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The Scottish
Government

**Social Change in Scottish
Fishing Communities:
a Brief Literature Review and
Annotated Bibliography**



social
research

**SOCIAL CHANGE IN SCOTTISH FISHING
COMMUNITIES:
A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW AND
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Lynn Jamieson, Centre for Research on Families and
Relationships, with Gillian Munro and Maud Perrier**

Scottish Government Social Research
2009

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1 INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 The Centre for Research on Families and Relationships (CRFR) at the University of Edinburgh was commissioned by the Scottish Government Rural and Environment Analytical Services to identify and review literature related to social change in fishing communities in Scotland over the past fifteen years, with particular reference to the role of 'fishing families' and of inward and outward migration.
- 1.2 The Scottish Government wishes to gain a better understanding of how communities which have been involved in the fishing industry have been affected by wider changes in Scottish society and by the substantial changes that have occurred across the sector in recent years. The aim was to identify literature which would contribute to a developing evidence-base on changing social dynamics and structures in communities which have had some dependence on fisheries and related industries.
- 1.3 After describing the methods used for the review, this report provides a summary of key issues before presenting the annotated bibliography as an appendix.

2 REVIEW METHODS

- 2.1 A variety of search methods were used in order to compile as comprehensive a list as possible of relevant documents. Using Web of Science to access the Social Science Citation Index, IngentaConnect (one of the most comprehensive databases of academic and professional research articles online), library catalogues and other search engines, an extensive electronic search was conducted to locate journal articles, dissertations, books, book chapters and grey literature available online or stocked in the University of Edinburgh library. Search terms used included various combinations of the following: 'Scotland', 'change' 'fishing', 'fisheries', 'fishermen', 'community', 'family', 'relationship', 'gender' 'kinship', 'in-migration' and 'economic migrant'. The bibliographies of articles and other texts found were systematically searched to ensure as thorough coverage as possible.
- 2.2 General search engines were also used (www.google.com), including those on relevant websites, such as those of the Scottish Government, other Government and voluntary sector sites, and research organisations such as the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) fisheries branch library and the National Centre for Migration Studies (on the Isle of Skye). Specialists from a number of organisations were also contacted in an attempt to identify unpublished research with fishing communities or of other relevance (Appendix).

Overview and limitations

- 2.3 The definition of ‘fishing communities’ was purposely left open, as one that could be subject to contestation and change over time. While it has proved possible to find definitions and discussions of fishing communities within the literature, only modest progress was possible towards fulfilling the original brief. Recent social science literature does not contain a substantial body of research directly focusing on either the social fabric of fishing communities in Scotland, or fishing families, or pattern migration to and from fishing communities. Understandably, perhaps, the main focus of fishing industry related social science research is primarily economic, the declining fortunes of the industry and the state of economic development of localities with high rates of engagement in fisheries related employment. Although the importance of the social as well as economic development of fishing-dependent or formerly fishing-dependent localities is often acknowledged, this is more often inferred from the state of the economy, rather than researched directly.
- 2.4 Only three researchers were identified whose work has focused primarily on social and cultural aspects of fishing families and fishing communities (Munro 2000, Nadel-Klein, 2000, 2003, Williams 2008, 2005). All have concentrated on villages in the east of Scotland, particularly the north-east. They are all serious pieces of academic work contextualising small scale qualitative studies using in-depth interviews and observation with historical and documentary sources. The experiences and views they document may be shared by fishermen and their families in the same sector of the industry elsewhere, facing similar pressures and in communities of similar size, socio-economic composition and economic fortunes. However, there is a long line of historical work that documents the cultural and religious distinctiveness of the north-east (out-with the scope of the review). Even without this caveat, it cannot be assumed that their work is readily generalisable to fishermen in other sectors of the industry or other fishing-dependent localities in Scotland.

3 KEY ISSUES

Fishing and fisheries

- 3.1 The decline in the industry has been significant over the last two decades. The 2007 workforce was approximately half that employed in the early 1970s. There were 4,408 fishermen regularly employed on Scottish-based fishing boats in 2007. Another 951 irregularly employed brought the total employment in fish catching to 5,424. In terms of both weight of fish and monetary value, the bulk of fish were caught by larger boats. Of the 2,191 registered vessels, 1,449, or 66%, are less than 10 metres long but they were responsible for only 11% of the total catch by weight and 9.7% by value.¹ Nevertheless, smaller boats are responsible for a significant proportion of the employment.

¹ Figures on going to sea are taken from the Labour Force Survey. The most detailed figures about fishing vessels are in *Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistics 2007*.

- 3.2 Almost a quarter of the labour force operates from the fishing port districts of Peterhead and Fraserburgh. When combined with the smaller numbers of fishermen working in the port districts of Aberdeen and Buckie, the north-east contains 32% of the total labour force and lands approximately half of the fish. The only other port districts with more than 500 fishermen are Ayr, Shetland and Stornoway. Within the North East, the recent decline has been steeper in the port district of Buckie, with a 67% fall in fishing employment from 900 in 1994 to 293. In Fraserburgh, there has been a 54% decline, and in Peterhead a 42% decline.²
- 3.3 It is possible to subdivide the business of fish catching in a number of ways to further understand the industry. It is currently conventional to categorise vessels by length and fishing activity into pelagic (primarily mackerel and herring and dominated by very large boats), and demersal, or the white fish sector (primarily cod, haddock, and whiting, but the same boats might catch a range of other fish and nephrops) and shellfish (including nephrops or prawns). The demersal sector has been most affected by the decline of fish stocks, particularly of cod. In 2005, pelagic fishing accounted for only 5% of employment in fish catching. It was estimated in 2005 that small inshore shellfishing boats (typically under 10 metres) accounted for 41% of employment; smaller mixed shellfish and demersal fishing boats (averaging 14 metres) for another 21%; and the larger demersal fishing boats accounted for 33%.³
- 3.4 The fishing industry involves not only those who go to sea to fish but also the currently smaller number of workers on fish farms and the currently larger number in fish processing. Jobs in fish processing outnumber those in fishing for Scotland as a whole - significantly so in some localities. The processing industry also remains concentrated in a small number of fishing port districts.⁴

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/09/04090427/0>.

² Figures from Aberdeenshire Council cited in Holmyard (North Sea Women's Network) 'The real costs of diminishing fishing effort in the European Union'; European Commission DG for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, Expert Meeting on the Human Side of Fisheries, 19th October 2006, Meeting room Roger Ockrent, OECD Headquarters, 2 rue André Pascal, Paris 1
[http://www.oilis.oecd.org/olis/2006doc.nsf/87fae4004d4fa67ac125685d005300b3/319a0d0f92738688c125720400557ebd/\\$FILE/JT03215625.PDF](http://www.oilis.oecd.org/olis/2006doc.nsf/87fae4004d4fa67ac125685d005300b3/319a0d0f92738688c125720400557ebd/$FILE/JT03215625.PDF)

³ Scottish Government (2005) *Sea Fisheries Strategy Document*:

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/07/07105456/55059>

⁴ For figures on the relative contribution of the catching, aquaculture and processing sectors, see Scottish Government publication, May 2008, of the consultation on the UK Operational Programme for the European Fisheries Fund: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/05/19100136/0>

This document gives the average total employment in the UK in 2006 as 7,000 in fishing (but note a figure of 12,000 is given in a subsequent table for the 'catching sector'), 3,000 in fish farming and 17,000 in production of fish products. Subsequent tables indicate that in 2007, for the UK, 40% of the total fishing workforce and 50% of the total fish farming workforce were employed in Scotland. A figure is not given for fish processing but in that year 65% of fish were landed in Scotland and fish processing is often sited near major ports. The table for the 'UK catching sector' lists the total UK employment in 2007 as 12,934 and 5,205 for Scotland. The publication notes: 'Although the fisheries industry is not a large employer at the UK level, it is a key source of employment in many rural communities. For example, although the fisheries industry accounts for 0.7% of the workforce in Scotland, there are some areas where this rises to over 10% of direct employment. This point is also

Fishing communities

- 3.5 The definition of a ‘fishing community’ is discussed in the literature. Katherine Brookfield and her co-authors note that definitions in circulation include the exclusively economic - of particular interest to governmental bodies and the European Commission in assessing the need for financial assistance. Such definitions are based on indicators of ‘fishing-dependency’, such as the proportion of the workforce engaged in/employed in fisheries, catching, fish farming or fish processing. Because fishing as an industry is a relatively small proportion of European national economies, the engagement of 5% or 10% of the workforce in fisheries in more clearly delimited local areas have been proposed as possible definitions of fishing-dependent communities. Citing figures given by Thomson (2002)⁵, the authors note that in Scotland as a whole, employment in fisheries accounts for only 0.9% of the workforce, and, even in coastal regions, less than 2%. In Shetland, however, it is 11% and in Peterhead 14%. A Scottish Government publication of 2005 cites the travel to work areas with the highest percentage of their local employment directly provided by the fisheries sector as Annan, primarily due to one large processor (19%), and Fraserburgh (19%), with the Uists and Barra, Berwickshire and Peterhead each having between 12-14%.⁶
- 3.6 Brookfield and colleagues also note definitions of ‘fishing community’ that acknowledge the social and cultural value given to fishing in a locality:

“ the fishing industry is seen to be the forum through which community bonds, values, knowledge, language and traditions are established, confirmed and passed on’. The fishing industry is ‘the way of life’ for the community, and the community understands and makes sense of the world from a perspective that is garnered from years of involvement with the fishing industry. For fisheries-dependent communities, fishing is the glue that holds the community together’ (Brookfield et al, 2005, 56)”.

- 3.7 Brookfield and colleagues adopted an economic fisheries-dependent definition to select case-study localities, but also presumed that they were simultaneously ‘communities’ that socially and culturally value fishing and gathered views of key stakeholders about ‘the community’ in the course of their study.

made by Thomson who also provides a regional breakdown albeit for 1999, Thomas, Michael, 2002 *The regional employment contribution of the fisheries sector to the Scottish Economy*. Scottish Executive <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2002/06/14991/8033>

⁵ Thomson, Michael, 2002 *The regional employment contribution of the fisheries sector to the Scottish Economy*. Scottish Executive <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2002/06/14991/8033> See appendix for a table of employees in fish catching by port district.

⁶ Scottish Government 2005 *Sea Fisheries Strategy Document* <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/07/07105456/55059>

- 3.8 The literature suggests that some of the conventional practices of fishing in themselves constituted 'community'. For example, the methods of sharing the value of catches among the crew and of using local knowledge of kin, friends and neighbours to recruit crew create overlap between the industry and a sense of community. There are some suggestions that these practices were under pressure, particularly in sectors of the industry that have been struggling to be economically viable and to retain and recruit local crew. (Munro, 2000, Williams, 2008, Thomson, 2001). It is also suggested that the legal and moral pressures on the whitefish fishermen illegally landing fish above quotas or throwing dead fish back into the sea have a corrosive effect on community (Nuttall, 2000).
- 3.9 Community is a central focus in Ruth Williams's PhD research which gathered life histories from 18 men who were or had been skippers based on the Moray Firth, another who worked as crew, and, where possible, their partners. Williams's interviews suggest that fishermen and their wives think of their fishing communities as in decline and at risk of dying, demonstrated by the empty harbour, the loss of boat building, the dwindling number of fishermen, their shrinking spending power and a set of other social changes including shop closures, drugs, and the visible presence of incomers. Small harbours are no longer typically used, even when boats are registered there, because the costs of fuel make it more economic for boats to operate out of the main fish landing ports of Fraserburgh and Peterhead. Moreover, social problems and decline, which are not unique to fishing communities, were sometimes also attributed to the contraction of fishing, such as the loss of small independent shops from the high street and the problem of drugs. Williams' respondents often believed the drug problem had started because dealers targeted the relatively rich young pelagic fishermen, then had spread from there and become another aspect of the decline of the industry.
- 3.10 The testimonies given by skippers to Williams suggests that dominant discourse was not railing against large commercial concerns but the regulations and surveillance of government and the European Union, as they struggled with a sense of demoralisation at the impossibility of turning hard effort and skill into a living adequate to pay and keep their crew together as a team while staying within the law.
- 3.11 How people expressed community, the value of fishing and how they represented their way of lives to themselves is a central focus of the work of Jane Nadel-Klein. Her anthropological research in the east of Scotland began in the small settlement of Ferryden where fishing no longer takes place and the oil industry has transformed the landscape. This work was then supplemented by a focus on Buckie in the Moray Firth and Anstruther in the East Neuk of Fife. She argues that fisher folk's, and particularly older fishermen's, practice of remembering and celebrating the role of women, as the hard-working fisher lassies and fisher wives of the past, is their response to the threat of total erasure of their personal and community identities as brave masculine fishermen in a close knit fishing community:

'In addition to their value as heritage signposts, images and stories of fisherwomen of the past constitute a rich symbolic resource by which

fishers can reconstruct community boundaries and negotiate a collective self-worth. Thus, women's present significance for Scottish fisher society is being mediated through reconstructions of their past roles in the fishery. As fishing livelihoods ebb, these representations—whether in museums or in conversations—help fishers to hold onto a sense of who they are, and to assuage their anxieties about who they might become' (Nadel-Klein, 2000, 371).

3.12 While Nadel-Klein sees the fishing heritage industry as serving the identity needs of local people in fishing communities as much as the needs of tourists, Brookfield and her colleagues were much less positive. They conclude their article with warnings about the shift from actual fishing to a heritage industry about fishing, as a potential source of demoralisation and loss of cultural authenticity.

3.13 The research of Selina Stead is an example of work which is primarily economic, and it assumes rather than researches social effects:

'An emerging pattern throughout Scotland that mimics what is happening across the fishing industry worldwide is that fishing fleets are increasingly dominated by large commercial concerns operating to scale economies rather than consisting of many smaller vessels owned by families with a long tradition in fishing. The changes in vessel ownership are also transforming the cultural make-up of many fishing communities, especially in kinship and social participation' (Munro, 2000).

3.14 It seems very reasonable to infer that the loss of family owned boats will have a significant impact on family and community, but there is no detailed history of ownership transition and the reference above is to an article by Gillian Munro about a North-East fishing village that demonstrates continuity as much as change. Munro's report discusses family, kinship and community, in the re-named village 'Balnamara'. She finds that, despite the increased out-migration from the area and occupational diversification away from fishing, her respondents retain a sense of strong family, kinship and community ties to the locality. Munro revisited Balnamara relatively briefly in 2000, having originally conducted in-depth anthropological research from 1979-1981. Munro herself has never generalised from the village of 'Balnamara' to all 'fishing communities'.

Fishing families

3.15 There may be some discussion of how to delimit a fishing community but no agreed definition of 'fishing families'. Two elements suggested in the literature are a family tradition of fishing across generations, and a family household in which the main or sole income comes from fishing. When both elements are combined, since commercial fish catching is an exclusively male business, a fishing family is a family household in which the earner is a fisherman who, like his father, wishes to pass fishing onto a son, and whose wife depends on his

earning and provides him with on-shore support. Such households may only make up a very small proportion of all family households, even in coastal areas. Nevertheless, they represent the tradition of fishing and the sense of interconnection between industry, family, locality and community and have symbolic significance for 'community' beyond their numbers.

- 3.16 Among the skippers interviewed by Williams, four had sons or son-in-laws working with the men on the family boat and almost all had lived all their lives on the Moray Firth, and came from fishing families. Williams describes the interweaving of family and fishing business:

'Those men who grew up within a fishing family often spent much of their school holidays out on family-owned boats. It was common for these men to have left school between the ages of 14 and 16 and gone either to an apprenticeship, or straight onto a boat to work their way up the share system. Sons of fishermen were often encouraged to take on an apprenticeship when times were hard within the industry. This would provide them with a trade to fall back on should incomes in the catching sector fall. These were usually with local businesses and directly linked to the fishing industry, such as with the shipyards or net factories. Most of the fishermen in this research had worked their way up through the share system⁷ and then gone on to fisheries college to study toward their 'skipper's ticket', the qualification needed to take charge of a fishing boat. Many of them either took on the family boat in their late 20s, or invested in their own boat along with other business partners which often included family members. Most of the boats were, or had been, understood by participants as family businesses and a sense of continuity and inheritance was valued by them. A long term relationship between crew, and the boat was also valued and the opportunity to have the next generation of the family on the boat was prized.' (2008, 100)

- 3.17 The exclusively male nature of fishing and the very gendered division of labour in fishing family households was taken for granted by men and women. Like the family households of off-shore oil workers and other long distance workers, fishing families are attuned to the absence of the fisherman father for long periods. As one woman put it to Williams,

'I always say that [fishermen's wives] are quite a strong woman, because they've got to be mother and father. And if any crisis happens, well you've just got to deal with it, erm, and you just get

⁷ The share system common within the fishing industry means that the earnings of the skipper and crew are determined by the value of the catch landed each trip, rather than a set wage. Once the fish has been sold a share of the value of the catch is set aside for 'the boat', to cover the expenses from the trip and the running costs of the business. The remainder is shared out among the skipper and crew as payment for working the trip. The percentage given to each fisherman is dependent on the work they contribute. So for example, a man who is just starting out in the industry might receive a half share (half the equivalent of a fully trained and experienced crewman) moving up to a three quarter, then a full share once deemed competent by the skipper to do the work of everyone else. (Williams, p80)

accustomed to it. And you've also got to adapt if they are at home for a while, that erm... well that you've got ta consult them!'

- 3.18 Fishermen fathers may always have been relatively absent from family life but there has been a shift in the pattern of going to sea, towards longer trips⁸ with less regular weekends on shore, making the integration of fishermen into the round of family life even more difficult. Williams indicates that the negotiation and renegotiation of being independent and in partnership that fishing family couples perform when men are fishing became even more difficult when men left the fishing.
- 3.19 In Williams' sample, seven fishing family households were in the process of deciding whether to encourage a son to go into fishing or to go elsewhere and whether to stay in the industry themselves until retirement or to get out. Some skippers had already left fishing. The sense of strain and anxieties over laws and regulations rather than the physical hardships or dangers of weather are seen as sapping mental health and energy by many fishermen's wives as well as by fishermen themselves. Decommissioning and leaving fishing were not easy options as they often brought feelings of failure and loss.

Migration

- 3.20 A series of research projects investigating the recruitment and experiences of new European migrant workers to the Highlands and Islands (De Lima et al. 2005, Hall Aitken 2007, Hope et al, 2004) and Grampian (De Lima et al 2007) include discussion of A8 migrants involved in fish farming and fish processing and their employers. Employers were quoted as seeing Eastern European migrants as a solution to difficulties recruiting from the local population who often regard fish processing jobs as low waged work with relatively unpleasant, smelly and cold, working conditions. Migrants not directly employed in fish processing also reported these attitudes (De Lima et al 2007). The typical Eastern European migrant was found to be young, over-qualified for the work and a temporary migrant wishing to accumulate income with which to return home. However, the same studies identified a minority of migrants with an interest in staying on longer term. Long hours of work and language difficulties restricted integration into their localities. The frequently reported difficulties experienced by migrants included access to affordable housing, bank accounts, language learning and difficulty accessing information about employment rights, taxation, health services. The Scottish Council for Single Homeless (2007) survey found that the local authority with the largest number of applications pertaining to homeless A8 migrants was in the North-East and attributes this to the high rate of tied housing among migrants, including the fish processing sector.
- 3.21 None of these studies included the role of migrants in fish catching, although references are made in passing in the economic literature to the presence of

⁸ Williams found that seven to ten day trips with maybe only one or two nights onshore in between had replaced a weekly pattern of four days at sea and the weekend at home. A common pattern was to do two of these longer trips back to back then stay onshore for one trip.

immigrant workers in fishing. Stead, for example, refers to an increased number of Polish engineers working on Scottish fishing vessels (Stead, 2005, 681). In William's interviews with fishing boat skippers in the North-East (Williams, 2008) none reported using foreign crew themselves but several acknowledged their use by others. This was seen as a reluctant response to difficulties in recruiting and retaining local crew and sometimes as a way of getting cheap labour. The traditional system of sharing the value of the catch among the crew was not extended to foreign workers who were employed through an agency and paid a fixed and lower wage:

'... there's mair and mair folk getting into this foreign labour, just because there's nae new recruiting in the fishing, and with any decommissioning the crews seem to go awa' [out of the industry]. It's very difficult. I mean I've heard of boats being stuck in the harbour for two or three days cos they cannae get replacement crew ken? And this is why the foreign labour's coming about. I'm not saying I wouldnae do it but it would be a last resort, just because I like local folk, so it is difficult to replace people. Although a lot of this foreign folk are good workers.'

[Williams] *'But you'd just rather have somebody you know?'*

'Aye. And some folks are awfully catty they tend to brand you for taking on cheap labour, they think you're doing it for financial reasons, it's nae really the case.' (Skipper from Portknockie, quoted, p 140)

3.22 One skipper cited an example of failing to get a tender, he believed, because he was undercut by another skipper hiring foreign labour:

'And I thought to myself, well we're pretty cheap to run so how come he can run his boat cheaper? And I says this to one of my crew, I says 'we're nae getting the scientists' and I told him who's got it. And he says 'his crew's all Lithuanian, so he's nae paying his crew nothing'. He's taking them in for three month at a time, they bide on the boat erm, what their standard of living is I don't know, but obviously they've a good [one] when they go home which is good for them. But he's taking British tax payers money to take charters out to pay a Lithuanian crew, when British guys are forced out by price because of that, it's crazy!' (Skipper, from Buckie, quote by Williams p 141)

3.23 The literature on youth out-migration from rural areas, reviewed by Jamieson and Groves (2008), for the Scottish Government Rural and Environment Analytical Services, shows that loss of young people continues to be a significant threat to the sustainability of some remote rural communities. Several studies have recommended that young people in rural areas have a particular need for advice and support because those who take up higher education inevitably have multiple transitions, while those who stay have to cope with a more radical loss of peers and more limited options than urban young people. The studies by Munro and Williams both make reference to fishing families placing emphasis on young people's education and openness to their need to leave the local area, at least temporarily, in order to get qualifications.

4 CONCLUSION: GAPS IN THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE

- 4.1 Although the fishing industry provides only a small proportion of Scotland's employment, it employs more than 10% of the workforce in a small number of parts of rural Scotland, dispersed across both east and west coasts and both north and south. The small number of studies that have documented the impact of social change on family and community life in these fishing-dependent localities have primarily focused on fishing towns and villages with long traditions of fishing on the east of Scotland, and particularly the North East. It was noted at the outset that these studies can really only be generalised to other similar communities where demersal fishing predominates and it cannot be taken for granted that they speak for all fishing dependent localities.
- 4.2 The decline in employment in the fish catching sector has been dramatic and well documented, along with the associated changes in the health of fish stocks, European Union regulations intended to preserve them and the technologies of fishing. It is not surprising that attention has focused in particular on the demersal or white fish sector because it is in the most difficulties, but it is important to remember it employs no more than half of fishers. Studies of fishing communities that have focused primarily on the North-East have also focused on fishermen or ex-fisherman of the whitefish sector. The research documents fishermen testifying that 'fishing families' and the practices of passing the occupation from father to son are in terminal decline, along with fishing communities. In towns that are still sites of fishing, fishermen give witness to how falls in profitability and the difficulties of negotiating quota systems put strain on them and the traditional ways of working that contributed to a close knit fishing community. Young people are discouraged from entering the industry. The practice of skippers recruiting their crew from family and neighbours becomes difficult and the loss of a sense of loyalty to and from local crews loosens the ethos of sharing profits. The sense of being forced to choose between illegal landings and discards of dead fish further complicates and tarnishes collective identity. Nevertheless, fishermen and their families continue to see themselves as fisher folk with strong families, honourable traditions and skills of survival. Research also shows that as the boats disappear from some traditional fishing villages, a defence of community identity as a fisher folk can gain strength from a heritage industry celebrating the role of fisher wives as well as fishermen. However, not all researchers are convinced that this will banish demoralisation or preserve the distinctive spirit of fishing communities in the longer term.
- 4.3 There is a case for research on fishing communities other than those of the North-East. Also, the views of the residents of fisheries-dependent localities other than fishermen should be explored. Women are only present in the existing research as fishermen's wives. The views of migrant workers, on fish farms and in fish processing, and those of their employers surface in some of the recent studies of A8 migrants but not the views of the local fish processing workers or the school leaving young people whom the employers claim are unwilling to take fish processing jobs. Studies of rural areas and rural migration could pay more specific attention to fishing dependent localities. None of the

published data gives figures for migrant workers in fishing or for fishing communities. The out-migration of young people is referred to in the studies of north east fishing communities but neglected in the literature on rural migration. Migration statistics show that the fishing dependent areas of Shetland and the Western Isles have particularly high rates of net out-migration and loss of young people. Future surveys of young people, such as studies like the Scottish School Leavers Survey, could include questions about migration intentions to ensure the possibility of discrete analysis of young people from fishing dependent localities.

- 4.4 The way that economic facts are documented does not always yield information relevant to understanding their impact on families and communities. If figures on vessel size were complemented by figures documenting skipper/family ownership versus corporate ownership, it would be possible to assess claims made in the literature about the impact of the demise of family owned boats on communities. More information on levels of indebtedness involved in vessel ownership would enable documentation of the strain on fishing families. It would also be helpful if Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistics annual reports routinely gave employment by pelagic, demersal and shellfish sectors as well as by locality and vessel size. This would help the targeting of future research which has overly focused on the demersal sector. The large number of fishermen with small boats in the inshore shellfishing sector, their relationship to family and community, their sense of their own future, engagement with succession in this occupation and the continued absence of women in its operation, remain completely understudied. This is despite the fact that they form between 40% and 60% of the fish catching workforce. A study of their significance is overdue.

APPENDIX: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this appendix the bibliography is organised alphabetically by author. It summarises key texts from academic and non-academic literature and focuses on relevant findings on either families and kinship, or on migrant workers, in fishing communities. As well as research based on Scottish evidence, there are a small number of texts from the UK or elsewhere, which may be relevant and of interest to those conducting research in this area. Websites for key organisations that were contacted during the course of the review are also given.

1. Brookfield, K; Gray, T and Hatchard, J (2005) 'The Concept of Fisheries Dependent Communities: A Comparative Analysis of Four UK Case Studies: Shetland, Peterhead, North Shields and Lowestoft', *Fisheries Research* 72 (1):5569.

Relevance: Makes claims concerning the importance of fishing for the cultural identity of localities with high levels of engagement in the fishing industry, the growing importance of the fishing heritage tourism and its likely impact on community and workforce.

Aims: To examine the concept of 'fisheries-dependence' and to explore the various 'coping' strategies deployed by different 'fisheries-dependent communities' in response to the difficulties facing the fishing industry.

Research data: Literature review of academic sources, Scottish Executive social research, European Commission reports and local authority literature. Four Case studies: Shetland, Peterhead, North Shields and Lowestoft, primarily constructed through data about the four localities available on the internet and gathered from two to five telephone interviews with key people in each community. Key people were representatives of local fishers, fish wholesalers, fish processors and local authority economic development officers.

Key findings: There was a clear political commitment at the local level to support the fishing industry and to devote considerable political and economic resources to ensure the industry has a viable future. There is an increasing tendency in fisheries dependent communities to find ways of combining the objectives of support for fisheries and economic diversification. The authors make a distinction between the fishing industry which they call 'real fishing' and fishing industry related tourism, which they call 'virtual fishing'. Dependence on the former was most acute in Shetland and the latter in Lowestoft where the authors state that fishing dependence was about 'the capturing and selling of the 'idea' of fishing, rather than in the catching and selling of fish'. While some fisheries-dependent communities are using the historical and cultural value of the fishing industry within their community to create a new 'virtual fishing' tourism industry, there is clear resistance to a shift from 'real' to 'virtual' fishing industries in Shetland and Peterhead. The authors suggest possible dangers of fishing industry tourism for the local population, such as a loss of the authenticity of fisher culture and ex-fishermen having relatively poorly paid low skilled jobs within the tourist industry.

2. De Lima, P, Chaudry, M, Whelton, R and Arshad, R (2007) *Migrant Workers in the Grampians Communities Scotland.*

http://www.communitiesscotland.gov.uk/stellent/groups/public/documents/webpages/pubcs_019732.pdf

Relevance: Includes interviews with migrants working in fish processing.

Aims:

- To identify how and in what ways the public sector agencies might improve their response to migrant workers and to assess the level of service provision they will need to plan for; to explore issues of migrant health in more depth.
- To explore the motivations of migrant workers for coming to Grampian, the routes through which they arrived in the area, and their views, and experiences with regard to accessing employment and labour market opportunities.
- To examine migrants access to service provision, information and advice and of migrants experiences of life, and community in general.

Research data: Employers - 58 structured telephone interviews and 3 postal surveys. The businesses were located across the local authority areas of Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire and Moray. Migrant workers - the research had two strands in which migrant workers were involved (1) a more general strand with a focus on their experience in accessing employment and services, in which 40 were interviewed and 31 took part in four focus groups (2) a strand focussing on health issues, in which 25 respondents (of whom nine had taken part in the first strand) were interviewed. Many interviews and focus groups made use of interpreters. The researchers identified a number of challenges in gaining access to migrant workers. Sampling was opportunistic and involved snowballing, but the researchers are confident that the sample reflected trends in Scotland and the UK as regards nationalities, age, gender, sectors of employment and job roles, although A8 and Polish workers in particular were over-represented, reflecting the dominance of these groups in the labour market. Twelve Service providers (public, voluntary and private) were interviewed covering education, language services, housing, health, employment and police and 34 participated in focus groups.

Key findings: Most of the findings of the lead author's previous Highlands and Islands study (De Lima et al. 2005, reviewed below) were replicated in the Grampian study, with the main issues being housing, language, access to information and services, and banking. There was little evidence of integration with local communities or progress in developing English language skills among the workers. Many migrants were prepared to tolerate unattractive conditions and work below their level of qualifications because of the 'temporariness' of the work but some migrants not working in fish processing spontaneously suggested that work in the sector was particularly undesirable as it required work in cold conditions, which was perceived as having health risks:

'There are big problems for people who work in fish factories... it is wet, creates many problems with the joints and breathing... smaller factories have less problems.'(male, Polish, food processing, p62).

The food processing employers taking part in the study estimated that migrant workers were 33% of their total workforce. Employers in agriculture reported the highest proportion of migrant workers, 80% of their workforce and employers in the

oil and engineering sector the lowest at 3%. Reasons for using migrant labour included a lack of suitable local workers, better work ethic, better productivity, lower staff turnover, and willingness to take low paid jobs unattractive to local labour. Employers reported that the three most frequently cited problems for their migrant workers were housing, language and banking.

Challenges experienced by migrant workers fell into the following categories: language and communication; lack of access to information, particularly in relation to benefits and entitlements; accommodation; banking (in particular the impact of money laundering legislation which requires banks to see identification documents such as utility bills before opening a bank account and the lack of security, and additional costs involved in dealing in cash); experiences of health services.

The migrant workers were not involved in many activities which enabled them to engage with local communities, mainly because of lack of time, poor English, a lack of activities and the need to save as much money as possible. Some expressed concerns about the drink culture they perceived as prevalent across North-East Scotland. Most socialising took place with other migrant workers in their own homes. Although the majority of participants reported no physical or verbal harassment, there were reports of racist stereotyping. The workers expressed the desire to find more ways of integrating with local communities.

The report concludes by identifying key questions for the planning of services for migrant workers in housing and the delivery of language teaching.

3. De Lima, P; Jentsch, B and Whelton, R (2005) 'Migrant Workers in the Highlands and Islands Research Report', Research commissioned by the Highlands and Islands Enterprise and a collaborative research project between the UHI PolicyWeb and the National Centre for Migration Studies.

Relevance: Relevant data limited to migrant workers in fish farming and processing in the Highlands and Islands.

Aims:

- To consider the role migrant workers play in the labour market in the Highlands and Islands.
- To identify employers' needs with regard to the employment of overseas nationals and mechanisms of meeting these.
- To identify migrant workers' needs regarding employment and life in the Highlands and Islands and mechanisms of meeting these.

Research data: The study adopted a mixed methods strategy, using both qualitative and quantitative methods:

-A Literature Review

-Analysis of secondary data

-Interviews conducted with: 53 employers (sixteen fish farming and processing, six manufactures of food, twelve hotels and restaurants, seven health, three construction, three agriculture and seven other (retail, shipbuilding, haulage, manufacture), thirty six migrant workers, nine service providers (including two recruitment agents) and two representatives of national bodies;

Focus group discussions with employers (one group of 6), migrant workers (2 groups of 5 and 6) and representatives from public and voluntary sectors (1 group of 11).

Key findings:

The survey of a sample of employers suggested that migrant workers in fish farming and processing form a very significant proportion of all migrant workers in the Highlands and Islands. The industry which relied most heavily on migrant workers was agriculture (50% of all workers), followed by fish farming and processing (37% of all workers), followed by hotels and restaurants (21%) and the manufacture of food (15% of all workers). Migrant workers make up much smaller proportions of the total work force in other industries such as health and construction. No attempt was made to estimate the total number of migrant labourers in fish farming and processing across the whole region, but given that the total numbers of workers in this industry are larger than the total numbers in agriculture, overall there will be more migrant workers in fish farming and processing, and such workers are likely to form a very significant proportion of all migrant workers in the Highlands and Islands. There is no discussion of other parts of the fishing industry.

The interviews with employers in fish farming and processing indicated that some saw migrant labour as crucial because of the relative unattractiveness to locals of the low pay, working conditions and sometimes seasonal nature of the work. Migrant workers commented on the long and variable hours. The authors note that it is not clear whether it was intrinsic aspects of the work which made it 'unattractive to locals' such as the smell of fish or the way that work was organised into hours that would be difficult for anyone with caring responsibilities. Most of the migrants interviewed had taken the work despite their qualifications and saw it as a temporary measure to build up earnings. However one fish processing worker interviewed saw the Highlands as a potential home offering a better future for her children. The migrants had a number of concerns regarding pay structures, contract arrangements and difficulties beyond their work, including difficulties with bank accounts, internet access and access to language tuition.

4. ESRC (2008) 'Change and Continuity in Scotland's Fishing Communities' ESRC Society Today

<http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/KnowledgeExch/2008PPSemPublications.aspx?ComponentId=28862&SourcePageId=29107>

Report for a ESRC/Scottish Government seminar, involving practitioners, academics and policymakers.

Relevance: Focusing on change in fishing communities, including work on fishing families, among other issues.

Aims:

- To make a positive contribution to the debate about the role which research can take in reflecting and informing social and economic change in Scotland's fishing communities.
- For stakeholders, practitioners, academics and policymakers to examine together the current issues about the fishing industry and the regeneration of coastal communities.

Research data: Papers for the seminar drew on presenters' experience and research on fisheries:

- Jeremy Phillipson (2003-2004 Review of the North East Fisheries Regeneration Initiative, funded by One North East Regional Development Agency; 1996-1999 European Social Science Fisheries Network (FAIR CT95 0070), funded by European Commission)
- Gillian Munro (Sabhal Mòr Ostaig) ('I'm Nae Eese for Nithin bit Scrapin Pans!': The Lives of Women Married to Fishermen in a Fishing Community in the North East of Scotland', unpublished PhD (University of Edinburgh 1997; updated in 2000 , article reported below);
- Alastair McIntosh (Centre for Human Ecology, University of Strathclyde) and
- Dr Thomas Robinson (visiting scholar whose PhD is on the cooperation and quality of life among Bering Sea fishermen and their families).

Relevant discussion points:

- Regulatory and economic pressures, unattractive working conditions and low confidence levels were thought to contribute to problems attracting, recruiting and retaining fisher crews, especially young workers. Jeremy Phillipson notes that young people are choosing or being encouraged to take non-fishing opportunities.
- In response to the fact that migrant labour is an established part of the fishing workforce, Gillian Munro recommended improving access to employment and social services information for migrant families. She also called for better strategic planning of service provision by local authorities to ensure social integration, and to encourage migrant workers and their families to remain on a long-term basis.
- In considering indigenous labour, Munro urged that policies and actions to retain, harness and develop local fishing communities draw on the strengths of existing communities, strengths characterised by: concentrations of knowledgeable and skilful fisheries people who are part of economically diversified households; strong social bonds and a shared cultural knowledge and economic endeavour.
- An area identified as requiring research concerned whether parents were educating their children to stay in the fishing industry or community or seek options elsewhere. Munro's previous research documented a new expectation that children should seek qualifications that may take them out of the fishing industry and communities altogether, albeit that young people who had gone on to college and university had generally maintained very strong connections with childhood friends in their community.
- Women's expectations of their roles in the fishing communities studied by Munro were changing as more were engaged in or considering paid employment. This was increasingly important to household economic and social strategy, having an impact on, for example, childcare provision. Munro suggested a need for training opportunities and career advice, especially for those who remain closely involved in domestic or community activities.
- Munro's research showed that many grandparents are still substantially involved in providing childcare, and that they also have different and changing attitudes to their relationships and practical commitments.
- Observations of Bering Sea fisheries of Alaska by Tom Robinson showed a slow breakdown in family life, while life at sea led to cooperation and teamwork. He

believes there was no complementary relationship between work and family for fishers; although fishing income provided material benefits to families, long absence created expectations of conflict in onshore relationships. Quitting fishing altogether for shore-based lives threatened financial support, which also led to families splitting. Fishermen fathers played a reduced family role or their wives found new shore-based partners, splitting the family. A reduced role entailed fishermen adapting and families modifying their expectations.

- Robinson noted there are transferable lessons for Scottish fishermen from his research, including: shorter fishing trips; multi-stage transition to family life on returning home; forming a shared family vision (using different media and varying domestic arrangements); undertaking whole-family communication when fishermen are at sea; creating a realistic expectation of family life and drawing on support from the local fisheries community.
- Based on these articles the ESRC report outlines future research priorities for community, stakeholder and academic activity focusing on the future of coastal communities.

5. Hall Aitken and Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich/National Centre for Migration Studies (2007) 'Outer Hebrides Migration Study Final Report' research commissioned by Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, and Western Isles Enterprise and Communities Scotland.

Relevance: The Western Isles fits some definitions of 'fishing dependent communities'. In 2001, 5.8% of employment was in fishing compared to 0.3% in Scotland as a whole.⁹ The study does not directly discuss migrant workers in relation to fishing but includes discussion of the integration of international economic in-migrants into communities.

Aims: To provide policy-makers and service providers with clear and robust findings on the implications of population change and to identify policy decisions that are most likely to impact on demographic sustainability in the future.

Research data: Methods included: interviews with around twenty service-providers and stakeholders; an internet survey with around 1,500 responses from current and past residents of the Outer Hebrides; a survey of employers; a literature review; focus groups with Lews Castle College students and graduate returners in Stornoway; focus groups with stayers, returners and in-migrants in Lewis, Harris, Benbecula and Barra; focus groups with leavers in Glasgow and Aberdeen; *in depth* interviews with three employers and twelve international in-migrants; and a scenario-planning workshop with key agencies tasked with taking forward policies.

Key findings: Despite the recent upturn in Western Isles population after a long period of decline, out-migration is still a major factor in population change. Out-migration is much higher among women and 71% of in-migrants are males. In turn, this is leading to a widening gender imbalance in the population. Other recent population trends include: more people choosing to live in the Outer Hebrides because of quality of life reasons; employers increasingly turning to overseas migrant workers to address labour shortages and more short-stay and 'commuting' workers who leave partners or spouses on the mainland.

⁹ <http://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/factfile/economy/index.asp>

In terms of migrant workers moving to fishing communities, the most relevant parts of this report are related to the integration of international economic in-migrants and their families. The report discusses the role of in-migrants under both its key policy priorities and as a factor needed for sustainable communities. It highlights the following points:

- The need to welcome and to help integrate the in-migrant population with the existing community as, whilst the majority integrate reasonably well, there are some problems and frictions among some native residents and in-migrants (some measures are suggested).
- The strong community cohesion and its advantages in terms of 'social capital' is usually seen as a positive factor in attracting people to the Outer Hebrides. However, this also gives rise to certain challenges as the close knit nature of the community can be experienced as claustrophobic and judgemental. Additionally, some stakeholders noted the conservative influence of the church as restricting change on the islands.

The experiences and motivations of international economic in-migrants are discussed. Evidence is limited, given that in-depth interviews were conducted with only three employers and twelve migrant workers in Lewis and Barra. Moreover, it was not specified whether these migrants and employers were involved in the fishing/fish processing industry. Respondents were hoping to stay at least five to ten years in the islands. The findings on economic migrants' motivations, their working conditions, the challenges they face and integration with the local community are similar to the findings of deLima et al (2005); (Item 3 above). A long list of information which migrant workers report failing to access (p81, including taxes, pension, sick leave, passports) raises the possibility that better information provision would better support migrants to stay in the long-term.

6. Holmyard, N (North Sea Women's Network) (2006) 'The real costs of diminishing fishing effort in the European Union'; European Commission DG for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, Expert Meeting on the Human Side of Fisheries, 19th October 2006, Meeting room Roger Ockrent, OECD Headquarters, 2 rue André Pascal, Paris 1

[http://www.oalis.oecd.org/oalis/2006doc.nsf/87fae4004d4fa67ac125685d005300b3/319a0d0f92738688c125720400557ebd/\\$FILE/JT03215625.PDF](http://www.oalis.oecd.org/oalis/2006doc.nsf/87fae4004d4fa67ac125685d005300b3/319a0d0f92738688c125720400557ebd/$FILE/JT03215625.PDF)

Aim: To look at how communities in Scotland have been affected by recent structural changes in the fishing industry and at the mechanisms used to cope with those changes.

Research Data: Draws on the published evidence described here.

Key Findings: Uses the small number of existing studies to make the case for further attention to social issues and for further research: "In Northeast Scotland people who earn their living from fishing have traditionally been seen as a 'race apart', and part of an industry in an apparent state of 'perpetual crisis' "(Nadel-Klein 2003; 2000,363). However, Williams (2005) argues that traditional notions of community are being undermined by changes in industry. The evidence she provides for this was gathered during conversation with North-Eastern Scotland fishermen and their families. Meanwhile, Nadel-Klein (2000:366), even before the most recent restructuring events, found that although fishers and their families have

been used to dealing with constant insecurity, the problems facing industry now as a result of significantly reduced fishing opportunities, are qualitatively different and pose a threat not just to the livelihood of each individual fisher, and fisher household, but to the collective way of life and self-regard of an entire stretch of coast.

7. Hope, S. Murray, L. and Martin, C (2004) 'In-Migration to the Highlands and Islands' NFO Social Research, commissioned by the Highlands and Islands Enterprise.

Relevance: This study provides a picture of in-migration to Wester Ross, Skye and Arran, including coastal areas and fishing communities. It indicates that most in-migration was from within the UK and not motivated by employment.

Aims:

- To establish the variety of motivating factors contributing to in-migration to the selected study areas.
- To examine the nature of in-migrant economic activity.
- To explore the extent to which success in attracting economically active in-migrants in the selected study areas can be replicated in other fragile or vulnerable parts of the Highlands and Islands.

Research data: A review of recent literature on in-migration, a survey of 604 in-migrant households (identified by a combination of cold-calling and 'snow-balling') within the three areas, Wester Ross, Skye and Arran, and 15 follow-up in-depth qualitative interviews with households.

Key findings: The study demonstrates ease of integration of migrants into coastal communities but the migrants concerned were almost exclusively internal migrants from within the UK, most had some prior association with the area and the coastal communities were not as highly fishing dependent as some parts of Scotland. The majority of migrants felt welcomed and satisfied with their decision to move. They identified a strong community spirit in the area, and three-quarters had no plans to move away from the area. Only five percent came from outside the UK, forty seven percent from elsewhere in Scotland and forty eight percent from elsewhere in the UK, mostly England. The majority cited characteristics of the area such as the relative tranquillity, the quality of the environment, and the scenery as the reason for moving. Thirty seven percent of the economically active migrants said they had moved because of work; Nineteen percent of respondents were self employed and thirty three were retired. Only twenty percent of respondents had no particular connection with the area, seventeen percent had previously lived in the area. Those whose previous connections were limited to holidays had been regular visitors, 61 percent having visited every year. Some returners and new in-migrants had inherited or taken over a family property. In some cases, access to this low cost housing was a critical aspect facilitating the move but this also determined the location. Some returners had always intended to return to the area in which they were brought up.

8. Jamieson, L. and Groves, L (2008) *A review of the research literature to explore the key drivers of youth out-migration from rural Scotland* Scottish Government <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/01/22131922/0>

Relevance: Reviews research on the continuing trend of youth out-migration from rural areas. Fishing communities are not separated out as a particular case.

However, Shetland and the Western Isles, remote rural areas that are also 'fishing dependent', are identified as having particularly high rates of net out-migration and loss of young people.

Research Data: A desk based review like this one.

Key Findings: Much of youth out-migration is fuelled by the perceived need to move for higher education and better opportunities for employment. Young people with parents who take it for granted that they will enter higher education are prepared for migration from an early age. Some come to presume that this will be the beginning of a permanent exit. When parents themselves are migrants into the rural area, young people's anticipation of exit is enhanced. Lack of affordable housing is also noted as a driver of the out-migration of young people. Higher rates of out-migration of young women are a particular problem in many remote rural areas and this is discussed in a number of studies. The relative weight of explanatory factors are not established but discussion focuses on: the possibility that young women have a sense of less freedom and more supervision than young men; gendered patterns of consumption and leisure mean that young women are more dissatisfied with rural facilities as they are more likely to perceive their interests as absent; women have more restricted employment opportunities in a series of industries including agriculture, forestry and fishing than men; more young women are focused on education and oriented to the need for educational qualifications in sectors which employ large numbers of women such as public administration, education and health.

The report suggests a number of possible future actions, all of which could also be used to gather new data specifically on 'fishing dependent communities'. It is noted that the Scottish School Leavers Survey, a government commissioned source of data, could be used to provide a more detailed insight into the views and migration intentions of young people but currently does not attempt any urban rural comparison or collect data on migration, although it does ask about leaving home. If such an undertaking were adopted it would be important to ensure that analysis could be done for young people from fishing dependent localities. Similarly, the report suggests that it may be helpful to pull together information and research on existing facilities and services for or popular with young people to see how they could ideally be supplemented. Several studies have recommended that young people in rural areas have a particular need for advice and support because those who take up higher education inevitably have multiple transitions, while those who stay have to cope with a more radical loss of peers and more limited options than urban young people. If new advice or support services are established, or if current services or facilities are enhanced, then this is an opportunity for building in impact monitoring or action research, or evaluation research. Again, it would be important to separately identify fishing dependent communities.

9. Nadel-Klein, J. (2003), *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss along the Scottish Coast*. Berg: Oxford.

Relevance: One of a small number of studies directly dealing with fishing communities in Scotland.

Research data: This book is a more extensive treatment of the materials discussed in articles such as the one below. It brings together a wide range of historical and literary sources with anthropological fieldwork, spending long periods in the study

areas, creating natural conversations with people, as well as conducting more formal in depth interviews. The first site of fieldwork was Ferryden near Montrose, the site of an oil base which many locals blamed for Ferryden's demise. The author also conducted fieldwork in the East Neuk of Fife and the Moray Firth over a number of years from the middle of the 1970s onwards. Ferryden had already fallen victim to the radical out-migration of fisher children by the author's first visit in 1975 and the author dates its demise to before the oil base. In 1995 she interviewed the 'last Ferryden fisherman' who had sold his boat two years previously having begun fishing at age 14 in 1947. It is not clear whether efforts were made to systematically include different ages and types of members of communities. The focus is primarily on older men.

Aims: To contribute to the understanding not only of the way of life of fishers but of the interrelationships between lives lived in small scale communities and large scale social change and globalisation.

Key Findings: She uses the term 'fisherfolk' to capture the fact that people continue to feel themselves to be a distinctive set of people:

"Fisherfolk" is an occupationally centred cultural identity marked today by both dilemma and irony; dilemma because ... North Atlantic fishing communities are economically threatened as never before; and irony because ... their salvation may well lie in the transforming themselves into cultural showcases or icons of one particular variety of Scottish "heritage" where aspects of the fishery are displayed and performed, yet where fish are no longer locally caught or sold.' (p 8).

She argues that, historically, fishing communities became stigmatised as stereotyped and marginalized occupational enclaves. Fisherfolk developed defences against outsiders in their distinctive and resilient family lives and religion. The 'manly' roles played by women which were once part of their stigmatisation then became the idealised vision of the past celebrated in heritage. Fisherfolk of Ferryden spoke of themselves as a dying people, the survivors who had a historical right to the village and fishing that had been plundered by others for greed and profit. Her interviews with still active fishermen from the Moray Firth describes their experiences of the financial pressures of declining stocks, regulations, quotas, decommissioning, loss of crews to the then more regular employment of the oil industry and the unattractiveness of the industry to young men. They complain about the changed nature of their villages where they no longer know everybody, the changed nature of fishing crews that no longer have the same commitment and identification with the job. Those who pass fishing from father to son are now the exception. The book finishes with a chapter on the heritage trail, contrasting the local approach in Buckie whose motto is 'our future lies in our past' with the national fishing museum in Anstruther and a warning that the past is particularly celebrated in Buckie because of fears and discontents with the present.

10. Nadel-Klein, J (2000), 'Granny baited the lines - Perpetual crisis and the changing role of women in Scottish fishing communities', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (3): 363-372.

Relevance: Focuses on adaptation at the level of personal identity, but also to a lesser extent at the level of family and community, to the decline and disappearance of fishing.

Aims: To explore the significance of representations of fisherwomen for local identity management and its relevance in the context of “perpetual crisis”.

Research data: Anthropological fieldwork, spending long periods of time talking with people in the community, as well as conducting some in depth interviews, conducted recurrently on the East coast of Scotland since the middle of the 1970s. Data discussed in the article focuses on three fishing communities located in the East Neuk of Fife, the Moray Firth and Ferryden.

Key findings: This article, through an ethnographic and historical analysis, highlights how women are presented as a public symbol of the fisherfolk way of life in both the heritage tourist trade and in contemporary fishermen’s narratives. The author argues that stories and images of fisherwomen are used to preserve cultural continuity and to assert control over the production and reproduction of identity in times of crisis. Whilst Scottish fishing no longer depends on women’s work, the cultural emblem of the fisherwife, as a hardworking assertive and independent workmate to the fisherman, continues to have an important place in the reconstruction of fisherfolk cultural identity. The article argues that these past memories and representations of fishwives are of particular renewed significance for today’s fisher community in the context of the gradual eradication of local identity and heritage tourism, and continue to be used to mark out community boundaries and a distinct collective identity.

11. Nuttall, M. (2000) ‘Crisis, Risk and Deskilment in Northeast Scotland’s Fishing Industry’, in Symes, D. (ed.) *Fisheries Dependent Regions*, Blackwell Science: Oxford.

Key Findings: Notes that there was a political reaction against the EU Working Time Directive because it threatened to affect the share-system working practices of fishers in the North-East. Discussion of the Common Fisheries Policy includes the attitude of fishers to quotas and the practice of breaking the rules through ‘black landings’ of fish. Some skippers regard the rules as lacking legitimacy and most fishermen experience a keen sense of conflict between their professional identity as fishermen and the dumping of quality fish overboard: *‘nobody knows what they should do, whether to land fish illegally or throw it overboard’* (p 113). The impossibility of fishing without dumping makes some skippers regard landing ‘black fish’ as ‘necessary and legitimate’ (p. 113). However, some skippers, for example north-east skippers who were also senior figures in the church, would not break rules (p. 112), leading to conflict and loss of moral high ground against the accusations levelled against the fishing community of dishonesty:

‘In North-East Scotland ... to be seen as unskilful, to be labelled as dishonest and to be accused of poor seamanship in official reports, has an effect not only on the skipper and crew, but also on the wider community and social and economic contexts that derive their essential and respective identities from fishing’. (p. 114)

12. Munro, G. (2000) 'How do individuals relate to their local communities through work and family life? Some fieldwork evidence', *Arkleton Research Paper 3*.

Relevance: Demonstrates continued valuing and everyday practical significance of overlapping networks of family, kinship and community in the North East fishing village studied, despite the decline in fishing. It also demonstrates continued support for conventional gender roles alongside increased wage work among married women with children.

Aims: To explore the relationship between the concepts of 'self' and 'community' in the context of work and family life in a North-East of Scotland fishing village and to show that these mutually inform social constructions of the other, and influence work, and family life choices. Research questions:

- Is there a growing emphasis on the individual and the individual's pursuit of his/her own priorities, to the detriment of the fishing community?
- Have new patterns of work resulted in new attitudes about work and family life?
- Is community still a factor in influencing the individual in decisions relating to work and family life?

Research data: Data (including qualitative interviews) gathered through ethnographic fieldwork in 1989/1991 and for a brief intense period in 2000 in a north-east fishing village, renamed Balnamara to preserve the anonymity of respondents.

Key findings: This report explores changes in work and family life in this fishing community in the context of sociological literature about 'individualism' and 'community'. Note that this literature has been widely criticised, with its wider applicability questioned.

- Since 1990 more fishermen (young and old) have left the fishing industry to work on the oil rigs and that gaining educational qualifications is now higher on the agenda for men and women living in this fishing community.
- The core ideology of the community, of the mother as carer and father as provider, is not seriously affected. This ideology unites the community and the ensuing arrangements are mutually agreeable.
- Although the meaning of community is changing it still retains a strong relevance for inhabitants of Balnamara and the 'individualism' does not provide an adequate framework to understand their actions.
- Ideas of 'self' and 'community' simultaneously influence one another and are not distinctly separate, and what community means to individuals is part of everyday discourse mediated through symbols, such as work and family relationships.

Other important findings arise from participants' discussions of their participation in work and family life and how they reconciled the conflicting demands made by oneself, and one's friends, family, neighbours, and workmates:

Marriage

- The age at which young people should marry is now thought to be later than in 1990, mainly because of the greater perceived need for academic qualifications and for married women to bring in extra income.

- In the 2000 findings none of the married women had sought 'careers' that would demand being away from home for more than part-time/short term periods of time.
- Networks of knowledge about the oil industry and job opportunities had been formed in the fishing village, meaning that fishing networks continued as men and their families worked in the oil industry.
- In 1990 and in 2000, women had said they valued their independence from their husbands, who were absent during the week. They were able to take decisions about childcare and home maintenance, to manage financial accounts and maintain social and kin relations.
- Men in 2000 took a slightly more active role in housework and childcare than in 1990. This was because work in the oil industry meant long periods spent at home and also because women were taking up new hobbies, part-time educational opportunities or paid employment.

Childcare

- Women continued to have primary responsibility for childcare. This had not changed, in part because of husband's work patterns and because there were no well-paid job opportunities for women locally.
- Women derived a great deal of confidence from being responsible for childcare and decision-making about parenting.
- Grandmothers continued to influence their daughters' childcare decisions. Since grandmothers can withdraw their practical support they often use this to negotiate with their daughters' about their behaviour meeting community expectations.
- All of the women interviewed in 2000 who were involved in part-time work said that their children would always come first, no matter how enjoyable they found paid work.

Kinship

- In 1990, kinship had had a stronger role in economic life, when men relied on one another's knowledge and manpower as fishermen.
- Female kin relationships (mothers, cousins, aunts) were very important for women, as they constituted the primary source of childcare and other support on a daily basis. Such dependency did create tensions however.
- While in 1990 friendships were often amongst peers within the village, friendships in 2000 were increasingly drawn from a wider area.
- Intimate friendships outside the community used to be seen as potentially threatening with notions of trust and privacy in a small community being emphasized.

Friendships

- Female 'best friends' continued to be as important in 2000 as in 1990 and brought opportunities for self-affirmation, mutual support and a safe space where community norms could be challenged.
- Young people's friendships forged in the community survived career changes and geographical distance.

Social Participation

- Church attendance had decreased even further since 1990, with women being more likely to participate in young children's groups.
- Displays of economic wealth, both in 1990 and in 2000, were also a subject of concern at social occasions, often leading to high levels of stress.

- Women said they felt enormous social pressure to maintain certain norms of femininity, specifically with regard to the appearance of their household.

13. Scottish Council for Single Homeless (2007) *A8 migrant workers and their experience of homelessness in Scotland* Edinburgh: Scottish Council for Single Homeless

Relevance: Some reported homeless have concerned A8 migrant workers evicted from housing tied to their employment in the fish processing sector in the North East.

Aims: A snapshot survey to provide a better understanding of the issues faced by Local Authorities (LAs) in providing homeless and housing services to A8 migrant workers and to identify any changes which might be required to address the issues and suggest possible areas for further research or action. SCSH first started receiving queries, principally from LAs, regarding homeless A8 migrants in the summer of 2005. The issues expressed centred on provision of housing, benefits and housing advice for A8 migrants who had found themselves homeless.

Research data: Questionnaires to all Scottish LAs, of which 28 out of 32 responded. Topics covered demography, household profile, housing circumstances, obstacles to LA service provision and LA services and policies. The research was carried out in February and March 2006 and covered the preceding twelve months. Fifteen LAs were unable to identify homelessness applications from A8 migrant workers although all provided estimated figures. The authors warn that the data are subject to inconsistencies in recording by LAs and that it is possible that figures are underestimated. Conversely, it is possible that migrant workers may have approached more than one LA so numbers may be overstated.

Key findings: The total number of A8 migrant homeless applications recorded (or estimated) by the 28 LAs was 833, of which the highest proportions were to be found in the North East (Moray, Aberdeenshire, Dundee and Angus) (172), South East (Midlothian, City of Edinburgh and West Lothian) (180) and the Highlands & Islands (Highland, Argyll & Bute, Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles) (88). It is not possible within the study to disaggregate those who were specifically from fishing dependent communities. Findings indicated that A8 migrant workers are only seeking housing advice when they are already homeless.

The findings indicated that homeless A8 migrant workers tended to be of working age, male and Polish. While the evidence may suggest that workers tended to be single, three local authorities reported that single workers reappeared later after a period of work with their children or extended family. The SCSH suggest that it might be worth investigating whether there are two distinct groups approaching housing services, namely those without family and those in need of alternative housing so that they can live with their families.

SCSH concluded that there was evidence to suggest that a significant number of A8 migrant workers have accommodation tied to their work, meaning that if they leave or lose their job, they could be evicted. The LAs reported that A8 migrant workers tended to be employed in the fish and food processing sectors, and the hospitality and building industry.

14. Stead, S M. (2005) 'Changes in Scottish coastal fishing communities— Understanding socio-economic dynamics to aid management, planning and policy', *Ocean and Coastal Management* 48 (9).

Relevance: The focus is on the conditions for a successful combination of policies, planning and economic development. The author acknowledges the importance of fishing as a family tradition and assumes that a shift in vessel ownership to large companies is transforming communities, she draws attention to both the strength and particularity of fishing communities' family ties': The practical aspects of fishing, e.g. husbands and partners being frequently away from home has also led to the development of a strong community structure and network system, particularly between wives and female partners where good relationships exist between fishing families (p68).

Aims: To understand how Scottish coastal areas, socio-economically dependent on marine capture fisheries, are working towards long-term sustainable community development.

Research data: Secondary analysis of published data and particularly the 2004 national stock-taking exercise analysing the major actors, laws and institutions that influence management of coastal zones (WS Atkins. *ICZM in the UK: a stocktake*. London: HMSO; 2004) as an aspect of implementing the European Commission's recommendations on Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM). The article focuses on the North East of Scotland and the Shetlands using a strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) analysis.

Key findings: Like Brookfield et al., the author describes the policy emphasis placed on the traditional fishing industry in Shetland in response to the declining value of the oil industry. In contrast, the North East of Scotland's approach is to seek to create a more diverse economy by broadening out and re-training its workforce, focusing on IT skills. The article draws attention to the fact that most studies examining development opportunities in these areas have relied on quantitative indicators, such as changes in employment and income. Instead the authors recommend that more research is required, which seeks to understand stakeholders attitudes, behaviour, perceptions, in order to produce policy and initiatives which will help to support strong communities with sustainable livelihoods. The author emphasises the importance of stakeholder involvement in the development of new policies, arguing that 'economic diversification will only be successful if there is an appropriate degree of community awareness, commitment, involvement and support' (p690). The author also points to the importance of improving effective communication and coordination between different actors and sectors to the delivery of effective management plans.

15. Thomas, M and Bailey, N (2006) 'Square pegs in round holes? Leave periods and role displacement in UK-based seafaring families' *Work, Employment and Society* 20(1). (UK based study)

Aims: To examine the impact of intermittent partner absence on couple relationships and family life in seafaring families and to examine the strategies utilized to cope with this lifestyle. The 'seafarers' were all officers on commercial ships rather than fishermen and while some working in coastal waters might only be away for two weeks at a time, many were away for three months periods. Their pattern of absence then was often more extreme than in fishing.

Research data: Qualitative study over a 12-month period in 2000–2001: 33 in-depth interviews, 14 with seafaring men, 15 with their female partners and four with their

children. All the seafarers were male, and all couples were married and based in the UK. All were white-European, with the exception of one seafarer, who self-identified as 'Black-other', two and one seafarer's wife who was from Asia. All seafarers had occupied managerial positions onboard ship. Marriage duration ranged from a few months to over 30 years. The seafarers interviewed ranged in age from 21 to 60 years, and the seafarers' wives from 26 to 59 years.

Key findings: This study argues that the concept of the 'breadwinner' role is insufficient in explaining how seafaring men negotiate their performance of masculinity and their role within the family during periods of leave. The study also shows that there are significant similarities between the problems experienced by seafarers at home on leave to that of unemployed men such as: the absence of a role within the public sphere, social isolation and lack of role in the domestic sphere. The data in the study suggests that although seafaring men do not lose their breadwinner roles (as unemployed men do), they still experience problems associated with loss of 'role':

- The roles of father and husband were central to the seafarer's sense of masculine identity;
- Being the breadwinner was not sufficient in itself to preserve and maintain a sense of fulfilment in these roles;
- Men could experience a loss of role and threat to masculine identity while still remaining a breadwinner. (p143)

Being an active participant in family life presented certain challenges given that home life was already organised into a routine which was unlikely to change on their return from sea. 'Role displacement' then led seafaring men to feeling redundant and an outsider to their families. This was exacerbated by the fact that the power and authority which these professional men were used to exercising in the workplace were now solely held by their wife in the household since women were responsible for running the households during their long absences. The authors describe the process thus:

'For the seafarer, the transition from work life to home life is thus a movement from occupying a central location in a structure that is sustaining of a hegemonic masculine identity, to the occupation of a marginalized position that promotes a subordinated masculine identity.'(131)

The study also found that the undermining of seafarers' masculine identity was often recognized by his partner, who would often use strategies to help preserve their husband's sense of masculine identity, thus pointing to the complex ways in which dominant gendered scripts continue to prevail. The article also provides evidence that the problems identified earlier as a result of role displacement and changing gendered roles in the household often led to stress, and sometimes anxiety and depression for both parties.

16. Thomson, D (2001) 'Hebrides and west coast of Scotland: The social and cultural importance of the coastal fishing communities and their contribution to food security' in McGoodwin, J. *Understanding the Cultures of Fishing Communities: A Key to Fisheries Management and Food Security*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Fisheries Technical Papers 401.

Aims:

- To describe the efforts of west coast inhabitants to maintain fish food supplies and protect the livelihoods of coastal communities, in the context of resource depletion, and negative aspects of management measures.
- To explore the impact of cultural attitudes and fish harvesting patterns on the region's economic future.

Research data: No details, uses literature review (including academic, policy and articles from the press) and statistical data.

Key findings: This case study documents the decline of the fishing industry in the region from a largely historical perspective and outlines at length the fisheries policies and local fishing management systems of the region. Its relevance to the review is limited as there is no discussion of family other than noting the practice of family owned boats and preference for family and local crews.

The author argues that because of the limited access to land and the poor quality of the soil as well as the decline of the local food processing facilities, the region is particularly economically and socially reliant on fishing. The case study makes the recommendation that the local fishermen's share of the local fish resource should be increased in order to strengthen food security in the region. The importance of family ties in the fishing community is highlighted in the section on social attitudes, the author emphasizing that west coast people are more socially concerned about their community, which he sees as reflected in their willingness to sacrifice profits to maintain jobs. The importance of family-owned boats is also emphasized: '*it is important that local skippers employ local crews, and insofar as possible, organise their operations to facilitate family life as well as earnings*'(8.3), highlighting the ties between fishing and kinship relations. This salience of family ties and concern with egalitarianism are reflected, according to the author, in the fact that skippers and crews, who are often relatives, receive equal shares of half the net proceeds of each week's fishing according to a traditional arrangement. In terms of migration, the case study stresses both the ongoing and recent loss of population to the region with the region being estimated to contain only 76 000 persons, indicating a drop of 36 per cent since 1951. Half of that population is considered economically active and of that half close to twenty per cent are employed in the fisheries sector. The author argues that if the region manages to double employment in the fisheries sector this would effectively end migration from the region.

17. Williams, R (2008) *Changing Constructions of Identity: Fisher Households and Industry Restructuring*, Newcastle University, unpublished PhD Thesis

Aims: To explore the construction and performance of fishing identities at a time of restructuring in the fishing industry.

Research Data: Conducted life history interviews in nineteen households in which the husband had been, or was a fisherman. The households were drawn from seven villages along the Moray Firth. In seventeen households, both husband and wife were interviewed, in the other two, only the man was interviewed. Some people were interviewed on more than one occasion in order to build up a more detailed picture. Of the nineteen households, twelve fishermen were actively fishing but two were considering decommissioning at the time of interviews, three had retired from the industry and four had either recently sold or decommissioned their boats. All were or had been on boats targeting whitefish, or a combination of whitefish and prawns. All but one fisherman was or had been skipper of his own boat. Only two research participants were working as crew on other people's boats, although all had worked as crew before becoming skippers. All respondents were over the age of thirty and Williams explains this by the under-representation of men below thirty in the industry and the long offshore hours worked by young men:

'When discussing this with one of my gatekeepers she could not think of any younger fishermen for me to interview and explained this as due to the problem of recruiting young men to the industry. In the households where sons are employed on the boat I attempted to set up interviews with them. However, it turned out to be impossible to find times to interview them, as they spent little time onshore. It is quite common for fishermen to work particularly intensively during their 20s and early 30s which enables them to slow down a little into their 40s and 50s.' (p 99)

Key Findings Most of the skippers came from families with traditions of fishing, had never wanted to do anything else and had always wanted to be skipper of their own family boat. They saw the pleasure of fishing as seriously undermined by the current financial and regulatory pressure and surveillance. Fishing is an identity performed by doing and men experience a serious loss of identity when they stop fishing. They and their wives saw their industry and community as under serious threat and sometimes in terminal, and unstoppable decline.

18. Williams, R (2005) 'Fishing Identities in New Times: Experiences from Northeast Scotland' conference paper presented at Centre for Maritime Research conference, Amsterdam.

Aims: To explore the relationship between identities built on the fishing industry and the restructuring of this industry, with a specific focus on the way in which restructuring impacts upon identity.

Research data: As item 17 above. Two years (2003-2005) of qualitative fieldwork in the northeast of Scotland (southern coast of the Moray Firth), including repeated semi structured interviews and participant observation in seventeen households with fishermen, former fishermen and their wives. Snowball sampling was used. This paper uses theories of identities and symbols of fishing culture (fishermen and boats) to unpack the socio-cultural role of fishing.

Key findings: Fishermen talked of the pleasures of fishing and the value of their tradition being undermined by economic and legal pressures. Fishing has become much less pleasurable because of the combination of the perceived need to land fish

outside the permitted quotas to survive economically, unease at being outside the law and a sense of being under regular surveillance. Although the paper does not only address the impact of the decline of the industry on family relationships per se, a number of its findings are very relevant:

- This research found that the increased regulation and surveillance of the fishing industry causes men to leave the industry. Those who continue to fish felt harassed by the climate of policing and suspicion and forced by circumstance to sometimes break quota regulations.
- As fishing is now loaded with stress and pressure, this uncertainty and vulnerability has taken its toll on fishermen's mental health (and their families') with low morale leading to more instances of depression and nervous breakdowns amongst fishermen. Although the analysis does not discuss this, data selected for this paper suggests that fishermen's responses to crisis also appeared linked to traditional constructions of masculinities with women reporting that their husbands are having breakdowns because they dealt with their negative emotion by 'bottling their feelings' and emphasized the difficulty of coping with the loss of the breadwinner role, with fishermen seeing themselves as a failure for 'letting their families down'.
- In terms of family ties, inter-generational relationships such as father-son and father-nephew were foregrounded in the research as particularly important in fishing communities, with the inheritance of the family boat and business down the family line. As young men are leaving the community to seek employment elsewhere the sense of loss of tradition (and loss of specialised skills no longer being passed on), the 'breaking of a generational chain' causes distress and negative emotions in the community. Although the research does not focus on how family relationships are adjusting to a new situation where traditional lines of succession have been disrupted, it does suggest families may be having some difficulties with adapting to this.

Although the paper mentions very briefly the work of women's action groups to promote the future stability of their community, the research lacks both a gendered analysis to this phenomena and an empirical focus on the role played by contemporary women in this crisis.

ANNEXES

A: Organisations contacted for the review

Organisation	Website
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig UHI	http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk
FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) fisheries Branch Library	http://www.fao.org/fishery/library
Seafarers International Research Centre	http://www.sirc.cf.ac.uk
Ionad Nàiseanta na h-Imrich/National Centre for Migration Studies	http://www.ini.smo.uhi.ac.uk

B: Research on Canadian and Norwegian Fishing Communities

Canadian Research

Binkley, M. (2002) *Set Adrift: Fishing Families*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

Binkley, M. (2000) 'Getting By' In Tough Times: Coping with the fisheries crisis, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (3), pp. 323-332.

Corbett, M. (2003) 'Rural Education and Out-Migration: The Case of a Coastal Community' *Canadian Journal of Education* 28, 1 &2, 1-21.

Davis, D. (2000) Gendered Cultures of Conflict and Discontent: Living 'the crises in a Newfoundland Community, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (3), pp. 343-353.

Davis, D (1988) "Shore Skippers" and "grass Widows": Active and Passive Women's Roles in a Newfoundland Fishery, in Nadel-Klein, J. and D.

Davis, L. (eds.) *To Work and To Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St Johns.

Davis, D. and S. Gerrard (2000) Introduction: Gender and Resource Crisis in the North Atlantic Fisheries, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (3), pp. 279-286.

Davis, D. L. and J. Nadel-Klein (1997) Gender, Culture and the Sea: Contemporary Theoretical Approaches, in Sachs, C. E. (ed.) *Women Working in the Environment*, Taylor and Francis: Washington.

Power, N. G. (2005) *What Do They Call a Fisherman? Men, Gender, and Restructuring in the Newfoundland Fishery*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St Johns.

Marshall, J. (2001) Connectivity and Restructuring: identity and gender relations in a fishing community, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 8 (4), pp. 391-401.

Norwegian Research

Gerrard, S. (2005) *Women in Fisheries: Is the Concept 'The Ground Crew' Still Valid? Descriptive, normative and visionary claims*, Paper presented at the MARE conference 'People and the Sea', Amsterdam July 2005.

Gerrard, S. (2000) The Gender Dimensions of Local Festivals: The Fishery Crisis and Women's and Men's Political Actions in North Norwegian Communities, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (3), pp. 299-309.

Gerrard, S. (1995) When women take the lead: changing conditions for women's activities, roles and knowledge in North Norwegian fishing communities, *Social Science Information*, 34 (4), pp. 593-631.

Jentoft, S. (1993) *Dangling Lines: The Fisheries Crisis and the Future of Coastal Communities, the Norwegian Experience*, Institute of Social and Economic Research Books, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St Johns.

C: Number of fishermen employed by port district and employment status, 2007

	Regularly employed	Irregularly employed	Crofters	Total
Eyemouth	148	20	0	168
Pittenweem	95	30	0	125
Aberdeen	103	54	0	157
Peterhead	469	0	0	469
Fraserburgh	693	153	0	846
Buckie	228	27	0	255
Wick	197	0	0	197
Orkney	317	73	0	390
Shetland	352	174	0	526
Stornoway	343	137	29	509
Lochinver	22	3	2	27
Kinlochbervie	40	1	0	41
Ullapool	86	13	0	99
Mallaig	137	15	0	152
Oban	168	55	0	223
Campbeltown	248	34	0	282
Ayr	609	95	0	704
Portree	153	67	34	254
All districts	4,408	951	65	5,424

Source: Scottish Sea Fisheries Statistics 2007

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