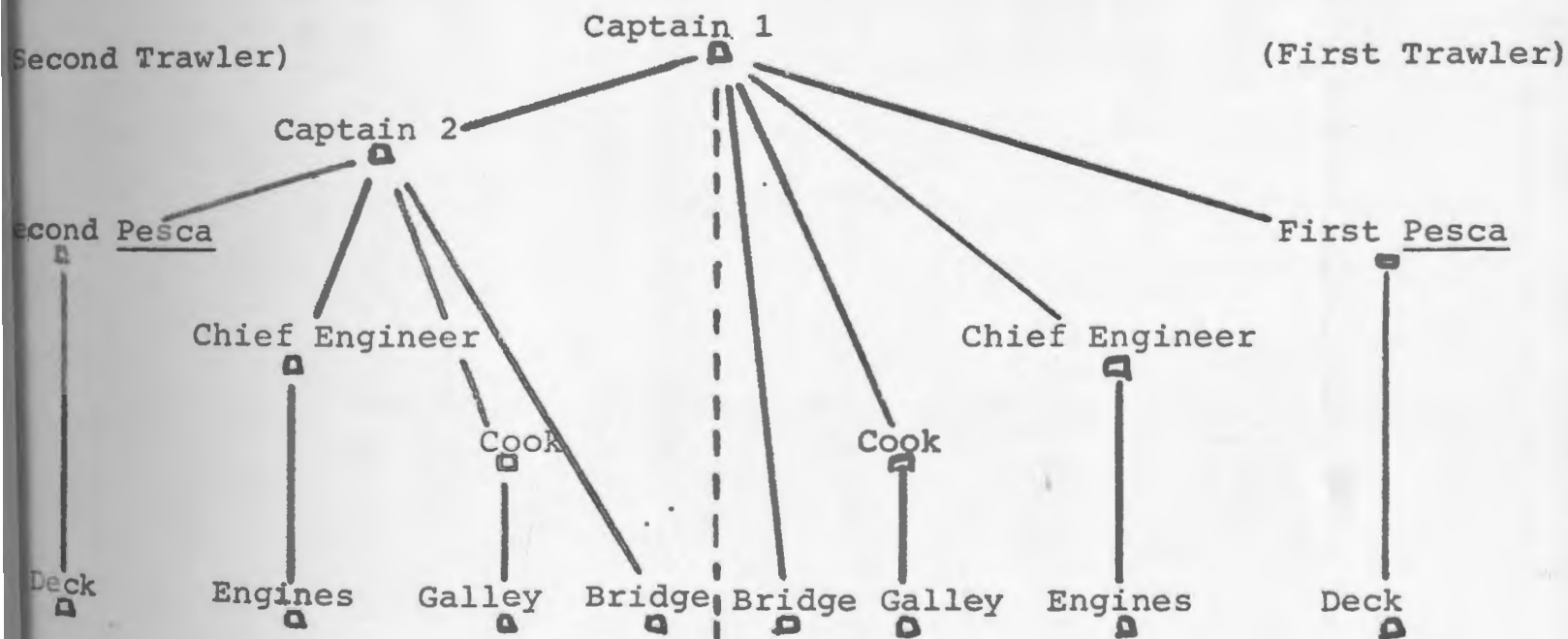


Fig.3 : The formal authority structure of the Pareja Institution

How do these two structures of authority (the one delegated from the entrepreneur's ownership, the other arising from the institutional structure) coexist in a Pareja?

On the first visit I made to a Pareja in St. John's harbour I was told to my surprise that the Captain, although he holds the maximum authority, does not command on board. "At sea the one who commands is the Pesca; in harbour it is the Captain", was the clearest explanation. The information under this statement is that all fishing strategy is ordered by the Pesca, whereas the judicial representation belongs to the status of the Captain. The Pesca himself once replied to the Cook's protests over his being late at lunch in harbour in this way: "I am one more fisherman in port; tell the Captain what you have to say". In harbour the formal institutional authority takes over; at sea the real power is the fishing authority of the Pesca. Another way fishermen explain the distribution of work between the Pesca and the Captain is: "in everything which concerns fishing, the Pesca gives the orders; all the Captain does is to take the ship where the Pesca orders him to take it".

For the crew in general the Captain's authority is on a formal level, -much in the same way as the base salary is secondary to the percentage salary-, whereas the Pesca's authority means the real power on board. The Captain's subordination to the Pesca is most strongly expressed in the fact that his very election is conditioned by the Pesca's consent. As an example of this practice, our Pesca had changed captains twice in the two previous years.

The relationship Captain-Pesca is formulated basically in three different forms: According to the Ordinance of Work, the relationship is structured as "Fishing Captain" on top, followed by the "Patron of deep-sea fishing with command" (this last entitlement is since recently compulsory for Pescas). In the Captain's reports to the Customs in harbour, the order is "Captain" first, followed by "Fishing Technician", this referring to the Pesca. However, the categorization of their relationship as traditionally used by the Pareja's crews, is Pesca-Costa. Costa (literally "Coast") is applied to the Captain, although it should be considered as a different category, rather than a variant of Captain. In what follows the relationship Pesca-Costa is described.

The general stereotype of a Pesca among the seamen describes him as being "one more fisherman without any education", who has been distinguished by a Shipowner for his special qualities of experience at sea, knowledge of nets, efficiency (in a word, for his "being a fisherman"), or else for family ties with the Shipowner. A remark fishermen make as most significant about the Pesca is that "he at any moment may be a fisherman again": as an instance of this possibility the Helmsman in the second trawler had been a Second Pesca.

The fact is that most First Pescas (including the Pesca of our Pareja) were fishermen chosen by the Shipowner, but who in recent years had been compelled to take a nine-months course and get the title of "Patron of deep-sea fishing". To be a Pesca and to be a "Patron of deep-sea fishing" are

therefore two different categories that recently were united in the same man, but not so traditionally. It is this category of being a Pesca which holds the fishing authority on board. A noteworthy factor in the choice of the First Pescas is that the Shipowner generally choose them from among Second Pescas, whose appointment completely relies on the First Pescas; this has caused Pescas to choose Second Pescas from among family members, with the high probability that in the future they would become First Pescas.

Costa is the name for the officer with the title of "Patron of deep-sea fishing official", whose main role is to take the ship to the point where the Pesca has ordered him (later on are described the Costa' or Captain's role in the fishing operations as well). Contrary to the sovereignty that a Captain enjoys in his ship, including Pesca's submission to his jurisdiction, a Costa is an "official" who fulfills the same navigational functions of Captain, but without his supreme formal authority on board. I have visited in St. John's harbour Parejas whose power pyramid consisted of two Pescas and two Costas; in this case, either the Pesca or the Costa does "figure as Captain" for jurisdictional purposes.

In our Pareja we had in the first trawler a Captain who figured as Captain (not as Costa); and in the second trawler a Captain who figured as Costa (so I was told) for the Spanish marine authorities. On the whole, the Pesca-Captain relationship at sea was understood by the crew in the traditional line of Pesca-Costa, in which Pesca refers to fishing strategy and Shipowner's interests, whereas Costa refers to nautical

knowledge subordinated to Pesca's orders.

5. Juridically, in Spain the society aboard a ship is under a Penal and Disciplinary Law which can be considered as "almost military rule" (Soroa,1976a). The substantive penal legislation, as well as the jurisdictional assignment of the offences to the Marine Military Jurisdiction, ensures that, ultimately, any fault on board can be dealt with by military law. Thus, strictly speaking, life on board a fishing or merchant vessel can be described as "permanent militarization".

A practical example of this militarization is the total exclusion from the ship's regulative vocabulary the term "strike" which, instead, is categorized as "sedition" (Art. 24-a of the LPDMM (3) of 1955). This legal disposition, far from being a lapsed legality, was put into practice in a Bou trawler during the same fall of 1976 while we were fishing. The case was that as the Ordinance states, five months is the maximum period of time at sea, which can be extended to seven "for justified reasons of fishing exploitation" (art.106); once the five months were completed, the crew in that trawler decided, against the Shipowner's will, to go home and therefore refused to work: their action was considered "sedition", and the "instigator" of the strike agreed with the Captain to take responsibility for it and face himself paramilitary judgement that otherwise would have been applied to the whole crew of fishermen. When the Captain of the seditious trawler reported

me the incident, the instigator was waiting to be put in jail.

According to the same military regulation, the abandonment of a trawler is "desertion" (Art.45 and ss.of the LPDMM). The fishermen reminded me of a recent case in St. John's harbour which, although very rare, is appropriate here. As a result of a conflict between the Pesca and the Captain, the Pesca abandoned the ship; opposing the Shipowner's order to stay at sea, the fishermen, in solidarity with the Pesca, left their trawler and joined the Companion trawler's crew to return to Spain: they were considered guilty of "desertion" and were punished by the Shipowner not paying them at all for the voyage. Our embarking contract, in a clear breach of the legal requirements (the same regulations that ultimately enforced a paramilitary law), stated positively that our voyage had no settled temporal limit. A fact that shows the Shipowner's full use of the ships' legal lack of protection is the insulting letter he wrote to the fishermen's wives, stating that "in case he (the husband-fisherman) does not finish the voyage, we will deduct money from the wage of his new job".

The military-minded "spirit" of rigid discipline, strict hierarchy, elitism, and work considered as a "service" to be sanctioned by reward or punishment, is present throughout the whole Ordinance of Work that regulates life on board. The lengthy section XIV that deals with "Rewards, Faults and Sanctions" is particularly revealing. The following belong to the "very grave faults", for any of which the punishment

can be "suspension of work and salary from three to five months", or "dismissal with total loss of his rights": "(d) Drunkenness in an act of service"; "(h) Habitual blasphemy"; "(j) Voluntary and continued diminution of the normal output of work"; "(k) Simulation of illness and accident" (Art. 132). Although our officers would never make use of it, they had the right to this law.

The juridical impotence with regard to any arbitrary order opens the way to thinking of justice among seamen in terms of personal vengeance. This was the case in our trawler with the Chief Engineer who forced to other two engineers and three oilers to a daily schedule of twelve hours, when eight are the hours stipulated in normal conditions: all they could do to contain their anger was to wait until the voyage was over and the exceptional circumstances at sea were ended, so that they could exercise some kind of personal justice or at least avoid being under that Chief again.

However, the Pareja seamen like to praise their situation in contrast with the "militarization" of the Bou situation, which is the alternative fishing modality of the Spanish Terra nova seamen. In general, the political concepts of dictatorship and democracy, borrowed from the present political change in Spain, are applied to differentiate the Bous as "more dictatorial" and the Parejas as "more democratic". The reality is that the Parejas and the Bous are ultimately under the same penal law, subject to military jurisdiction. The irony of the Parejas' "democracy" is that democratic forms in social

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relations can trick the seamen, who after all may be considered as being much better off under the "military-like" social organization of the Bous, where a turn of six hours of work is followed by another turn of six hours of rest. In a Pareja no schedule, no night, no holiday, no time of rest is observed at all, the crew being forced, potentially, to work the twenty-four hours every single day. The Pareja's "modernization", in the sense of there being closer social relations between officers and fishermen, is used to cover up the sharp deterioration or working conditions on board.

However, the Pareja seamen are aware of the recessive process that has taken place in the last three to five years. Around 1973 the traditional Christmas break of staying home for the whole festivities until the final days of January, begun not being observed: the reason was that the shortage of fish was making impossible the customary double voyage per year, since the periods at sea had to be enlarged if the holds were to be filled up. By the same year of 1973 as well, the Parejas started working day and night; at first they were paid for each night of work; soon night work was part of the schedule which should be taken for granted by anybody embarking in a Pareja: the Pesca makes full use of the total absence of schedule, which constitutes the hardest working condition in a Pareja, and is avoided in a Bou by the system of the two watches.

In terms of catches the difference in economic results for carrying the dragging during the night hours is enormous.

The constant working availability of the whole crew of the Pareja's both trawlers, as opposed to the Bou's half crew's availability because of the two watches split, in addition to the more efficiency of the Pareja's trawl because of its wider extension for being towed by two separate trawlers, causes that the actual earnings in a Pareja are about 1/3 larger than in a Bou. Economic advantages plus "democracy" are the Pareja's recompenses for the complete exploitation of the seamen's work.

The peculiar militarization of the Spanish fishing industry was aggravated by the absence of seamen's trade unions, which during our voyage was still part of the national outlawing of unions of Franco's era. A good example of this lack of union protection is the kind of contract we were made to sign: we were asked to sign the forms in blank, trusting the verbal promises of the Shipowner; we all knew that refusal to sign could mean no job, for it was easy for him to get workers among the many unemployed fishermen in that area; later on we knew that the percentage figures he stated on the contracts were substantially lower (0.22%) to those verbally promised (0.35%). The purpose of this manipulation of figures was that, although he was going to pay us the verbally promised 0.35%, he could complete the labour requirements legally established such as holidays, hours extra, etc., on the basis of 0.22, and thus prevent our legal exigency of them.

Social control has been strict: two priests who embarked in the Terranova fleet in the late sixties provoked the Ship-owners' strong opposition, the priests' struggle in denouncing

the fishermen's unjust work conditions being labelled as "non-constructive social propaganda"; the owners went so far as to put pressure on the French Administration through the Chamber of Commerce, not to allow the Spanish priest and the "Stella Maris" Club to remain ashore in the French territory of St. Pierre; or else the Spanish fleet would not come to their port (4). My own embarking was regretted by the Shipowner because I was a student, as I was told by the Captain who had accepted me (rather unwillingly) because of his close friendship with a priest to whom I had outlined my plan of study.

The official body that is set up to legally protect the seamen is a military organization divided into Comandancia de Marina, "Marine Command", and Ayudantía de Marina, "Marine Adjutancy", both held by military men. On our own voyage we had an opportunity to check the nature of the Marine Command: the day before leaving home port, we went out to sea "for trials" of the Pareja and came back at 1 a.m.; a group of fishermen who lived nearby and whose wives were waiting for them, demanded from the Shipowner, as is laid down by Ordinance's Art.100, a taxicab to go home, since no other transportation was available; the Shipowner's rejection of the fishermen's justified demand (it would cost him around \$75) provoked a row which ended in eight fishermen being expelled from the Pareja; and, what was more important, the Commander marked on their cartillas a "stain" that could greatly hinder their future employment as fishermen.

As to the Marine Adjuntancies, I had a personal experience of the kind of help they can offer. When I decided to do field work among Spanish Terranova fishermen, first I was forced to go to Spain, all the way from Canada, just to get "permission" to embark, which I could obtain only through personal attendance in the military Adjutancy. I presented the six requested documents to the Adjutancy and was promised the cartilla in a week. After a month of frequent inquiries on my part, all the documents were given back to me, but not the cartilla: they had asked Madrid for one more secret report from the police and found out that I lacked "good behaviour" for my participation in some student protest in the late sixties. However, when I took all the documents that had been handed back to me to the other nearest Adjutancy, they did not find any problem in giving me the cartilla right-away -they had forgotten to request the secret report or had considered it unnecessary.

A fact that contributes to this militarization is that a ship is part of the national territory with a peculiar physical mobility. On the whole, what Dr. Soroa (1.976b:1) points out regarding the mercant Marine, is applicable to the Fishing as well: "In fact, it's known by everybody that Court-martial for sedition, desertion, insult to a superior, or any other "great" offences typified in the LPDMM has rarely been applied as an actual weapon against the claims or struggles of the mercant marine. Normally, the possibility of its being carried out has been sufficient (the intimidating effect); and mainly the accumulation of little administrative threats taking place in

the Marine Commands and Adjutancies has sufficed (examples are: annotation of reasons for travelling in the Cartilla, powers of the Commander over any maritime enrolment, merchant sailor's ignorance of his rights and of his juridical condition, etc)."

Some expressions and words on board accuse the military tradition of the fishermen's legal situation. The name of the first authority on board, "Captain", reminds one of a status associated with the military practice. "Chief" is the name applied to the first engineer, first salter, first cook, first networker (in Bous). On the contrary, a fisherman is a marine-ro raso, "mere fisherman", an expression that parallels soldado raso, "mere soldier" or private". A common term for voyage is "campaign", with clear military connotations, just as in the Bous the term "watch" is used instead of "turn". The terms Ordenanza, "ordinance", for work regulations and Armador, "Armourer", for the Shipowner, are words that people on shore can hardly understand.

Finally, it need hardly be stressed that the paramilitary legal status of the ship is in the interest of the Spanish Shipowners, who are able to safely amortize their loans by the availability of a cheap and highly controlled labour force.

B - SPATIAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES ON BOARD

6. The singular importance of the spatial distribution on boardship became obvious from the very first day at the home

port of Vigo. Jumping from the wharf to the deck, I followed the Cook, who in search of the galley straight away took me down to the lower deck that was divided into four compartments: from stern to bow, first was the engine-room; next, connected with the stern side of the deck by a fishtrap, was the "park", the department where the fish is processed; then came the fishermen's dining-room and cabins, where their entire leisure life takes place; and forward were the stores and refrigerators to hold the food supplies. But no galley. Two hatches, one at the food store and another at the park, gave access to the deck below, which, apart from the space occupied by the engine-room, was entirely taken up by the hold where the salted fish was kept in store. "This seems to be a ship without galley", the Cook started growling.

We came up on deck and climbed the stairs to the bridge and the officers' quarters. From portside to starboard at the bow side of the corridor were the cabins of the Chief Engineer, Engineers (a double), Pesca, and Captain. At the stern side were the internal stairs to descend to the deck and the cabins below, the stairs to the bridge (where all the fishing and navigation instruments were placed), the officers' washroom, the officers' dining-room, and a small room called "office" from which the meals could be served and the dishes washed, and this was provided with a window to an internal lift that, so we concluded, had to communicate with the galley.

The bridge was on the middle part of the upper deck. On the portside of the bridge at the deck level, were the stairs to the cabins and the fishermen's washrooms; on the starboard

side we finally found the galley. The sharp bow of the deck was isolated from the rest by a metal-covered net supplies' store; still at the bow, under the partial protection of the ship stores, was the winch; the rest, from the winch to the ramp, was a continuous deck open to the sea.

The engine room was entirely situated at the stern side, occupying under the ramp a double deck section, belonging to the lower deck and the deck of the hold. The tanks for petrol, oil, fresh water, were located as follows: one at the prow between the metallic structure and the double section of the hold and food store on the lower decks; four in the "double bottoms" under the hold; the sixth and seventh at stern on both sides of the engine-room.

Some dimensions of the ship were: maximum length, 52.10 mts.; design breadth, 20 mts.; gross register, 540 tns.; net register, 207 tns.; maximum draught, 3.82 and 4.82 mts.; draught in ballast 1.70 and 4.56 mts.; volume of the hold, 500 m³; volume of the fuel tanks, 300 m³. The capacity of each ship's hold was about 500 tons of processed fish.

The organization of the space conveyed the first substantial information about the social structure of the ship.

The primary rough division was between "up" and "down", bridge and deck, officers and fishermen. To the category of "up" belonged: the Captain, the Pesca, and the three Engineers. To the category of "down" belonged: the three petty-officer Boatswain, Chief Salter and Cook, the Helmsman (although his working territory was "up" on the bridge), the thirteen

Fishermen, the three Oilers, and the Cookee. The vertical split in "up" and "down" and their corresponding categories of "officers" and "fishermen" means that, loosely, the "officers" category includes the engineers as well, and the "fishermen" category includes the petty officers, helmsman and cookee, as well as the oilers.

The division up and down was spatially indicated by two separated dining-rooms, one on the bridge, the other on the lower deck: those who ate on the bridge (officers and engineers) were "up", the rest were "down". There were no significant differences in the quality of the food for each group. Particularly during meals, both referred frequently to each other as "up" and "down". The galley fulfilled the function of standing between up and down: my role as Cookee, and in a lesser degree the Cook's role, was to communicate with both territories and pass the frequent messages of "go up" and "go down".

However, a proper distribution of the crew on board has to differentiate between three groups: officers, fishermen, and engineers-oilers, in accordance with the territorial distribution of bridge, deck, and engine-room. The Pesca during the day, and the Captain at night, are both responsible for the bridge (with the help of the Helmsman). The engine-room runs in six shifts of four hours.

The fishermen's quarters are organized in different ways: in the overall distribution of the crew as officers/ engineers/ fishermen, the deck is the place that defines the fishermen's

role. However, "deck" is the fishermen's general space that includes the following places: the upper or main deck where the manoeuvres are performed, the park where the fish is processed, and the hold where the fish is salted and stored. According to each stage of the work, "deck" means "the place of the manoeuvre", as opposed to the bridge from where the manoeuvre is ordered, and the engines that in turn contribute to the performance from down inside the ship; or else "deck" means "park-hold" where the fish is processed, in contrast to the bridge where the dragging is carried out under the officer's watch, or the engines which keep the ship going.

In the second stage of processing the fish, the division is between "deck" (now with the meaning of "park") and "hold". On days when there was a big catch, I as Cooke was expected to go to help the fishermen, and their question while I was putting on the long rubber boots was: "where are you going, to deck (park) or to the hold?". On the other hand, sometimes the net would become broken and a few fishermen had to stay on the main deck repairing the net while the rest processed the fish: on these occasions the vertical division was applied, "up" meaning "main deck", "repairing the net", and "down" meaning "park-hold", "fish-processing". Questions would be asked as to who was ordered by the Boatswain to go "up" or how long it would take the "down" men to finish the work, etc.

In the overall division of bridge/engines/deck, the galley becomes a marginal place which, although it appears to be closer to the deck than to the engine-room or bridge,

constitutes a "no man's land" which cannot be claimed by any party.

The division between "working space" and "resting space" completes the above distribution: two lodging sections (the between-decks on the bridge and the space between the park and the food store in the lower deck) make up the place contrasting to the working territory. Officers and engineers retire to the bridge, fishermen and oilers to the lower deck (in our ship, the Second Engineer and the Helmsman had interchanged their lodgings because of the Helmsman's work on the bridge). Eating and sleeping are the two nearly exclusive activities performed in the dining-rooms and cabins. The only private space aboard is in the cabins, where sometimes the bed is surrounded by a curtain or cloth hanging from a rope. In a sense, the galley is an extension of the dining-rooms (except for the Cook and Cookee) and therefore a resting place which belongs equally to "up" and "down", in addition to the separate quarters.

In total institutions such as the ship, it is relevant to establish a distinction between "resting space" and "leisure space". Regarding the opposition work/leisure, the ship as a whole is a working space; nevertheless, the process of work itself originates the double phase of work/rest, and the quarters on board are typically the setting for this resting time. Incidentally the resting space becomes a leisure space when the fishermen play draughts, or sing.

However, even in these leisure moments, the incompatibility between ship space and leisure space remains: for instance, the Pesca and the Cook told me that they liked to play cards ashore but not on board. I myself several times wanted to play cards at night and only once did I succeed in gathering three other fishermen. The collective singing performances were mainly done while entering harbour, staying in harbour, or at Christmas time. The draughts were played rather frequently in the afternoons and evenings by two or four fishermen. On the whole, although there were days of lying up or without any catch, the leisure activity of playing cards, draughts, or singing collectively was rather insignificant in our ship during the fishing time. The leisure moments of relaxation that were left from sleeping and eating were mostly dedicated to talking about home and village life, reading cowboy stories, or looking at pornographic magazines; also some time was given to writing letters and handicrafts.

7. In the tripartite spatial organization bridge/deck/machines, the bridge offers exceptional data for understanding the nature of the ship's social structure. We know already that the Captain and the Pesca head two different structures of authority, the one deriving from the institutional jurisdiction of the ship, the other from the private ownership. Also we know that the First Pesca holds the representation of the owner's interests in the Pareja and is singly responsible for

the fishing strategy, the Second Pesca's role being reduced to carrying out his orders in the second ship. Among the two Captains of the Pareja (or two Costas , when they do not have the rank of Captain, or Captain and Costa) it is not so clear, the kind of relationship that is established between them: in our Pareja the Captain of the first ship appeared as responsible for the performance of the Captain of the second ship; however, it may happen that the only officer in the Pareja with the entitlement of Captain goes in the second ship (the first ship having a Costa or "official"), and in this case the first ship would be subordinated to the second in the formal authority structure of the Pareja (never in the fishing authority headed by the First Pesca). The following description reflects a first ship in which not only the Pesca but also the Captain headed the top authority of the Pareja.

Although the Captain's authority is doubly validated, first from the Shipowner as entrepreneur, and second from the First Pesca's acceptance of his appointment, his status should not be underestimated, for the institutional jurisdiction establishes him as the highest legal and administrative authority on the ship. If a conflict of total incompatibility between the Pesca and the Captain should arise on board, the ultimate authority would lie with the Captain (5).

There is one occupation and one territory in the Pareja ship that is under the Captain's sole jurisdiction, and which

is most revealing of the relationship between the Captain and the Pesca: the galley. Aboard ship the galley takes up the space not directly used in the fishing operations and is therefore outside the Pesca's fishing authority. Since the Pesca is also the second officer on board (he has the rank of "patron of deep-sea fishing with command"), as such he has jurisdiction over the galley next to the Captain, but as Pesca he has none. From another point of view, the Cook has administrative functions that (at least in theory) are governed by the Captain's jurisdiction, such as ordering food supplies when landing in a foreign harbour. Consequently, the Cook (and only the Cook) is recruited by the Captain.

On our voyage the peculiar relationship between the Pesca and the Cook showed two revealing manifestations: one, as far as was known to me, the Pesca never entered the galley, although he was frequently on deck and had to pass by the galley; two, the Pesca had a joking relationship with the Cook, who reported me that "each time I go to the bridge to bring him (the Pesca) his breakfast sandwich, he starts telling me that I treat the Captain better than I do him, or something like that; he knows that I treat both of them equally, but he has to be always joking in that sense; I am always forced to run away from the bridge, while he still goes on complaining even when I am gone and I don't listen to him any more". This was the most noticeable joking relationship aboard. The Pesca also liked to needle the Chief Engineer with ironic remarks at dinner time. Likewise, he frequently called the Captain

jokingly "my fellow countryman", because both were from Guipuzcoa (Basque province in northern Spain), or familiarly "Capi" (the abbreviation of Capitan), "captain", which reminds one of teenage boys addressing their football coach).

The joking of the Pesca with the Cook was an expression of his relationship to a subordinate crew member who was not under his supreme authority as Pesca, but only as second officer in the hierarchy headed by the Captain. Since the Cook's status, because of his direct dependence on the Captain, reinforced the Captain's authority, by addressing the Cook he was dealing with a status that centered on a structural contradiction: the Cook was and at the same time was not under his immediate jurisdiction. Similarly, entering the territory of the galley meant for the Pesca placing himself under the Captain.

As compensation, the Pesca could take advantage of his direct relationship with the Shipowner to show that his status on board was in a way previous to the Captain's authority. This was the case on the 9th of December when the Shipowner let the Pesca know by a telegram his decision that we should stay at the sea untill the end of the month: after remarking "this is the moment I like best, interrupting his sleep", the Pesca called the Captain in a particularly abrupt manner and later from the dining-room, in the presence of the Chief Engineer and myself, shouted at him, while he was still in his cabin waking up: "come on, capi, I have news for you", referring to the Shipowner's telegram. During supper, since

they wanted to know the quantity of food supplies left, I was ordered to call the Cook: the only person responsible for the Cook's administration being the Captain, the change of authority from the Pesca (announcing Shipowner's decision) to the Captain (jurisdiction over the Cook) was made by the Pesca with the joking remark while pointing to the Captain: "tell the Cook to come to the office (a term quite alien to a fishing ship) to receive the orders". The Captain expressed his status, seriously adding: "tell the Cook that I want him to come here". When the Cook came upstairs in response to the Captain's call, the Pesca joked with the Cook about the football team of his city for two or three minutes, before the Captain asked him quite gravely about the food provisions. The structural incongruity of the Pesca's status superiority (as shown by his direct mediation with the Shipowner in major matters regarding the entire Pareja), and, on the other hand, the independence or insubordination to his authority indicated by the Captain-Cook relationship, was turned by the Pesca into a joking relationship.

Together with the galley, the other "motherly" care that belonged to the Captain's jurisdiction was the medical assistance which he personally carried out. There was a medicine chest on board for any minor injury or illness. The Captain's medical knowledge is limited to some rudimentary information which soon proves to be insufficient: in these cases the Spanish doctor in St. Pierre or St. John's is called upon to give instructions.

8. Pesca's saying "in harbour I am one more fisherman", meaning "in harbour the authority belongs to the Captain", is an indirect way of identifying sea and fishing as one, and proclaiming his superiority over the Captain at sea. One fact pointing to Pesca's higher status at sea is that, while the First Pesca with his presence on board makes one of the trawlers the first, it does not matter if the Captain is in the first or second trawler. The second trawler's lower status is based on the fact that all fishing and nautical decisions are taken in the first trawler; one expression of this inferiority is the second trawler's report of her situation to the first trawler every thirty minutes.

Although the Captain's authority in a sense is wider because it is extended to the entire ship (including the galley) and the entire voyage (including stays in foreign ports), the actual supreme authority on board is exercised by the Pesca. The point where the boundaries of the First Pesca's power are less clear is his relations with the Second Pesca, who in his trawler totally replaces the First Pesca. This causes the structural tendency, which has become a typical feature of the power relations in a Pareja, that the First Pesca shows his distance above the Second by frequently humiliating him on the radio. However, this was not the case in our Pareja, for their relations were rather friendly: I heard the First Pesca shouting by radio to the Second Pesca only twice; an oiler reported to me two other such occasions. Cases of First Pesca sending home his Second Pesca from port have occurred.

Once the authority aboard is divided in the two functions of fishing and shipboard management, the time at sea is understood by the fishermen as being entirely dedicated to fishing and therefore under the Pesca's orders. The fishing strategy in a Pareja includes: election of the fishing area, schedule of the manoeuvre, length of time for dragging, hauling the net back in one or several drawings, constant watch on the fishlupe to detect the fish and accordingly prolong the dragging or haul the net back to move away; care for the net, maximum use of the fish taken aboard, good salting and storing. As from the deck view the fishing has the two phases of manoeuvres and fish processing, from the bridge's view its strategy's two phases are manoeuvres and "the dragging", which concentrates the officers' attention on the fishlupe, as well as their vigilance in case the net gets stuck on the bottom of the bank or a storm is approaching.

Any decision regarding the fishing strategy is exclusively the Pesca's. Nevertheless, he has to rely on the Captain (or Costa) part of the dragging which in a Pareja potentially takes the twenty-four hours, apart from the time needed for the manoeuvres and short routes. The division of work in our trawler was done in the following way: the Pesca took care of the dragging and steered the ship during the day; the Captain took care of the dragging and steered the ship at night. The decision -making was strictly the Pesca's jurisdiction; the courses were found out mainly by the Captain. The Pesca directed the manoeuvres; the Captain looked after the injured or ill people. The fish-processing in the park and the salting in the hold were

supervised by the Pesca; the Captain was responsible for the galley. A social disturbance created because of the working conditions on deck or park-hold was handled by the Pesca; a social disturbance focused on the the galley, personal illness, or general unrest was handled by the Captain.

Although heading two different structures of authority, the fact that in the occupation which is the *raison d'etre* of the trawlers the Captain is totally submissive to Pesca's orders, even his money largely depending on the success or failure of Pesca's decisions, brings it about that in practice Captain's role becomes subordinated. It is not rare for Captains to complain about their subordination, arguing that their duty is to steer the ship but not to conduct the draggings, which is Pesca's work and which ultimately benefits the Pesca at least three times as much it does them. As the Cook explained to me with concrete cases, the friction between the Pesca and the Captain is most likely to be provoked by Captain's insufficient attentiveness in the night dragging.

The spatial distribution in the officers' quarters reflected in away the status contradictions between the Pesca and the Captain: the allocation of the cabins place the Captain first, the Pesca second, followed by the Engineers. On the contrary, in the dining-room the Pesca occupied the first position and the Captain second, while opposite them was the Chief Engineer first (facing the Pesca) and then the Second Engineer (facing the Captain).

The officer's social relations with the fishermen were on the whole remarkably good in our trawler, with the

exception of the final month of December, when the heavy working schedule, the Pesca's miscalculation in storing the salt, and the uncertainty about the date of return, created a psychological tension that had a negative effect on the whole crew.

The only noteworthy social disturbances occurred between the Chief Engineer and the fishermen, as well as between the Chief Engineer and his subordinate engineer-oilers. The Pesca took up a position in favour of the fishermen from the beginning of the friction, and the Chief Engineer, always eager to ingratiate himself with the Pesca, gave in -as he put it once to me in front of the Pesca himself, "you have to know that in a Pareja the Pesca is king and he does whatever he wants: he may even tell the Shipowner that the Chief Engineer is not capable and the Shipowner dismisses the Chief Engineer".

9. The structural distance between the officers and the fishermen is bridged in each trawler by the three petty officers- the Boatswain, Chief Salter and Cook - as shown in the next diagram:

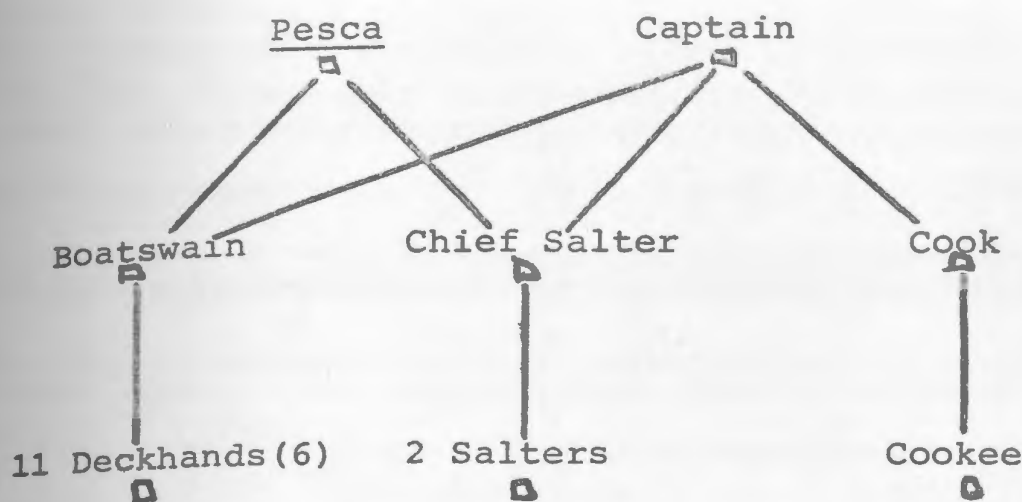


Fig.4: The three petty officers' structural position.

The relationship Pesca-Boatswain is the most significant connection between bridge and deck. The strategy of the manoeuvres tightens this relationship: the Boatswain conducts the operations, being the only authority on deck, while the Pesca supervises them from the bridge without having direct access to the manoeuvres, but through the Boatswain. The Chief Salter is responsible for the careful salting and storing of the fish: in case of any major decision regarding storage in the hold, or if any personal trouble occurs in the hold, he consults the Pesca; on the other hand, every day he gives the Captain a count of the tons of fish stored. The Boatswain and Chief Salter's position are mutually independent, so that the Chief Salter is not bound to go to any deck manoeuvres or work except hauling in the net.

The Boatswain's relationship to the Captain is reduced at sea to matters of personal safety, hygiene, galley, whereas

in harbour he is directly under the Captain's jurisdiction in such thing as departure time, etc. In general, power communication at sea between bridge and deck (main deck, park) is carried out by the Pesca and the Boatswain, and between bridge and hold by the Pesca and the Chief Salter.

I was informed that the Second Pesca usually kicks up a row with his Boatswain more frequently than does the First Pesca with his Boatswain. If this is really the case, the reason for the higher frequency would be that the structural distance between the Second Pesca and his Boatswain is shorter than between the First Pesca and his Boatswain, so that fixed boundaries are harder to maintain.

10. The social boundaries of the fishermen as a group (including the three petty officers and the Cookee) were set up, vertically, in opposition to the officers and engineers; and, horizontally, in opposition to the oilers. The social distance between petty officers and fishermen was shortened by the friendly behaviour of the former. Moreover, the tendency to concentrate power in the Pesca makes the petty officers' authority lose relevance: this was at least the Boatswain's complaint when he assured me repeatedly that in Bous the Boatswain hold a considerable higher status.

As the petty officers hold the top structural position in the fishermen's group, the Cookee represents the bottom, so that they themselves occupy the middle position in the hierarchy. The Cookee is called Cho, which is a Basque word

used to attract anyone's attention, being indicative of his total lack of status. I was told of a Basque fisherman who, when in rage, would call everybody Cho, thus verbally depriving them of any social or personal status. The Galicians frequently add a diminutive to it, Choiño, making it even more expressive of the lack of status, as well as potential subject of affectionate familiarity or butt of jokes. The identity of the Cookee is associated with the stereotypes of being young and an apprentice (the national regulations of work in the fishing industry supported this stereotype until the 1976 Ordinance of Work, for they said that he should be under eighteen years). The official work to designate the Cookee's status is Marmiton (literally "pot"), a term only used by the Cook when sometimes referring to my duties. In my own case personal identity prevailed over social identity, for all the crew addressed me by my own name; nevertheless, when referring to my duties, particularly if I was not present, they called me Cho.

The Cookee position of the Companion trawler happened to be the most accident prone job of the entire Pareja on the present voyage, for the first Cookee nearly died of a diabetic coma, the second one was trapped inside the food refrigerator (its door being closed by a sea-rolling) to be rescued after hours already in an hysterical attack; and the third one ended up totally deranged, seeing giants that were climbing aboard from the sea through a staircase to rob wine from the ship. Another incident to be added to the ill-fated recent history of the Cookees, that concerned me through my Cook, was that in the previous year his Cookee had been brutally slaughtered in

the galley with no motive other than a fisherman's sudden mental derangement.

My holding the lowest rank as Cho created some status disturbances on the bridge, as when the Captain asked me to teach him English, in which he only lasted for two classes. Or when my services were needed to call St. John's radio, which was not particularly to Pesca's liking, who would soon turn it into a cause of scorn or joke. Likewise, when we came to St. John's harbour, the fact that I knew the city and the language, which was immediately interpreted as my ability to get girls, conferred on me a status enhancement quite in contradiction with my being the Cho. Therefore, when back sailing, the fishermen and most particularly the officers, after each stay in St. John's (but never in St. Pierre) tried to destroy the harbour superiority, accusing me insistently for days of having "totally defrauded" them for not getting the girls I had promised them.

Among the fishermen themselves, no status differences were permitted, although skill, number of years as a fisherman, age, previous holding of a petty officer position, etc., were factors in promoting status. The Helmsman, although a fisherman in any concept, has the distinction of working on the bridge under Pesca's direct orders; on the other hand, he is frequently considered an informer and fishermen treat him with some mistrust. The three salters were graded as Chief, Second, and Third. Knowledge of the net, handiness in repairing it, ability in heading and splitting either manually or with machines,

endurance of fatigue, awareness of the danger, promptness, sociability -these are some of the working qualities that are particularly appreciated in a fisherman.

Taking as normal the continuous self-assertive verbal confrontations of the fishermen, social relations among them were excellent in our trawler. The fishermen's job was collective: to get the fish aboard and to process it. The needed collaboration was easily granted. On the other hand, compulsion was an essential factor in our social relations: although we were together by chance, any failure in being companions aboard could make our life a hell. A collective identity was created by the sense of group exploitation, and consequently there was collective care for each member.

The social structure on board was responsible for some typical faults, such as friction between the Boatswain and the Chief Salter: on the one hand, when the fish caught were too small to be processed, the borderline between what could be used and what could not had to be decided by the Boatswain in order to make out of the cast the number of tons estimated by the Pesca, who otherwise would blame him for "throwing fish to the sea"; on the other hand, it was the Chief Salter's duty to report each day the number of tons stored for records on board, although the definitive figure reported to the Ship-owner was secretly settled by the Pesca himself. It is easy to imagine the kind of problems created each time the fish were small: the Pesca, to make sure that the fishermen were not going to throw the fish to the sea, would set up for the Boatswain a high number of tons to be made out of the cast;

the fishermen would protest that some fish were too small and could not be used (the processing of really small fish takes twice or three times longer than processing good fish; particularly in times of heavy work, fishermen may decide half-implicitly that the money they get from processing really small fish is less worthy than the hours of rest it takes from them); the Chief Salter was bound to estimate the tons stored as accurately as possible, for otherwise the Pesca could reprimand him; consequently, the only way the Boatswain could avoid Pesca's dissatisfaction on those occasions, when the actual number of tons of processed fish was less than Pesca's estimated figure, was for the Chief Salter to give a higher number of tons than were actually stored, something the Chief Salter was always very reluctant to do. Thus, each time the fish were small, the Pesca's blame would potentially put in opposition the Boatswain and the Chief Salter, in spite of their friendliness; and sometimes the opposition was extended to deckhands against salters.

11. With regard to the question of how the fishermen's social life is regulated on board, a point that should be stressed, and which could take much longer than the present sketch, is the customary nature of those regulations. In a real sense, custom becomes law, or law is interpreted as custom.

As an example of the constant occasions I had to realize the sovereignty of custom, I relate the following story:

during our departure from Spain, on a day when I was particularly hungry at supper time, the Cook did not allow me to eat anything while serving supper to the fishermen; neither in the twenty minutes of waiting between fishermen's and officers' supper; nor after the officers had finished their supper, before I had washed up all the dishes and cleaned the galley. When I complained in front on the crew about the irrationality of being forced to work fourteen hours (next day he made me work only eight hours, for there was not much work while we were just sailing; the Ordinance said that under normal circumstances work should not be prolonged beyond eight hours), and then to be compelled to be the last one having supper, all by myself (the Cook ate supper while I was washing up the dishes), I was amazed by the crews reactions which I expected to be favourable to me. The officers looked at one another surprised by my complaint; the Captain came over to the galley, pointing out that he himself, when he was Cookee, used to have supper last; the Basque salter, who held some ethnical responsibility over me, was visibly upset by my early disagreement with the Cook; the Boatswain started cheering me up with the argument that at the time of dragging my work would be much lighter than theirs; no fisherman had a work of friendliness for me.

I had to conclude that the Cook could not be totally wrong, for everybody turned his back on my complaint. But how could it make sense to them that at least, after I had served supper to the fishermen and officers, I still had to do my

washingup for another hour, to be allowed to have my own supper by myself? Obviously, the point was not whether I could eat supper before doing the washing up or not, but whether I was conforming with the custom on board or not, for in case the system was not respected, no social rule could govern life on board.

Since authority was translated into customary privileges and the interpretation of custom was a right tied in with higher status (the Cook did not compel me to observe a customary obligation on many occasions, as a sign of friendliness), to challenge a custom was the same as to challenge the whole structure of authority on board. It took me days of fighting with the Cook before he implicitly permitted me to sit with the firshermen while serving meals. At the beginning, the fishermen themselves were surprised by the fact that, breaking a custom, I would sit beside them, until the Boatswain was forced to reply to the general uneasiness, stating authoritatively: "yes, man, why not; you can sit with us". The change of custom was publicly approved by those who a few days before had unanimously reacted against my complaint.

A description of the incidents that took place between the Cook and myself, in order that I should learn the customs on board, would be endless. As an illustration of the kind of customs that governed our life on board, I mention some of them that regulated my role as Cookee in relation only to the Cook: I always had to wake up first; I had to end up work in the galley last; I could not eat before the Cook; I could not

sit with the fishermen at the table; I could cook only breakfast, but I could not use other supplies except potatoes and fish (also eggs with the Cook's permission); I should keep secret his orders to me; I should not lead the crew to expect any fancy meals; I should not call the Cook in the mornings or after siesta; I should stay in the galley during the Cook's siesta; and so on.

The basic point the Cook stressed was that I had no duty but what he gave me. Therefore he strongly opposed my doing for the fishermen any job not ordered by him, which he immediately interpreted as not being my duty, for there was no custom behind it. The strongest point of his argument was always that "to do it once means to have to do it for ever"; "the beginning of something is like law: afterwards they demand it from you". Much in the same way, "once you provide a reason for complaint, you are lost, for they feel they have a right to go on complaining, no matter how you prepare the meals".

The ideology of custom gave the Cook the right to exercise his authority over me in a supposedly impersonal way, for such was the custom, and the custom had to be obeyed. On the other hand, the fact that "once means for ever" implies that a social structure based on custom (alternatively rigid and changeable) tends to deteriorate, and necessitates frequent renewal: this was at least the case with our Pesca, who in his ten years of fishing in Terranova had frequently changed Second Pescas, Captains and Boatswains. The case was the same

with the Cook, who had adopted the rule of never taking as Cookee somebody who had already been as a crewmember in a voyage with him, "because they know my weak points".

From the Pesca to the Cho, the different fishing roles on board are regulated and taught by custom. Power on board is partially legitimized by customs that are accepted by the crew as totally necessary to keeping the social order. An institution dedicated to capitalist production is not regulated by the direct contractual rights of labour in exchange for money, but the work itself (in addition to the external economic and paramilitary frames) has to be submitted to a social structure on board based on strict and hardly controllable power, as well as ruled by a solidified system of customs that greatly obstructs any improvements of the working conditions on board. The fishermen's feeling is that ultimately, instead of legally defined rights, they are regulated solely by custom.

12. As to the social and legal status of "being a fisherman", a number of times I was assured by the fishermen themselves that "to be a fisherman is the lowest thing". Although proud of himself, the "Terranova" fisherman is very aware that his occupation is socially underestimated.

The fishermen view themselves inside the social structure of the ship as in a quite temporary institution which does not offer them any guarantee of work continuity: the entire crew's

contract said that we were classified "for all purposes, as temporay personnel". Each time a fisherman embarks he has been newly chosen by the Pesca through the Boatswain: this means for the fishermen that he will lose his job if any trouble with the officers occurs, or if he gets disabled, or when he becomes old. A good example of this temporary condition happened in the Companion trawler after the present voyage: in spite of the general willingness to return to the same ship, from a crew of eighteen fishermen only one was again chosen for the new voyage; the Pesca gave no reason for his total change of crew.

On the one hand, his status as fisherman is characterized by the fact that he has no trade unions whatever, no continuity of employment in the enterprise, poor working conditions on board, and no settled salary. On the other hand, that same temporary period of production on board is highly institutionalized, since his fisherman status is characterized by a peculiar burden of duties ultimately reinforced by paramilitary law. Another way of stating this is in terms of order and disorder: a strict order made up ashore (constructed on economic and paramilitay lines) gives rise to internal disorder (at the levels of symbolic and work organizatior). In this aspect, it can be stated that the absence of planned social change within the ship allows the economic-military structure to remain, and vice versa.

It is this insistence on experiencing the fisherman status as social burden and economic exploitation, which ensures

that the rights associated with the status tend to be translated into the category of personal honour; since the status does not guarantee the social rights, these are defended as individual rights and personal values; since nothing is regarded as a fault against his status, anything can be offensive to his honour.

This absence of recognized status and legally guaranteed social rights, brings it about that the contractual and working relations in a Pareja ship can be viewed as a tribal enclave inside a capitalist entrepreneurial organization.

NOTES

- (1) Bou fishing: a French system consisting of a single large trawler which drags with "doors" in its trawl; the authority structure and social organization is complete within the single trawler; the Captain holds the representation of the Shipowner's authority as well as the chief power on board, in terms of fishing operations and administrative head.
- (2) This 6% is a tentative figure, since Pesca's established percent age ranks from 4% to 8% (and sometimes even more), depending on the Shipowner's assessment of his professional value.
- (3) Ley Penal y Disciplinaria de la Marina Mercante.
- (4) Since 1963 on, at least eight priests have embarked in the Terranova fleet. Their action was mainly focused on organizing fishermen's meeting and creating public opinion movements through the media. The "Stella Maris" is an international organization on behalf of the fishermen.
- (5) In fact, this rare case did occur in 1974, and the Pesca returned to Spain in the Companion trawler, abandoning his own ship. The Captain reported to me another case that happened to him (not in Terranova but in Angola): the Pesca, drunk, threatened him physically, and he replied forbidding the Pesca to go up to the bridge again. Although nowadays serious friction between the Pesca and the Captain is highly unlikely, this was frequently the case when the Parejas started fishing in Terranova and Captains of Bous (where the status of the Captain includes the owner's representation and responsibility for the fishing strategy) were transferred to Parejas.
- (6) The fisherman left is the Helmsman who is directly under the Pesca's orders on the bridge. When the Helmsman goes down to the deck, he also is under the Boatswain.

PART II - CONCEPTUAL AND AFFECTIVE STRUCTURES
=====

Chapter 2 - THE ORDER OF LUCK

Chapter 3 - NEAR AND DISTANT RELATIONS

Chapter 2 - THE ORDER OF LUCK

- 6.36311 It is a hypothesis that the sun will rise tomorrow: and this means that we do not know whether it will rise.
- 6.37 There is no compulsion making one thing happen because another has happened. The only necessity that exists is logical necessity.
- 6.371 The whole modern conception of the world is founded on the illusion that the so-called laws of nature are the explanations of natural phenomena.
- 6.372 Thus people today stop at the laws, treating them as something inviolable, just as God and Fate were treated in past ages.
And in fact both are right and both wrong: though the view of the ancients is clearer in so far as they have a clear and acknowledged terminus, while the modern system tries to make it look as if everything were explained.

(Wittgenstein, 1921:143)

1. When a Terranova fisherman shoots away the net, the first lesson he is taught by his occupation of "being a fisherman" is the extreme fluctuations of the catch. He must be ready to accept, as a matter of course, the absence of fish for one day, one week, or longer. On our voyage, for example, one day yielded more fish than the following fifteen days. Since in a Pareja approximately the 90 percent of the salary is based on the catches, the fisherman learns day after day that his work, money, family's maintenance, rely heavily on mere chance. Therefore, the relationship a Terranova fisherman establishes with uncertain natural resources is a primary element of his occupational outlook.

Some basic features of how a fisherman represents the nature of his occupation as a means of subsistence are:

- the supplier of the living (the sea) is experienced, on the one hand, as being so close to the fisherman that he lives inside it; on the other hand, the supplier is not directly accessible in the sense that, even though the fisherman is willing to work, supplies of fish are not guaranteed.
- the supplier (the sea) is sensed as a constant danger.
- work is the means by which the fisherman approaches the supplier and obtains the handling of the natural resources; however, work in itself can not create an immediate cause-effect relationship.
- Therefore between the worker and the aim of his work (fish) there is a gap which cannot be safely bridged by any human effort and which is understood as depending on chance or

uncontrollable natural order; the fact that the direct relation of cause-effect cannot be applied to the fishing mode of production brings about a peculiar "distance" between the fisherman and the supplier, since no working disposition, no concrete method, no known technique can provide success "until the right time comes".

- although work is offered (in hours, dedication, skill) and natural biological resources are offered (they are thought as potentially unlimited), and since the output resulting from the combination of work and resources is unknown and uncontrollable, the probability that the combination itself will occur is categorized as a "new element", whose presence is logically necessary to bridge the gap between work and output: this new element is conceptually materialized as "luck".

- since the fisherman with his action provokes the concurrence of two independent facts (work and fish), he becomes the mediator between the otherwise two unbridgeable realities, thus originating in his mind the "new element" of luck, which belongs neither to the natural nor the human order.

The natural order appears to a fisherman as irregularity and arbitrariness (see fig.5-16). His problem is how to order the disorder of the natural resources. The facts that the fisherman figures are ultimately representations of his basic economic and emotional needs. Nevertheless, the peculiarity of his thinking arises from the occupational necessity to continuously bridge the split between the human and natural orders, between work and catch.

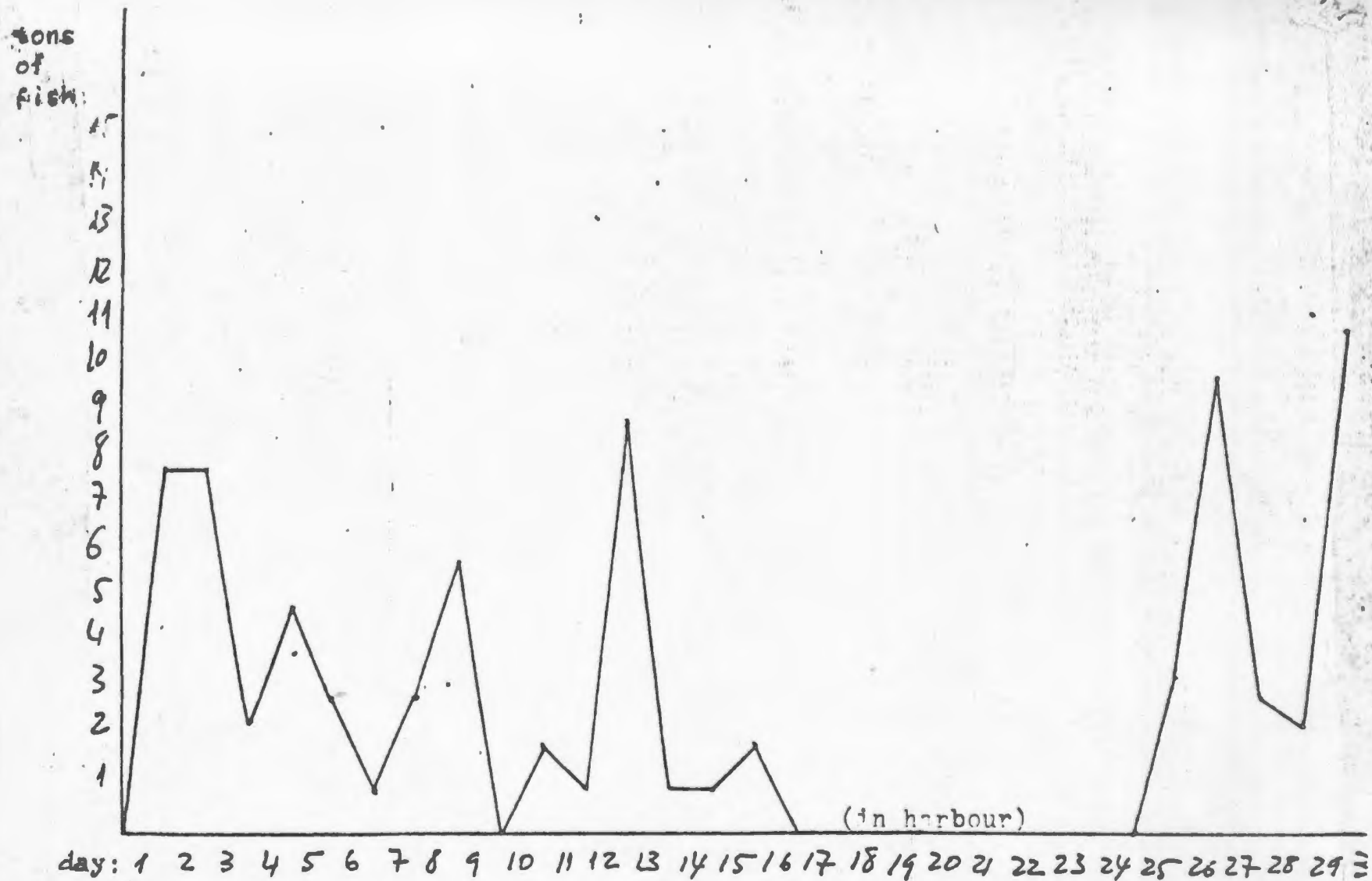


Fig.5: Daily fluctuations in our trawler's catches during the month of September

tons:

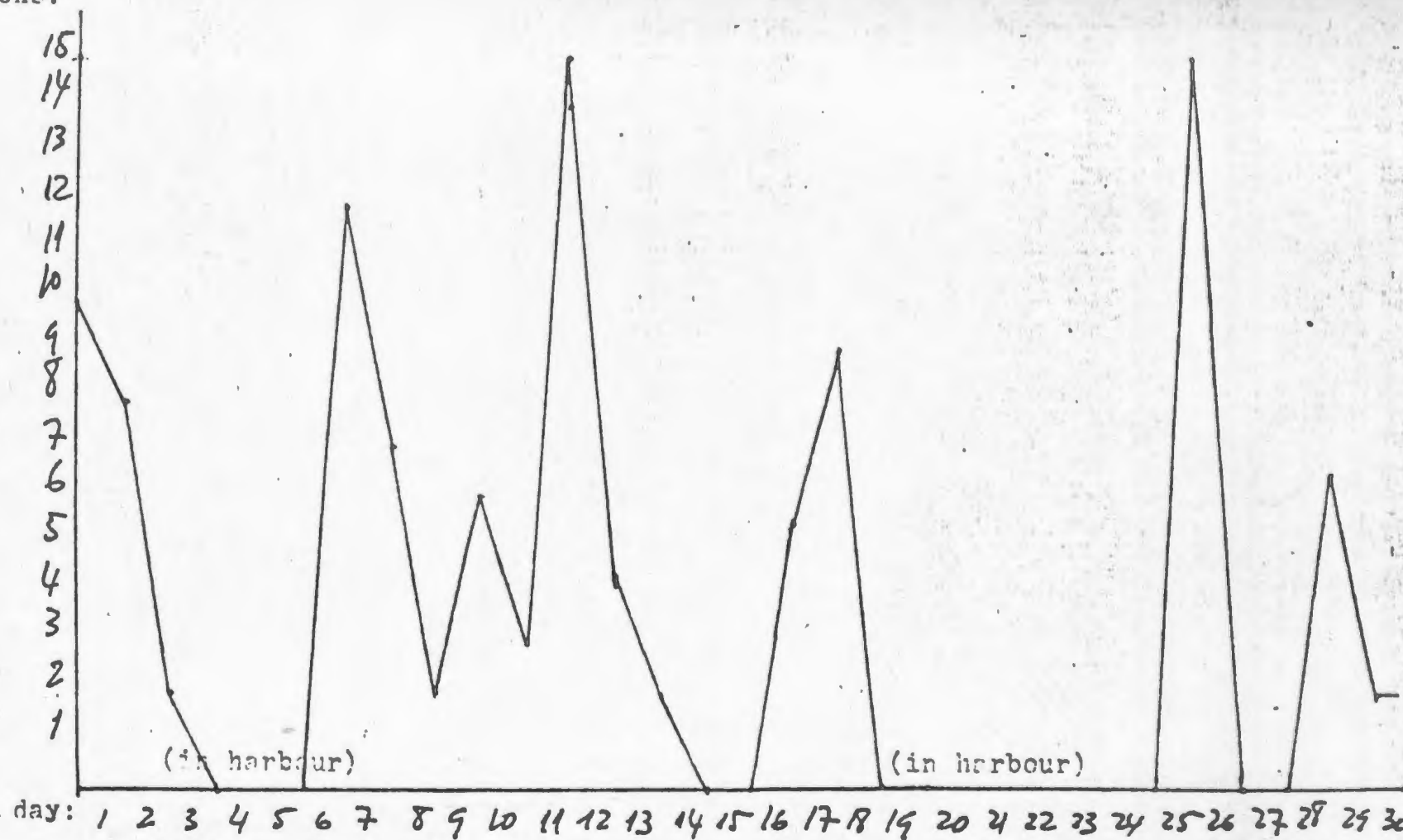


Fig.6: Daily fluctuations in our trawler's catches during the month of October 1976

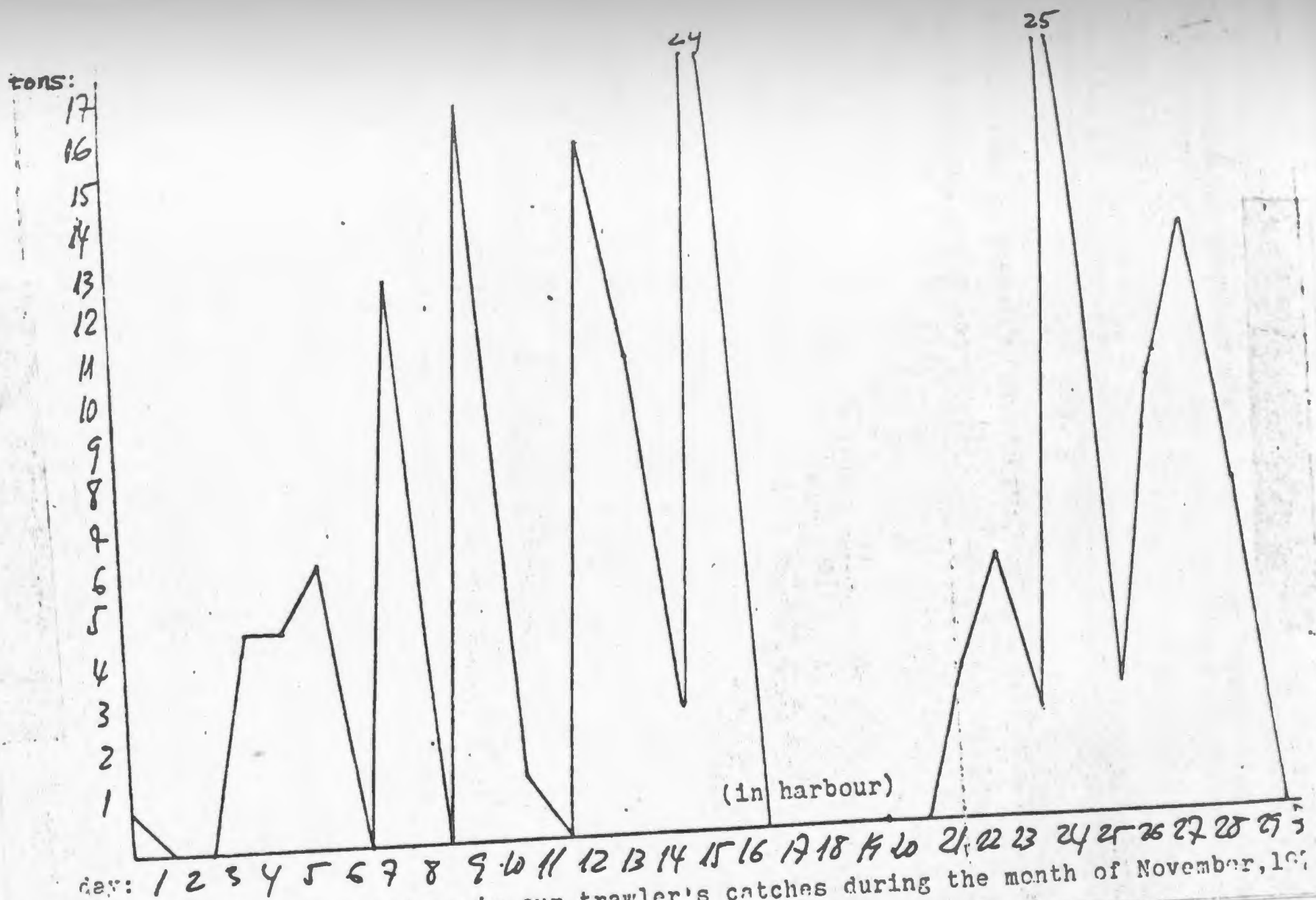


Fig.7: Daily fluctuations in our trawler's catches during the month of November, 1961

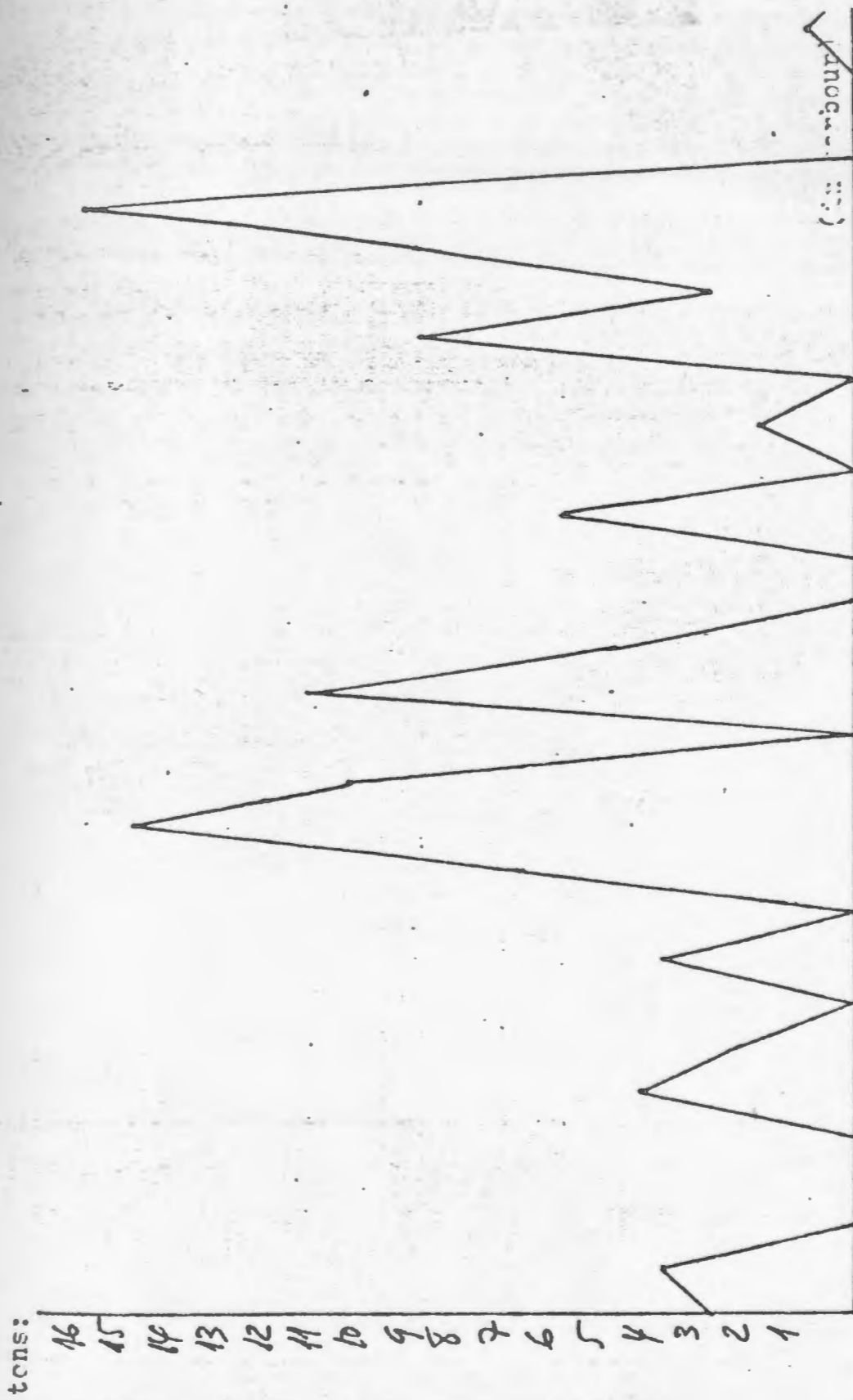
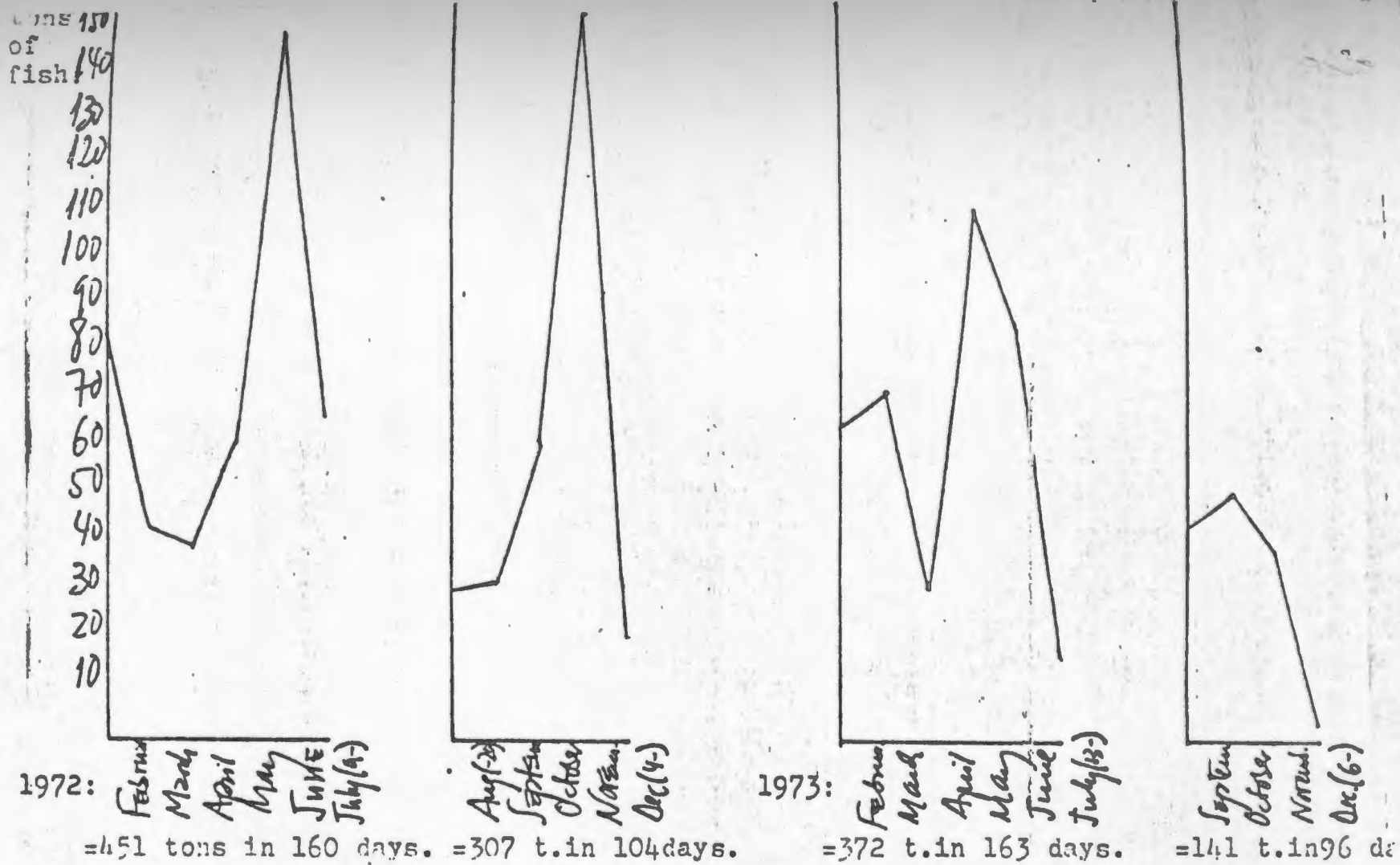


Fig. 8: Daily fluctuations in our trawler's catches during the month of December, 1953



Figs.9-12: Total and monthly fluctuations in consecutive voyages (one trawler).

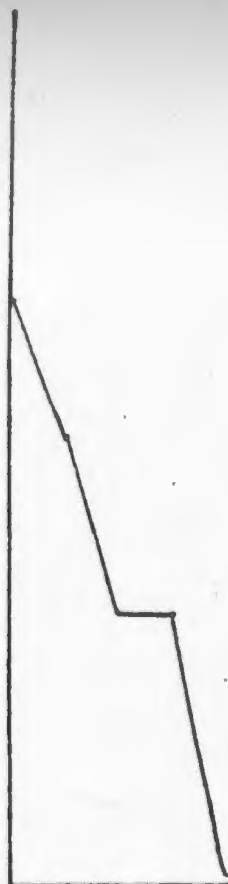
tons 150

140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

1974:

Jan (22)
Feb
Mar
April
May
June (27)

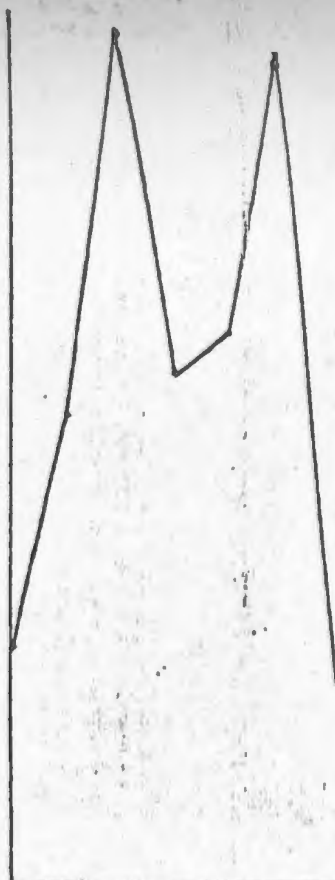
=142 tons in 151 days.



Aug (10)
Sept
Oct
Nov
Dec (4)

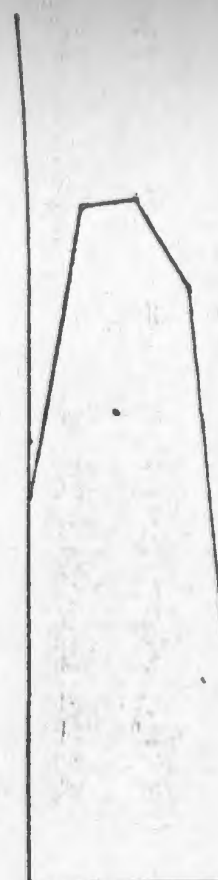
=274 t. in 116 days.

1975-76:



Feb
Mar
April
May
June
July
Aug (8)

=625 t. in 175 days.



Nov (4)
Dec
Jan
Feb

=410 t. in 1 d.

FIGS 13-16: Total and monthly fluctuations in consecutive voyages (one trawler).

The matching of these two dimensions of reality is rendered verbally and conceptually workable by the term "luck".

The different levels of reality are symbolized in things with interchangeable meanings:

- natural order: fish
- economic order: money
- logical order: luck

Because of its connection with the above symbols, fish-processing, or more generally "having work", instead of being unwanted duty, in life on board becomes the desired occupational situation.

Although the meanings of fish, money and luck are, roughly speaking, interchangeable, the prominence of luck at the time of fishing arises from its being the condition of possibility of the other two orders: while the natural order is previously granted, and the economic order is a subsequent reward, the immediate aim of the fisherman at sea is the collaboration of natural and technical conditions. Luck is the nominalization of the logical space or area of possibilities where all the chance variations take place, and it tends to become reified as a cosmological entity.

Some definitions of luck as it is experienced by the fisherman are:

Cosmological: Luck is that state of affairs that is present when natural resources become available to human action.

Logical: Luck is that state of affairs which ensures that,

in the logical space, fishing possibilities are actual or virtual realities.

philosophical: Luck is that state of affairs the arbitrary causation of which governs the world in an uncontrollable way.

psychological: Luck is that state of affairs in which human expectations arise and are regulated.

Economic: Luck is that state of affairs that makes possible economic profits, through the combination of natural and technical orders.

Affective: Luck is that state of affairs that, with economic profits, allows family life.

Social: Luck is that state of affairs that legitimizes the institutuional life on board a Pareja trawler.

2. How is the nature of luck verbally represented by a fisher man? Tener suerte, "to have luck", in its optative-interrogative form of "let us see whether we have luck", was the expression verbally voiced countless times, and even more times mentally voiced, by all of us on board. The expression shows that the nature of luck is imagined as an entity which can be possessed. Since luck is the condition for the conjunction of economic and cosmological orderings, it is primarily a certain "state of affairs" which is enclosed within a concrete spatio-temporal sequence: somehow it has to happen, be present at a certain place and time, become a factor at the disposition of some

fisherman or another. Therefore, luck is originally understood by a fisherman in the continuum absence-presence, and its proper application is the natural irregularity of the coming of fish.

Once luck becomes the object of quantitative calculus ("a bit of luck", "a lot of luck", "very little luck", "no luck", etc.), positive and negative qualities are predicated on it as well: luck has been "good" when the minimal expectations have been realized, luck has been "bad" when the minimal expectations have not been realized. The negative predication becomes necessary when luck adopts not only the form of absence but an actual negative quality such as engine trouble or personal accident. Nevertheless, fishermen clearly distinguish between these negative cases and "not having luck", the explanation being that "a mechanical fault can be repaired by the engineers", and "a personal accident could be provoked by carelessness".

The difference between "bad luck" and "no luck" is that the causes of the former are known, for they are of natural (sea, weather), technical (engines, trawl) or human (illness, carelessness) origin and ultimately subject to correction; whereas the latter is inaccessible to any known causation. The forced visit to the harbour for repairs or on account of accident summarizes the "bad luck" of the above cases. As to the bad weather at sea, "that is not a matter of luck, that is just bad weather; you are not responsible for it, and everybody knows that it has to come and pass away". As the Cook explained it to me, "no luck" is more painful because you cannot justify why it is, whereas you know that "bad luck" will be corrected, or that carelessness has occurred'. With "bad luck" the absence

of explanation is lessened by attributing a cause to a natural or technical fault, while with "no luck" the absence of explanation or "justification" -for the non-occurrence of the state of affairs that was logically possible and very much desired- is total.

3. What follows is a brief history of our voyage from the viewpoint of the dependence on luck.

Before leaving Spain (August 21st., 1976), looking ahead at the long months at sea, the hope of fish was constantly present in our conversations. "If we have a bit of luck we shall be back home by Christmas", was the sentence that best synthesized our desires. The implicit messages under this expectation were: the desire to be home at Christmas because of its enormous emotional meaning; to cast out the fear that any engine trouble or personal loss could make a normal trip impossible; the hope that we would make a sufficiently good catch so that we could expect to return home for the Christmas celebrations.

From the beginning, we as a group were perfectly aware of the constraints of the institutional structure and the ecological circumstances. Social relations on board were going to be a very important factor for the well-being of the crew. Without the Pesca's expertise our catches were in doubt. Fishermen had to be ready to endure for days the hardship of uninterrupted work and bad weather conditions. We knew that just

one member was enough to disturb the whole crew by refusing to work or, even worse, by mental disturbance in himself.

In any case, these were all factors somehow "under our control": the expertise of the Pesca was not to be questioned; there should be some way to handle bad social relations; the fishermen's disposition to work was quite clear; total incompetence or illness of a member could be resolved by sending him home and substituting some other member.

We were more concerned by what we could not control at all and what was going to decide the success or disaster of the voyage, and that was the existence itself of fish in the banks we were going to work. Gradually our emotional ties with relatives, friends and homeland were replaced by total uncertainty about "returning". Our solidarity was mainly based on that uncertainty and the group's direct relations to fishing possibilities. In this sense, the mental systematization of those possibilities and the constant reliance on that system to legitimize our institutional "abnormality", was a central fact for the understanding of life on board. As on the logical level, the actual possibility of not catching anything was compensated for by keeping in mind the whole range of possibilities; likewise, emotionally, the actual fear provoked by that uncertainty needed to be compensated for by faith in those possibilities. The boundaries of our social reality were imposed by the uncertain natural resources. Although money, work, isolation, and social relations were too obvious facts, it was the additional meaning of actual risk

and cognitive dependence that was most peculiar to our condition. We were best defined by what we could not control.

How did we begin fishing? That was our question, on the way to St. John's, after the first twenty days of fishing in Greenland. The Pareja had caught about 100 tons in Greenland: to which expectation did it conform, as to our fishing capacity? The really important datum was that, roughly, we could catch 100 tons in fifteen days. Following the rate of 100 tons per fifteen days, we would catch around 700 tons, which makes a "very good" voyage.

Although our beginning was in proportion to a potential voyage of 700 tons before Christmas, we by no means gave up better expectations. The real game was that luck by its magic could correct at any moment the actual catches and fit them to the best expectations that had not been realized up to the present. Furthermore, looking back, had not the twenty days in Greenland been, after all, a kind of initial test of the "real task" that was going to be taken on in Newfoundland waters? On different days the Cook warned me: "this Pesca has the custom of coming to Greenland first, not fishing at all here for one or two weeks, and then going down to Newfoundland with the net broken". And, looking ahead, everybody should know that the best fishing month was going to be November on the bank of St. Pierre, for so it had been in other years with our Pesca. I heard the Captain say several times: "once September and October are over, with a bit of fish, we are saved", because November and December are always good months.

As for the Pesca himself, so I learnt from the Captain at the end of November, the most significant fact regarding the fishing days in Greenland was that, since we had catches of up to 15 and 17 tons (which later on were considerable reduced because there was much "garbage"), "the trawl was okay and we would catch well when the chances were good".

On the way to St. John's we had all implicitly made up our minds about our catches and built a shared estimate: the beginning had been okay; in the test of Greenland what mattered more than the catches themselves was that future chances had been confirmed; in the least likely fishing place and time we had adjusted to an expectation of 700 tons for the voyage; and all the optimum possibilities could still be expected. My bet with a salter was that we would get 800 tons by Christmas. In case we did not catch that figure I owed him a dinner; if we did, he owed one to me.

It is needless to say how singularly important this mental settling up was for all of us, when we had been interrupted by a mechanical fault after only twenty days of fishing; it was the protection we needed against the frustration of actually having had a rather poor beginning and against the presence of the feared engine problems that were going to keep us in harbour for we did not know how many days. An elementary economic estimate would make it clear that the earning of the first month with the profits for the percentage of 100 tons was markedly insufficient. Nevertheless, that would never be the way we looked at the issue: all our

economic compromises had been translated into cognitive schemes and they were indicating that all our chances were open after the first twenty days of fishing.

At noon on the 25th of September we left St. John's, and twelve hours later the net was dragging. During the following week, 26th September to 2nd October, we caught 120 tons of very good fish with just 79 hours of work! That, and nothing else, was fishing: that was luck.

But then again we should accept every day our condition of being fishermen. Just one week after we left St. John's harbour the Cooke of the Companion trawler was unconscious in a diabetic coma. I was called to the bridge to call St. John's and contact the doctor of the Spanish Seamen's Center, who ordered an immediate return to the port, at the same time feeling confident "that he could be saved". The Chief Engineer was ordered to put on top speed to cover the eighteen hours that separated us from port, and we reached the highest speed for the whole voyage. There we were, fifty-two men leaving our marvellous catches to carry to port a crew member whose survival was uncertain. Later on, we knew that he was secretly taking insulin on board and that, although the previous year he had been disqualified by the doctors for going to Newfoundland, this year he had managed to trick them because "otherwise he could not get any job on shore, being diabetic".

On the morning of October 6th we were back sailing and at midnight we had seven tons of fish on board. Next midday the

Companion trawler got twelve tons. "There is fish", was the general relief. We had abandoned luck for three days and we were most uncertain about its permanence there meanwhile. During the following days we fished very well (see fig.6, p.65).

On 19th October, a tremendous storm came up and the Companion trawler was dangerously damaged. A surf broke two windows on the bridge, entered into the bridge and damaged the radars, automatic steering and radio equipment; the water came into the fishermen's cabins too; they found themselves without any control of the ship; since it was not possible to turn into the storm, the waves started hitting the trawler in the side and heeling her over dangerously; for three long hours of anxiety, having lost all contact with us, they feared the worst. During all this time our trawler was not aware at all of their critical situation, for the Pesca had the radio Panasonic 23-Channel Citizen Band, used for the communication between the two bridges of the Pareja, switched off during all those hours, thus making impossible the trawler's desperate attempts to get in touch with us. When the Helmsman replaced the Pesca, the whole episode became known to us by switching on the Panasonic radio.

Once in port, they reported to us in reference to the terrible hours during which they believed they were going to sink. But by then it was already a matter of fact, a frightening sea event to be told, one more blind product of the sea's sheer arbitrariness out of man's control, the kind of fact that gives rise to fishermen's fatalism: "what must

be, will be". I did not hear one fisherman wondering whether the strength of the storm could not have been anticipated by radio weather forecasts and the Pareja moved away to St. John's harbour, which was only 80 miles distant. Neither did anybody point to the fact that, had our Pesca (otherwise an extremely watchful man) not been responsible for the hours of no communication and loss of contact with us by inexplicably keeping the radio switched off, the other trawler's anxiety would have been greatly relieved by the presence of our trawler by their side. It would seem rather ludicrous to the fishermen to blame anybody for what happened, since it had all been the action of blind luck.

After all, maybe I was learning what "being a fisherman" is like, and how irrelevant the normal social interactions and mechanical work could be when everything depended on uncontrollable factors. In an ideal situation of having no personnel or engine accident, enjoying good weather conditions and supply of fish, the institutional frame would make up the basic social order. The undeniable fact was, however, that the normal situation was some kind of trouble, or , when everything was going all right, the utmost uncertainty about supply of fish.

On October 18th we had caught 26 tons of fish. In the following fifteen days (five of them in harbour, ten a sea) we caught 25 tons, less than in that previous single day. On November 1st, another day without any fish, the Pesca's anxiety was manifest: "When you are not catching your morale is down in your feet", he said to me while as usual I served him lunch

which he did not eat because he was not hungry. "Other Parejas are fishing well on this same bank, but we don't have the luck of running into it; this will pass, my God", he added. Neither on November 2nd did we get any fish. There was no excuse for not catching in that month on that bank. The Pesca was lacking appetite for the second day: "If I start not eating...", he worried about himself to the Captain at supper time. For the first time on the whole voyage I heard fishermen mildly criticizing a decision made by the Pesca. On 3rd November we went on dragging in the same area. Each of the other Parejas had taken, during the last few days, 40 to 50 tons: we were the exception. The week we fished 120 tons we all took for granted the assumption, corroborated on many days, that our trawler's fishing capacity and Pesca's expertise were the best in the whole Spanish fleet fishing in Newfoundland waters at that time. Now we were forced to abandon that assumption, since everything seemed to be against us. The Helmsman, very concerned, warned me: "At sea, when things start going wrong, it is a fuck-up". Next day, the Helmsman pointed out to me a Pareja not more than two miles away: "Look, yesterday that Pareja caught twenty tons; it is just luck".

However, on the night of 3rd November the Companion trawler got four tons, and on the mornig of 4th got five tons. The whole picture changed when it was possible to establish again some kind of record, and expectations could be corrected and rearranged. Early that morning the Captain indicated to me with an unusual gesture: "You see, yesterday we had four tons", which I understood as: "We are again catching fish, and saved".

In the following twelve days we caught 200 tons. On November 17th we went to St. Pierre without any clear motive. There joined two other Parejas. Later we learned the reason: the Pesca of another Pareja, who was brother of our Pesca and known for his toughness, was having an argument with the Spanish Chaplain of St. Pierre, who had made critical remarks over the radio on the Pescas' treatment of the fishermen. This Pesca had called other Parejas to support him in his dispute.

We entered the harbour for the first time because of engine trouble, the second time because of one fisherman's diabetic coma, the third time because of storm damage, and the fourth time because of the Pescas' anger at the Chaplain's attempts to champion fishermen's rights. Together, the four of them provide a good sample of the contingencies governing the Terranova fishermen's work or venture.

On November 20th we were back sailing. From November 23rd to December 2nd the fishermen worked during ten days an average of sixteen hours per day, a good sign of the abundance of the catches. We finished November having stored 320 tons, in just that month. We were being lucky. As I heard the Captain repeat three times in a short period on November 25th: "What has to happen, has to happen". It all was a gratuitous gift merited by our challenging luck, the reward for so much physical and psychological risk.

When embarking on that "win or lose" bet, we could not be sure of the temporal limits of our challenge, since they were also one more consequence of success or failure. Nevertheless,

all our expectations were pointing to a voyage sufficiently successful so that we would be allowed to come back by Christmas. At the begining of December the voyage was already won and there was no sense in prolonging the battle. Suddenly we were no longer praying for luck and work; suddenly our emotional relations with family and homeland, tied up with Christmas celebrations, were going to make impossible our participation in the mental gambling of fishing.

On December 9th I heard a veteran fisherman publicly saying something that just two weeks before would have sounded blasphemous: "I would sign right now for not one single fish more to come". Likewise, when I asked for the number of tons that we caught, I was warned several times that "now it's better if we don't get any fish, for if we are fishing well they are going to order us to continue here during Christmas, but if we don't catch any fish at all they will send us home".

The Pareja caught about fifty tons in two days, December 12th and 13th. We were enjoying luck once again, in spite of our previous turning away from it. However, this "luck" had a clearly different quality; as during the rest of the voyage the meaning of luck had been defined basically in economic terms and indirectly by the affective reward of making possible the return, now in the middle of December luck was primarily defined by its indirect effect of ending the voyage and only secondarily by the economic profits.

On the night of December 19th we had a good haul of eight tons, but that was not of much use. Boatswain's comment to me

was that "I would leave it all and go to sleep; I died here". The only possible contentment was emotional; since economic luck could not help in our obtaining that primary need, it was not worthy of being enjoyed. Definitely, we had gone for the rest of the voyage out of the mental organization that ordered our social and psychological life.

From the point of view of the shipboard routine December passed much the same as September, October and November, but how different the work had been in September or in December. Only cognitive facts could explain the difference, for the working as such was secondary compared with the emotional need or the arbitrariness of luck. In the end, our voyage had been a "very succesful" one: we had caught a lot of fish, no accident has occurred, the social relations had been excellent. What was hard to appreciate was the extent to which the measure of our final success was set by our initial uncertainty and fear.

4. Possibility or actuality, cosmology or psychology, fiction or reality, luck is the key concept of the Terranova fishermen into which their primary needs are translated, and as such constitutes the central fact around which all expectations are centered. In a way, all the rest is a matter of previous assumption: trawlers, technology, skill, work, even the existence of fish. The only fact not guaranteed is the conjunction itself of the natural and human orders: the

conditions needed for this conjunction are therefore the main cognitive problem.

Between the fishermen and the sovereign fact of luck there are implicit relations with definite characteristics, the analysis of which is essential to the understanding of the conceptual system it supports. First of all, there is no direct relationship of cause-effect between human powers and luck. Since luck in itself is totally gratuitous, as everyday catch variations show, all that can be done remains in the stage of preparation. In general, the features of the relationship between the fisherman and his source of livelihood that we analyzed in section 1 are here translated into the relationship between the fisherman and luck.

If the cause-effect relations adopt the form of subject-object, then luck becomes the not-directly-reachable impersonal object for the subject-fisherman. The consequence of the object-luck being an arbitrary effect is a tendency in the subject-fisherman to believe in arbitrary causes. The inability to influence luck by human means originates in the fisherman a strong sense of dependence; since any calculation has to end up with the hope "if we have a bit of luck", everything is placed at the mercy of luck. Nobody has a "right" to luck, nobody owns it but gratuitously and temporarily, no protest or hostility can be directed against it. The only way a man has access to it is through hope, expectation, thought.

Although out of human control, luck provokes a peculiar type of responsibility in men. With an actual cause, either

"you are not responsible for it" (natural order), or you are responsible for preventing or repairing it (personal and technological orders). But with possible causes (luck is that state of affairs" that makes possibilities become actualities in the logical space), is one responsible or not? A contradiction is created here: it is obvious that you are not responsible for "not having luck", for you are contributing on your part as much as you can; at the same time, it seems obvious that, if the Pareja that is two miles away from you has a good catch, while you have no catch at all, you are somehow responsible for not provoking that "state of affairs" that would make the catching possibility become an actuality. In other words, since in the logical space there are unlimited fishing spots, but only one can be chosen at a time, before making the decision for the fishing spot you are not responsible for it, because you can choose only one possibility at a time! but in case it turns out that your decision was wrong, then you are responsible for it afterwards, since you could have chosen other fishing possibilities. Thus a fisherman, through the mediation of the Pesca, is responsible for the variations in luck in a way that he is not responsible for bad weather conditions.

Responsibility gives ground to guilt, i.e., when luck is absent "the fault" has to be somehow discovered: "if I knew where the fault is!", was Pesca's exclamation in a period of no catches. On these occasions, two means of dealing with the frustration were put into practice. One was technical : the Pesca,

the sole person responsible for the fishing strategy, ordered the seven tons of tackle be examined inch by inch and fishermen spent long hours on deck performing that operation; "if fish were coming the trawl would be okay, but since they are not...", one fisherman explained to me. The other means was verbal: comments on withcraft proliferated more than ever. The Chaplain of St. John's harbour received most of the blame, for it became a generalized accusation that "it's his fault for saying that we could catch ten tons per day and leave for Spain by December 10th". Fishermen were perfectly aware, of course, that the absence of fish was due neither to withcraft nor to failure of the tackle, but simply to "no luck". Nevertheless, the group solidarity required this ritual behaviour (technical search, verbal exorcism): we were not holding luck, but there should be some way of expressing our unity and collective readiness for its return; the significant thing was the rite in itself, even though we knew that there was no adequate means to bring about a change in the arbitrary causation ruled by luck.

Thus the ordering process of luck, on the one hand, brings personal responsibility to where utmost arbitrariness rules. On the other hand, luck ensures that fishermen as a collectivity are less responsible for their fishing shortcoming, for they place their responsibility in a cosmological entity (luck), instead of pointing out the absence of industry-related marine research, lack of technological development, managerial error, or economic exploitation, as the causes

responsible for those shortcomings.

5. The relationship to luck structures the meaning given to the daily catch. A haul of 10 tons of fish primarily means about \$50; however, in relation to the approximate 1000 tons that are needed to fill up the Pareja, the significance of 10 tons lies not in the number of tons in itself, but rather in the sense of order it creates in the fishermen's expectations. The conviction that "there is fish", "we are going to have a good voyage", "we are going to be home by Christmas", "we have luck", is in a way the primary message of the catches. As with the totemic man, "the idea of totem being cardinal for him, he is under a necessity to place everything else that he knows in relation to it" (Durkheim and Mauss, 1963:82); likewise, the fisherman needs to relate everything to luck, because it is the kernel of his thinking.

At the beginning of the voyage, three and a half months was the time at our disposal to "seal up" the Pareja, or, at least, to "round off" the voyage to a point at which we would be ordered to go home by Christmas. The all-pervading secret game started in our minds: roughly, we had 100 days for 1000 tons; for "things to go well" the Pareja needed to catch an average of 10 tons per day. The fishermen themselves taught me this calculation the first day I joined them in Vigo. Later on I heard the Captain correcting the above estimate: I would be satisfied with 8 tons per day". After all, so I was

informed, it was not "anything of the other world" to catch 5 tons per trawler per day, and 5 tons of "decent" fish could be worked in 5 hours.

However, we did not have to bind ourselves unconditionally to that possibility: to "seal up" in less than four months would constitute an extraordinary voyage. To catch 900 tons would also be quite a good voyage, and even 800 tons was certainly a real "success"., a figure anybody on board would "sign right now". 700 tons was still a good voyage, and 600 would not be a "failure".

In any case, there was an important factor that was going to invalidate any unsuccessful result and protect us from failure: this was the first time that the trawlers were going to fish in Terranova (they had been before in Africa in another kind of fishing) and it was our job to "test" their efficiency. Thus, the technological uncertainty was converted into a protection, for, after all, "we were just going to try out the Pareja in the time before Christmas". In case it had been confirmed in a previous voyage that the Pareja could catch well in Terranova, then all the responsibility for not getting a good catch would be ours, but, since this was the first voyage, we could always explain as trawlers' break-down or inefficiency the possibility of not catching anything.

Although we all implicitly assumed that at worst we came "just to test the Pareja", we would not talk about it, for the challenging game was gambling with the numbers 1000-900-800-700 that would be caught before Christmas. It was at the

very end of the voyage, when there was no ground at all to fear failure, that this assumption was voiced on several occasions by the Pesca, Boatswain and fishermen, and new information was available: the Pesca confessed in December that the Shipowner had hoped him "to have a bit of luck, catch something, and return by Christmas"; at the same time he complained about the Shipowner's change of attitude, "now when things have turned out like this", meaning "now when we have demonstrated that we can fish well". The Boatswain publicly said that the Pesca had assured him before leaving Spain that "in case we had 600-700 tons, we would return by Christmas".

A few instances show that the ordering or disordering effects of the catches depend on their relationship to luck. For example, any two days without catch have the same complete lack of economic significance; however, if the two days are one a day of lying to, and the other a day of draggings, their disordering implications are quite different -whereas a day of lying to is a passive endurance of adverse weather conditions, an unsuccessful day of dragging is positively a failure in getting luck; in the first case the cause is well known; in the second case the cause is unknown. Likewise, a week of repairs in harbour and a week of no catches, although economically the same, had completely different connotations: engine trouble belonged to the human field of knowledge and repair, in addition to the fact that being in harbour, there was valuable spare time; by contrast, no catching for a week at sea was a direct threat to the whole frame of expectations.

As a simple illustrative model, let us suppose that the expectation for a given month is 150 tons, and that the catches take four patterns whose final outcome reaches the expected figure, but in different weeks of the month:

	<u>first week</u>	<u>second week</u>	<u>third week</u>	<u>fourth week</u>	<u>total</u>
a)	0	50	50	50	= 150 tons
b)	50	50	50	0	= 150 tons
c)	50	50	0	50	= 150 tons
d)	50	0	50	50	= 150 tons

Fig. 17: Four different patterns for the same monthly catch.

Although the expected 150 tons have been caught in the four patterns, the tendency in the frame of expectations at the end of the month will be quite different in pattern (a) and pattern (b). One way of explaining this is that the above diagram originates different models of expectation for the following month, according to different time periods (weeks) of the pattern month. Thus, although a pattern for the whole month in both (a) and (b) is 150 tons, a pattern for the last two weeks in (a) is 100 tons while in (b) is 50 tons; and a pattern for the last week in (a) is 50 tons, while in (b) is 0. A fisherman's mind is constantly abstracting models of this kind from the actual catches for future projections on the basis of different time divisions.

According to the probability calculus, the more information a statement contains, the greater the number of ways in which it may turn out to be false. In their way, fishermen make constant use of the principle of higher informative content, and therefore lower probability, since luck is in inverse relationship to probability, i.e., the lower the probability of its happening, the greater the luck; the greater the probability, the lower the luck. For example, this was the case on October 7th when our trawler got "only" three-and-a-half tons, a figure that at the beginning of September was considered definitely good; or on October 29th, when our trawler got "only" six tons and moved a hundred miles to where better catches were expected. In normal conditions six tons of fish make an excellent cast, but at the end of October, on St. Pierre Bank and after a week of repairs, the informative content of luck was placed at huge casts of fifteen to twenty tons; in other words, catching six tons in September was really being lucky because the optimum in our probability calculus was placed at four or five tons per cast, while two months later, in St. Pierre, the expectation was placed much higher, partly to correct the previous weeks' poor catches. Fishing becomes a matter of luck simply because there is always the possibility of its not happening. By contrast, in merchant ships the economic or working possibilities need not be predicted with the same urgency, and the focus on luck, while present, is not central in the daily orientation to work.

Fishermen are well aware that luck is a faulty principle and ultimately a fiction of their own, to create and order

expectations; but, however faulty, it is a principle, a theory, the best explanation available of their way of life. Although knowing that his key concept of luck as ordering method of thought is continuously falsified, the fisherman endlessly uses it in a kind of intellectual game to contrast actual events with their anticipated representations.

Fundamentally, luck for a fisherman is his way of thinking, since all the symbolic patterns he constructs have the hidden purpose of provoking, so to speak, a regular output of luck. "The perception of the structural congruence between one set of processes, activities, relations, entities, and so on, and another set for which it acts as a program, so that the program can be taken as a representation, or conception -a symbol- of the programmed, is the essence of human thought" (Geertz, 1973:94). For a fisherman the set of processes that acts as a program, and the programmed set, are both constituted on the assumption of luck, i.e., his thinking goes from past luck to future luck, establishing a congruence where all seems irregularity, and making use of that irregularity to manipulate the programs experimentally.

At this point, a fisherman's lesson is that thought deals primarily with the limits of its own knowledge, for luck at the conceptual level means "arbitrary causation", "beyond understanding". Another lesson is the importance of anticipation in thought processes. As among the Cree hunters "divination fills in gaps in knowledge, which cannot be learned from the environment" and "is not a substitute for environmental data-

gathering, but a parallel process which is of a symbolic order" (Tanner, 1976:241); similarly, fishermen's thinking in terms of luck is this continuous prediction of the availability of natural resources.

Although the necessity and usefulness of luck as an ordering method for the fishermen is clear, it is when luck is regarded as a cosmological entity that metaphysics or superstition appears. In spite of not performing magical rites or gross symbolic manipulations, occasionally the dependence on luck immersed us as a crew in a mental state that might be called a magical attitude. The doorway to the magical situation lay in the fact that luck should become not only the passive effect of arbitrary causation, but causation begins to be perceived as being actively and purposefully manipulated by some other exterior power. The point where we came closest to this situation was at the beginning of November after five days of repairs in harbour and ten days without catches at sea, during a time when expectations were highest. The incident occasioning it was that I reported to the bridge a stormy-weather forecast that incidentally I heard on the radio; supposedly all Spanish weather forecasts for Terranova are wrong and my report was considered as a deceit. When among other charges and general scorn, I was being that same evening angrily accused by the Chief Engineer for bringing bad luck to the Pareja with my fancies, I jokingly replied that I wished we had a couple of hours of real storm: to my great surprise, my reply caused the Pesca, who was present and is a modern man

who despises superstitions, to seriously threaten me with being sent back to Spain the first time we went into harbour, "being paid for the whole voyage", which is the formula for sending home somebody who deserves respect but is not wanted in the ship. The forecast happened to be right the next day.

I was playing a very dangerous game: firstly, I did not seem to be concerned about the precarious situation on board after fifteen days without catches; secondly, I could even dare to mention the desire for bad weather. What else but desire had been our single means to deal with frustration all those days? And now I was jokingly turning it against the crew's interests. In that situation, whatever we had in our minds, and even more its verbalization, became particularly significant.

7. If luck for its other-wordly action needs a temple, the ship in itself is a liminal and exorcised place where -although fishermen will say: "we don't believe in them"- verbal taboos are still observed. There must be no umbrellas or broken mirrors. When some crew member in port took a cat aboard, I heard the Captain asking the Pesca whether a cat was permitted on board.

The distinctiveness of the ship's space is powerfully expressed by the marine vocabulary. As examples, "floor", "room", "bed", "wall", "window", "rope", "cable", are named differently from on land; they become (in the same order) "deck", "berth", "bunk", "bulkhead", "portnole", "line", "hawser". The

orientation references are attached to the four sides of the ship: there is no "north"- "south"- "east"- "west", but "bow"- "stern"- "starboard"- "portside". Nor is there "ahead"- "behind"- "right"- "left". Likewise, the verbs of motion such as "let go", "pull back", "lift up", "lower down", "move aside", are different.

If the ritual of luck requires prayer, then there it is the continuous dragging of the net day and night awaiting the gift of fish. Most of all, if the ritual requires a sacrifice, there they are, the fishermen offering their work and their whole lives in a temple that is a "prison" , where life is always defined as "no life". Since fish and fish-processing mean money, and imply that the uncertain luck has occurred once more, fishermen end up establishing an equivalence between work and luck, risk and luck, physical exhaustion and luck. Day or night, Sunday or Monday, weekday or holiday, there is no greater present for a Terranova fisherman than a "good" haul of ten to fifteen tons. Physical work is no longer a punishment, but a sign of luck. The real punishment is the constant threat to the order of expectations. Present penance becomes a guarantee for the happiness of the fishermen's future life ashore with the family.

When there are no catches, that is an essential part of "being a fisherman", of the sacrifice. The ultimate cause of it should not be found in the natural resources (diminishing stocks of fish, variations in fish migratory movements), or human action (wrong decision-making, faulty information), but in

something much more mysterious and familiar: no luck. Although fishermen are quite aware of technological improvements and diminution of fish, luck is the concept-symbol fishermen have been taught by everyday life for a long time, and only the belief in its arbitrary causation can supply the energy to try the daily fishing ritual.

Likewise, the Pesca enjoyed the sacred immunity of being the mediator between the uncontrollable forces of luck and the human needs. His decisions were not evaluated by the crew as being right or wrong. Because of the charismatic enhancement of this mediation, it can be said that any fisherman believes that his Pesca is "one of the best"; so it was at least with ours, and with the Pescas of all the Parejas I have visited (I have never heard a fisherman proclaiming that his Pesca was inefficient). Since Pesca's expertise is a condition for the working of the ordering process of luck, the dependence on the arbitrariness and omnipotence of luck legitimizes his mediation and causes the fishermen to assume that his optimum performance is ensured. Ultimately, the very nature of power itself at sea is a matter of dependence on luck.

Nevertheless, the concession of charisma does not mean at all that there are no complaints against Pescas. On the contrary, a Pesca is frequently labelled as being a "dog", "coyote", "slave trader", etc., and their stereotype is depicted as being beasts, animals, donkeys, savages. However, these "animal" predications cover ambivalent messages, for "savage" behaviour indicates strength as well, and my impression is

that a fisherman's image of the Pesca considers his "toughness" as a necessary sign of his immunity to fear and social chaos on board. The clear tendency in this sense is: any protest against the Pesca is placed on the level of social relations or excessive work exploitation; Pesca's expertise itself and efficient decision-making is hardly ever questioned.

For a Pesca, fishing means primarily an enormous income; but, more importantly, only good catches can keep his "name" competing with other Pescas, since the status among the Pescas themselves depends on the difference in tons of their catches. The Pesca is by his position compelled to take personal responsibility for the catches: if luck helps and the catches are good, his position as good Pesca is safe; if he has no luck and no fish come, the Pesca takes on himself the whole responsibility for the disaster; when the catches are good, jokes about the matapeixes, "the fish killer", are made in the officers' dining room; a week without catches is enough to "eat the guts" of a Pesca with worry.

One consequence of the Pesca's position which can lead to dangerous decisions is his need to make use of the maximum working time, for the uncertain luck only happens to those who wait for it. In practical terms this means that he will force the fishermen to "savage" schedules of work in times of good catches (any fisherman has records of fifty or sixty hours of continuous work), or that in stormy days he can risk fishermen's lives performing deck manoeuvres in order to continue the dragging. The Pesca's temptation in this situation is to get most profit from the operation, no matter what the

weather conditions, since just one afternoon of dragging means on average of four or five tons of fish, which in Pesca's percentage is translated into around \$300, that could easily be doubled if the supply of fish is good. I remember the Pesca commenting once at lunch time on the "barbarity" of some other Pesca nearby who had shot the net in spite of the storm; "he could have lost half of his crew", he remarked. Luck demands and justifies any risk.

On the other hand, the Pesca faces the problem of his status reinforcement, since everybody on board recognizes that he essentially is "one more fisherman". In contrast with the Captain, who has done major nautical studies, or even with the Engineers who have a "profession", the Pesca's career as Pesca is practically his "being a fisherman". Being tough, daring, uninhibited, provoking, swearing, indifferent to fatigue or fear, they do partly fulfill the function of reinforcing the Pesca's peculiar status of charismatic fisherman whose only speciality is to mediate luck.

8. Any analysis of the Pesca-fishermen relationship should take into account that, unlike the boss-worker relationship in a factory, or the manager-secretary relationship in an office, the fact that on board they all depend on luck, on deprivation of family, and on institutionally forced association, makes that relationship complex. Sometimes these factors put the Pesca and the fishermen in the same position.

For example, one consequence of the joint expectation from luck is not only that fishermen uncritically accept Pesca's decisions based on personal experience or unreleased information, but that they internalize the Pesca's duty to maximize the working schedule although that might be causing them physical exhaustion for days. Once, in a time of continuous work, I purposefully started attacking the Pesca's behaviour in front of three fishermen, arguing that his good treatment of us was a trap to get more work without arousing our protests: my words sounded rebellious, for they were clearly embarrassed and soon they pointed out, as a last means of counterbalancing my attacks, that "we don't always have fish and when we do, we have to make most use of it". They were aware that "in relation to the Shipowner they (the Pescas) are all the same", but at the same time emphasizing that social relations (never their maximization of work schedules) distinguished the Pescas like day and night.

This same assumption of full work exploitation, which was accepted by the fishermen, was responsible for the fact that they considered it a sign of Pesca's unexpected humanity that, after fifty-seven hours of heavy and nearly uninterrupted work between Tuesday midday and Friday night, he allowed them two hours of sleep before going on working for another fifty-six hours in the next three days: "there you have a sign of his fairness", I was assured by my opponents; "you should see if some other Pesca would give you two hours of rest, with fish in the park.

Pesca's status depends on the way the fishermen view their relations to luck. For the promise of luck to be the best possible, they must first completely believe in it; in order for the fish to be a gift, the arbitrariness of luck must be first proclaimed. Likewise, in fishermen's minds the tendency is to look at Pesca's efficiency largely as a gift, a charisma, a safety guarantee: as with luck, the uncritical attitude of submissiveness and faith needs to be previously granted. A number of times, on occasions such as the net getting stuck, when I pointed out to the fishermen that the Pesca was responsible for the trouble, their reaction was a mixture of surprise, unbelief and a scornful smile: of course they knew that if the Pesca had not ordered the dragging in that area the net would not have got stuck; but what really mattered was not the course Pesca set, for everybody should assume that his decision was made under favorable chances. To sum up, in case something goes wrong the decision in itself is not responsible but the failure of nature to collaborate. Decisions of Pesca, such as going and spending three weeks in Greenland, while at the same time other Parejas were catching three times as much on the Newfoundland coast, never provoked one single word of criticism from the crew: that would be the same as protesting against bad luck for, at the end, luck was responsible for making the Pesca's decision right or wrong.

Structurally, the tendency is to personalize the Pesca's power on the basis that he is the single person responsible for the fishing strategy. Besides, in his management the Pesca

makes full use of the fishermen's assumption that experience and personal cleverness do matter. An example of this is our Pesca's row with the Companion trawler's Chief Engineer because he had shifted to the stern tank 15,000 liters of petrol, when the Pesca had permitted him to shift only from 10 to 12,000 liters. This example illustrates the Pesca's all-embracing charismatic knowledge at sea and the technical arbitrariness it gives rise to, for a Chief Engineer needs to ask the permission of the Pesca who has no engineering knowledge, to do something about problems of the ship's balance, and be seriously reprimanded for an inadequate fulfillment of his orders. I heard the Pesca use the expressive saying that "at sea mathematics do no count". Once mathematical laws are not available, other laws need to be applied.

Which, exactly, are the qualities that make a Pesca excellent? From what I gathered from the Pesca himself, the information stored in years of personal experience and sharing of other Pesca's expertise is a substantial factor in his career. A major concern is the search for the best fishing spots that usually are situated in the corners that the continental shelves form against the deep sea, for there the fish remain protected from the tidal currents. Another substantial skill is the ability to make the right composition of the net, the knowledge of which offers to the Pesca an irreplaceable status on board.

It was an intelligent Captain of a Bou (in which the Captain plays the role of Pesca as well) who made me realize that the

basic condition for a Pesca's efficiency is the capacity for complete concentration on fishing: "that is what we mean when we say of some Pesca '... but he is a fisherman'. Take me as an example: I know more about the net than any Pesca in Terra-nova, except perhaps one, but I am not what is called a fisherman". When I asked if the difference was noticeable in the catch, his answer was: "oh yes, they catch much more than I because I don't have my mind focused on fishing the twenty-four hours a day". Luck rewards the seaman in the degree the seaman believes and waits for luck.

On this same matter of concentration, once I heard our Pesca commenting on his continuous shouting at a Second Pesca he had "because he was not attentive", whereas to the present Second Pesca he never had anything to say "because he is very attentive".

On the surface there is a contradiction between the characterization of the fishermen's virtues as skill, courage and endurance of physical fatigue, and the main virtue of the Pesca (the archetypical fisherman) being "attentiveness". On a deeper level the connection between "being a fisherman" and the Pesca's "attentiveness" relies more at the psychological level of utmost dependence on luck's chances, and the mental strength needed to (removing from the mind any superfluous information) put up with the obsessive focus on fishing.

The Pesca makes use of his total dedication to fishing to reinforce his status, and demands from the Captain the same concentration. According to the Cook's privileged information,

in a Pareja the most frequent friction between the Pesca and the Captain is caused by the Captain's supposed negligence in his night dragging. A clear indication of this situation was our Pesca's complaints in the officers' dining room about the Captain's novel-reading in the mornings, "and then he sleeps everywhere". The Captain, after a full night's work on the bridge, used to take one or two hours for breakfast around 8 a.m. while reading cowboy novels: this was the Captain's leisure time for the whole day. For the Pesca those two hours of frivolous reading were time stolen from complete concentration on fishing, to be reflected in his lesser attentiveness to night dragging. At the end of November the situation between them worsened, and the Pesca started waking up the Captain at supper time more and more abruptly, with comments such as "come on, my fellow countryman, wake up! Nobody knows how much patience I need with you". As any distraction from the thought of God is for the monk a lost time infertile in grace, similarly mental distraction is for the fisherman devoid of luck.

How does the Shipowner take part in the whole ceremony of fishing? He just disappears from the scene. When there is no fish for a day or a week, the fisherman does not blame his working contract, but the absence of luck. After all, who wants to have good catches more than the Shipowner himself? The fisherman knows in his bones that the Shipowner robs him, but that is always "after" the voyage is over, at the time of payment. Once at sea, the fisherman freely agreed to the working conditions laid down by the Shipowner, and accepted the challenge of luck. The Shipowner has nothing to do with

the fisherman not being lucky at sea. It is this kind of relationship with luck which makes it very difficult to call into question the traditional form of the legitimation of power.

In his relationship to the Pesca, the Shipowner chooses him according to his successful voyages. Thus, while for the crew the charismatic performance of the Pesca is basically a management of luck, for the Shipowner his efficiency is strictly measurable in the catch figures. The Pesca's exclusive responsibility for the fishing in relation to the Shipowner was explained to me by the Captain in these words: "If we don't catch, it is the Pesca who is fired, not the Captain; however, the Captain usually follows the Pesca in a case where he is fired". I have heard a Pesca complaining about the Shipowners' conduct with Pescas who for years enjoyed good reputation as Pescas, but recently, when their catches have decreased because of declining fish stocks, they have been left out of work; "of course, they can do the same thing to me at any time", was the answer when I made that suggestion. One fisherman on our trawler reported to me that in 1974 he was on a voyage in which the Shipowner tried to replace the First Pesca, sending him home from sea because of his poor catches. Surely, the ideology of luck has a much shorter scope and different nature for the Shipowner than for the fishermen.

9. A substantial part of the implicit communication among the crew members is the pervasive awareness of sharing the

same environmental-conceptual circumstances. Luck as a regulative concept creates a system which is accepted by every body on board and originates a strong occupational bond. On one occasion of there being no catches, I appeared to the Pesca not to be a participant because I made a remark on the seriousness of the fishermen during the time of the dragging; he accused me of "laughing" at them. The dependence on luck demands a certain emotional attitude that is not compatible with an observant one. Since motives are meaningful with reference to ends, it is the general conceptual order which provides those ends and the "liabilities to perform particular classes of act or have particular classes of feeling" (Geertz, 1973:97). Luck offers the framework in which the economic motivations are turned into acts of communication. Through the patterning of luck and the emotional involvement it requires, the fisherman reveals to himself the nature of fishing and the necessity for crew solidarity.

A point to be made about luck is its tendency to transform logical (symbolic) relations into intrinsic relations. This tendency of luck is the materialization of logical possibilities into a cosmological entity which arranges around itself concrete spatio-temporal frames: a "certain place" at a "certain moment" becomes lucky or un-lucky.

This reification of luck was obvious when normal expectations were destroyed or each time we were forced to interrupt a good fishing session to go to harbour for repairs on account of an accident. The restarting of the fishing was

surrounded, according to our comments, by the real impression that "it is as if you restart it all from nothing": once luck had favoured a concrete spatio-temporal sequence, to abandon it for a few days was clearly to abandon luck, with the subsequent duty of having to wait for it again "from nothing". Likewise, when the Pesca exclaimed in October "I am desiring this month to end at last", luck had become identified with a certain month in a negative way.

It is the fishing itself which provides ground for the conceptual reification of luck. On the one hand, certain zones at certain periods (for instance, St. Pierre Bank in November) do "give" more fish than others, therefore creating an intrinsic relationship between the space-time and the catches. On the other hand, by definition, any fishing is chancy and luck has to be predicated in advance, since the relationship is never intrinsic but symbolic (real only in the logical space). Thus luck offers the matrix where both kinds of predications are bridged: fishing exists as possibility before its occurrence, thanks to the order generated by the concept of luck; once fishing becomes a reality in catches, then luck (that was before strictly a concept) tends to be imagined as a thing.

This tendency to a continuous reification of fishing possibilities partly explains why still, nowadays, a fishing ship stands on the borderline between a secular and sacred place, where taboos should be observed. The two main verbal taboos are "priest" and "witch", that can be considered the two mediators (sacred and profane) in Spanish culture between

normal and abnormal reality. The (by definition) irregular or "abnormal" effects of luck itself as a shift from the secular to the sacred were tabooed as well: particularly during the dragging, no praises of other lucky voyages or "glories" should be made; a Pesca was recently saying that he did not even like to be wished "good luck", but instead he preferred "shit on luck". In a way, it seems as if fishing gets invested with a symbolic system of its own that should be distinguished from the christian or magical.

10. What is typical of the fishing mode of production is that, because of its utmost occupational irregularity, it demands a representation of the way of life so continuously reinforced or corrected, that the representation itself tends to be dissociated from actual events. The continual problem of having to conceptualize the natural arbitrariness causes the fishermen to be so absorbed with their model that they tend to reduce their lives to only one causal framework. In general, a fisherman's tendency is, firstly, to focus attention on the arbitrary natural causation to the detriment of social causation; and, secondly, to apply fatalistic determination of natural laws to social realities. As luck corrects nature's irregularity but nature in itself remains arbitrary, society also tends to be seen as a reality independent of men's purposive action. This is partly why matters related to social or political organization are to a great extent deleted from a fisherman's

world view.

Apart from the natural irregularity of the coming of fish, the constant danger at sea is a powerful factor in creating sense of sheer arbitrariness in the fisherman's world view. At the end of the voyage, as the winter was approaching and some mechanical failures were happening, the presence of danger became more and more impressive. On four or five occasions real danger occurred, as on November 27th when the haul was so enormous (probably up to 50 tons) that the stopper broke and the whole trawl went back into the sea; according to Pesca's comment during supper, "it was a miracle that it did not kill four or five fishermen on deck". Falling into Terranova waters meant during most of our voyage inevitable death by exposure in a couple of minutes. On another occasion the stopper broke and the net-full of fish took under it a fisherman and dragged him along the deck to the very edge of the ramp.

Did the fishermen mind the work and danger of those days? On 29th November, at noon, after having worked 84 hours out of the last 110, just when they were going to have some rest after so many hours of work, they were called to haul the net again, for there was "a mountain of fish". This meant a tremendous cast that would keep them working without interruption another twenty-four hours. When they went down from the deck, I left the galley to meet them and see their reactions: in spite of their exhaustion, they were to my amazement quite content and willing to work.

Physical fatigue could become torture (some fishermen confessed to me at the end of the voyage that they never did

properly recover from those November days of exhaustion), but more torturing yet was the dependence on the uncertainty of luck. They should be happy that they were offered the opportunity of contributing with their fatigue to the all-powerful action of luck. Nobody would try to hide his extreme fatigue, but at the same time those were the occasions on which fishermen's songs could be heard all over the dining-room and the park of fish.

The experience of risk could become as frightening as on October 19th, when the Companion trawler was dangerously damaged by the storm and they were afraid they would sink for three long hours. After the accident, the night we reached St. John's I went out with a fisherman who started explaining at me at random: "You see, you are at sea having such hard times, and then you come to port, and if you go on a real proud drunk, people who don't understand, despise you. Take for example the fisherman of the Companion now: they have risked their lives and have feared drowning for three hours of storm. What else can they do but get drunk when they come to port, still alive?".

The above words were said by a fisherman who two months later in St. Pierre fell into the freezing water because of drunkenness and slippercy ice, and was instantly rescued by his companions, already unconscious and with nervous attacks; one minute more in the water meant death by freezing. That night too, after he recovered from convulsions and sudden bouts of deep crying, we went out to celebrate his "having been reborn". For the fishermen the risk was much the same, coming from the sea's condition or from celebrating the danger involved in

that condition. Can a Terranova fisherman know what is killing him, after all, whether the natural conditions themselves, or the pride needed to face their risk?.

The uncontrollable risk had been present on board from the very same night we left home port, when, one of the two trawlers just putting out to sea, a fisherman had been badly injured while clearing the deck. He had cut his mouth, breaking several teeth, and apparently was going to lose two or three fingers of one hand. He was taken back to hospital, friends and relatives being still at the port saying goodbye, and we all had to stay overnight in port while finding another fisherman to replace him. The Pesca, grave, made this comment on the bad start of the trip: "gypsies don't like good beginnings". The Captain in his turn said: "one more accident at work; it would have been worse if it had happened after two days of sailing". A fisherman's remark was: "you know, these thing never happen to the Shipowner or to his secretary; they have to happen to us".

Futher back yet, before leaving home port, while carrying barrels of wine of 250 liters each, one of them fell from the tower crane through the hatches of the main deck and second deck into the fish hold, where the three salters were working at that time but, fortunately, it did not fall on any of them. Later on I wondered about it with one of the salters and he just laughed at me, adding: "well, in that case I would not have to be answering you now; you know, when your time comes nothing can help it, but meanwhile you are safe". The only

way that the permanent risk could be deprived of its threat was to classify it in a mental category saying: "what must happen, will happen".

What in its origin is a psychological device to keep off fear, at the end turns into a belief in fatalistic arbitrariness which prevents the search and eradication of possible causes of danger. The following provides an example of the fishermen's lack of interest in preventing accidents: seven crew members of our trawler had experienced a shipboard fire that sank the ship off the coast of St. Pierre during the previous voyage -a dreadful event they used to relate vividly. After two months at sea I asked a few fishermen whether they had seen any fire extinguisher on board, only to learn that they had neither seen nor looked for one. The fire of the previous voyage had started in the galley. But when I asked the Cook (who had been so shaken by the last galley fire that he never regained the sense of security on board) if he had seen one, he replied: "you are right, we have no fire extinguisher in the galley, I did not even realize it". As it was explained to me later, if there was to be a fire which would burn the entire trawler, it would happen despite any safety guarantee; and if there was to be no fire, then a fire extinguisher was useless.

Another major condition of work in the fishing of Terra-nova is the absence of proper medical assistance at sea. In spite of the dangerous conditions of work, there is no doctor or medical assistant on board the whole Spanish fleet in Terra-

nova. Each time a major accident happens the trawler has to hurry to St. John's or St. Pierre harbour, where two Spanish doctors attend the fleet in two well-prepared centers that are staffed as well by a medical assistant, and a social worker; there is also a priest in each of the ports.

A medical study of the effects that the work in a Pareja has on the health of the fishermen could be revealing. A story the Cook told me many times was: "in twenty-three years of sailing to Terranova I have known hardly anybody reaching the age of retirement". Fishermen frequently think of working in Terranova for a number of years and then changing to coastal or merchant ships at home. As work on deck gets too heavy with age, some fishermen go as oilers, trying to reach the age of retirement. An important element of harshness in the fishing conditions in Terranova is the cold: in order to protect themselves from it, the classical remedy among the fishermen has been scalding hot coffee with cognac; in our trawler the average of coffee (mostly with cognac) drunk per day, per crew number, was nearly a litre. With the exception of the days in harbour, there was hardly a case of drunkenness aboard.

Each time a Terranova fisherman states with renewed conviction "this is not life", his message is surely not a mystery. He simply means: we have no safety guarantees, no medical protection at sea, no trade unions, no family, no sex, no social life, no schedule of work, no settled salary. In face of the dilemma "settled salary/percentage salary", since the fishermen know that any settled salary offered by the

shipowner will be substantially lower than the salary they can get from sharing a percentage of the total profits, they are led to prefer the shares, for that is the best payment system available. As a consequence, fisherman's "battle" at sea becomes a battle not with the unsafe conditions of his working contract, but with the uncertainty of luck and its arbitrary causation at the natural as well as social levels -a battle so long and arduous that he easily forgets how he came to such a struggle with unknown realities.

11. In relation to the social life on board, the sense of actual or potential disorder has multiple aspects which constitute a constant threat to the harmony of the fishermen's social and psychological behaviour. As pointed out above, the ultimate ground for the sense of disorder in our social life was the nature of the working contract itself. Firstly, the percentage of the gross profits which the fishermen were to receive was based on the Shipowner's word (we had been persuaded to sign the contract forms in blank; in practice, the fishermen don't believe in their validity; later we learnt that the written percentages were much below those verbally promised). Secondly, the percentage meant that our earnings were governed by the uncertainty of the catches. Thirdly, since we could not control the private sale of the fish by the Shipowner, there was no way of accurately knowing what the real profits would be. Finally, the irregular presence of fish

had to reorder the whole working schedule on board, every day.

The working schedules are the best example of this irregularity. According to my diary, the total working hours in our trawler in the hundred and twenty six days of sea (not counting the sixteen days spent in port) was 1,041, which gives an average of eight hours and twenty minutes per day. No fisherman in our trawler would admit that the above average is right, for our impression was rather of having an average of twelve to sixteen hours, the reason being simply that during many hours when we were not working we experienced them not as rest but as periods of waiting. Among the fishermen I (as Cooke), having a schedule of around twelve hours of service a day, was considered by far the one who (with the Cook) had more time to rest. Likewise, nobody on board would question that the fishermen's schedule was heavier than the engineers' and oilers' schedule, which amounted to twelve hours every day (except perhaps on Sundays, ten hours).

The following samples of two consecutive days are a good illustration of the disorder in the fishermen's working schedules. They show essentially that the schedule for hauling and processing three tons of fish might allow the same time of rest as the schedule for seventeen tons

October 11-12 (three tons of net fish stored):

- 5.30 p.m. fishermen are called for supper.
- 6 p.m. supper.
- 6.30 p.m. fishermen are ready to be called to haul the net in.
- 7.30 p.m. the Boatswain asks me: "What is the time?"; I answer 7.30, and he adds: "so, the Pesca might not call now until 11 p.m."
- 10 p.m. fishermen are called to haul the net in.
- 11 p.m. fishermen, after finishing the manoeuvre, start processing the fish; four fishermen remain on deck to repair the net.
- 5.15 a.m. fishermen finish processing the fish, change their working clothes and wash their hands.
- 5.30 a.m. breakfast.
- 5.45 a.m. some fishermen go to bed; others prefer to stay waiting to be called to haul in the Companion's net.
- 7 a.m. fishermen are called to haul the net in.
- 7.30 a.m. fishermen haul the Companion's net in and wait to cast their own net in turn.
- 9 a.m. fishermen are called to cast.
- 10 a.m. fishermen waiting for lunch.
- 10.30 a.m. lunch.
- 11 a.m. fishermen go to bed.
- 3.30 p.m. fishermen are called to haul their own net in.

ber 12-13 (seventeen tons of net fish stored):

- 3.30 p.m. fishermen are called to haul their own net back.
- 5 p.m. fishermen cast the Companion's net.
- 5.30 p.m. fishermen begin processing the fish.
- 7 p.m. supper.
- 4 a.m. breakfast.
- 8.30 a.m. fishermen, after having finished processing the fish, haul the Companion's net in.
- 9.15 a.m. fishermen cast their own net.
- 9.45 a.m. lunch.
- 10 a.m. fishermen go to bed.
- 3.30 p.m. fishermen are called to haul their own net in.

In the twenty-four hours of the second schedule, the fishermen have worked eighteen continuous hours to store seventeen tons of fish, with interruptions of only half an hour for supper and half an hour for breakfast, leaving five and a half hours for sleep. In the twenty-two hours of the first schedule, the fishermen have worked eight hours to store three tons and repair the net, but have spent another eight hours waiting to be called, the time left for sleep being four and a half hours.

The time for rest and the time for waiting are qualitatively different: basically, no sleep or private meals can normally be had while waiting to be called to the deck (when physical fatigue takes hold of the fishermen, they only count

as rest the hours of sleep). Psychologically, the eight hours of work are certainly much preferred to the eight hours of waiting, for work offers its own economic reward, and waiting is felt as an irritating waste of time which is neither work nor rest.

More generally, the sense of hanging around is extended to any free time aboard, the time of sleep included, since at any moment of the dragging the net may get fast or the Pesca may decide on a manoeuvre. Dragging day and night means that no day or night can be a safe time of rest, for the work can restart at any moment. Time of dragging and time of resting are conceptually opposed, as is made evident by the fact that the verbal taboos (prohibition of mentioning "witch", "priest", "toad", "snake" and certain other land animals, or of praising one's own catches) and the attitude of seriousness the taboos imply, should be particularly observed by the fishermen during the dragging. Out of the last thirty-five nights of work, we spent working, either partially or for the whole time, twenty-one nights. Once night and rest are disassociated, any free time during the day has to be given over to rest, as if the past working nights had stored a fatigue never to be gotten rid of, or as if the supply of sleep for future nights of work was never sufficient. "Good Pareja-worker, good sleeper", is the saying fishermen have to point out this endless need for sleep.

As to the working time in itself, it makes a great difference to know that it is regulated by a schedule which will provide time for rest, instead of the total uncertainty

about (firstly) when the work of the cast is going to end, and (secondly), after finishing the work, whether there will be time for sleep or another new cast to be processed. In addition, the possibility is always present that, as happened in our voyage between 23rd November and 2nd December, suddenly during ten days they had to work a hundred and fifty eight hours, and could not get rid of the physical exhaustion for the rest of the voyage.

In this sense, the work in a Bou with the two watches of six hours' work and six hours' rest, is much envied by the Pareja fishermen. In a Pareja the only settled schedule includes the meal times for lunch (11.30 for the fishermen, 12.30 for the officers) and supper (6 p.m. for the fishermen, 7 p.m. for the officers). This stable schedule greatly helped to order fishermen's social time on board, when they were working during the day, but it greatly disordered as well their resting time when, after having worked for the whole night, they were left with a half-dozen hours of sleep which necessarily had to be interrupted by lunch or supper. Frequently this schedule forced them to waste part of their precious resting time waiting for the meals, or else, when sleep was desperately needed, they just did not wake up to eat. To eat heavily after long hours of work and immediately go to sleep was partly responsible for the many stomach problems we had on board.

The symptom of the social disorder was that the fishermen had an average of eight or nine hours' work a day, and the impression of being working sixteen, because the scattered hours

of neither work nor rest could not be counted as free time: a schedule that depends on the irregular coming of fish must necessarily be irregular.

Furthermore, irregularity in itself becomes a symbol of efficiency and luck: as more fish come, the more irregular is the schedule. The Pesca's and crew's expectations are huge casts of twenty to thirty hours of uninterrupted work. If the catch is small, the Pesca likes to keep the fishermen's time on a totally irregular and unannounced schedule, in part to make sure that they are constantly in a disposition to work. The underlying assumption is the omnipotence and arbitrariness of luck: as if luck subdued to schedule would lose its intrinsic power, the fishing schedule has to be set up from hour to hour, depending on luck and the intuition of the Pesca. Thus, the conceptual order based on luck partially justifies certain kinds of social disorder and demands it.

Likewise, fishermen's fatalistic ideology contributes to their inability to get organized in trade unions. In a sense, the concept of society is strange for a fisherman (society would mean a village, a country, or the whole world ashore, but hardly a ship) and the concept of union organization is somehow tied with stability and therefore incompatible with sea life. One can conclude that, although on the one hand fishermen are quite aware of the Shipowner's exploitation of their work, on the other hand their awareness gets only halfway because of the assumption that ultimately their earnings at sea depend more on luck than on the Shipowner's policy of shares, temporariness,

verbal contracts, and paramilitary protection.

12. We come to the conclusion in this chapter that in the fisherman's world view, his most comprehensive ideas of economic and natural order are summarized in the key concept of luck. The gaps in the common-sensical view of the world are covered by the cognitive system created by luck, i.e., luck and its permutations occupy the fisherman's thinking in order to correct the daily fluctuations of the coming of fish. Since economic and affective gratification is conditioned by chancy natural resources, it is a peculiarity of the fisherman's cultural heritage, this continuous reference to a logical space, where positive and negative events are defined according to the place they occupy in the probability calculus. In the terminology of the "quality space" (Fernandez, 1974:124) luck fulfills the function of a metaphoric predication that brings about the best "positioning" in fishing opportunities.

The deletion of social causes from the fisherman's world-representation (particularly from the risky and stressful working conditions) is partly explained by his dependence on chance. Although luck does not have the power to justify customary ritual and openly magical manipulation of symbols, it gives ground to a belief system with clearly metaphysical tendencies. The Shipowner makes use of the fisherman's conceptual system based on luck to exploit him. Because of the terms of the working contract, which the fisherman is forced to accept,

he ends up assuming that what matters at sea is basically the existence of working opportunities (luck) rather than equitable distribution of the profits.

The principle of luck among fishermen is a solution to the central cognitive problem of how nature works: all the economic anxiety becomes focused on the intellectual problem of how natural causation can be understood and patterned. Luck becomes a predication on events, relations, classifications, the logic of which vigorously contends that possibilities are conceptually as real as actualities, the epistemology of which states that the primary causation of events is arbitrary but self-correcting; the metaphor of which predicates economic and affective good fortune; the cosmology of which stresses man's direct dependence on nature for his survival.

Chapter 3 - NEAR AND DISTANT RELATIONS

Este amor apasionado
anda todo alborotado
por volver;
voy camino a la locura
y aunque todo me tortura(*)
sé querer;
nos dejamos hace tiempo
pero me llegó el momento
de perder;
tú tenías mucha razón
yo hago caso al corazón
y me muero por volver.

(Chorus) Y volver, volver, volver
a tus brazos otra vez;
llegaré hasta donde estés
yo sé perder, yo sé perder,
quiero volver, volver, volver.

(The favourite song of the fishermen on our trawler)

(*) Although the words are "todo me perdura" ("all remains in me"), the fishermen sing "todo me tortura" ("all tortures me").

1. As the previous chapter dealt with the ideology of fishing around the ordering concept of luck, this chapter deals with the "ethos" of fishing, considering ethos according to Bateson's definition (1936:118) as "The expression of a culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of the individuals".

The division between the cognitive aspects of Terranova fishing in one chapter, and the emotional aspects in another, arbitrary as it might appear, it obeys to a dichotomy the seamen themselves liked to formulate: "a fisherman only thinks of fish and home". Obviously, such separation as cognition (luck) at sea and affection (home) on shore exists only for analytical purposes, for fishermen's deep emotional involvement at sea in their dependence ^{on} luck was clear in the previous chapter, in the same way as in this chapter the conceptual references of affection will be manifest. Likewise, it is very misleading to think of luck itself as an exclusively cognitive fact devoid of affection, or to think of "home" as a place where cognition does not occur. Perhaps the best way to put it is that when they refer to the sea-situation they think and feel fundamentally in terms of luck, whereas the shore-situation is felt about and thought out fundamentally in terms of affection for family. This was made clear to me during the month of December, when all that the fishermen wanted was to return home for Christmas, and I was told a number of times, referring to luck, that "we don't live on that any more".

The three scenes that circumscribe fishermen's emotional

life are home, ship, and foreign harbour. In these settings the fishermen experience three different emotional lives: "home" represents the emotional gratification of the family and leisure time; "ship" is the place for emotional deprivation of the family sphere and for institutionalized work; "foreign harbour" stands for deviant gratification substituting for the real satisfaction of family and home-village life. The interplay of these emotional contexts shapes fishermen's ethos.

An ethnographically relevant point is that my information about fishermen's family life is mostly gathered from their conversations at sea and reflects their emotional projection on shore, from the sea, rather than the actual relations in the family context. When the voyage was over, I stayed ten days in the home port checking the unloading of fish, in the name of the fishermen, and another twelve days in four villages visiting most of the fishermen's families, at their invitations. However, apart from the general feeling of their family lives, I cannot rely much on my observations during those days, for I felt their interaction with me was more at a social than family level.

It is basically the fishermen's own occupation in Terranova which makes my description of their family relations essentially a description of their mental projections from the sea, instead of the actual relations on shore, since Terranova fishermen have been expending an average of five to seven months at sea and staying with their families from twenty to

thirty days. Therefore, during about ten months of the year they experience their families only in fantasy. It is the length of this institutional separation which provokes the typically projective nature of fishermen's emotional life, with the consequence that, in a significant way, the fantasy relations with the family, at sea, are for a fisherman more significant than the actual relations on shore. The overwhelming importance of this fact should be kept in mind throughout this chapter.

A - RETURNING HOME

2. I was assured several times that "there are two terribly happy days at sea: one, the day you leave for Spain; two, the day you arrive home". Although in actual time the strict period of return is no longer than the seven to ten days between those two terribly happy dates, in psychological time "the return" constitutes a central theme for the understanding of the fishermen's lives. The constant mental returning becomes a necessary means to achieve the emotional compensation for leaving behind home and country.

A song I heard fishermen sing countless times, sometimes unconsciously humming it over and over while playing cards, was the well-known Spanish love song that heads this chapter, the English translation of which says:

This passionate love
goes round and round longing
to return;

I am on the way to madness
and though all tortures me
yet I know how to love;
we left each other long ago
but now it is my time
to lose;
you were wholly right
I pay attention to the heart
and I am dying to return.

And return, return, return
to your arms again;
I will reach to where you are
I know how to lose
I know how to lose
I want to return, return, return.

Where does a fisherman return to? Much of his entire affective life would be described in terms of answering this question. Independent of the place or the social group to which he returns, what for a Terranova fisherman is of vital importance at sea is the feeling itself of "returning", the awareness that today he is closer to that time than he was yesterday. As renunciation of family and home-village life had been our compulsory choice, to get into the hardships of being fishermen, "returning" was the release from institutional and mental constraints at sea: we were away from home, but our situation of exile could be somehow redeemed by the continuous emotional returning.

Thus the opposition between the sea of deprivation and the land of return has this tendency:

-sea is the particular working condition accepted to earn a salary in order to make a living/

shore is the more general state of life from which life at sea separates and to which it must return.

-the stay at sea is temporal and only temporal limits can make it acceptable/

shore is a seemingly a-temporal place which you leave or to which you return, and which is incapable of being replaced by a better state of life.

-sea is felt as a "prison" where deprivation rules/

shore is felt as the place where affective gratification remains.

-at a logical level, sea is the place for the full range of possibilities/

on shore there should be no scope for diverse possibilities to occur in connection with affective security.

-in relation to fishing, luck is needed as the concept ordering the fluctuations of the catches/

in relation to shore, family is needed to fill in the emotional loss.

3. August 21st was the day of departure from the home port.

"While you are in port you still don't feel it, but as soon as you leave port your head is full of memories", a fisherman

admitted to me. Since the actual deprivation of family and the emotional life centered on it is so radical, it needs to be counterbalanced by creating internal images of the world left behind. What is most important to understand fisherman's affective relations at sea is the analysis of this imaginary projection on shore, for imagination is the only means he has of recreating the emotional life he misses.

A very significant fact throughout the entire voyage was the non-existence of a known temporal limit to it. Until three days before leaving the banks of Terranova we were most uncertain about when the voyage was going to end. Our emotional expectation were thus totally subordinated to the catches and the decision of the Shipowner. The element of chance indirectly ruled as well the possibility of our emotional gratification.

The two adverbial expressions that are continuously used at sea to refer to the sea and shore situations are a bordo, "on board", and en tierra, "on shore". The essential fact about shore is the existence itself of another totally different reality where a personal and social identity, different from the institutional ones at sea, can be kept. Life on shore could make up for any privation at sea and make of the institutional "prison" a transitional and irrelevant time in our whole lives.

To point out the social deprivations was the easiest way to characterize our life on board: no family, no sex, no home-village life, no leisure days, no ground stability, no time schedule, no religious or political performances, no

communication with shore. Since this was our social condition, constantly despised as "not-life", "not-real", "prison", the internal relationship established with the remote "real life" was given a reality of its own, to the point of potentially depriving life on board of any significance.

It can be said that the presence of the more general reality, always placed at a distance, was constantly shaping our emotional expectations and creating a peculiar psychology in our social relations on board. We had all assumed that our being at sea did not make any sense, if not as a projection to shore; that the community we formed on board was subsidiary to some other community on shore in which we were really involved; therefore, that the mental relationship we had with that physically missing world was in itself more important for any of us than social relations on board.

"We only think of fish and home", was the statement that the Cook repeatedly made to me: everything on board is a function of the catch, everything on shore is organized around home. "Since we don't do anything else, neither see nor hear anything else, we necessarily have to think of the family; what else could we be thinking?" As the Captain put it: "here you are living with no other thing in your mind but those who are on shore, for them to have money". The need for supporting the family provokes dependence on economic luck at sea: money is the meaning of luck viewed from the sea, but the meaning of money for shore is the emotional gratification.

Five fishermen in my trawler were unmarried: one of them married just after the voyage ended; another one had a fiancée

and was likely to marry soon; the other two were young and not engaged. Only one oiler of thirty-five could be considered a confirmed bachelor; when the voyage was over he would give all the money to his mother. I had the impression that the existence of bachelors among Terranova fishermen was rare. At my request, the Cook with his experience of twenty-three years' fishing in Terranova could remember only very few cases. However, his brother-fisherman was one of them, and the description of him by the Cook was that "my brother was all the time thinking and talking about his nephews and nieces and making presents to them".

The simplest reason why fishermen generally think of bachelorhood as a totally undesirable state is, as the Pesca put it to me, that "they are to be pitied". Independent of others, a bachelor fisherman is likely to be pitiable for the difficulties he will find to project himself emotionally on shore. Without the responsibility of supporting a family, the bachelor fisherman is deprived of the moral justification of harsh shipboard conditions.

In terms of relations, since the seaman projects all his gratification on to shore life and emotionally depends on it, reciprocally his wish is that on shore some degree of emotional dependence on him should be established as well. Without family life's affective reciprocity, the fisherman is likely to feel that his own relationship of emotional dependence on shore lacks an object, since it is not socially returned. A consequence of enormous importance is that, without the

emotional reciprocity, the stability of his relations to shore is threatened.

4. It is never more pleasant to listen to a fisherman than when he talks about his wife and children. "There is nothing I like more than playing with my children; when I go running with them my wife always says:but you are like them!". Also, the Captain liked to say that his greatest pleasure when he got back ashore was going to be to play with his little baby, adding: "well, with the little one and with the big one". Confessions of this kind should be taken as normal when a fisherman gets confidential: "every time I go to sleep I like to remember my wife and children and the moments we had together". Some of them had pictures of their wives and children on the little piece of wall beside the bunk which was the single private spot on board, sometimes surrounded by a curtain or by clothes hanging from a rope. A few others had their weddings rings hanging from a nail.

The references of officers and fishermen to their families were continuous. During the first days of sailing, in the officers' dining-room, I heard the Captain affirm several times, emphatically: "first is the family, and then comes all the rest". I deliberately tempted them: "why is it that all you seamen get married when you are going to be at home, at most, two months a year? It would have been better if you remained bachelors". Their reaction was laughter: this was so opposed

to their assumptions that it could not be a threat to them; the Captain jokingly added: "that is the reason why some come to sea, because they are married".

Each time the Captain talked to me about his life at sea, he invariably summarized all his motivations in the sentence: "I am here to support my family". He and the Chief Engineer could even be embarrassingly sentimental in talking about their wives, as when the Chief Engineer was reporting his wife's scenes of grief because he was leaving for sea. I heard them describing their wives attractions for periods of twenty to thirty minutes. The Captain talked by phone to his wife and only daughter on her first birthday and the little daughter was able to call him Aita, "Daddy" : "She called me Aita, she called me Aita", was his exclamation of true contentment during the whole day; when I joked about it he just answered: "but do you know what it means, that she called me Aita?". We all celebrated her birthday with a bottle of cognac.

The Pesca was not sentimental in talking about his wife and family, yet he would always make clear that the duty of supporting his family was the reason for his staying at sea. On the previous voyage, in which he had a better radio system and could call directly to Spain, he used to talk to his wife nearly every second day. He was very convinced that "what makes life at sea so hard is the separation from your family". According to him, this separation ensures that when you go back home "it is as if you need more affection".

The fishermen did not usually show so plainly affection for wife and family, although once I heard one of them, before going up on deck, address his wife's picture with these words: "Goodbye, Estrella, I am going to do it for you". There was no need for asking questions about the family's importance in fishermen's lives, for everything they really knew was that "we are here to support the family".

Nevertheless, I wrote in my notebook the description that the Boatswain gave me of "the day of the return", which is the day a fisherman visualizes all the time as the passage from the sea to family life. These were his words: "For me, to be back at home is a new honeymoon. There are no words to express that happiness. The wife and children come to receive you. The children call you "Daddy" and cry, and I cry, and that day everything is just great; it is like the day you get married, or like an astronaut will feel reaching the moon for the first time, with the difference that he can reach it only once, while for a fisherman that day happen every five or six months. For instance, now I have been for three years working as fisherman from my village, everyday going out to and coming back from the sea, and the pleasure I'll get the day I go home now, after these months at sea, has nothing comparable to it in those three years. The day you leave home is fucking bad too, but the day you return, there are no words to explain it. You see, the fisherman has only that small bit of happiness, but that he enjoys terribly when he goes back, more than other people would enjoy in a life of constant pleasure. When you get

married you lose some of you freedom, but life is something to be fought for, otherwise it's nor worth living. It is like a woman, when she is too easy, you don't appreciate her as much as you do when it is rather difficult, even if she's not so pretty".

Another fisherman's appreciation was that "it seems to me that on shore people are more selfish, or something like that", referring to the fact that people living on shore miss the emotional excitement a fisherman enjoys when at home "as if it were always new". The Captain's comment when receiving a new photograph of his little daughter walking, was: "If you are on shore, you don't appreciate what a photo like this means; only at sea you fully know what it's worth". He liked to quote a priest friend of his who said that "a fisherman has more than fifty percent of his matrimonial problems solved, because each time he comes home he is on a new honeymoon".

All these emotional projection are of course idealizations. In point of fact, the psychological mortgage a fisherman has to pay for his long months of isolation at sea can hardly be fully described. The effect of the fishing gamble cannot be erased in twenty to thirty days at the home-village. His difficulties of adaptation to shore are enormous: all he knows is nets and fish, all he thinks of is luck and family; no newspapers, no radio, no television for months. According to a statistical poll (D.I.S. 1972), sixty percent of them feel their own children look on them as strangers: he is really "fucked up" when, as happened to a fisherman of our trawler

after the voyage, his little blond daughter cries, seeing him in bed with her mother, "who is that man?". More than fifty percent of their wives do not like their fishing work.

"What conversation can I have with somebody living on shore? I started going to weekly dinners with some of my shore friends and I had to stop going because I did not have anything to talk about". "Have you ever read a newspaper two days old, or one day? I ask my family to keep the daily newspapers for the time I get back, and I spend hours and hours reading them, to be up to date; they look at me in surprise and ask 'but how can you be reading a newspaper two months old?' I also used to bring newspapers with me to the ship".

Men as intelligent and sociable as the Pesca would avoid meeting a friend in a taberna: "they will think I don't want to be with them on account of my position, but I just don't know what to say". The stories are many, the result is the same: the psychological deformation will prevent the Terranova fisherman from feeling that life on shore also belongs to him.

"After no having rested for several years and after the shipwreck last March, I decided to stay home until July or August; when fifteen days had gone I could not stand the thought that I was going to remain on shore for four or five months; it even makes you think there is something wrong with you", the Pesca confessed to me. Another fisherman: "at home the last time they were surprised that, after a month on shore I was not nervous and willing to go to sea; this time I stood

the time on shore much easier, because I had a niece with whom I could play".

The order based on challenging luck could not be easily adapted to the monotonous repetition of shore work where salaries, space and schedule are felt to be unmovable. " I am a gambler, I like to bet", said one to me. "They gave me 22,000 pesetas (\$300) a month for unemployment: although I would use it for food and so on, I never thought that was money; real money for me is earned at sea". The best definition of the fishing psychology that the sea-life creates I heard from an old fisherman: "like the water slowly filters through the walls of the hold, while the cod gets dry, so it happens with luck entering your head. I can see that, because before becoming a fisherman I was a farmer".

One good case of this psychological determination I observed in the Cook, who had refused several work offers he had from restaurants near his home, "because I would not know how to deal with people": he had treated fishermen with "motherly care" for years, but shipboard relations were substantially different from relations ashore. Other fishermen as well suggested that they had refused opportunities of work on shore. The case of the fisherman who does not need to work any longer, but goes on fishing "because I get bored on shore", is classical. I heard from the Captain the story of his father, who left sea work at his mother's request; his late mother's only piece of advice to his wife had been: "don't ever force your husband to retire from the sea; the greatest

wrong I did in my life was to force my husband to work on shore: he was never happy at the factory, and a lot of troubles could have been avoided if he had stayed at sea".

His thoughts turning home while he is at sea, he finds that they turn to the sea again once he is home: the Terranova fisherman has no place where his body and mind are one. The ever-renewed distance he is trying to bridge, slowly comes to appear as a necessary condition for his emotional gratification.

5. The intensity of his emotional relationship with family brings it about that for a fisherman letters are given such a singular importance as virtually the only means of communicating with shore. It has become a frequent cause of a row, when coming to St. John's port, that the letters that had been sent to St. Pierre did not arrive on time on account of not being asked for at sea by the Captain. When I was instructed about "what makes a Pesca good", the first thing I was told, together with "good treatment of fishermen", was that he should be "quick in taking the letters from the trawlers that are bringing them from port"; since several hours of sailing might be needed to approach the trawler that is carrying the letters from port, instead of immediately collecting them, Pescas tend to retard it as much as they can. In fact, one of the most notorious barbarities a Pesca committed in these last years, according to the frequency with which it was related, was a

refusal to take the letters from the trawler that was bringing them because, so he said, "the men did not deserve them".

The effect of a letter can be unexpectedly great, as every fisherman would agree. "No bigger troubles arise than when you are told something in a letter", a fisherman said to me, to emphasize the family's primary importance. The most disturbing result from a letter which took place in our voyage was not receiving it: a fisherman decided to cut off the cheques that were sent every month to his wife, because she did not write him in the first month and a half of his stay at sea; the Captain made him phone his wife, who happened to be ill. A Captain who had been fishing in Terranova for twenty-two years reported to me the frequency of fishermen who would react in similar ways to their wives' letters. The fact that she went to a wedding and was forced to dance with somebody, or that she had a glass of wine with a male friend, or that she sent him a picture of herself in a miniskirt, can produce deep emotional disturbance in a fisherman, the Captain assured me, confirming it with concrete cases.

Apart from letters, the fishermen take advantage of their stays at port to phone home, some of them every day. Presents for the wife and children is the other means of emotional contact.

However, the most significant performance when staying in port was singing: in our trawler a group of about ten fishermen would spend in singing an average of four to six hours a day; once they stayed singing for eight hours without interruption. "Singing is like getting drunk: you can do it out of sorrow or out of contentment", it was explained to me by a fisherman.

singing was the means of producing emotional enjoyment and acting out the affective relationship with family and homeland that in harbour were intensified by letters and phone calls. "When I am in port I like singing, it makes me happy, I enjoy it terribly". Free from the dependence on luck and the institutional constraints at sea, the affective relations take on in port the priority they in fact hold in fishermen's lives.

The first time I heard them singing collectively was the night before our first entrance into port. Since we were forced to visit harbour five times, later on singing became a very considerable activity that, apart from the many hours in port, occupied peculiarly emotional moments on board. Songs such as Qué vida mais esclaviña a vida do mariñeiro, "What a little slave life the life of a fisherman", or the hymn Venceremos nos, the Galician translation of "We shall overcome", did sometimes fulfill a function of protest. At other times, particular sequences of songs insistently hummed were expressive of fishermen's peculiar ethos.

Apart from occasional singing when coming down from the deck or when working the fish at the park, sometimes the fishermen would get together in a cabin and sing collectively or individually, dramatizing their words with gestures and even showing deep emotion. These singing sessions made up some of our best moments on board, and it was really pleasurable to listen to a fisherman singing songs such as "I go sailing and smoking a cigarette / and draining a dark bottle /

I go sailing and drinking for her / my delights I enjoy at sea". At other times they would hum sentimental songs while they were playing cards or draughts. From the group of engineers and oilers only one oiler, who had been a fisherman for a long time, used to join these performances. The Captain liked to join in and sometimes sing solo.

At the beginning of November, when fifteen days were already gone without any good catch, the Boatswain observed: "you see, since we left off singing, we don't get any fish; we'll have to start singing again, at least to our Lady of Carmen" (patroness of fishermen in Spain). During the days we had put in at the end of October without fish or work, no singing was done at all: the uncertainty of luck did not allow it. The Boatswain had suddenly realized that singing in itself instead of being the consequence of luck and affective satisfaction, could perhaps produce its own luck and satisfaction.

In December, at the time we were hoping to return home soon, the Boatswain made this remark to me: "the day we leave for Spain, you and I have to be singing until we are at the point of falling down exploding". Some days later he repeated the remark: "the day we leave for Spain, we have to throw Julio (he was his cabin mate) out of the cabin and be singing and drinking, if not whiskey at least wine, until we fall down sick". I understood that proposition to be his greatest token of friendship towards me. On the other hand, at a certain level both singing and getting drunk were identical: both were

celebrations of contentment, performed in an enhanced emotional state, with the additional result of uniting in particular relations of friendship the people who co-participated in them. When the voyage was over I stayed in their villages for fifteen days, where I could see that singing retained its important function of emotional release. It could be said that, as the good functioning of the economic order was assured by the activity of working itself, in a similar way the performance of singing was needed to bring out the pleasure of the protection given by the affective order.

B - FOREIGN HARBOUR

6. Time in port, away from the constraints of shipboard life, was felt as an unchosen break which we had only to accept and enjoy: it was never regarded as a reward for work. The sole reward for our labour would be the return home after a successful voyage. The five times we came into port were all caused by the ships' need for repairs, illness, or labour dispute, not by the crew's need for rest. The Captain took advantage of this temporary break to warn everybody repeatedly that "if anybody has some physical trouble or toothache, this is the time to go to see the doctor". A characteristic feature of the experience of time in harbour is that it is always "almost over", and is seen as a precious and vaguely illicit gift, rather than a right. You are never quite sure whether it is not time for the

ship to sail: the first night you can tell your woman that the next evening you can see her, but the second night is highly unlikely that you can tell her the same, although you might stay a whole week in port, each day being the "last day".

When analysing fishermen's affective relations, and particularly their stays in port, there is something more than letters, phone-calls to home and singing to be described. A well-known theme in fishermen's emotional life, making them suitable subjects for romantic stories, is commonly expressed in the saying "sailor: a girl in every port".

As soon as I joined the fishermen in the home port of Vigo, my attention was attracted by the extent to which the double-standard sexual ideology is approved among them. This ideology is based on two contrasting assumptions: the fisherman is totally free to go with a woman in port; at the same time, the mere thought of the possibility of his wife's unfaithfulness is most severely condemned by him, with savage statements such as "her cunt should be burned with an iron, as somebody did". What is interesting here, more than the existence itself of the macho ideology among the seamen, is to point out the occupational features of fishing that reinforce such ideology.

Among the crew members, four revealed to me verbally, and a few more by their practice, that they were totally "respectful" to their wives. As to the rest, it was not that they would go with the first prostitute they met in harbour. In fact, only a few did have a woman, as far as became known to me, but they all held the conviction, not only that it was permissible

but even proper for a fisherman. If actual affairs had been few, attempted or past or imaginary affairs were countless in port.

I was told that some of the faithful fishermen had been criticizing others' irresponsible behaviour. Nevertheless, it should be taken as normal that in their thirties or forties respectable husbands and fathers went to bed one after another with a young, mentally handicapped girl who came aboard: the "sense" of it was understood by everybody, no matter if somebody condemned it. A fact that considerably restrained the fishermen from natural behaviour was that eight of them were from the same village and this could cause mutual tip-offs when back in their homes: "either they all go or nobody goes", the Cook remarked to me; "I was in another ship in which most of them were from the same village and there they used to go, all of them".

The Cook was an expert in this kind of fishermen's affairs, for he had always been the puritan on board who would rebuke them for being irresponsible. Among other information he gave me, there was some about one fisherman who, when coming to port, would be so eager for women that he never had time to read his wife's letters until he was again sailing back to sea, "and later on, aboard -the Cook remarked indignantly- he would be talking and missing his family all the time, like myself". He concluded by saying that "cases like that, I've known a pile". The answers of the fishermen to his rebukes that their wives had the same rights as themselves, were of

this sort: "we are not equal, otherwise let them come to Terra nova, if they have the same rights, and we shall take care of the children"; or simply "we need to let ourselves go". Another of the Cook's remarks was that "before, they were much more brutish than they are now".

But, interestingly enough, "the greatest fall that anybody could have is to be unfaithful on shore on the way back home, while wife and children are waiting for him: that is an unpardonable fall; it is not the same offence as in harbour; if you are unfaithful in St. Pierre, you have time to repent, but if you are unfaithful on shore, you have no time to repent; that would be the end; everything needs its time". Likewise, another of those faithful fishermen when he was trying to convince me about fishermen's hopeless lack of love for their wives and families, as the last proof of his argument, brought up the case of those who go with prostitutes on shore before arriving home. Although this is surely a very unusual case, it makes clear that even for the faithful there is a conceptual difference between infidelity in harbour and infidelity back home.

To anybody foreign to seamen's sexual ideology, it is surprising that the very same man who, on board, is talking at length about his wife's attractiveness, in port goes with the first prostitute who came aboard; or that the one who is boasting about his advances to a woman while dancing the night before, ends his story with the conclusion that "all that, compared with my wife, is just shit". These cases happened to

me a few times each time we went to port, and I had to take it as normal for "man and woman are different as night and day". Another way of expressing the difference in sexes was that "the consequences of going with somebody else would be much worse than the consequences of the man going with a woman in harbour". It is not that they think themselves by nature superior to women; I was even assured that "yes, in theory she has the same rights as the man, but ...". But the difference was on another level. The contradictions of these supposedly equal but different rights are the subject-matter of the pages immediately following.

7. The understanding of the double standard in seamen's sexual ideology leads, in my opinion, to the understanding of an important element in their affective order: it is a puzzle that hides a significant feature of their general ethos. It could be formulated in these terms: it is justifiable that the seaman should not remain faithful to his wife, but his wife has to be unconditionally faithful. This formulation, rather than being a justification of any occasional "fall", is a conceptual pattern culturally imbedded in seamen's ideology the "sense" of which is understood by every seaman, and which demands from them that they seek its actualization in concrete behaviour.

This analysis can be attempted with different approaches that ultimately combine to explain the phenomenon. A preliminary approach to it is paying attention to the dichotomy that the

overall institutional relations create: sea/shore is the natural opposition in which "sea" tends to make exclusive the institutional reality, and "shore" the non-institutional; thus, the change from sea to shore automatically tends to exclude the institutional situation. Considering the total relations that life at sea originates, an ever-present characteristic of the seamen's culture is this tendency to isolate one arm of the dichotomy offered by the environment. On the level of cognition both worlds are experienced simultaneously, but as cut off one from the other: no matter how the voyage is going, sea is always a time of punishment; no matter what is waiting at home, shore is always a time of freedom and entertainment. Sea is prison, shore is paradise.

Under this assumed heading sea/shore, some elements that define the institutional reality are:

<u>sea</u>	<u>shore</u>
no land	land
no stability	stability
no leisure	leisure
no sex	sex

When the seaman arrives in port, the change from the world of deprivation to the world of full enjoyment takes place and, following the logic of the above polarized structure, he is compelled to seek any possible pleasure. When in port he tends to think: since on board no pleasure is possible, in port no pleasure should be forbidden.

On the contrary, this binary opposition does not apply to the wives. They are, so the seaman believes, enjoying the

shore situation of affection and full pleasure. How could they justify their unfaithfulness? Even more, the institutional structure allows all sexual opportunities to the wife, while he is drastically deprived of any sex at sea. In this line, sex in port happens as a correction of the structural inequality: since the ship-institution puts the seaman under the structural inferiority of having no sexual opportunities, while the wife keeps all her opportunities without even having to bother about her husband's vigilance, he feels justified in "institutionally" correcting his submission by taking advantage of sex opportunities in port. On the other hand, the wife has to compensate for her structural privilege strictly, by not making use of it: in case she were to make use of her opportunities, the discrepancy would become intolerable for the seaman.

However, the key to understanding these institutional oppositions is the conceptual division of two kinds of sex realized by the seaman: the typically "institutional" sex in port and the "affective" family sex on mainland are conceptually different. In the above quoted information given by the Cook and by another fisherman, infidelity in foreign port and infidelity in home port were clearly differentiated. The second offence was a "double sin", "without pardon", "just the end".

Going back to the binary list under the heading "sea/shore", we can distinguish two "shore" situations:

<u>home</u>	<u>foreign_port</u>
land	land (foreign)
stability	stability (temporary)
mother language	foreign language
leisure	leisure (partial)
home-village	village (not one's own)
friends	friends (occasional)
family	family (letters, phone calls)
sex	sex ("like masturbating")

Although the double-standard sex is allowed in the institutional situation of the ship, originating a "sanctioned deviation" (Faris, 1968), there is no justification for it in a mainland home situation. The wife can never have recourse, so the seaman thinks, to this conceptual differentiation as to the practice of sex, for she, since she is living on the "shore of full pleasure", cannot need any "institutional" or substitute sex.

Apart from focusing on the typically institutional relations, another insight into the phenomenon is achieved by structuring the affective relations. Following on with the conceptual distinction in sex we have now established, according to the institutional dichotomy, the seaman ties up "affection" with family sex, but not so with harbour sex. In other words, he can go with prostitutes and at the same time be a loving husband. He can give a detailed report of his affair the night before and end up with the sincere declaration "but all that is just shit compared with the pleasure I get from my wife".

Despite his allowing himself to go with women in port, for a seaman it is out of the question for him not to be considered a loving husband and father. His constant message is that his emotional dependence, his "blood money", and his entire life is for "them" (the family). The penance he is enduring at sea, for whom else could it be? It is all to support his family, he answers himself. Nobody would be permitted to tell him that he does not prove with concrete action his love for wife and family.

But could the wife say the same? The clear impression that the fishermen give is of disdaining as irrelevant their wives's work at home: first is work ashore, second is women's work. The work on board that corresponded to the wife's home duties was the galley work, and I establish the irrelevancy of domestic work for fishermen from the treatment the Cook and I received.

The hardship of his condition at sea can easily provoke the fisherman's belief that his lot is almost exclusively work, physical suffering and isolation from home, while the wife's is to benefit from the advantages of shore; above all, she can enjoy the company of the children, relatives and a non-compulsive network of social relations, all of which he does not have. Moreover, for the seaman his total affective dependence on wife and family is too obvious, which establishes that he needs, ashore, the reciprocal assurance of his family's emotional dependence on him. In this framework of relations, the wife's fidelity is symbolically enhanced as the social fact sine qua

non of her affection for him: he himself shows his by the daily sea-work, but her emotional dependence on him is at stake, unless she offers the guarantee of complete sexual fidelity.

A glance at the equivalents in the moral polarity drawn by Leach (1976:75), as belonging to a "basic cosmology", becomes useful:

<u>"wife</u>	:	<u>sexual</u>	:	<u>dirty</u>	:	<u>sinful</u>
mother		asexual		clean		sinless"

The fisherman's occupational distance from home and absence of any marital life for such long periods of time seems to create the tendency to apply unilaterally to his wife the "mother : asexual : clean : sinless" pattern. On the other hand, he feels free to apply the pattern "wife : sexual : dirty : sinful" to the women he meets in port: they are frequently described either as "really good in bed" or "a pig". Generalizing, the institutional life at sea belongs to the "dirty" "sinful" state, while the home-family life belongs to the "clean" "sinless". The seaman easily feels that his strongest desire of being in the "sinless" home situation redeems him from all the faults of his undesired "sinful" sea condition.

Finally, we are able to formulate some of the conceptual assumptions that are implicit in the seamen's port relations:

- the institutional deprivation of the ship changes the nature of a moral contract between husband and wife, and revokes the reciprocal duty of fidelity in favour of the seaman.

- the deprivation consists of the seaman's temporary renunciation of his sexual and affective rights, as well as other alternative opportunities; meanwhile, the wife keeps all these alternative opportunities that logically increase the deprivation of her husband. As one seaman put it, the seaman "knows that she, the wife, is mentally unfaithfull, even if not physically". In sum, the range of possibilities that the wife holds and the seaman does not, changes the conceptual pattern of their affective reciprocity.
- the logical inequality that the institutional situation causes, when preventig the seaman from having his sexual opportunities, is compensated for by the sexual morality based on the conceptual differentiation between family sex and foreign harbour sex. The shipboard compulsory deprivation sanctions harbour deviation.
- the wife, on the contrary, has no logical justification for double-standard sex: she is allowed the privilege of keeping her sexual and affective opportunities (ashore) under the absolute condition of not making use of them, for otherwise the logical inequality would become actual inequality.
- a contradiction is created in the fisherman's behaviour: the sanctioning of a double-standard sex is in itself a recognition of his wife's possible access to other sexual opportunities.
- an implication of the ship-institution, with the compulsion to the recourse of double-standard behaviour, is the seaman's tendency to consider the institution itself morally and socially degraded to a sort of subhuman state constantly defined as "this is not life"

SHIPBOARD SOCIAL RELATIONS

8. The intensity of the Terranova seaman's relations with family as the primary emotional goal, and more generally the orientation towards shore as the only place where those relations can be undertaken, ensures that in the global affective structure the social relations on board are lowered to a non-essential level. Internal images of family and shore life constitute the strong affective relationship. The actual social relations on board are felt as occupational and transitory, part of the institutional reality, and therefore considered as easily replaceable. A social fact that aggravates the institutional nature of the relations on board is the high personnel turnover among fishermen: as example, in our trawler, out of the twenty-six crew members only six had participated before in the same voyage, although, with the exception of four of us who were new, all had been fishing for many years.

I must say first of all that generally the relations among fishermen themselves, and among officers and fishermen, were excellent. The Cook indicated to me a number of times that in his twenty-three years of fishing in Terranova he could hardly remember a voyage in which "people got along with each other so well". The credit for it should be given to the working responsibility of the whole crew, officers and fishermen alike. Regarding the relations among the fishermen themselves, the understanding and companionship of the Boatswain played an important role.

The Cook himself, with his skill and willingness to work, greatly contributed to the general well-being of the crew, for we should know that, as the Pesca pointed out to me early in the voyage, in a fishing vessel "ninety per cent of the rows come from the galley". This "ninety per cent" of social conflicts that is centered around the galley's incompetence, which in the case of the Companion trawler proved to be so, presents an interesting fact with which to begin our description of the social relations on board.

When I first heard the figure from the Pesca I did not take it as a genuine statement, for it seemed to me unlikely that Cooks such as the one we had on board, with whom the crew was content, could be the source of such a high proportion of social unrest. However, discussing it with the Cook afterwards, I became aware that the Pesca's statement was serious. The Cook was surprised at my question as to whether he had withstood situations of general discontent with his cooking, "of course, on the last voyage with this same Captain you have one case in which they all protested against my meals at a certain time; the Captain had to go down and talk to the fishermen". When asked what kind of meals he prepared then, his answer was: "like now, completely the same". He emphasized that "when you are fishing well there are no problems, but if there is no fish ...". The Captain's comment on one occasion was that at sea, after a certain while, "you get so fed up with everything that you just want to change; you prefer an old sardine to a good chop".

The Cook's scepticism was absolute each time I flattered him with the general satisfaction of the crew about his meals:

his immediate reaction was: "you don't know these people, I know them well". In fact, he passed through several crises of depression because of fear of the crew's rejection. On at least three occasions he literally begged for my mediation between the fishermen and him, in spite of his rather authoritative attitude towards me, for he was "not sure whether the people are content". Once he confessed to me that he was so worried he had been unable to sleep the last few nights. This was a man who had been Cook in Terranova for twenty-three years, with one of the best crews he ever knew! At least twice I heard a fisherman publicly saying: "I have never eaten better than here". He was sometimes considered as one of the best Cooks in the whole Terra nova fleet. I did not need much observation to realize that the "ninety per cent of the rows" and the Cook's anxiety could not be provoked by his incompetence.

A number of times it was said to me by officers and fishermen that the Cook was "the soul of the ship", to the point that I took it as the shipboard definition of the Cook's status. "He is like our mother", was another common expression. The Cook himself had internalized this role for, according to the instructions he gave to me the first night I met him, "it is not enough just to serve the food; it is necessary to serve it in a certain way, so that the fishermen will feel all right; our duty is not only to provide food; we have to be kind and understand their moods when they come in a bad temper from the deck".

Spatially, the galley was the place on board that seemed most like a home. The galley was the place of fire and food, the

place not reached by the ever-present smell of fish, as indicating that the institutional conditions did not have access to it. The most regretted constructional fault of the ship during the voyage out, the one which provoked constant amazement and blame, was the bad location of the galley: one had to cross the deck to get to it, which in the Terranova winter implied having to wear boots and perhaps deck clothing. "To have to put on boots to go to the galley!", was an exclamation I heard many times. As to the Cook, used to wearing slippers at sea, his expression of ultimate indignation for the galley's location was: "a Cook with boots!".

Fishermen had only occasional access to the gally during the Cook's working hours, for he would not allow them to remain in his territory. But nevertheless, at the Cook's siesta time and particularly during night hours, nobody would say a word if one of the crew secretly ran into the galley and prepared a meal for himself. On days of no work it was rare at those times for some fisherman not to be cooking a snack for three or four people: if it was not some tasty food that the net had provided, such as halibut or redfish, there would always be special dishes made with different part of the cod, or at least omelettes, squid, canned food, or even some steak that the Cook did not hide with the necessary care.

As the voyage was reaching its end, the cooking activity of the fishermen, strictly respecting Cook's sovereignty, became almost a daily happening, always regretted but tolerated by the Cook. I was informed that, compared with other cases, the extra-official cooking done on our voyage was "just nothing" because

of the galley's bad location. At first I could not see how, after lunch at 11.30 with three unlimited dishes of soup, heavy stew and meat, to be followed at 6 p.m. by another three dishes of soup, fish and meat, fishermen could eat in between at around 3 p.m. some other dish cooked by themselves, or how they could wish to wake up at 5 a.m. to have a breakfast of salted redfish.

Obviously it was not hunger, but the emotional connotations of cooking that were moving them: "even if my cooking is worse than the Cook's there is a special pleasure in cooking for oneself", said a fisherman to me, one who on the previous voyage used to wake up each midnight when not working to prepare and eat "some special dish". Cooking, creatively performed, was the activity that in some way could restore the feeling of real life on shore. Contrary to the institutionalized eating at scheduled times, in forced company and without choice in the selection of food, one's own cooking was voluntary and with no obligations of company or schedule. On board you could never go for a walk, or enter a lounge to have a drink, or ask for a meal in a restaurant with your friends, but you could go to the galley, make something of your own, and share it with some of your companions, opening a bottle of special wine.

The midday lunch was preceded every day, no matter in which stage the work might be, by fifteen minutes in which the fishermen had a drink of half a glass of vermouth, observed with the strictness of a ritual: apart from being a rite of passage from work (institution) to eating (home), it was the substitution on board for the drinks he customarily had in his village bars

before going home for dinner, where wife and children would be waiting for him, to start eating. I once saw a fisherman very upset because his bottles of "Bitter-Kas" were finished: "it reminds me that I can't buy them here".

Although the figure "ninety per cent of the rows come from the galley", is obviously exaggerated, nevertheless it properly reflects the tendency on board, when there is no fish coming or psychological tension arises, to center the minor social discontents around the territorial and functional unit most loaded with emotional meaning. When there was no fish, if any fisherman asked why, luck in itself was the cause of it; but there is no sense in blaming an abstract entity. When there is too much fish, then that is what we came for, and there should be no room for complaint against work itself. In both cases, the psychological or physical pain runs the risk of turning towards that part of the institutional structure that should offer "motherly" care, the galley. The Cook was right in his scepticism about fishermen's unpredictable reactions against him, no matter if his cooking were the same all the time. As I realized later, this scepticism is general among all the Cooks coming to Terranova. The conclusion is that there is a clear tendency in the shipboard institutional structure to center in the galley, as the focus of affective life, any manifestation of unrest.

9. The collective creation and control of emotions on board is an important fact in fishermen's affective life, deriving

from the total institutional nature of the ship. No personal reasons can be claimed to be in a mood different from the whole group's mood, since expectations and frustrations are collectively regulated. The main factors to determine the mood on board (apart from proximity to port or home) are the fishing moment, the fulfillment of each one's role, and the interaction among the different groups. Ser un amargado, "to be an embittered", is the contemptuous phrase applied to the crew members who are unduly grieved or who hide some resentment, "What wrong has been done to this man?", I heard the Boatswain ask more than once, referring to the Chief Engineer; "if he is an embittered man, let him stay away from the sea". Likewise, a good mood on board ship needs an adequate atmosphere.

Meal times are normally the moments of public conversation that shape and bring together emotions and attitudes. Isolation, threats, and, potentially, personal attack are means of exercising the group's authority over the individual. The control of the group is reinforced by the awareness that any member may cause, by his abnormal behaviour, a total disturbance on board and ultimately force work to stop. Some of the conflictive attitudes and behaviours are: non-acceptance of authority, personal attack, refusal to work, incompatibility with some other crew member. More frequently, a casualty or illness are causes of work interruption and a visit to port.

The dependence of the ship institution on each one's sound behaviour makes everyone responsible for everybody else's welfare: if a fisherman does not have an appetite for a meal,

it means that he is not going to yield as much work as he could in the next working period; if an engineer is ill, it means that the other five men in the engine-room have their work altered; if somebody is in danger of having a mental derangement, this implies a collective threat. One fisherman told me several times how scared he was on his previous voyage as Boatswain, because on board there happened to be two "criminals" who on some other occasion had thrown their knives at somebody.

The total institutional nature of work and life aboard a fishing trawler greatly stresses the mutual interdependence of its parts: bridge and deck; bridge-deck and engine-room; deck and park; park and hold; galley and bridge-deck-engines. This dependence extends to the internal relations of each group: the two officers, the three engineers, the three oilers, the two galley workers, the twelve deckhands, the three salters -all form a structural and functional unit which needs the full collaboration of each member. Technologically, there is a pre-established dependence of each trawler on the Companion trawler of the Pareja.

10. In sharp opposition to the above-mentioned interdependence of all the crew on board, self-assertive verbal behaviour is very important among fishermen. The most usual forms this self-assertion adopts are noisy arguments about any trivial matter, the adoption of provocative attitudes towards one another, a keen sense of honour, and inclination to boasting. Life on

board was full of these manifestations which I soon took as normal facts. A fisherman complaining angrily that he was left alone cleaning the park, or arguing with bitterness that the tons of fish stored are more than the Chief Salter's note says, or furiously asserting that a certain football team has four foreign players and not three, as somebody else contends; or carrying on for more than an hour a turbulent discussion involving six or eight fishermen as to whether the English or Chinese language is more widely spoken in the world, even after somebody has pointed out that the Chinese are more than 800 million people (this last discussion took place at least three times) -these were all typical fishermen's ways of communication, which had nothing to do with personal enmity. Even in days of good catches and general contentment, noisy rows could break out because during the manoeuvre something went wrong.

The way in which authority is practised partakes of this disputatious ethos of fishermen, for whom any word of praise would sound strange. A Pesca, to indicate from the bridge window to the Boatswain that something is going wrong during a manoeuvre, is likely to need to yell or even swear. The Captain normally does not need to reinforce his authority with an overbearing attitude because he, unlike the Pesca, enjoys the advantage of being a career man, and because his field of authority is not properly fishing but administration.

The Boatswain's power deals directly with the fishermen. In our trawler he was a remarkably kind man, yet at any moment

he could think it necessary to shout his authority categorically in front of the men: "I am the one who commands on deck during the manoeuvres, and not he Pesca; you must do what I order, and nothing else". As he pointed out to me once, when talking about Pescas: "at sea you need to shout". Once I happened to be by his side on deck while he was yelling to the fisherman in charge of the winch to let go the bridles; he realized I was there and, smiling, said: "I shout but I have a good heart; don't you think so?". My answer came spontaneously: "I never doubted it".

Relations between the Pesca and the fishermen can be fully understood only within the general conceptual order of luck as described in the previous chapter. As the voyage was reaching its end, these relations suffered a noteworthy alteration. At the end of November, after ten days of very successful catches, the voyage had been "saved". The Pesca, having achieved his aim and feeling assured of his supreme status on board, developed a rather provocative attitude in his relations with the Captain in particular and the fishermen in general.

But the fishermen too were able to distinguish between the Pesca's high decision-making under the ultimate responsibility of luck, and his plain mistakes, particularly when these showed disrespect for the fishermen. The occasion was brought about by a Pesca's error of storing too much salt on board in Spain; as a consequence, the fishermen were ordered, in the middle of the longest working period of the whole voyage, to shovel the tons of surplus salt in the hold and throw them

overboard. When after ten days of exhausting fish-processing they were ordered to carry out the same salting operation again, the Boatswain and fishermen bitterly criticized the Pesca, for the first time.

The humiliating thing was not the work in itself, but the fact that in Pesca's opinion, by whom all decisions were made, the fishermen's exhaustion was not considered, for he could have altered the casting turn once and, while they were working on the salt, order the Companion to shoot their net; or he could have stopped fishing for one day while they were working in the hold; or he could not have ordered the net to be repaired, for it was not totally necessary. With their sense of honour, fishermen went as far as to suggest that the Pesca, since the fault was his, could have hired harbour workers in St. Pierre and made them throw out the surplus salt.

The morning of December 2nd added a disturbing incident: the Pesca called to shoot the net and, while the fishermen were taking coffee as usual, he changed his mind, for he thought they were being too slow, and counter-ordered, out of anger, that he was not going to let the net go. The Boatswain went up to the bridge to ask for explanations and the Pesca agreed to order the men to shoot the net again. The consequence was that the relations between the Pesca and the Boatswain, who had the fishermen's support, worsened to a point which seemed irreparable. The Captain and the Helmsman took, in my presence, positions against the Boatswain. The one who was going to lose in this battle of wills was obviously the Boatswain:

his depression became manifest, for he knew what the consequence would be: the Pesca would not choose him as Boatswain for the next voyage. "My joy is gone", he confessed to me.

At the end of the voyage, the social relations had reached the prominent position they had never held before. Everything pointed to the fact that we were no longer depending so much on the uncontrollable factor of luck. Now the institutional dependence was being felt rather in terms of social structure and power. The sudden intensification of the affective relations with home, on the occasion of Christmas, seemed to be rescuing us from the fishing ideology of luck and Pesca's charismatic decision-making.

11. Together with the self-assertive verbal confrontation, another noteworthy feature that reveals the peculiar kind of relationship that fishermen evolve, is jealousy. I did not become fully aware of the important role that jealousy played in the fishermen's social relations, until I myself became the object of unexpected scenes in late October, when we came into St. John's for the third time.

We arrived in port a Wednesday and I ran to the university to see the professors and fill out some application forms; that evening I saw a girl friend of mine for a couple of hours. Thursday afternoon, since I was anxious to complete my forms and had not much time free (I had to wake up at five in the morning and be working in the galley for the whole day, with

the exception of two hours in the morning and three in the afternoon), I gently complained in front of some fishermen about the help I was not receiving when I needed it. (I had spent entire nights working in the hold with them, although that was not my duty). The surprising reaction to my complaint came from the one usually most friendly to me, who got up from his seat, saying: "I will not help you any more!", and disappeared. The next day, Friday, I met him in the morning by chance in the officers' corridor and, while I said to him "I still don't know why you are angry with me", his answer without pausing was: "you humiliated me"; as I shrugged my shoulders in sign of my total unawareness of how I could have humiliated him, he had already passed the door and vanished, after glancing at me and smiling through the port in the door.

But the really unexpected drama happened that same Friday evening, when after supper I came down on my routine to fetch potatoes: the Boatswain stopped me with his hand on my chest, at the same time that he and the twelve to fifteen fishermen, together and mercilessly, started shouting at me the blatant accusations that "you have abandoned us", "you are ashamed of us", "you don't even come to sing with us", "you don't even greet us", followed by the threat that "you will not be our friend any more". As the startling and vociferous performance went on I remained serious. At a certain point the men were not sure whether I was taking their accusations as being real or not, and slowed down their attacks, while one of them winked at me and another secretly whispered to me: "it is a joke".

As soon as I smiled to show them I was not misunderstanding them, the accusations recovered their noisy bitterness while I was forced for several minutes to stand passively, being the object of the charges. When they became silent I gave in, saying: "you are damn fools", and they laughed. The angry fisherman of the day before insisted again on the "great humiliation" I caused him. I was forced to conclude that the humiliation could be nothing but going in my free time to the university and seeing a girl friend of mine. To better appreciate the scene, I should say that that same afternoon I had helped the Boatswain and two other fishermen with shopping, in spite of needing the time myself; and that another of the fishermen who shouted most loudly my "abandonment" of them, that same day, after lunch, had left me peeling potatoes in the galley, while he was invited on a car tour of the city.

When the drama was over I had the clear feeling that they were relieved at my understanding of its meaning without getting upset. The obvious message I picked up was: "we threaten you with isolation if you abandon us for your personal business and your girl friend; in order to assure us that you are not going to loosen your emotional bonds with us, you have to accept and deny our playful accusations". The spontaneous performance was needed in order to secure my relationship with them. At that point it was making sense as well for the Boatswain to complain, at the previous arrival in port, that he had "something serious to tell me"; when we were by ourselves and I asked him what he had to tell me, he replied: "I have heard that you are going

to switch to the Companion ship". Obviously, I never gave the slightest sign to suggest such a rumour, the purpose of which was to reassure them positively that, for my part, I was committed to them.

After Friday evening's public verbal punishment I thought that in my relations with the fishermen there was no more room for jealousy, but I was mistaken. That Friday I stayed alone on board, typing my application forms until midnight, and left the ship to see my friend for a while, convinced that I had not been seen by anybody. On Saturday I went on typing all morning. The critical point occurred at noon, after lunch, when somebody revealed my previous night's departure, provoking again the whole drama of the evening before.

To complete the picture of my difficult relations with the fishermen during this entrance into port, the second day we were back at sea the fisherman who had been particularly "humiliated" by my behaviour in port told me seriously "a story", after insisting on letting me know it: the story was that the female social assistant in the Spanish Seamen's Centre had asked them about me during those days when I had "abandoned" them, and they had been explaining to her how "marvellous" I was.

To rightly appreciate this sequence of scenes, it should be remembered that all these fishermen but five were married, and two of the others had fiancées whose pictures they had stuck beside their beds. On the other hand, it was quite normal to go with women in port, and a number of them actually did go. What was the logic of their jealousy over me having a girl

friend in port, whom I saw for short periods, when they were used to not coming on board for whole nights, and some even for all the days and nights of stay in port?.

The understanding of this requires going back to the emotional structure of the ship. Exclusive affective relations with wife and "institutional" sex in port is the established pattern among fishermen. If I was going to enjoy an emotionally exclusive relationship in port (my relationship with a girl friend in St. John's, where I had lived before and was going to be back after the voyage, was the equivalent to their relationship with the wife), then I was going to break altogether their emotional pattern: my relationship in port was not being the institutional double-standard sex relationship, but the one belonging to the exclusive family relationship. Thus I was emotionally committed at sea (i.e. in foreign port) to a relationship that should be experienced only in the form of absence. On account of my getting at sea the emotional gratification they could get only at home, I was becoming a threat to the general emotional dependence on wife and shore, for my desire, supposedly, was not turned in their home direction.

A further step in the fishermen's emotional pattern is the inclusion of all private relations within the family structure. Since family belongs to shore, so does all private relationship. In section B of this chapter we saw that the ship institutional life tends to a double-standard sex, conceptually implying a qualitative differentiation between family sex and foreign-

harbour sex. In close connection with that distinction, now we are faced with the fact that the ship institution tends as well to a kind of double-standard affective life, similarly implying a qualitative differentiation between private relations (family) and comradeship relations (shipboard). The fishing institutional life is justified to provide harbour sex and comradeship, under the assumption that family sex and privacy are absent on board. The important consequence of the fact that I could be enjoying at sea (in harbour) a private relationship, was that my emotional bonds with the crew were threatened, for its clear meaning was that my behaviour was not ruled by the double-standard emotional pattern in which shipboard solidarity was based.

The sense of their dramas of jealousy was a warning that I should be aware of the implicit affective structure on board, according to which they had a certain "right" to hold emotional possession of me, which they wanted to preserve. If I was willing to show off my emotional independence of them, that could become a humiliation which took this form:

-we offer him all we can: appreciation and companionship as fishermen

-he rejects what we offer him, because he is enjoying a private relationship with a girl friend.

Later in the months of November and December we were forced to enter the port of St. Pierre. There I could not go out much with the fishermen either, but no scenes of jealousy happened for there I could not have a permanent girl friend.

Partially, it was my peculiar position of belonging to the shipboard organization as a crew member, and at the same time being considered outside the shipboard conceptual and emotional orders, which made me the object of a more vigilant relationship on their part. Also, some kind of competition took place among officers and fishermen, particularly at the beginning of the voyage, as to which group I was going to associate myself with.

12. Although I might have been, as a result of my position and behaviour, the center of emotional competition on board, jealousy was by no means an inexistent fact among the fishermen themselves. The following scene happened the Saturday after we left St. John's at the end of October: at supper the fishermen begged me to come to listen to "the story of the sarda" (the sarda is a fish frequently eaten and not particularly appreciated among them). Since I was busy at the time, they insisted on my finishing up as soon as possible and coming to listen to the story; once I had served supper to the officers and done the washing up, which used to take me a couple of hours, I went down for my potato supply as I did every night. One of the fishermen emphatically pleaded with me to leave the work, for I should hear the story; when I replied that I still had to peel a bucket of potatoes, his answer was that "we'll all peel the potatoes at midnight when we wake up to shoot the net away" -something fishermen would never think of doing except

in a very unusual situation; the importance of the subject matter of the story was out of the question, for they had never urged me so insistently to listen to them.

When I finally finished my daily duties and went down to listen to "the story of the sarda", they told me, amidst laughter and jokes, the story of what had happened at supper time: one fisherman gave a piece of sarda to another one, when a third fisherman had asked the first fisherman for it before; the third one complained about it and threatened the first one with not giving him any more of his wine (the wine was not private but supplied by the owner); the first fisherman reacted by saying that he did not mind, that he would give the sarda to the one he preferred and would drink from his own container (as a matter of fact, this fisherman since that incident went on doing so, he being the only one at that table of nine fishermen who would not drink from a glass or a leather bottle). To complicate it even more, the first fisherman gave another piece of his sarda to the Boatswain, adding one offence to the other with regard to the fisherman who had first asked for it. The fisherman who was given the piece of sarda, and especially the one whose request had been doubly rejected, were the two fishermen who had most insisted on telling me the story of "how nearly a fisherman had to take out his knife to defend his rights against an officer".

What is the "sense" of this story that makes it so meaningful for them? This scene of jealousy, although insignificant in itself and a matter of joking to the participants themselves,

had a specific "sense" which was understood by them and which made: first, the scene to take place; second, its conversion into an "important story" which imperiously needed to be told. Again, dramatization was used to express in fiction the emotional structure according to which no privatization of relationships was allowed on board: the undue preference for giving a piece of sarda to a companion when somebody else had previously asked for it, although everybody knows that most likely it has occurred as a simple slip, gives adequate reason to perform a drama and even make a "story" out of it, so that the implicit emotional relations on board manifest themselves deliberately misconstrued at the level of fiction.

This same "sense", that scenes of jealousy showed, was understood as well and accepted by the group each time some fisherman would complain because I did not sit in front of or beside him. Even if fishermen were so ready at mutual reproach, they would never find anything to blame in a fisherman of thirty-three, father of two children, complaining because I had served the dish and bread to somebody else "in a way you don't serve me".

The only advice I repeatedly received from two Spanish seamen living in St. John's, when I told them about my planned trip with fishermen, was: be equal friends with everybody; don't ever be more friendly with one than with another". The fact of looking with familiarity at a married fisherman could provoke immediate comments such as: "so you like blond boys, eh?". The Cook would warn me sometimes to bring coffee to the fishermen who were working in the park, not only on deck, so as "not to

get them jealous". Once I served bottled wine of my own to the fishermen who were on deck taking the salt from the hold: the fishermen working down in the hold realized it, made disappointed comments, and before I went to offer them the wine (that was my intention from the beginning, but I could not start serving in both places at the same time), the Chief Salter was getting revenge on me by ostentatiously taking his own wines and vermouths and giving them to the fishermen working in the hold.

A fact that supports the non-privatization of social relations on board is the practically total absence of homosexuality among Terranova fishermen. I was told of only one case in which, because a trawler was short of crew, two homosexuals flew from Spain and joined it, both soon to be sent back to Spain once the crew realized their homosexuality. Latent homosexuality may adopt public exhibitionistic forms, but it would never be allowed to become confined to two fishermen. The fisherman's sexual pattern of "no sex on board -deviant heterosexual sex in port - family sex with wife at home" is in direct opposition to the homosexual's pattern of "sex on board - deviant homosexual sex in port - no family sex with wife at home".

In connection with fishermen's mode of socialization, there is their custom of having the door or the cabin open day and night. The oilers' cabin and the Cook's cabin (and mine) were the only two that usually remained closed, provoking sometimes fishermen's remarks. Many times, when I closed my cabin door to go to sleep or to write down my notes, and fishermen were in the dining-room from which there were doors to all cabins, I

sensed that I was performing an act of personal exclusion from the group, which was improper on my part and frowned on by them. Sometimes they would just ask: "why do you close the door?". Although when by myself I kept my door closed, when some other fisherman was with me I would not dare to do that.

Not only is it customary to have the door open but also to have the light on at night. When I was told about that being the custom, which I could see spontaneously adhered to in their everyday life, and asked why it should be so, their one reason was "because of the danger of fire". It was rather funny to hear about these precautions against fire from those same fishermen who, after two month of sailing, had never checked whether there was any fire extinguisher on board. The taboos on cabin doors closed, and lights off, clearly suggest the fear of privacy on board that we have been discussing.

Now it makes sense as well, if we are told that jealousy is the first symptom of mental breakdown that the fishermen show. The pathological jealousy in relation to their wives is manifested in abnormal reactions to their letters and conversations by phone from sea ("I fear that more than my wife", is among seamen a frequent comparaison to express utter uncertainty). In relation to the officers, jealousy takes the form of feelings of abandonment on their part, compensated by the attempts to ingratiate themselves with them. In relation to the companions, it becomes grief for being the object of their general rejection, ending up in persecution mania. As a consequence of his situation, the mentally ill fisherman

becomes a very uncomfortable person, until the only, but frequently applied, remedy of sending him home is needed.

13. Another essential key to the understanding of fishermen's ethos is the fact that the institutional life on board creates a peculiar social context that modifies the meaning of their emotional manifestations: as sex and love in port were different from sex and love at home, likewise anger on board was different from anger ashore. A good example of this was the way fishermen related to me: they sincerely accepted me as a companion and frequently showed me their esteem, but I was accepted rather as a companion living outside their world who had come fishing for some reasons that were not clear, and not for being a fisherman. On the surface they would try to inculcate me with "being a fisherman", but if I said or did something they considered rude or seaman-like, some voice of censure would soon be heard: "you are becoming uneducated like a fisherman".

Consequently, my emotional reactions had a different significance from theirs. The fact that my face looked serious when waking up one morning in harbour upset three fishermen, who immediately asked what was wrong with me; the Boatswain left the galley, disturbed by my seriousness; after lunch they commented on it to me, so that I could deny that I was irritated. I never noticed that any fisherman had this kind of reaction to another's "seriousness".

But I was convinced of the different nature of my emotional manifestations at the end of November, after a number of scenes. One morning I made a show of anger because the fishermen did not bring me back the coffee pot, in spite of my continuous demands: since they knew I was upset but not really angry, they simply smiled at me, commenting: "he is angry because we did not give him back the coffee pot" (by the way, that was quite a motive for getting angry on board). The same afternoon I vociferated again because they were not clearing up the table so that I could put the plates of food on it: "don't be noisy", was their reaction, something they never said to each other in their frequent discussions. However, two days later reactions to my anger were totally different: after serving through the service lift breakfast and coffee with milk, when I came down from the galley to collect the dishes, I was shouted at by a fisherman who used to drink black coffee only: "shit on God, you have not given me the coffee yet and you come down!". I answered with an angry expression: "why didn't you ask for it while I was in the galley?" (the service lift was the means of communication between dining-room, located on the lower deck, and the galley, located on the upper deck; however, it had become customary that, apart from the coffee with milk, I would serve black coffee as well for that particular fisherman).

That was, on my part, "real" unexpected anger against the fishermen, who suddenly became silent. "Easy, man, easy", said one of them to me. The following are some of the reactions that

my outburst of anger provoked: after I washed up the dishes and got the fish ready for lunch, I left the galley with the intention of changing my clothes and going to the hold; while I was crossing the deck the Boatswain and three fishermen were asking the galley for coffee, until the Boatswain realized I was on my way down and on the quiet told the fishermen to shut up and not make me go back to the galley: they preferred to be without coffee and not bother me, even if that was one of my duties. Before lunch I passed on my way a fisherman who looked at me in a scornful and threatening mood, followed by a boxing stance with his hands up; as soon as I replied, putting up my fists too and being ready to start the fight, he laughed and adopted normal composure: he was assured that I was not in a "bad mood". To serve lunch I had to take the saucepan from the elevator to the fishermen's dining-room; when I had both my hands on the saucepan, the oldest fisherman came, took away one of my hands, seized the handle himself and said: "hello, friend", and helped me by carrying the saucepan to the table for the first time on the voyage: we were friends. At lunch time, another fisherman called out to me, pretending annoyance: "you are not treating me well, I am not to blame, it's just because you are in a bad mood; you have not paid me any attention the whole morning, you did not even bring me any coffee"; the aim of his complaint was obviously to reassure himself that I was not "serious" any more, for he did have coffee that morning and knew only too well that I had been in the hold: verbal confrontation was the best way to restore our

mutual relations after that morning's collective breaking-off. In the evening the Cook told me that some fisherman had reported to him about my being in a bad temper: even my boss should know about it and try to find a remedy. At supper time, the fisherman who actually wanted black coffee in the morning hit me on the shoulder with unusual friendliness, asking: "how did you stand the work today?". Again, at the next day's lunch, the Boatswain remarked to me: "you too are getting fed up with this life, up to the prick; your cheerfulness is gone; now you are not the way you were": he was anxious that I should deny it, for he did not want that I "too" should internalize the sourness shipboard life creates.

All these reactions were provoked by nothing more than my five minutes of an angry face when collecting the dishes at breakfast. I never heard them mention anybody as being disturbingly angry, except sometimes the Cook, whose role in the shipboard folklore is pictured as that of a compulsorily moody man.

Why should my anger upset them in a way that was substantially different from their anger? Basically, I was never closely associated with the shipboard ethos and therefore my anger was of a different kind: either it was totally naive, or it was threatening. In the first case they dismissed it with a smile or labelled it as noise; in the second, they were unusually disturbed.

We may conclude that, as with sex and friendship ("at sea I have no friends, but companions", a fisherman once said to me), the fishing ethos distinguishes two kinds of anger. The main

characteristic of the shipboard anger is that it belongs to the social system of communication in the institutional life at sea: it is a good means to create and keep fluent social relations, avoiding negligence in each one's role-fulfillment and the danger of hidden resentments.

CONCLUSION: "BEING A FISHERMAN"

14. Here is some conversation with the Boatswain, coming from the deck after hours of repairing the net in a particularly cold weather:

-This is not a day for staying on deck -I commented.

-What else can we do? Otherwise, the Pesca will dismiss us. It is the suffering of the poor, you know. If you are born from a rich cunt, you are okay. If you are born from a poor cunt, you have to be like this. Some people have too much. Other people nothing. You see, some people have whatever they want from generation to generation, and we others, we'll always be like this.

"The suffering of the poor", i.e., the humiliation of being forced to become a fisherman. Each time I asked "what other work could you do on shore?", the answer was: "I could not go to school and learn some profession", "by tradition in my family they were all fishermen", "there is no other work in my village". Soon he might even add: "to be a fisherman is the lowest thing; when you're no good for anything else, you become a fisherman". Like any migrant worker (this is

another remote but real work possibility) far away from home, the fisherman feels deeply his own estrangement: he has to choose a life which he tells himself every day "is not life". If he is still young, he hopes that better opportunities for work will arise, such as some distant drilling ship in Australia or factories ashore. If years have been passed in the occupation of being a fisherman, then it will be possible to go until retirement comes: "I have known, in twenty-three years of coming to Terranova, very, very few fishermen who reached retirement age", was one of the Cook's important lessons. Coastal fishing and merchant ships are always alternatives for easier but less profitable work.

The sense of humiliation makes him extremely sensitive to any gesture that could indicate contempt towards him for being a fisherman. When he comes to harbour he likes to buy a camera, he enters a shop, he sees the sales-girl looking down on him, he wants to run away, he keeps on asking questions, he does not know English, he finally decides to buy the camera, the girl makes up the bill, there is a ten per cent tax, he says angrily that on some occasion, in some other place, he was not forced to pay tax and that he will not pay it; she shows an official paper stating that the ten per cent is obligatory even for the fishermen, he leaves the camera and goes out in a rage: everybody wants to exploit him. Later on he goes to another shop; here too they say that the ten per cent is legal; this time he pays the tax and buys the camera; he goes on board and tries to impress his companions with the

purchase to convince himself that he has not been cheated. He goes to see the doctor, the nurse asks if he can speak English, the medical assistant who helps him, and knows English, answer with a smile on his face: "he is a fisherman". He goes back on board, he tells them how the medical assistant answered the nurse; they all feel insulted and curse the assistant.

On board too they are all fishermen; or fishermen who became officers; or oilers who could have come as fishermen and might do so again; or engineers who started as fishermen. To have escaped, or not, the status of "being a fisherman", divides the crew in two: fishermen on one side, officers and engineers-oilers on the other. The most violent reactions will result if the Chief Engineer warns those in the park, where he has no authority, to be careful of dropping the fish scraps on the deck. Fishermen will prefer to have a lunch without wine, in order to make an oiler draw it from the barrel. The Boatswain on the other ship will purposely be late by several hours at the time of leaving harbour, because, although everyone knew the hour of departure, he was not personally notified by the Captain, as is the rule. A Pesca's pride will be acutely mortified if another Pesca's catch is larger, to any appreciable extent.

Toughness and constant verbal confrontation make up the surface of life at sea; deep inside there are hyper-sensitivity and prevailing uncertainty. "Behind all human action there is always fear", was one of the Pesca's deepest convictions. Each accident in a manoeuvre was a reminder that "our lives are

hanging from a thread". A day of bad storm could make a man who had been coming to Terranova for more than twenty years cry out in fear. Any open expression of inner feelings is inhibited and is regarded as weakness, but a continuous silent complaint will be noticeable in words and looks. Resistance to physical pain is taken for granted, yet bringing the pain to the group's attention will be the first means of bearing it safely. No friendly care is supposed to be manifested, and even so, not sitting beside somebody when so wanted can be the cause of a withdrawal from the table, out of jealousy.

According to one fisherman, the two factors that make life at sea hard were the uncertainty about luck and "agitation". The expression that fishermen constantly used to me during the first weeks at sea was "be tranquil": they knew that "agitation", anxiety, mental defeat are serious dangers at sea. A real fisherman, and especially a Pesca, needs to give the appearance of being immune to such dangers. Fear and discouragement are an always-present threat, agitation being its result; tranquility needs constant prayer; toughness is the best means to scare away the inner enemy.

Fishermen's sense of honour can hardly stand to look at somebody being humiliated without answering back. This was the case with the Second Engineer, who was, a number a times, insulted in public by the Chief Engineer, in spite of both having the same title. Eventually, the Second became ill, reportedly because of the bad treatment he was receiving: most of the fishermen's protest was directed against the Second

himself, the reason being that "it's all his own fault for permitting himself to be treated like that". The Cook himself, in spite of the fact that at the beginning of the voyage, on a couple of occasions, I screamed at him to lay off his continuous criticism of me, sometimes commented on my being condescending with the fishermen in these terms: "you have no character", "they are taking advantage of you". A detail such as taking off the scales of the salted fish that fishermen had put aside for themselves, which according to the Cook should be done by themselves (even if they were working at that moment) was one of the facts that showed my "lack of character".

In terms of symmetry and complementarity (Bateson, 1936; 1972), social relations in strict symmetry (self-assertiveness) could be viewed among deep-sea fishermen as the guarantee to preserve the socio-structural over-complementarity. I never heard a fisherman publicly admit any fault in himself in spite of the countless disputes: that would be an unnecessary and embarrassing gesture, for everyone knew that what was at stake was never authority or truth; it was easy to realize who had made the slip, but it was necessary to maintain any personal affirmation. The real danger was discouragement and self-punishment, inability to support the social complementarity and emotional dependence on family and shore life. "To come over here you need not only strength, but you need also heart and a sound head", I was told.

Open public speech becomes the norm on board: "to the bread, bread, and to the wine, wine", "let us see if we don't talk

plain, since we are fishermen", are two saying used, to call for it. I myself was always admonished in public by the Boatswain or a fisherman for any fault in my work. Complaints against the Boatswain's orders as well were made publicly, he being forced to justify his decisions sometimes in a noisy argument with the accuser. The Boatswain himself, in a manoeuvre in which he was screamed at by the Pesca from the bridge, once showed the dangerous boldness of shouting at him back from the deck, where all the fishermen were: "go fuck yourself; you tell me to do the same, and we'll both have a go". He explained to me that: "as he insulted me in public, I did the same to him in public; I need to keep my pride, otherwise I would lose the fishermen's respect".

The great sin is achicarse (literally, "to get smaller"). Each time a rolling sea forces to use both hands just to keep standing; or the dish runs away from the table; or water invades the cabin through the ventilator; or nobody can hear the shout from the galley or the dining-room, a flow of sheer impotence explodes in: "shit on God". Swearing becomes the formula on board for exorcising the dependence on natural and social factors.

15. The idea of God among fishermen is revealing of their overall emotional relations. Going back to the Cook's qualified information, he pointed out a situation in which going with women in port had been particularly outrageous: in March of the

previous year, when their ship had taken fire and one fisherman was lost, the ashes of the dead man still being on board, some fishermen had dared to go to night clubs. The sense of sacredness that death had imposed on that day should invalidate institutional rights to deviant behaviour in harbour.

The "presence of home" when they had returned to the home port ("to go with women after arriving in the home port is double sin"), and the "presence of death" -both have the privilege of conceptually dissolving the institutional condition, and a subsequent relationship between them is established. Recalling again seamen's natural and cognitive dichotomy between sea and shore, both "home" and "death" do not belong to the fishing gambling in search of economic revenues, but to the more general framework of life located ashore.

In this sense, the emphasized tendency of seamen to dichotomic isolation favours the emotional blending of family, moral and religious values. I myself did not become aware of this emotional generalization until the only two fishermen with whom I chatted about religious matters spoke, in a convinced manner, these sentences: "God and family are the same"; "God, although different, is the same thing as the family". Religious symbols, moral rules and family duties are placed in the same part of the dichotomy: they are basically other-worldly.

The missing world provides definite qualities . This is the definition of God by a fisherman in his late forties: "God

is there to forgive; if we were perfect God would not exist; His duty is to forgive everything wrong that we unconsciously do for we are all human beings, and like a song repeats itself over and over, so we go on doing wrong unconsciously". The wife of a fisherman wrote these lines to her husband recently: "I am a bit angry with you because you don't write me, you are slothful, but I will forgive you because, after all, I have to forgive you". Like a penitent after confessing his sins, I have heard these words from a fisherman coming out of the phone cabin from where he has just called his wife: "What a relief! I am now self-satisfied, I am now ready to go back to the sea, I am a new man".

All her letters end up with the sentences in bigger letters "I love you much", a sentence so important to him that, in case it does not reach the port before he lands, major rows will arise with the Captain, who did not order from the sea the letters to be sent from the port where they are; or with the wife, who did not mail it. Far in the distance, there remains the moral-emotional pole of reference ("God and family are the same"), in front of which the Terranova fisherman feels responsible for the sacrifice of his life, and has the right to get back the emotional protection he needs in the form of love and forgiveness.

Here are some other statements on God by my other informant on board, a normal fisherman, father of two children and in port one of the most eager for a woman: "I think of Him all the time and beg Him to give me good luck; you see, each time something goes wrong you remember God and say 'shit on God'; you don't say 'shit on whores' or shit on something else, but

'on God'; and in cases of extreme danger nothing comes so strongly to your mind, not even family as the thought of God".

God becomes the protective idea that makes possible the general moral order and, at the same time, the ultimate being responsible for all disorder (the dammation "shit on God" is indeed constantly and almost exclusively used on board). Family becomes the protective institution that promises constant emotional pleasure and is at the same time responsible for forcing the sacrifice of life at sea. Both facts are included in the same logico-emotional structure that counterbalances seamen's psychological risk at sea.

Unlike the landlubber, who may attach strong emotional projections on religious mythologies that are themselves distinguishable from family identifications, the sentiment of the deep-sea fisherman towards his family becomes so alienated that it is invested with the transcendence the landlubber projects on the religious order. Thus, for a fisherman the original family situation in itself is spatially, temporarily and pshychologically so distant that the emotional relations to it may fulfil as well the function of religion when creating projections that totally transcend the present life. One of them told me, "fishermen are like children".

16. "To be a fisherman" is the saying fishermen have to express their general ethos. As I was told, one can be a fisherman, a half-fisherman, or a half-half-half-fisherman. "Being

a fisherman"implies a life-time occupation that, as the Newfoundland fishermen put it, "gets in your blood". The Captain and two fishermen considered sea-work as a transitory period in their lives, to save some money to settle ashore later: they would make it clear so that they would not be taken for fishermen.

Although providing a living for those who perform this work, being a fisherman is not necessarily thought of by the fishermen themselves in terms of economic contract: it is not that the working contract with the Shipowner, nor the owning of a small boat (dorna), makes a man a fisherman, but rather that somebody is a fisherman, and insofar as he is a fisherman, is hired to work at sea. "Even if I would later on have had to work in a factory, I would consider myself a fisherman", said one of them to me.

Endurance of the physical and mental hardship at sea, the constant challenge of luck and risk, disdain for the restrained and the easy, longing for family affection -all this makes a Terranova fisherman a secretly daring and detached person, proud of overcoming his occupational humiliation which entails offering and risking his whole life. "The life of the sea leaves a mark", is a common saying among fishermen.

On board, the status of a fisherman is set off in contrast with that of officers, engineer-oilers, and cook-cookee. As engines define the engineer-oilers' occupation, the net defines fishermen. His territorial definition is the deck, from which the net is let out, to where the net is hauled back, where the

net shows the precious fish, where the net rests, where the net is repaired.

As to time organization, the fisherman on a Pareja has no schedule at all: unlike the rest of the crew have a schedule, his work directly depends on the existence of fish. He can be called to a deck manoeuvre at any time in the morning, afternoon, or night. He is a fisherman at all moments of the day and for ever. By the mediation of the Pesca, luck, fish, and net dictate to him.

The distinction of his personal style is unmistakable: his movements are harsh and energetic, a knife hangs from his belt, he works in groups at any time he runs toward the net, his walk is slow and heavy, he wears water dress and long rubber boots, his hands are swollen, he smells of fish. His virtues are many: courage, plain speech, resistance to pain, hardness, love for his family. The sense of risk, and instinctive alertness to avoid it, is part of his profession. He knows Spanish but speaks Galician or Basque.

He is the one on board who has the sense of being a proletarian, who feels that he has no specialization, that he will always be exploited, and that he ultimately performs the "real" fishing work. Nevertheless, if he has to be shovelling in the hold, his protest is that "I am a fisherman, and not a quarry worker". If a new man whistles on deck during a manoeuvre, "he looks as if he were a shepherd" He is ashamed of himself if he has to stay for two months on shore, at home. When he is back home sleeping with his wife, and wakes up startled, it

means he was on deck being shouted at in a manoeuvre. When he is in hospital after his stomach has been operated on, and he is delirious, then he is sewing the net with his hands in the air.

His identity card, his passport, his driver's licence, his membership cards, his right to legal assistance, his unions: all this is summed up in a little book called cartilla, which is the permit to go to sea. When the Shipowner says in Vigo that he is not going to pay him 800 pesetas (\$11.40) a day but 600 pesetas (\$8.50), he recalls that he was promised by the Pesca the same economic basis as in the port of Pasajes, where he worked before and where the Chief Salter was paid 800 pesetas a day: his only recourse, to save his dignity, his only legal help, and all his union help, is to go next morning to the Shipowner's office, and, pale, with his voice trembling, ask for the cartilla to go home, because "the ships are yours, but the cartilla is mine". During the time of the voyage his cartilla belongs to the Shipowner, who keeps it as a legal guarantee until the fisherman withdraws from his ship or until he sends it back to him, as a sign that his services are not wanted any more.

The psychological mortgage he will pay ashore for his "being a fisherman" is vast. He has been dreaming of getting out of the "prison" of the sea for months, and when he is at home, after two or three weeks, he will prefer to go back to the sea. Ashore he has no work, no knowledge, no gambling, no "other-world" to which he can return. He may spend hours

reading newspapers five months old. He will have nothing to say to people ashore. All he has thought for months is fish and home, luck and family. Emotional projections will be replaced by actual reality. Solid stability, thick ground, immobile world: the rhythm of his body and mind are not used to that.

Finally, after supper on January the 8th, the first lights of the city of Vigo could be seen in the distance, and the fishermen went on deck to check with their own eyes if it was true. Each knew that soon he was going to see "them". "When I am approaching home, first of all I start trembling with fear: you never know what has happened. Once I brought a present for somebody who was dead. Then suddenly it is the great happiness of my wife and children".

The internal image experienced in fantasy for months has to be adjusted to the real image. I was not surprised that one fisherman, who had work opportunities on shore, admitted the possibility that he kept returning to sea to preserve the feeling for his family experienced in moments such as this, "because otherwise its intensity could be lost". The image-ined family, constructed during separation from the real one, had become end object of emotional attachment capable of competing with it. The whole venture of Terranova was, at the end, an emotional investment.

The movements of the ships had never been as slow and solemn as when relatives could be seen standing on the harbour front at 1.30 a.m. Nearly five months of desire were making this

moment intensely felt. Our own faces seemed strange to one another as the world of the ship relinquished its hold on us, and each made a solitary return to his own family, his own god. No expressions of group solidarity, such as singing, joking, discussing, or swearing were allowed to profane the occasion. The sound of the ships' engines unfolded in our silence as we approached the land of return.

PART III - C O N C L U S I O N
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Chapter 4 - "TERRANOVA IS A VERY ROUND WHEEL"

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1. On several occasions, when I made comments to the Pesca about the good catches we were having, his answer came sharp: "don't forget that Terranova is a very round wheel". Like Fortune itself, Terranova is a wheel. And a "very round" one, meaning that its movement is unpredictable. No linear direction can be traced after the actual events, when these are governed by the undetermined and reversible motion of the circle.

Ideas of motion play an important role in fishermen's ecology and metaphoric world. El balance "the balance" or "rolling" of the sea, is in fishermen's vocabulary a relevant term, pointing to the lack of stability. Terranova waters are known for their particularly "imbalanced" nature: only in December did we have twelve days of total or partial lying to.

The verbs that indicate motion at sea are different from the terms on shore - horizontally: motion ahead, back, to the left, to the right; vertically: motion up and down. The visual image from a ship is the circle of the marine horizon: no movement in any direction makes a ship closer to the horizon nor changes the only visual image there. The sense of motion that this spatial situation generates is contradictory: in relation to the horizon, the ship never advances and is therefore immobile in the middle of the ocean; in relation to itself, the ship has no exterior point of reference but the distance of the circumscribing horizon, and is therefore in a non-

directional motion.

Furthermore, no orientation is available to a fisherman with the exception of the position of the sun when it is out for a few days: apart from the officer and the Helmsman on the bridge, nobody on board ever knows where north, south, east or west is, nor the land of Spain or Newfoundland. The solution that is left to a seaman, not to lose altogether the directional sense, is to attach the four orientation poles to the ship's parts: bow, stern, starboard, portside. A fisherman does not say: "the beer is in the front part of the cabin", but: "the beer is in the bow part of the cabin"; not: "the rope is ahead of you", but: "the rope is at bow", and so on, independent of his personal position. At sea there is no left, right, ahead, or behind: I never heard about something that: "it is on your left", or "it is in front of you". Something is on the left or in front when there is a fixed point to which to refer. At sea there is no sense of orientation generated by a fixed point: the mutual relationship of the four sides of the moving ship provides the only frame of orientation.

Immersed in its natural habitat, the fish is "down" in the water, and so are the fisherman's thoughts. Hauling the net in implies that fish come up from below and a change of position in the vertical axis is caused. The same verb virar is used for "hauling the net in" and "taking it up": conceptually, both operations are the same movement. "Down" means "under the water"; "up" means "over the water": the flat marine surface is the dividing plane. A word I never heard

on the whole voyage was "sky"; when I asked about it, they simply replied: "you know , our thoughts are always under the water". The land's vertical dichotomy "sky/earth" at sea gets transformed into "over the water/under the water".

As to his own position, the fisherman is extremely aware of the fragility of his stability on the dividing line: horizontally, his space is reduced to a point in the middle of the sea; vertically, his space is an uncertain plane which does not stand still in the line between both poles of the dichotomy.

Anybody acquainted with fisherman's lives knows about their continuous complaints about the lack of space on board. I heard a Captain refer to the spatial difficulties as a kind of claustrophobic illness that he named mamparitis, "the illness of the walls". The normal name of "prison" for ship-board life points, among other things, to his spatial constraint; "this is even worse than a prison", I was assured once, "because there you at least have stable ground". In my trawler the fishermen showed themselves extremely sensitive to any constructional fault in the distribution of space on board, to the point that it was by far the main topic of conversation during the first days of sailing. Among fishermen and officers alike, endless complaints could be heard about the location of the galley, the clear run of the main deck, the lack of protection for the winch, the distribution of the park area, the misuse of space in the dining-room, the improper dimensions

of the hold (too long and too low), the lack of communication between the lower deck and the galley, between the bridge and the galley, and so on. In the middle of the sea, surrounded by the immensity of space, which itself becomes contained inside the complete circle of the marine horizon, the seamen may feel that the shortage of space on board is unbearable.

2. The continuous problem of imbalance, the reduction of the sense of orientation to the parts of the ship, the disturbed perception of motion (unchangeable position in the middle of the horizon, unstoppable movement because of having no point of reference) -these are spatial circumstances that the fishermen take from their environment and use to create a cultural identification. The seaman's one visual image is a circle: round is the horizon that imprisons him, round are all the port-holes through which the sight of the sea enters the ship, round is the steering-wheel responsible for tracing a direction in his sea movements, round is the fishlupe that detects the existence of fish down in the water.

It is not surprising for conversations, such as this one which I heard at supper time, to occur among fishermen:

-It is amazing how everything in this world is round. Take one example, the ship: it can't move without a propeller that goes round and the steering-wheel that goes round as well. Cars need wheels which are round. It is the same with aeroplanes, in case you want to fly home: they need round wheels. Dishes,

bottles, everything is round.

-Is the table round?, another fisherman asked pointing to the square table.

-The screws that hold it are round.

-Is the design of your pants round?, the other fisherman pointed to the showy squares of his pants.

-But the bottoms of the pants are round too. Everything is round. Ships, cars, aeroplanes, nothing could be moved without wheels.

-When you walk, do you need wheels as well?, remarked the other fisherman.

-Yes, walking too is going round, because the world itself moves in circles, and walking is going around.

-Are you round too?

-(Looking at his own body and laughing) No, I am not.

Significantly enough, the metaphor of "round" governed our working contracts as well, for the third clause said: "The employee is classified, for all purposes, as Temporary personnel of the enterprise and the duration of the present voyage will be that Of a round voyage". A voyage's "being round" means that it has no settled limit, that its end depends on the Shipowner's decision.

In a more direct appropriation of the metaphor to predicate their occupational ethos, fishermen very frequently used to hum the words of this song:

"A stone in the road
taught me that my destiny
was to roll and roll
to roll and roll.
Also a muleteer told me
that there is no need of arriving first,
but there is a need of arriving.

(Chorus) With money and without money
I always do what I want
and my word is law.
I have no kingdom nor throne
nor anybody who understands me,
but I continue being king.

And another stone in the road
taught me that my destiny
was to roll and roll,
to roll and roll ...

To a fisherman, metaphorically, the visual image of the marine circle becomes the inner image of his own life: he feels environmentally enclosed by the distance from the horizon and shore life; conceptually, optimum catches and a better living are unreachable; emotionally, he is alienated from family life by the distance of 2000 miles and projective images. Being so distant from everything he misses, the fisherman ends up with the feeling that his passion, constantly expressed in songs and private thoughts, never reaches the object, as a ship never reaches the horizon. Does his passion really have a direction?. Is he not constantly betrayed by the torment of his own desire for stable land, family affection and a decent occupation which could not be defined as "this is not

life"? He is a rolling stone, he feels nobody really knows about his inner exile, he sings: "I am going, I am going, to console my heart / I am going, to vanish this thought". He is also a hero who fights individually against the enemy and has no better entertainment than reading cowboy novels for hours on end.

3. The sense of motion at sea has two simultaneously contrasting poles: on the one hand, immobility because of the unchangeable spatial distance; on the other hand, a non-directional motion that is total because it cannot be made relative to a stable point. The fishing work too has an alternate movement between two contrasting poles: "at sea, either you are totally bored, or you have ceaseless work", I was repeatedly informed the first days of the voyage.

The economic product itself cannot be free from the metaphor that rules the work, for as a fisherman defined it with genius: "the money of a fisherman is round; the money of a farmer is square". A farmer can grab his money, but not so a fisherman, whose money will soon go to his family's maintenance or else will be quickly spent. Other statements were: "money means everything", "money means to be free from prison", "this is a different money, for you earn it with so much suffering, but then also you spend it more easily, you don't look after it".

In geometrical opposition, round money versus square money. There was a number I heard countless times every day: "four".

In fact, the adverbs "some", "a few", were practically nonexistent on board, for they were replaced by "four"; "four fish", "four people", "four things", "four days", and so on. As an example, the Captain described to me the cowboy novels he was daily reading as "four lies, four shootings, four things. As I wondered what could be the reason for the continuous use of "four" among seamen, a marine peculiarity I never noticed on land, an imaginative correlation took form: environmentally, round horizon versus four parts of the ship; in spatial motion, unoriented immobility or non-directional full movement, versus the directional motion of the ship with the four orientation poles attached to it; geometrically, circumference versus four-sided square; numerically, zero or everything (as round) versus four. "four" and "square" stand for imaginary concreteness in a visual environment dominated by the indeterminateness of the round horizon.

As to the temporal sequence, the contradictions are similar to those of spatial motion: on the one hand, life on board is left out of the real temporal chronology; on the other hand it appears as if time on board could not reach an end. As one example of the former, it is normal to hear among seamen, after three or four months of sea, expressions such as: "I talked to him last week", or "I saw him the other day", referring by "last week" or "the other day" to the time prior to sailing, as if the months at sea did not enter the temporal chronology. Furthermore, we never felt sure whether the voyage was ever going to end until three days before we left for Spain: this

was certainly a major source of worry throughout the whole voyage, for potentially this had no end. Particularly during the whole of December we were deeply disturbed by the temporal arrangements. As a fisherman put it on the 22nd December: "what kills me is to be thinking that you are going home one day and then to have to change it; first we were leaving on the 13th, then on the 20th, now on the 27th, and perhaps even on the 31st, or maybe later". The night we set course for Spain I was talking to several fishermen and they all emphasized how disturbing it is "when you have the idea of finishing up the voyage at a certain date and then that date is delayed"; "it is yourself who creates this idea, although you are not told by the officers".

Not only does time seem to stop on shore when you are sailing, but the ship space has the strange quality of carrying over the spatial reference that existed in relation to it previous to the sea voyage. This meaning was made clear to me on several occasions in St. John's harbour when, to my question of where they were from, they replied, pointing to the ship: "I was born here", meaning "I was born in the same town where this ship belongs". As if the sea could not lay claim spatial or temporal possession, to say "here" or "now" on board referred to the "here" and "now" of the shore previous to the sea voyage. "This is no life", the standard expression to define life on board, had extended its meaning to "this is no time" and "this is no space".

However, at sea too, certain times and places are less real than others, because they are not filled in with the symbols that

bridge sea and land. Fish, money, work, economic luck-these are the main symbols that establish the connection with shore. Since the real time is on shore, the only way experience at sea becomes real is by trying to bring about its own end through catching and storing fish. The division between time on shore and time on board, and the passage from one to the other, with all the emotional burden it bears, is mentally realized through temporal dates that are invested with enormous significance. As happened to us in December, undesired changes in those "liminal" dates may create considerable personal and social disturbances. The days of covering distance and lying to are typically time is a means of overcoming that dependence. When those relations of dependence do not apply, time has no sense at sea. On the contrary, dragging and fish-processing are at sea the "real" moments that are perceived as immediate anticipation of shore life.

Likewise, the ocean in its crossing to and for on the way to Terranova, and the short distances covered on the banks , are a useless space for fishing. By contrast, "the bank", any bank, is the place of battle where the fishermen get engaged with the endless diving of their imagination into the contemplation of the possible catch; on "the bank". fishermen have a concrete place to inspect and mentally extend the boundaries of the ship's space. Down below the bank's fringe of water is solid ground again. Between the bottom and the surface there remains the needed space for fishermen's mental and affective processes to inhabit.

The two occasions on which fishermen use the expressive saying hacer firme, "to make it firm", are: one, when returning to port and mooring the ship to the wharf; two, when the net is shot away and the trawl is fixed by the stopper at the stern side, leaving loose on deck the cable that ties it to the winch. Thus, when the trawl is dragging on the bottom of the marine soil, the trawler is "firm", and the very round wheel of Terranova fishing is made steady for once.

4. The metaphor of "round" applies to fishermen's thinking as well: the fishing possibilities are so limitless that the actual catches are always insignificant compared with them. As the spatial nullity of the ship is brought about by the immensity of the sea, likewise, metaphorically, the fishing never satisfies the logical and affective expectations. As outside the ship's contours no linear space can be visualized, but only circular space; likewise, conceptually, no linear progression can be based on luck, for its arbitrary happening is unpredictable. The marine horizon lays down the visual boundaries beyond which no space can be imagined; luck establishes the mental boundaries beyond which no event can be imagined. The limitless space, generator of any geometric figure, at sea becomes itself trapped by the perfect spheric circle. Similarly, the endless thinking process, when subdued to the arbitrary causation of luck, makes itself unable to overcome its own imaginary limits of deterministic chance. The fatalistic myth of the eternal return finds a breeding ground in this kind of

repetitive causation.

If "here" may mean "the town where this ship belongs"; if "last week" may mean "the week before we left home port three months ago"; if (as I was assured by the Pesca) "mathematics do not apply at sea"; if "luck" means "arbitrary causation" - then we are close to admitting that being at sea creates a cultural environment in which one is free from the usual spatial, temporal, quantitative notions that serve as anchors to our causal thinking. The loosening of causal thinking that results from this makes it possible to fix on a random circumstance as the cause of an event: as a normal illustration of this, on a day when I visited a trawler in St. John's something got broken on board, and consequently the Pesca of the trawler associated my presence with bad luck and did not want me on board again.

In a world view constructed around the keystone of luck, the most powerful cause is the possible absence of a cause: the most feared luck is no-luck, and strong emotions are attached to non-events. With the destruction of the linear image of causation by the arbitrariness of luck, the sense of order is disturbed since order in our culture is by definition linear (Dorothy Lee, 1958). If the absence of causation (luck) is a constant threat, then the definition of the objective anchors (temporal, spatial, quantitative, causal, and so on) for evaluating events becomes a matter of the mood of the moment, as determined by recent catches and other factor. As examples of this, what in our Pareja made out of a week of

120 tons (Sep.26 - Oct. 2) such a magnificent week, was, first, the very uncertainty that it could have happened; and, second, the fact that the average yield of a week was forty to fifty tons. When that week was interrupted by the illness of a crew member forcing an entrance in harbour for three days, what made the interruption such a disturbing fact was that it took away the "possibilities" of fishing another 120 tons weekly.

"Whatever must be, will be", is the saying that summarizes fishermen's philosophy when danger or a major accident occurs. The quite particular situation of danger involved in fishing in the Spanish Parejas has been acknowledged by people who have fished in different fleets in the North Atlantic (W.Warner, personal communication). Situations that later were recognized as imminent risk occurred during our voyage, several times. The normal risks that fishing involves are considerable increased in a Pareja because of the enormous dimensions and weight of the trawl (around seven tons), which has to take into account the dragging done by both trawlers; due to the dimensions of the trawl and the duration of the dragging, the volume of the haul may easily be forty to sixty tons of fresh fish that have to be taken in with the help of bridles, stoppers, ropes, blocks, tackles, etc., which are never quite safe when dealing with such weights; in several manoeuvres of hauling in, some part of the trawl was broken, creating situations of extreme danger, since during the months of our voyage, falling to the water meant inevitable death by freezing. In the particularly unlucky months of March to July of 1977, in an industry of less than 2000 workers, the following accidents happened: five

fishermen dead by fire; a Boatswain and a fisherman dead by falling into the water; a fisherman dead by falling down the stairs and breaking his neck; a Chief Engineer lost his leg cut off by stopper; a fisherman suffered two stomach operations and hospitalization for fifty days, and a Pesca dead by brain damage.

Obviously, the working conditions of constant risk at sea are the best ground to give rise to the ideology of "whatever must be, will be". Not to be paralyzed by the fear of risk, it is necessary to create a belief which determines that, after all, everything is regulated by fate, and according to it "nothing happens until your day comes", as well as "when your day comes, there is nothing you can do to prevent it" - expressions that are frequently heard among fishermen. A psychological device is transformed into a fatalistic belief.

In this same line, no analysis of Terranova fishermen's lives can claim objectivity without clearly pointing to the lack of political and social rights, in the form of trade unions, economic guarantees and legal protection, as the fundamental facts maintaining the present working relations and paramilitary law. The connection between the deprivation of juridico-social rights and fatalistic ideology is exemplified by the Terranova fishermen's case.

5. "Terranova is a vice", is a most expressive saying seamen have about going to the Newfoundland Banks. It means their

awareness of tricking themselves with a compulsory saving; the disdain of letting themselves surrender to economic constraints, to the suffering and arbitrariness that Terranova fishing represents; the pleasure taken in the "vicious circle" of gambling with promises of luck. I was repeatedly told that fishermen who had once fished in Terranova tend to come back again after they sail for a while in merchant ships, or after they stay in their villages for coastal fishing. The psychological determination created by years of playing with chancy money and the anticipation of the final gross amount, was elegantly called "a vice". According to the irony of the expression, it was not because of greed for money or lack of adaptation to shore life, but simply for the luxury of a vice that they are after all coming to Terranova. Fishing is, then, a kind of play. Like Manning's black clubmen-players in Bermuda, the Terranova fishermen follow their pursuit "for its own sake, its own rewards, its own emotional satisfactions." As in his case, there is an "important relationship between play and thought" (Manning 1973:xv).

Although "vicious", the circle of gambling with luck has its own meaning and gratification. Fishing, like hunting, creates its own psychology: hours and days of expectant watch to enjoy, finally, the instant reward for the long-delayed pleasure. The expectation in itself becomes part of the game, a constant wager with the natural environment. Each time a fisherman goes on deck for hauling in the net, he experiences the thrill of facing the enigmatic results of luck, that any

time can happen to be portentous. A fisherman who day after day and year after year gets used to the fishing venture is unlikely to be adapted to shore life, in case he is compelled to abandon the sea due to illness, retirement, or family pressures.

Without the gambling psychology, no description of the fishing ethos can be complete. This "vicious" psychology tends to take hold of the fishermen's minds and is partially responsible for their total lack of interest in any other kind of information. We had among the fishermen and oilers four radio-cassettes, but it was extremely rare that in his free time a fisherman would be interested in listening to the news or music, with the exception of Sunday afternoon football results, despite the important political and social events going on in Spain at the time. By contrast, no matter how eagerly a fisherman wants to return from the sea, once he is at home "the sea pulls him back" after two or three weeks. Since "I know nothing but the sea", he feels unadapted to shore and prefers returning to his occupational environment.

Where is he actually living? The fisherman feels that his most real experience is always somewhere in the distance: when at sea, his desire is fixed on shore; when on shore, he is afraid that his stay there, away from his duty, might be too long. The point he occupies is the closing point of a projective circle that departs from himself and is completed outside himself. As he moves along the circle, his position is always opposite to the other extreme of the diameter.

Deprivation is his way of creating accomplishment, nothing makes everything, a gyratory point projects a circle. When talking about the money they get in Terranova, the fact fishermen most emphasize is the compulsory saving, as opposed to the rule in merchant sailing or coastal fishing. "Here, whatever you earn, you are saving it all until the voyage comes to its end". While no real leisure is possible on board for a period of months, during the twenty to thirty days at home, nothing but rest is granted to him. At sea his mind strains, gambling with luck; on shore, total idleness and lack of concern follow. All emotional gratification through the family is felt as absence in the remote North Atlantic Seas; once at home, nothing but family life waits for him. From nothing to everything, and vice versa, to the point that both poles tend to be confused: this is the occupational pattern of deep-sea fishing.

But the bipolarity is not only between sea and shore, total institution and family. In each pole, too, a bipolarity is established between the experience of actual reality (social and ecological relations) and the experience of imaginative reality (dependence on luck, emotional projection on shore). Thus, as an example, although actually the situation at sea is defined as emotional deprivation from the family, at the same time the imaginative experience of it is keen, to the point that the gratification in fantasy life can become as well a kind of "vice", being substituted for actual relations on shore. My suspicions in this sense were confirmed when a particularly intelligent fisherman confessed to me that he was going to sea partly in order not to lose the emotional intensity that

distance. from family creates. The confinement at sea becomes an emotional investment for the deep-sea fisherman. "You are good when you are gone", is an expression that can be heard among fishermen and which makes full sense in this context. From the feeling that he is loved because he is away fulfilling his duty, the fisherman may end up wondering whether he is not better off staying away and unconsciously preferring the emotional enjoyment of fantasy experience.

The same tendency to confusion between actual and imaginary reality can turn into psychological distortions, such as this one I heard about the weather from the Cook: the winter voyage (which in Terranova is particularly cruel) is preferable to the summer voyage, because in winter you know that the weather will go on improving, while in summer you have to expect that it will get worse. Similarly, the Pesca mentioned a fisherman who used to enjoy a day of bad weather, thinking that "tomorrow will be better". In both cases, the actual occurrence becomes secondary: bad weather with good expectations is preferable to good weather with bad expectations; the imaginary reality is substantiated as being more significant.

In any case, both the order of actual facts and the order of imagined facts tend to be experienced simultaneously, because of the "life at a distance". Fishing fluctuations and institutional conditions of risk and isolation undermine the sense of established order. Concrete facts may lead to a questioning of basic organization principles, such as, in the above-mentioned shipwreck, a drunken fisherman who did not go

to bed and so gave the alarm of fire and saved the lives of several fishermen, giving ground to this conclusion: "you see, at sea everything is different, you can never say that something is wrong; even drunkenness can be all right; if he had not got drunk, several more fishermen would have died in the fire". The sea offers arbitrariness of this kind and tends to dissolve the boundaries between order and disorder, for actual disorder can be validated as a possible cause of order.

Furtnermore, certain kinds of disorder may become symbols of order: luck being by definition an uncontrollable cause, the results of which are always potentially enormous, its actualization is accompanied by disordered schedules and periods of heavy work that in themselves reflect luck. Since luck is the key ordering concept, the order that matters is the occurrence itself of the arbitrary causation -any other concept of order is only a substitute.

Consequently, the fisherman is confronted with psychological ambiguities in the perception of his occupational work and status as fisherman. On the one hand, he rebels against the Shipowner's exploitation of his work and Pesca's high salary; on the other hand, he is lucky when he is punished by long hours of work and can totally identify with the Pesca who is being efficient. Likewise, the fisherman feels humiliated in his occupation which he defines as "the lowest work", but at the same time he is proud of "being a fisherman"; he would like to have some more dignified work, but he will never give up being a fisherman; fear and longing for family are part of

his occupation, but he is daring and tough; as a crew member, he depends on every other member, but he is constantly self-assertive; he sings daily "what a little slave life, the life of a fisherman", but he strongly reacts against somebody being "an embittered" on board.

The following comparison was made by a Terranova seaman to illustrate "being a fisherman": "A fisherman is like a good-time girl who wastes her life quickly, but enjoys it intensely; a farmer is like a servant maid who arranges her life in an orderly way, but, after all, is a servant who does not enjoy it". Using the land occupation of farming as a contrasting opposition to define himself, the fisherman's metaphors "a farmer's money is square; a fisherman's money is round" are transformed into "a farmer's life is square; sea life is round".

6. "Once means for ever", was the ultimate argument of the Cook to stop me doing things that I was not obliged to, as Cookee. In fact, custom on board is basically regulated by the principle that "what you do once becomes law". Once you have a point, all you have to do to form a circle is to turn it around; once a new social fact has been granted, all you have to do to make it law is to repeat it again.

Generalization is applied not only to the social reality, but also to the most ideological aspects of fishing. The function of luck is to place the actual fishing within a more general order, in relation to which the catches become signs.

Under the assumption of luck, what actually occurs is secondary to what might have occurred or to what will occur. The particular event signals the class of possible events (luck), making use of the process of generalization. Conceptually, the emphasis at sea is in the holding of luck rather than in having a good catch.

Another kind of generalization ties up family and God, who "are the same". As the family justifies the sacrifice that sea life represents being the point of reference which gives direction to it, likewise God is the ultimate reference, dealing with life in general and demanding moral responsibility. "God is there to forgive", was one fisherman's definition of God; his wife's letter says: "... but I will forgive you because, after all, I have to forgive you". It is distance itself which creates this kind of emotional generalization, bringing together religious symbols, moral values and family duties. Furthermore, the religious content can be unilaterally defined as sentiment, and therefore identified with the family situation, because the conceptual order is made complete, on the theme of luck. The emotional relations with the family become so alienated that the element of transcendence is created: family becomes "other-worldly", like the very idea of God.

"We only think of fish and family". Both kinds of generalization (luck and family, conceptual and emotional) are connected with the sea/shore dichotomy which is sharply assumed by a deep-sea fisherman. Once the generalizations are

established, they function as classes of events that powerfully classify all kinds of messages and place them in binary oppositions. The contradictions are summed up, opposing both generalizations: luck rules the world, but its place is the sea; the goal of life is family's love, but it remains on shore. Where there is luck, no present enjoyment of love is possible; where there is family, the uncertainty of luck should not be permitted. At sea, shore and family life can only be experienced through projections; on shore, sea and luck are experienced through his difficulty in adapting to shore life.

Both spheres of reality are felt by the fishermen as simultaneous and at the same time as incompatible. Both are totalities that tend to exclude each other in the fisherman's experience: both are wholes that are made into parts opposing each other, and parts that resist being defined as such, for in that case they would lose their own nature of being generalizations classes, logico-emotional devices. This seems to be the ethnographic explanation of why statistics show that, in countries such as Norway (Aubert, 1965:243), the highest rate of psychoses, particularly schizopfhrenia, is among fishermen. Although no statistics of this kind about Spanish seamen are available, any Terranova officer or fisherman would bear witness to the high number of mental derangements among themselves.

7. Since at sea orientation is attached to the ship's four parts, abstractions becoming materialized as parts of the ship, expressions such as "the stern was immersed" or "I could not see the bow" imply that, in a certain way, orientation concepts are used as things.

A peculiarity I observed among the fishermen's speech is the tendency to transform adverbs into demonstrative pronouns (for example, instead of "then" or "there", "in that one"; instead of "after he came", "he came, and in that one...") as if the adverbial indeterminacy needed a concretion. At the conceptual level, the fishing fluctuations require the order of luck, that is the nominalization of the whole sphere of possibilities, and the tendency of which is to become conceptually reified as a cosmological entity. Emotionally, the absence of family during ten months of the year is replaced by internal images through which the fisherman's affection is communicated to his people. At the organization level, power on board is invested with a charismatic element, in the sense that the fishermen's working disposition is primarily in relation to the order of luck, part of which order is the authority of the Pesca himself. His decisions are instrumental in the functioning of luck, which is ultimately responsible at sea as to whether his decision-making is right or wrong. Likewise, ideas such as the arbitrary nature of the sea play a significant role on board, preventing the fishermen from demanding safety guarantees, legitimizing the assumption of any risk or the irregularity of working schedules, and so on.

Although by their nature fictitious, these images and ideas are insistently brought into being by the ecologico-economic circumstances that the Terranova fishermen endure, and as such play a determinant role in culturally shaping the fishing reality.

It is in relation to these ideas and projections that fishermen tend to be caught in ambivalences, such as responsibility and irresponsibility toward luck, fidelity and infidelity toward wife, rebellion against and identification with the Pesca, contempt and pride in being a fisherman, etc. According to our analysis, although these patterns of relationship are occupationally learned by the fishermen in interaction with the natural and institutional environment, the relationships in themselves constitute the cultural expression of fishing and are the main field of anthropological interpretation.

The Terranova fisherman's ambivalences are summed up in his relationship to the whole occupation of fishing, for he continuously defines his source of livelihood as "this is not life". Terranova is simply "a vice", a vicious circle that allows room for self-denial and economic reward on shore, self-punishment and gambling enjoyment with it, self-contempt and love for his family. Fishermen's reactions to the declaration by Canada of the 200-mile limit were one more expression of this ambivalence: on the one hand, these regulations mean for them the sudden loss of their jobs and cause the anxiety of being deprived of their "Terranova" wages; on the other hand, as a fisherman said, "let them (Shipowners, Pescas) come here

now"; in addition to what even a Pesca recognized: "at least now we won't kill ourselves here".

The last turn of the "Terranova" wheel seems to be unavoidably approaching its end. Despite the extent of their knowledge that "everything is luck", from the teaching of luck the Spanish Terranova fishermen still needed one more lesson: luck is not only a device in the service of men to allure distant fish; sovereign luck can also decide that while fish remain men vanish.

Definitely, Terranova was a very round wheel.

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