

# Measuring Ourselves

Adaptation and Anxiety Aboard a Fishing Vessel<sup>1</sup>

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*Fishing Vessel Loki*

**ABSTRACT** This article is a criticism of the view that social interaction aboard fishing vessels can be understood primarily as an adaptive response to the technological demands of the fishing operation. Such an understanding privileges the technical system over the lifeworld, falsely assumes social harmony and overlooks social pathology. In the following, I consider the work of Barth (1966) and Orbach (1977) in light of my own twenty years aboard fishing vessels. I offer my own insights into social life and identity as they are constructed within the confines of a fishing vessel hierarchy.

'It was very much like being mad, only it was worse because one was aware of it.'  
- Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Sharer*.

In my bunk I dream on a stormy night. My face presses harder against the cold steel skin of the hull. I am on watch. My eyes still cannot see. Wake up, I have to wake up.

Our seiner pushes across an open stretch of ocean off the British Columbian Coast bound for Ketchikan and the 1978 fishing season. The skipper is at the helm and four crewmen lie in narrow bunks below.

Suddenly I am wrenched awake as someone throws open the fo'c'sle door and screams over the diesel's roar, 'Everybody on deck! Water in the lazarette!' We bolt up the ladder in boots and underwear to find our stern dangerously down. A following sea breaks on the transom, sloshing water into the open 'laz' hatch. We jump into the half-swamped 'laz' and form a bailing chain using empty lube oil buckets. I surmise that the skipper had gone back to the 'laz' to get his customary six-pack of Budweiser and had left the watertight hatch unsecured. As I pass the bucket, I think of the graduate school paper I have just written explaining Barth's functional model of a fishing boat crew. Supposedly skipper and crew are bound together in a functional unit through a rational exchange of prestations. Where now is that rationality? What kind of prestation is this? As seawater fills my hip boots, I am struck by the irony of a logic more evident to the anthropologist than to those of us bailing for our lives.

## The Invisible Hand

In his 1966 monograph Barth argued that successful skippers and crews in the Norwegian herring fishery overcame distinctions based upon 'positional

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authority' and created a relationship based upon 'trust.' In this way crew relations were supposedly experienced as if they were voluntary and egalitarian in character despite the overarching context of private property. This pleasant arrangement is said to have produced greater motivation amongst the crewmen and hence a more efficient fishing operation.

According to Barth, the captain 'transformed his relationship of command over the fishermen into a voluntary relationship of leadership and acceptance...'

[He] exhibits behavior suggesting confidence, knowledge and experience. He gives very few clues to what he is thinking, communicates little, in contrast to the others on the bridge, and never elicits comments, evaluations or advice from any other person... Through this pattern he can assert leadership without referring to positional authority; he claims rationality without making the basis and logic of his decision available for critical scrutiny (1966:8).

Barth argues that the captain's silent performance is part of an exchange with the crew. Without speaking the skipper 'claims rationality' and 'asserts leadership.' The captain somehow creates a 'voluntary relationship.'

For their part, the crew offers the captain a 'token prestation ... of willingness or eagerness and constant readiness to work, as well as their interest in observing, evaluating and controlling the dispositions of the skipper.' (1966:8) Barth presumes a consensus aboard ship yet gives no clue as to how it is negotiated. It simply occurs. The fishing operation functions and the different members of the crew contribute their peculiar behaviours to a harmonious arrangement. The logic is there to be seen by the observer.

Barth's evidence for rational social exchange suggests an alternative interpretation. If, in fact, 'positional authority' has been operatively suspended aboard ship why does the skipper remain uncommunicative? Presumably if 'positional authority' were nullified there would be every incentive to intensify communication regarding the common project, catching herring. If the skipper has good information, proven intuition and a sound theory upon which to make his fishing decisions then he could certainly defend them. If not, he stands to benefit from a verbal exchange with the crew. In refusing to justify himself, he claims exemption from the reciprocity which would characterize a 'voluntary relationship.' Were the skipper to take questions about his decisions from crewmen he would be recognizing them as potential equals. His silence rests upon the original arbitrariness of the property relation which gives the captain the right to separate employees from the property of the owner. His silence points to 'positional authority.' Like casual laborers or prostitutes competing on the street for the attention of potential employers, perhaps Barth's faceless crew flex their 'willingness' and 'eagerness' and 'constant readiness' to tell the boss: I am more competent than the others — choose me.

What happens when this presumed exchange breaks down? How is the

'disposition of the skipper' to be controlled by the crew if he cannot be addressed? Do they pretend the skipper is competent when he begins work on the second six-pack? Will their display of 'eagerness' then control his disposition? How can the relation between skipper and crew be regulated by 'trust' if that relation cannot be discussed on the vessel?

Ratifying an apparently functional state, Barth presumes an underlying agreement between skipper and crew despite skewed relations of control and ownership. Read differently, his evidence suggests a different interpretation.

### Fighting with Tools

'...the machine is not neutral; technical reason is the social reason ruling a given society...'

- Herbert Marcuse (1968:225).

In my experience, a veneer of technical discourse inhibits the direct address of 'positional authority' aboard ship. This does not, however, support Barth's contention that social interaction therefore acquires a 'voluntary' character. Instead, this taboo distorts interaction into oblique and cryptic pathways.

Value-neutral questions of technical correctness and competence constitute an official techno-speak against which a guerilla struggle is conducted. Because work language is limited to technical questions, issues of social fairness in the conduct of work process are exiled from discussion. Yet through nuances of tone, volume and percussion, these issues surface. We learn to 'read' the politics embedded in the operation of Weber's 'lifeless machine.'<sup>2</sup> We learn that the power of technology conceals the technology of power.

We prepare to take several tons of ice into the hold at the New England Cold Storage dock. Sam (a fellow deckhand), Jerry (the skipper's son), and I are experienced crewmen and have iced the vessel many times before. We are aware that our preparations were being observed by the skipper and by the crew of the San Juan Maid, known by reputation as one of the elite crews in the fishing fleet.

We arrived last night in town after three days fishing. This morning the skipper gets us up at 7, then he goes back to his bunk with a bad stomach. We stand around for 45 minutes. Then he gets up, and we move the boat to the cannery ice dock, tying up behind the San Juan Maid. We slip the boat back two pilings in order to be directly underneath the ice chute. As I slack the hawser Jerry starts yelling 'Fuck! Fuck!', shaking his head, rolling his eyes skyward, as if pleading to his Heavenly Father. I infer that I am slacking the lines incorrectly. Apparently I failed this test. I further interpret his behavior as a demonstration to his father and the watching crew of the San Juan Maid that he's surrounded by incompetents.



Photo 1. An older wooden seiner hauling the seine through the power block. The skiff is towing the seiner away from the gear. Southeast Alaska.

As we wait for ice under the cannery's ice hose, Sam and I suggest that we take the hatchcover off the coamings so as to be ready. But Jerry tells us definitively,

'No, leave it on.'

Then, 30 seconds before the ice comes down the chute, he gives us the word,

'Okay, now!'

We scramble to lift the heavy hatches before the pressurized jetstream of ice arrives...

Later I'm down in the hold shoveling ice over the binboards. Jerry yells down, 'Shovel that ice!' Then as I climb out of the hold he immediately orders me to put on the hatchcovers, which was my next move in any case. At that point I get the pleasure of contradicting him, yelling,

'No! We've got to put the tarp over the ice first!'

The trick to asserting one's superiority (and the other's inferiority) involves commanding in such a way that any challenge to the latent insult makes the subordinate appear to be disrupting the work process. What shall I say, 'No, I won't put the hatchcover on!'

The skipper's son demonstrated his technical competence to the observers, cleverly evincing his claim to power while hiding behind signs of function. He indirectly asserted a higher status by redundantly ordering us to perform small actions in a task sequence that was already of rote familiarity to us. In the same way, he inhibited us from taking preparatory actions in the task sequence until he had authorized us to perform the movements. Sam and I called this irritating habit 'ordering the obvious.'

In the course of ordering us about, he omitted a step in the icing procedure. My rejoinder, 'No, we've got to put the tarp on first!,' asserted a sign of my own technical competence, challenged Jerry's, and was expressed in the same 'value-free' technical idiom that Jerry employed. In this way, the incidental signifiers of the work process became laden with repressed, conflicting, strategically understood intentions. Technical language was only the medium through which we struggled for recognition. Our interaction, far from being an implicit social contract, was a barely-contained skirmish over our legitimacy as members of the fishing community. Yet, it was a functional exchange in two senses: first, because we successfully iced the vessel and secondly, because, we did not directly broach 'positional authority' and consequently reproduced the alienated pattern of interaction which daily reconstituted the vessel's hierarchy.

In its dynamics, this struggle for recognition reenacts the prototypical Protestant struggle over the meaning of a 'good work.' It confirms Weber's insight into the anxiety basic to motivation under capitalist organization:

Thus, however useless good works might be as a means of attaining salvation, for even the elect remain beings of the flesh, and everything they do falls infinitely short of divine standards, nevertheless, they are indispensable as a sign of election. They are the technical means, not of purchasing salvation, but of getting rid of the fear of damnation (1958:115).

Striving to overcome anxiety, striving to establish an identity as a competent crewman, the subordinate projects 'signs of election.' Jerry's barking, his

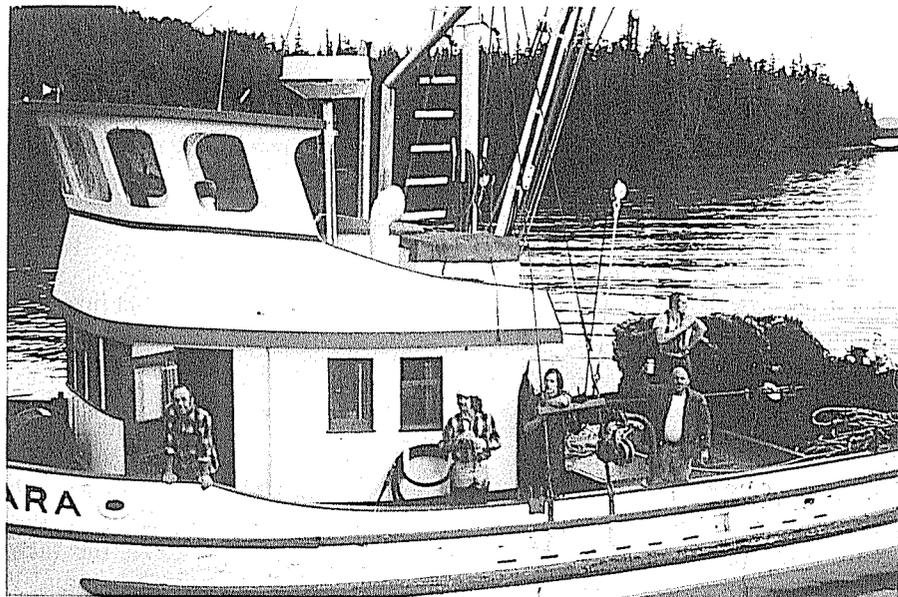


Photo 2. A shot of the crew on a wooden seiner. The deck boss salutes the author's camera with a can of Old Milwaukee. Southeast Alaska.

'good work,' demonstrated to the observer that he was of the elect and that I was of the damned. These 'technical means ... of getting rid of the fear' functioned as the the armature which propelled the blind reproduction of the hierarchy. Such 'signs of election' were simultaneously indexical and metaphorical, innocently referring to a necessary technical action while covertly reinforcing strategic social relations.<sup>3</sup>

Within the context of an economic enterprise such as a fishing vessel, actions are justified in terms of their contribution to the success of the operation. However, the relations of ownership and control themselves are exempt from demands for justification by subordinates.

As I punch the power block button on and begin to bring the seine up over the bulwarks, the seine snags up on the davit which sticks out over the bulwarks.

'BACK 'ER DOWN!'

the skipper shouts at me.

Momentarily, I turn the hydraulic handle the wrong way and he screams with vehemence,

'WRONG WAY! BACK!'

Sam and I look at each other, reading the vehemence in his voice the same way.

Later the web snags again and the skipper shouts at his son who is now operating the power block:

'Get the power block, the POWER block, the POWER block, goddam it!'

Sam and I both noticed his emphasis on the word 'Power.'

Now he assumes the power block controls and the web snags again on the davit. The skipper doesn't see the hang-up so his son yells at him,

'BACK 'ER DOWN!'

Instinctively the skipper jumps to the command and shuts off the control. Then he turns on his son, saying in a low voice,

'Shutup goddamit! Don't you yell at me you sunuvabitch!'

Staring at his son, he turns the power block back on and rips a fathom of web. Not comprehending his father's statement, the son yells again,

'BACK 'ER DOWN!'

The skipper shuts off the power block again and tells his son in low tones,

'Don't you yell at me, goddamit!'

The skipper rips his net rather than jump to an order given by his son. At issue is not the technical correctness of the son's communication but its political impact. Even though his son was technically right, he was wrong to presume he could yet bark as a man with authority.

Here the skipper violates the hoax of technical egalitarianism and rips his own net, asserting priority based on power. His action confirms the anxiety which underlies what Barth considers an exchange of 'prestations' and verifies the fiat of authoritarian social relations over the crew's interpretation of technical necessity. This illustrates again the shallowness of Barth's contention that an egalitarian ethic supplants positional authority in the daily workings of a fishing vessel.

In a famous scene, Dana portrays a flogging aboard the trading vessel upon which he was a mate. As the captain prepared to whip a man for the act of asking a question, the offender committed another crime, asking:

'Can't a man ask a question here without being flogged?' 'No,' shouted the captain. 'If you want to know what I flog you for, I'll tell you. It's because I like to do it...' (1940:91).



Photo 3. *The web man and the leads man stack seine.*

### Just Kidding

Once a man is hired aboard a seiner he must fit the requirements of the fishing process, his social circumstances, and his personal needs into a workable cognitive and operational orientation (Orbach 1977:219).

Orbach's study of San Diego tuna purse seiners attempts to demonstrate and explain the workings of a 'cultural system' (1977:1). In a Durkheimian fashion, Orbach sees the division of labor aboard ship as an integrative force. Divisions of status, power and function originate as rational solutions to problems of seafaring. Hierarchy is understood as a rational adjunct of a neutral

technology deployed against natural threat. The individual crewman must grasp the 'system' properly and adapt. Social interaction is grounded in a presumed rationality. There is, for Orbach, no hint of arbitrariness, structural violence or pathology aboard ship.

The tradition of a strict shipboard hierarchy prevails among most seafaring groups. To carry out the mission of the vessel; to provide for the safety of the ship and its crew; to deal with those whose behavior threatens the accomplishment of these goals; because the sea is a dangerous and unpredictable environment which necessitates the greatest skill and split-second decisions and reactions; and because the ship's environment is isolated from all other authority structures, a community in itself — these are all the reasons usually given for the maintenance of a strict hierarchy of status and authority at sea (1977:237).

All of these factors ... press for a system in which certain of the crew acquire 'power' of various kinds over the fishing process and in the interactions between crewmen themselves (1977:239).

These behavior patterns and their attendant understandings are adaptations to the requirements of the fishing and navigational processes and to the factors in personal interaction described here (1977:265).

These are traditional articles of authority-worship. The crew needs Ulysses to stuff their ears up! Left to their own senses they would never make it past the bar. In such a corporate model of social interaction, cultural norms are not understood as contested by the participants. In reality, a cultural 'style' or a 'behavior pattern' may be only a hegemonic appearance of social harmony. Experienced from below, a 'workable cognitive and operational orientation' may seem less than value-free.

Consider Orbach's apologia for the verbal abuse of subordinates on the work deck of a tuna seiner. He writes,

The skipper and the deckboss are the prime sources of this sort of angry-toned, sometimes personally degrading direction... [A new man] learns that the volume and abusive character of the exchange does not necessarily imply real scorn, and often not even real chastisement for him personally or his actions. ... Some men grasp this more quickly than others. I know of more than one situation where a man has left a boat or even the industry altogether because he failed to come to an understanding of this 'system' (1977:221).

Like Barth, Orbach imputes a pretentious quality to social interaction and to 'power,' as if crewmembers were self-consciously acting out roles delineated by an invisible hand. Unlike the cognitively deficient man who did not understand that his humiliation should not be taken seriously, Orbach apparently learned to trivialize his own effacement. Of course the anthropologist could productively exploit his humiliation for its value as publishable data, a feat difficult for one not objectifying his daily life as fieldwork.

The loud, violent and even abusive character of the activity during the set 'functions' in

this sense (as a catharsis). It feels good to shove the throttle of the speedboat to full and leap over the crest of a swell; it feels good to pull with all your strength on the net; it feels good to sweat and heave that 250-pound shark over the side; it feels good to curse and yell, the institutionalized mode of behavior in sets (Orbach 1977:268).

Orbach's catharsis calls forth Dana's captain. Why do I act abusively? 'Because I like to ...' It feels good to flog a man. Why not? There is no basis for criticism of the ship's hierarchy; it is, by virtue of its adaptive utility, rational. Given the presumed justification of the cultural system, catharsis becomes the only logical object of individual desire. Who are we, from the outside, to criticize on the basis of our cultural apriori? Orbach's understanding reflects that functionalist/relativist dualism in anthropological thinking which seeks to set aside the observer's cultural bias, only to enshrine the dominant prejudices of the 'native' community. The anthropologist seeks the rite of passage, the Turnerian conversion experience, which permits him to submerge his otherness beneath the surface of a cultural essence, which is, in reality, his own projection.

#### Homophobic Anxiety as an 'Operational Orientation'

While on an extended tuna trip, one of Orbach's crewmates seriously injured his hand. Although the other crewmen ignored the injury, Orbach fashioned an aluminum splint for the injured crewman which successfully relieved the man's pain. The crewman subsequently told him that the hand felt better not only because of the splint, but also because someone simply showed some care. Orbach and the crewmen then conversed about how 'things can feel better because of attention' (1977:265).

In the following days, the crewman, superior in rank, did not acknowledge Orbach's help and treated him with a brusque, authoritarian manner. Orbach, initially surprised and confused, later explained the crewman's behavior in relation to the 'hazy social norms' which prevailed on the vessel.

One can understand his behavior. The crew knew that I had made the cast for him, and although they said nothing he may have been trying to show the crew that we were not too friendly' (1977:265).

Crewmen who were perceived to be 'too friendly' were sanctioned by means of 'thinly veiled homosexual jokes, always made at a meal or in the company of several other crewmen...' (1977:263). Orbach understands such 'joking' as a means by which norms of the cultural system regarding personal space are enforced. He interprets such behavior as a culturally normal attempt to preserve 'personal space' aboard ship, citing Herbst's article (1968) regarding shipboard interpersonal distance regulation in support of this thesis. Orbach's interpretation of this incident is unsatisfying. Against whom must 'personal space' be defended? What is the function of this defense? If, in fact,

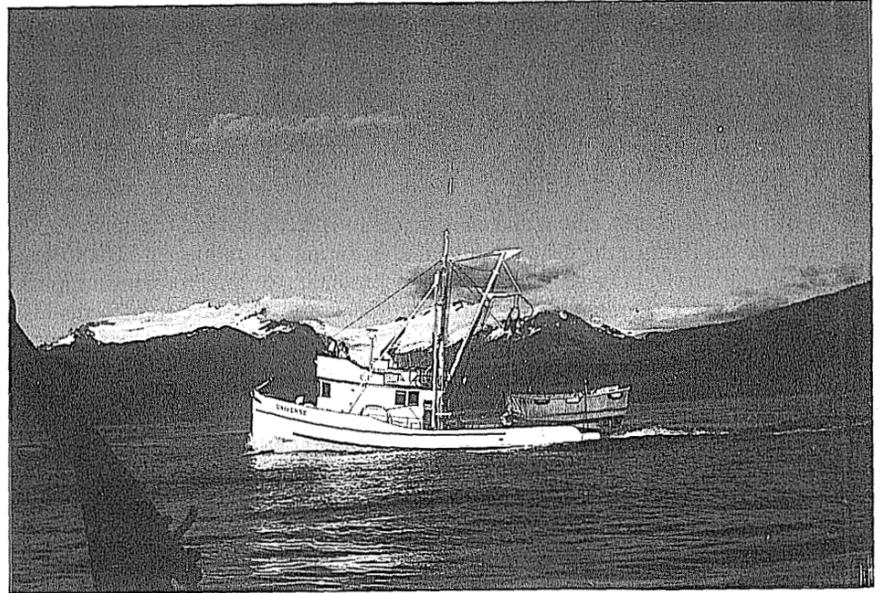


Photo 4. *The Universe*, an old seiner of 1920s vintage, went down outside Seattle on a howling November night some years ago. One man survived.

homophobic strictures against being 'too close' are justifiable based on the need to preserve 'personal space' then why must those strictures be enforced through joking behavior, rather than through a direct cognitive appeal? Homophobic joking suggests elements of fear, repression and anxiety which do not correspond to the model of a cohesive cultural system rationally predicated upon the needs of the fishing process. Precisely because Orbach presumes an organic shipboard solidarity, he brackets the sting of 'power' and 'abuse,' fails to recognize the structural bedrock of economic violence everpresent in the threat of severance, and is consequently unable to understand the distorted relationship between the defense of the self and the defense of the ship's hierarchy. He imputes an intrinsic 'workability' to social action without a critical examination of the claims and disclaims made by the actors themselves.<sup>4</sup> Once Orbach could file the crewman's apparent ingratitude under a reified norm of 'personal space,' then Orbach's own initial reactions, like those of his fellow crewman who did not grasp the 'system' of abuse, could be devalued as a cognitive mistakes. Yet, even if one could explain that homophobic joking is a 'workable cognitive orientation,' can one justify it?

'FAGGOT! GODDAM FAGGOT!'

Apoplectic and besotted, they seize the attention of the dance floor, causing the dancers to cease their motion. The seiners chant: 'FAGGOT, FAGGOT, FAGGOT!' as they advance on the stage. We seem on the verge of a lynching. Without breaking rhythm, the band shifts from salsa to Rolling Stones. The dancers resume. Their faces red as beets, veins bulging, they continue to yell but the strident chords of 'Street Fighting Man' annihilate them. Puffed up, spitting invective, they retreat screaming to their drinks.

\* \* \*

Sexuality and exploitation are fused in the word 'fuck.' Its correct use signifies subscription to the cultural ethos. Who is 'fucked'? Someone who has no value. Who is a 'fuck-up'? Someone who interferes with the downward chain of exploitation. A 'fuck-down' would make no sense: it would merely mark a category which is unexceptional.

The company, the skipper, the crewman, anyone who has power can 'fuck' somebody. One who does this with exceptional violence has 'balls'<sup>9</sup> The company does it with 'no vaseline.'<sup>10</sup> The victim 'takes a fucking.'

Yet, the thought of 'fucking' a 'faggot' is abhorrent. A 'man' needs to exploit another 'man' to be a 'man.' The 'faggot' inverts the normal pathways inscribed during the disciplinary process and finds pleasure in his humiliation. He does not defend 'personal space' through 'fucking' another and, in that failure, threatens to bring down the hierarchy. The slave's unhappy consciousness is mocked by this shadow of its own humiliation.

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In the galley I argue that repression is not necessary to organize and defend society.

The skipper gimbals his jigger of booze between thumb and middle finger, assaying this contention. He speaks,

'You damn well need the service or you'd be bowing to the Rising Sun today! To be strong you need discipline. Iron Discipline!

'When you're in the service, the hate you build up inside makes you sharp. You hate those bastards making you fall out at three in the morning to pick up cigarette butts 'cause some guy lipped off to the CO.

'You gotta go through the shit but you do it! So what! You've still got your mind!

'We were outta the rack at 7:30 every morning with our bunks tied up. I've gotta be active. It drives me crazy if I don't get out of bed and DO something! You young guys get out of bunk to take a shit!

'There's no fucking way you're going to organize the service without authority! How in hell are you going to take 200 guys, most of 'em from big cities, who haven't worked, haven't done a fucking thing in their lives, and make em into a unit if you don't have somebody on top forcing them?'

'You've gotta go through that shit, boot camp and all that, at first. When they figured I became a man, then I was through with that bullshit. Then we had some great times.

'But you gotta TAKE IT before you can GIVE IT!'<sup>11</sup>

\* \* \*

The rite of passage is never complete and therein lies its efficacy. A subordinate cannot not be fully a 'man' unless he can 'give it.' Yet even the skipper has to take 'the hate inside' from the company. Waiting for the end of this ambiguous trip, we sharpen our knives and 'love the inevitable.'<sup>12</sup>

\* \* \*

'What happens to your pride on this boat?' says the new crewman. We know but say nothing. Today on the fishing grounds we simply refuse to put the seine out, forcing the skipper and his mate to run us into port, costing them one day's fishing. This is our final prestation to them. It feels good to 'fuck' them as they have 'fucked' us. We now fully grasp the cultural system.

## Notes

1. Between 1972 and 1978 I purse seined as a crewman in southeast Alaska and Puget Sound during the salmon season. Since 1979 I have gillnetted my own boat for salmon in the same regions. Journal excerpts cited in this work derive from my tenure as a purse seine crewman. I chose to focus on purse seining rather than gillnetting because it is much closer in scale and social organization to the herring and tuna fisheries examined by Barth and Orbach. There are antagonistic cultural differences between these two net fisheries which have to do with the political economy of the region.

Purse seining, as a result of its capital-intensivity and catching efficiency, facilitates the centralization of wealth within fishing communities and overarching corporate control. This has been noted in Malaysia (Firth 1966), southeast Alaska (Gilbertsen 1985, 1990), (Langdon 1977) and in the Puget Sound treaty tribe fisheries (Knutson 1987) In southeast Alaska multinational corporations dominate this fishery through direct ownership, financial control of vessels and through control of processing outlets. These interests support the pre-eminence of purse seining as the dominant mode of harvest in the region.

Purse seining occurs in a competitive, highly-leveraged, and driven environment. Seine crewmen commonly refer to their work as 'grinding' or 'clanking.' Deck-work requires little knowledge of the hunting aspect of the fishing trip. The crew's labor, tied to the speed of machinery and subject to a complex division of labor, is closer to a factory model than the labor in less capitalized salmon fisheries such as trolling or gillnetting.

2. The 'lifeless machine is congealed spirit (Geist)' (Weber, cited in Marcuse 1968:222).
3. This strategic exploitation of the ambiguities in language is considered by Silverstein (1976). He discusses the use of referential indexes, 'shifters,' in the multifunctional context of daily pragmatics. In 'value-neutral' work language I would add that these 'shifters' are strategically exploited in a systematic fashion.
4. See Rabinow's 1983 criticism of American cultural anthropology on precisely this 'bracketing of truth and seriousness.'
5. Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) converge with Foucault (1979, 1980b) on this point. They see an extension and radicalization of domination arising from increasing human mastery of nature. However, where Adorno and Horkheimer understand this dialectic as tragedy, Foucault traces the extension of 'technologies of power' in a much more concrete, historical fashion. Habermas (1971) argues convincingly for an emancipatory possibility. He undermines the master/slave narrative by restoring the exiled potentials of human reciprocity always presumed in communication to the context of the Hegel's story.
6. The cook occupies a role fraught with sexual ambivalence. His role as domestic clashes with the dominant cultural ethos of production and the associated sexual ideology. The priority of his job is reflected in a skipper's comment, 'Fuck food when there's fishing.'
7. I am struck by the convergent functions of this suspension of 'seriousness' pragmatically, in terms of the maintenance of hierarchy on the vessel, and theoretically, in terms of the structural-functional ratification of the 'cultural system.' In both cases such bracketing functions to deny and thus naturalize the sting of power. The individual who takes the exercise of power seriously has not learned the ropes.
8. That, of course, is precisely the point of 'hazing.' The subordinate learns not to distinguish between what Marcuse (1962) called 'necessary' and 'surplus' repression. It is all to be considered necessary.
9. 'Balls' literally refers to the scrotum. Metaphorically it refers to the core of a man's sexual being.
10. I.e., no sexual lubricant. On the occasion of a cut in fish prices, I once watched a skipper enter the cannery office, slam down a jar of vaseline on the superintendent's desk and storm out. This is a commonly acknowledged metaphor.
11. Recorded the night Richard Nixon resigned the Presidency in August 1974.
12. Bourdieu (1977:77) defines cultural ethos as that which allow an individual 'to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable.'

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