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Anne Trine Kjørholt
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Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future?

Exploring Coastal Societies, Childhood(s) and Local Knowledge in Times of Global Transition

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This volume results from cross-disciplinary, international research collaboration, led by Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt, Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The research grew out of our desire to better understand the dynamic and shifting interplay between education, societies, and working life in coastal communities across three generations in five countries, as those communities strive to achieve a sustainable future. As scholars of childhood studies, we were driven by our deep interest in the meaning and changing nature of childhood over time and across places, and in the nature of intergenerational relationships and learning.

This volume is part of the project *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future: Education, Knowledge, and Identity across Three Generations in Coastal Communities*, funded by the Research Council of Norway, headed by Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, and in partnership with researchers at the Australian National University, University College Dublin, the University of the Faroe Islands, and the European University Cyprus. We are grateful for the generous support of the Research Council of Norway.

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Takk!; Takk fyri!;Thank you!; Go raibh matih agaibh!; Σας ευχαριστούμε!

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She has published widely. Among anthologies, she has edited *Children as Citizens: In the Best Interest of the Child?* (University Press), *Early Childhood and Development work: Theories, Policies and Practices* (coedited with Helen Penn), Children, Young People and Local Knowledge in Ethiopia Rights, Livelihoods and Generations, (Akademica; coedited with Tatek Abebe); and *The Modern Child and the Flexible Labour Market* (Palgrave; coedited with Jens Qvortrup). She was an elected member of several boards, currently of the national board Save the Children.

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Bloomsbury) and C*hildren and Borders* (2014, Palgrave Macmillan). He is an associate editor of the *Sage Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood Studies*, a coeditor of the journal *Childhood* (Sage), a member of the editorial boards of *Children and Society* and *Wheelock International Journal of Children, Families, and Social Change*, and a coeditor of the book series *Studies in Childhood and Youth* (Palgrave).

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Chapter 1
Exploring Coastal Societies and Knowledge in Transition Across Generations

Anne Trine Kjørholt, Sharon Bessell, Dympna Devine, Firouz Gaini, and Spyros Spyrou

Abstract Today, more than half of the world's population lives within one hundred miles of an ocean. However, in seeking to understand the status and future of human societies, researchers in the social sciences and humanities have tended to focus on the landlocked world rather than interrogating the importance of coastlines and seascapes and the communities that inhabit them. As Jacobsen (2009, p. 28) argued, we need to reclaim the "thin world where land meets sea," which, except in the case of large coastal cities, has long been overlooked.

This chapter is an introduction to the book exploring questions related to social and cultural sustainability of coastal communities in transition through the lenses of childhood and knowledge across three generations in cross-national contexts. A central theme throughout the volume is to investigate interconnections between education, subsistence, everyday life, and quality of life in coastal communities, an area that has been underexplored in the literature of several disciplines. The theoretical and methodological perspectives underpinning the volume are presented, followed by a mapping of the different chapters.

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Today, more than half of the world's population lives within one hundred miles of an ocean. However, in seeking to understand the status and future of human societies, researchers in the social sciences and humanities have tended to focus on the landlocked world rather than interrogating the importance of coastlines and seascapes and the communities that inhabit them. As Jacobsen (2009, p. 28) argued, we need to reclaim the "thin world where land meets sea," which, except in the case of large coastal cities, has long been overlooked.

The coast has been described as consisting of home places in a lengthwise culture that is connected by the sea, blurring local and national borders (Rossvær 1998, p. 16). Central to the lives of coastal people, the coastal community is the place to which they feel a strong emotional and bodily attachment, and it colors their lives. Memories of childhood and growing up are deeply enmeshed in the nature and landscape of everyday life, constituting intertwined processes of identities and belonging. As the story narrated by Sonja Boon reveals, coastal landscapes are often installed in the mind and body. She tells of her husband's desire when they planned to move to Newfoundland, Canada: "Born and raised in the Faroe Islands, [he] wanted the rock, the fog, the wind, and the rain. He wanted an island" (Boon 2019, p. 9) because it would make him feel "at home" in a different part of the North Atlantic.

Education is considered key to ensuring sustainable economies worldwide, as a ticket for individuals to succeed in the labor market and as a tool to promote quality of life (OECD 2007; UNESCO, 2014). However, the relationship between education and sustainability beyond economic growth has been debated. Moreover, the interconnections between education, subsistence, everyday life, and quality of life in coastal communities remain largely unexplored. The content and perspectives of education and the types of knowledge that guide human interactions with the marine environment need to be discussed and problematized. Education, however, includes both formal and informal learning. The acknowledgment of local cultures has been included in UNESCO's global aim to "ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles. . . . and appreciation of cultural diversity" (UNESCO 2015, p. 289).

This book explores questions related to the social and cultural sustainability of coastal communities in transition through the lenses of childhood[1] and knowledge across three generations in cross-national contexts. The main aim of this volume is to contribute to deeper insights into the shifting and dynamic interplay among knowledge production, society, and working lives in coastal environments, focusing on children, young people, and intergenerational relations, and thus bridging *past*, *present*, and *future*. The editors and most of the authors who contributed to this volume are participants in the international research project *Valuing the Past,*

[1] The terms children and childhood refer to the age group of 0–18 years based on the definition related to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was adopted by the UN Assembly in 1989 and ratified by all countries in the world, except the USA, Somalia, and South Sudan.

Sustaining the Future: Education, Knowledge, and Identity Across Three Generations in Coastal Communities, which is based at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). The project is funded by the Research Council Norway and the NTNU interfaculty research program *Norway as a sea nation: Coastal communities, generation, sustainability.* The project explores the changes over time in everyday lives, work, identities, and learning in coastal societies in five countries from 1945 to the present, particularly in rapidly changing sociocultural and material contexts. A comparative qualitative research design was developed based on life biographies across three generations and supplemented by ethnographic methods. The research group is interdisciplinary and includes scholars in anthropology, sociology, childhood studies, education, history, geography, political sociology, and public policy.

1.1 Coastal Communities in Transition

In the second half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, many coastal communities around the globe have been struggling to sustain their viability and prosperity in the wake of economic restructuring processes, globalization, and new cultural, educational, and lifestyle values, especially among young people. Urbanization, the centralization of institutions and services, and the financial viability of fisheries and maritime industries are the main challenges for coastal communities today, in addition to the underdevelopment of infrastructure and environmental degradation.

Depopulation and youth outmigration in many coastal communities make it difficult to develop sustainable local societies in the future (Gerrard 2008). Mobility is not new to coastal communities, many of which have been important ports for national and international maritime trade and transport throughout history. However, if ships have been sold, there is a lack of business and employment opportunities, young people leave, and the coastal community risks experiencing a slow death. This process, which some coastal communities now face, raises the following question: Why do young people leave their childhood homes and the coast? The reasons vary, but educational and career aspirations, combined with new cultural and lifestyle values, are key factors. Although some coastal communities are experiencing outmigration, people are also moving to the coast. Many coastal communities have experienced new waves of newcomers in search of the opportunities and lifestyles offered there. In many cases, these newcomers are international blue-collar migrants motivated by opportunities in the new economy. Others, such as the elderly and retired people, seek quieter lives.

While the shore and the ocean might be assumed to give coastal communities an open and outward-looking nature, they are often tightly knit. In some cases, newcomers without existing ties face difficulties in being fully accepted. In the Faroes and Norway, for example, "new" people from other villages, islands, or countries have to have been settled there for at least three generations to be perceived as "real"

locals (Gaini 2013). These ideas of insider and outsider, acceptance, and belonging are reflected in an account by the Dutch-Canadian researcher Sonja Boon, who described moving to the small coastal city of St. John's in Newfoundland, Canada. Boon quickly discovered the ways in which "being a Newfoundlander" was defined and decided to present herself as an "NBC – Newfoundlander by Choice" as a means of negotiating her place within her new home (Boon 2019, p. 7). Sonja Boon, like many other people moving to small coastal communities, realized the way in which "home" and "belonging" were molded by a long history of connection and deep familial ties to a place over generations. While we have described coastal societies as places in transition, emphasizing the shift in the demographic composition of the population and in the social and economic structures of the local society, we have also noticed a dividing line between older and newer groups of citizens in the community, a segregation that in some cases resonates with young people's identity formation and feelings of belonging to a place. Many present-day coastal communities are a diverse mosaic, reflecting patterns of mobility and immigration (Gaini 2015). However, long-held attachments to place also shape the nature of the same communities. The result is a landscape characterized by the complex dynamics of inclusion, exclusion, connection, and disconnection. These and other processes of change have a profound impact not only on everyday life, social cohesion, and cultural practices but also on the development of inclusive, socially, and culturally sustainable coastal societies in the future.

In this volume, the reader is taken to several coastal communities, some of which struggle to preserve their viability and adapt to new and rapidly changing local and global circumstances. Far from the vibrant urban centers of their respective countries, these towns and villages, which are located in outlying zones along the coastlines of Norway, Ireland, Cyprus, Denmark, the Faroe Islands, and Australia, have all undergone transitions from livelihoods primarily based on fisheries and other maritime businesses to being dependent on a variety of new and often precarious private and public industries and working opportunities. These communities represent small places with large histories that have suffered from the long process of urbanization and centralization in modern industrial societies. As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, communities have adopted different response strategies, and some have been able to draw on new opportunities provided by the global "blue economy," such as fish-farming industries, which have led to the renewed interest of some young people in creating a sustainable life in a coastal community (Jentoft 2020).

The countries to which the coastal communities analyzed in this book belong have common qualities, such as long coastlines and extensive territorial waters. Moreover, many are island societies with proud maritime histories. For example, Norway and Denmark are island nations attached to the European continent. Except for Denmark, they are former colonies that have become independent nation-states or autonomous territories of larger nation-states. In the case of Australia, British

colonization resulted in the dispossession of Indigenous owners and the establishment of a white settler society. Ireland, Denmark, and Norway are independent nation-states bordering the Atlantic Ocean, each with between 5 and 7 million inhabitants, while Cyprus in the Mediterranean Sea and Tasmania, an island state of Australia in the Southern Ocean, have 1.2 million and 540.000 inhabitants, respectively. The Faroe Islands, an archipelago located between Iceland and Norway in the North Atlantic, has 53,000 inhabitants. The Faroe Islands is an autonomous territory of the Kingdom of Denmark. Denmark, Ireland, and Cyprus are European Union member states. While large-scale fisheries have a marginal position in the national economy of Cyprus, the fishing industry, including salmon farming, represents an important sector in the economies of other countries, especially in the case of the Faroe Islands and Norway.

The ocean connects these countries with many other distant coastal places. Sea routes have moved people, goods, and ideas in and out of coastal communities throughout history. The seashore is an edge that defies "the usual idea of borders by being unfixed, fluctuant, and indefinitely permeable," according to Rebecca Solnit (cited in Gillis 2012, p. 7). Coastal regions, therefore, have been home to explorers, adventurers, and people who understand "all the language of the sea" (Carson 2018, p. 199). According to Rob van Ginkel (2007, p. vii), coastal fishing communities in Europe have often been represented romantically as homes of a "ruggedly independent and freedom-loving lot." Today, in Europe, Australia, and beyond, coastal communities struggle to find new ways of life in the wake of the restructuring of national and global economies and demographic shifts. People in all the coastal communities discussed in this volume, from the east coast of Tasmania to Gøta in the Faroe Islands, continue to address similar questions about the future of their communities, albeit based on different regional and national social and political structures. The meaning of the coastal way of life and culture is often overlooked in the discourse on sustainability, but they are intimately entwined with environmental and economic sustainability. As Bessell and Kjørholt argue in Chap. 2 of this volume, "cultural sustainability may not point to the idea of sustaining (maintaining and/or continuing) particular culture(s), but to understanding the relationship between culture and sustainability." Unfortunately, because of large-scale fishing and shipping activities, as well as energy and tourism businesses, many coastal communities with strong ties to the ocean are now considered environmentally unsustainable. Therefore, creativity and innovation are necessary if these communities and the environments that are central to their identity are not only to survive but also to thrive.

The contributions to this volume aim to address the challenges to sustainability experienced by local communities in light of local, national, and global social and economic changes. Examining these challenges cross-nationally through the lenses of childhood and knowledge production across generations provides a much-needed perspective in the ongoing discussion on sustainability in coastal communities.

1.2 The Changing Values of Education and Knowledge

A central theme throughout the volume is the interconnections between education, knowledge, and social and cultural identities. A starting point is to acknowledge the significance of education and the transmission of knowledge to societal development in general. Since the advent of mass schooling in the nineteenth century, education has been central to local, national, and increasingly international imaginaries of societal potential and progress. Less understood, perhaps, is how ideas of education and learning are socially constructed, evolving in tandem with wider social and economic changes. Furthermore, the form of education and how knowledge is both transmitted and understood profoundly shape dispositions and orientations toward the world (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Foucault 1979).

We see this with respect to children. Over time, childhood has come to be synonymous with formal schooling and learning with something that happens at school. This has not only enabled a greater regulation of children's learning by expert others but also fundamentally shifted the process of intergenerational knowledge transmission from the home and community to the classroom (Kjørholt 2013). Furthermore, children's work and contributions in the home and the community have been discarded as a fundamental source of knowledge, and the value of learning and skills through participation in work and responsibility from an early age has diminished. Devine and Luttrell (2013, p. 241) considered this devaluation of children's work in the context of shifting values in the education of children and what is considered "good" in childhood, noting the impact of neoliberal policies on both the valuing of children as productive and useful through their learning in schools and what is valued in children's learning experiences. In particular, they drew attention to the role of global policy institutions, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, OECD, reshaping what "counts" in education (Grek 2009) and how children's learning, being, and doing have been directed in particular ways. Underpinned by an economically instrumentalist discourse that foregrounds the human capital dimensions of learning, children's knowledge acquisition has been redirected toward the maximization of individual talent for private gain in the wider labor market (Alexander 2010; Kjørholt and Qvortrup 2012). One consequence is the increasing emphasis on performativity (Ball 2009) and credentialization in the definition and value of knowledge production and transmission in modern Western societies. This is reflected in the competitive nature of education systems internationally, which are assessed and ranked in league tables of academic performance in a narrow range of learning "competencies" (OECD 2018).

In the wider context of globalization and rising levels of economic and social inequality (Cantillon et al. 2017; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009), the effects on those at the fringes of neoliberal progress are especially profound, and they are increasingly disconnected from the competitive and individualistic orientations of formal education and schooling (Devine 2020). Such trends give rise to early school leaving or "dropping out" from upper secondary school, which is a profound challenge for

marginalized groups of young people in late postmodern societies. Questions have arisen regarding the relevance of formal education and schooling for their future working lives and the absence of the *social meaning* of education—as perceived by some groups of children and youth. However, because such developments are not value-neutral, they must be situated within a wider critique of how learning and the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another are both understood and practiced, in addition to the meaning of sustainability in a context of endless economic progress and growth.

In this volume, we consider these trends in the context of rural coastal societies at the margins of modern neoliberal development. Our intention is to explore interconnections between education, subsistence, everyday life, and quality of life in coastal communities, an area that has been underexplored in the literature of several disciplines. In this volume, education is considered part of a particular socioeconomic and cultural context constructed in a particular *time* and *place*. Education is thus contextual and dynamic, and it is intimately connected to social relations, identity formation, and perceptions of social value and belonging (Devine and Luttrell 2013). The analysis presented in this volume provides a counternarrative to constructs of high-quality education as a predominantly formal, "schooled," and performative enterprise. Although we do not dismiss the value of formal education, we foreground the importance of informal learning and knowledge transmission as central to cultural and social sustainability in communities located by the sea. Defining local knowledge as embedded in everyday social and cultural practices that are transmitted inter-generationally (Abebe and Kjørholt 2013), we view these reservoirs of local and intergenerational expertise and knowledge as key in the formative experiences of children as they come to know and be in the world. We focus on local knowledge about the sea, survival, and resilience in the coastal landscape and practical life skills transmitted across generations through bonds of kinship and social solidarity, both past and present. A particular point of departure is that inter-generationally transmitted knowledge is central to the learning, identity, and connectedness of children and young people to their local communities and to their sustainable futures. A key question is the following: How does local knowledge—past and present—contribute to the sustainability of coastal communities?

We argue that children and young people are important but often overlooked actors in creating sustainable livelihoods, economies, and knowledge in coastal communities for the future. High-quality education, which is both meaningful and relevant for future working lives, is essential. Furthermore, historical knowledge about the environmental, local, and practical skills of various groups in coastal communities is vital. We thus focus on changing values and identity practices in relation to the transmission of knowledge through not only ways of being and ways of knowing but also ways of belonging in the transitioning landscapes of coastal communities in various countries. We assert that it is essential to gain knowledge about the social value of education and the intergenerational transmission of various forms of past and present knowledge, as perceived by children, their parents, and their grandparents.

1.3 Education, Knowledge, and Sustainability

In contemporary societies, formal education dominates the lives of children and young people, and it is the primary means of the transmission of knowledge. According to a neoliberal paradigm, education is essential to the development of human capital and to the sustainability of a particular consumption-focused economic model based on the exploitation of both labor and natural resources. As a result, the focus of knowledge has narrowed to achieve the objectives of global capitalism rather than the priorities of young people and their communities (Hill and Kumar 2009). Concurrently, the process of individualization has placed responsibility on young people to be the creators of their own futures and fortunes (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Success is primarily defined as career achievement and a high income, which may be difficult for some young people to realize in small coastal communities where the necessary opportunities are experienced as limited. Difficult choices must be made by young people who have an emotional attachment to their coastal homes but are unable to achieve the material accumulation and employment status that are markers of success in the early twenty-first century if they remain (Bessell 2021; Spyrou et al. 2021; Crummy and Devine 2021).

The predominance of formal education is a departure from the ways in which knowledge was transmitted in the past. Vik et al. (2011) described children's learning in previous generations as embedded in everyday life, and the boundaries between home, work, and community were permeable. Throughout this volume, the nature of everyday learning in past societies is highlighted and explored. In contrast, in contemporary late modern societies, learning has become formalized and segregated from everyday life in ways that create a disconnection for some young people. In the past, knowledge transmission often occurred through children's work—both paid and unpaid—and through their early incorporation into the labor market. While local knowledge and skills were learned through doing, the associated work was often hard and sometimes undertaken with limited acknowledgment or compensation. In contrast to the possibilities and expectations of contemporary society, there were limited possibilities for young people to convert that knowledge into opportunities for personal advancement. Instead, knowledge gained through work primarily equipped young people to remain in their communities and continue the activities of past generations. While young people in contemporary societies are under enormous pressure to demonstrate their ability to make something of their lives often by leaving their coastal homes, in the past, young people were often positioned in local hierarchies of age, class, and gender. Thus, forms of knowledge production and the value placed on specific forms of knowledge have shifted over time, leading to tensions within and between communities and social groups. The shift away from local, embedded knowledge has created forms of deskilling whereby practical life skills, local knowledge, and local practices have been devalued. New forms of knowledge are not necessarily equipped to fill the resulting gap, and small coastal communities, such as those examined in this volume, are often ill-served by forms of knowledge valued by the global capitalist system.

Intrinsic to forms of knowledge that are valued in specific contexts of time and place are questions of sustainability, which are central to the issues explored in this volume. Sustainability is generally defined as comprising three pillars: environmental, social, and economic. While often presented as mutually reinforcing, such as in the current global sustainable development agenda, deep tensions often exist. If it is defined as being dependent on continued economic growth and models of the extraction and exploitation of natural resources, economic sustainability is not compatible with environmental sustainability or planetary health. The pressure on the environment as a result of dominant models of economic development is now threatening the planet and presenting immediate crises for small coastal communities as natural resources are being depleted and ecological systems degraded. Within these competing priorities are small coastal communities in which social sustainability is essential, but they are challenged by global economic patterns, pressure on natural resources, and the outmigration of many young people who seek to use their formal education to pursue employment, opportunity, and adventure elsewhere. The complex issues that underpin slogans of sustainability are explored throughout this volume, illuminating not only tensions but also possibilities for reconciling competing pressures. In doing so, a fourth element—cultural sustainability—is included in our analysis as a means of determining the challenges and possibilities facing small coastal communities as they seek to sustain their futures.

Central to the theoretical approach adopted throughout this volume is the recognition of the importance of childhood for social reproduction, change, and continuity and of the role played by children in their societies in maintaining collective memory and in forging the future. The interdisciplinary project *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future*, on which this volume is based, took childhood studies as its theoretical starting point. In doing so, this volume builds on well-established theoretical perspectives to offer insights into concepts of time, place, and belonging, as well as how they change across generations. We challenge the idea that contemporary childhood is a natural category that is consistent in time and place. In doing so, we demonstrate not only how small coastal communities but also childhood and the position of children as social actors have transformed over generations.

1.4 Researching Children and Young People: Theoretical Perspectives

Childhood studies, as a distinct field of academic interest, emerged in the late 1980s. Since then, the field has developed productive theoretical and methodological insights that have contributed to research on children and childhood. Reacting to previous conceptualizations of childhood as a universal phenomenon, the foremost of which is the dominant theoretical paradigm of developmental psychology, scholars of childhood studies have argued that childhood is a social construction and hence meaningful within the particular historical, social, and cultural contexts in

which it emerges. Similarly, in critiquing prevailing sociological theories of childhood, which have largely regarded children as passive beings in relation to the overpowering social forces exerted on them, childhood studies have challenged such understandings, arguing instead that children are social actors and agents who may be highly constrained by the structural conditions of life but are nevertheless able to reflect on and act in their worlds (James and Prout 1990; James et al. 1998). Almost four decades later, these starting points for the critical study of childhood remain important reference points, forming the basis on which many contributors to this volume have engaged with children and childhood in their empirical investigations.

Despite traditional assumptions in the field of childhood studies, theoretical developments over time have also led to nuanced understandings of its fundamental tenets, including a key argument that childhood is a social construction and primarily a social, rather than biological, phenomenon. These developments have aimed to move the field past the modernist dualisms on which it was established, such as nature and culture, agency, and structure and being and becoming (Prout 2005; Uprichard 2008). Thus, recent scholars in childhood studies have sought to consider relational understandings of the world by integrating nonhuman and technological forces in discussions of childhood (Prout 2005), thus attempting to decenter the child (Spyrou 2017) and highlight the highly complex, interconnected, and interdependent world in which children's lives unfold. In the same vein, as the field has attempted to reimagine itself in line with broader theoretical developments in the social sciences (Spyrou et al. 2019), the well-established argument that children are social actors who possess agency has increasingly come under scrutiny. Not because the field questions children's capacity to act in the world, but because it now recognizes that children's agency is not the possession of the child, but rather, a distributed capacity that is networked and infrastructured (Oswell 2013; Kjørholt 2004). Children, in other words, are not independent actors who act in the world; instead, they are highly interdependent agents whose capacity to act depends on their relations with both the human and the nonhuman world. As a relational capacity, agency needs to be understood in context and in relation to other social categories and forces, both material and discursive (Spyrou 2018).

The concept of generation and the related concept of intergenerational relations are also key theoretical notions that childhood studies have developed and applied to study and understand childhood as a social phenomenon and to make sense of children's lives and roles within societal structures. Understood as members of a social group that have similar life experiences because they are born at roughly the same time and undergo similar experiences in relation to social-historical events, "generation" offers a useful theoretical tool for understanding the structural positions of both children and adults in the social order from a relational perspective. Early in the field's history, Jens Qvortrup (1994) argued that childhood is an institution that is a permanent structural feature of society. For Qvortrup and others, most notably Leena Alanen and Berry Mayall, who subsequently developed the notions of generation and intergenerational relations, childhood constitutes a generational space that exists in a dialectical relationship with its constitutive opposite, adulthood. From a generational perspective, childhood and adulthood are relational categories

that are not independent of one another, which is an axiomatic position that highlights the significance of intergenerational relations as fundamental to understanding both the structural dynamics that constitute childhood as well as the space within which children live and act in their worlds. "Generationing," or the process through which children and adults are constituted in relation to one another and come to acquire their respective status in the social order, is a fundamental process through which we come to understand childhood in time and space (Alanen 2001, 2009; Mayall 2002). To highlight the dynamics of agency and structure within intergenerational relations, Leonard (2016) proposed the concept of "generagency," which acknowledges both the hierarchies of power in the generational order and the possibilities and constraints in exercising agency within these structures while being mindful of the diverse social positionings based on gender, class, and other social differences that may be present.

The concepts of generation and intergenerational relations are explored empirically in most of the chapters in this volume, which are based on contributions to the international project Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future: Education, Knowledge, and Identity Across Three Generations in Coastal Communities, which has been conducted in Norway, the Faroe Islands, Ireland, Australia, and Cyprus. These contributions adopted a three-generational approach to understanding childhood and transitions in coastal communities, providing rich empirical evidence for the value of situating children and childhood within an intergenerational context of relations that highlights both the temporality and spatiality of identity and belonging in coastal communities.

1.5 Methodology

In the methodological approach applied in the chapters of this volume, generation is central to understanding children's lives and the social institution of childhood in small coastal communities over time. The generational lens enables an understanding of both continuity and change in ways of living, ways of being, and ways of knowing. It illuminates the forms of knowledge that are and have been both valued and valuable, revealing the ways in which formally valued knowledge has shifted from that which enables people to live locally to that which enables individuals' lives to be enmeshed in a globalized world (Oswell 2013).

The theoretical perspectives that have shaped childhood studies also underpin our methodological approach. A consistent theme throughout this volume is the ways in which childhood has been socially constructed over time, from the incorporation of boys as young as 12 years into the fishing and shipping industries in nineteenth-century Norway, as described by Ellen Schrumpf, to the radical break from past ways of learning through doing that has occurred in fishing villages of Cyprus, as described by Theodorou and Spyrou and in similar findings in Ireland and in Australia. Several of the chapters in this volume highlight the shift to formal education and the increased value placed on associated knowledge. They also reveal

the continuing value that many young people place on local knowledge and intergenerational learning. Drawing on theoretical innovations in childhood studies in the past decade, our approach positions childhood as a social institution that is central to understanding societies—past and present—and in identifying future trajectories and sustainability. Our approach recognizes children as social actors who influence the world around them not only through individual action but also through relationships both within and across generations (Spyrou et al. 2019).

While childhood studies have provided the theoretical foundation for the chapters in this volume, the latter are interdisciplinary in approach, ranging from education to anthropology, geography, and history to political sociology and social policy. All share a methodological commitment to research that is cross-cultural, comparative, and qualitative, as well as to provide deep insights into the social and economic transformation that many coastal communities experience. In doing so, the chapters in this volume aim to contribute not only to understanding the challenges and opportunities facing these communities but also to inform practical efforts to develop new approaches to the transmission of knowledge in both schools and societies that are innovative, inclusive, and intergenerational.

A central tenet of childhood studies is to understand not only the institution of childhood and its social meanings but also to undertake research that recognizes, respects, and values the perspectives and experiences of children (Christensen and James 2017; Beazley et al. 2009). Research with, rather than on, children reflects both the central ethos of the field (Thomas and O'Kane 1998; Punch 2020; Bessell 2015) and the approach of this volume, which defines children as those who are under the age of 18 years, which is in line with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Most chapters in this volume draw on qualitative research with children, seeking to illuminate their experiences and focus attention on their perspectives and relationships with the social and material world around them. Through research with older generations, such as parents and grandparents, our approach also seeks to capture the experiences, relationships, and learning that characterized childhood in the past.

The primary, although not exclusive, method used in the studies presented here is the biographical interview, which enables participants to describe their histories and everyday lives in a biographical narrative (Bruner 1987). Life biographies or narratives are socially situated in time and place, enabling the teller to draw on rich, complex, and creative sources of cultural knowledge (Gullestad 1996). Narratives are constructed and told on different levels, including ontological narratives that are centered on the experience of the individual and collective social narratives that include the political and cultural stories of a group of people (Somers 1994). Individual narratives are constituted by being located or locating oneself in social narratives that are rarely of our own making (Somers 1994). Hence, the methodological approach of the biographical narrative interview aligns powerfully with the theoretical perspective of childhood studies, in which the individual child is viewed as an interdependent agent who acts within the context of the human and non-human world (Spyrou 2018). The biographical narrative is not exclusively about the individual; it is also deeply relational in revealing how individuals' lives across

generations interact with social and interpersonal relationships, the sense of belonging and identity, and attachment to place. Thus, the boundaries are blurred between individual narratives underpinned by personal memory and collective narratives shaped by the politics of collective memory. Individual stories provide windows into wider processes of social change, and collectively, they provide analytic insights into those processes (Nilsen and Brannen 2014; Nilsen 2020). Hence, individual narratives and the social context within which they are told may be seen as "small pockets of history" (Nielsen 2003, p. 18).

Narrating our own lives includes memory work. Narratives can be seen as retrospective meaning-making processes, as ways of structuring and making sense of past experiences and actions of both oneself and others (Chase 2005). Through memory, the past is made present, not as an objective account of bygone events but as part of a recollection located in the past and present and colored by a "personal" touch (Almås and Gullestad 1990). Life biographies and memories contain images of self and society (Gullestad 1997), as well as images of childhood, growing up, learning, and interacting with social and material worlds. Thus, memories are not limited to the past; they can be understood as a dynamic "living landscape" that not only recalls the past but also influences the present and future. Memories do not exist independently of place. Moreover, the geography of memory studies seeks to anchor individual memories in specific places that are often central to identity and belonging (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012). This approach enables the chapters in this volume to shed light on the meaning of the coast and the sea in both individual and collective narratives over time. Memories are entwined with social and political issues that are embedded in the social practices of everyday lives (Jansson et al. 2008), thus reflecting the importance of context and standpoint (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002). Hence, memory can be described as "a performance rooted in lived contexts" (Keitleigh 2010, p. 58). In using memories as a source of investigation and analysis, the centrality of emotions and affect is recognized in both the construction and recollection of landscapes of childhood. Such memories are held by people of all ages and generations, including children, whose memories of childhood may be recent but are no less valuable for understanding connection, literacies of place, and concepts of place-making.

1.6 Mapping the Chapters of This Volume

The sustainability of coastal communities undergoing transition and the challenges associated with it are central to this volume and the research projects that underpin it. The *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future* project explores the sustainability of coastal communities in transition through the lens of childhood and knowledge production across three generations in cross-national contexts. A common theme of the chapters in this volume is the ways in which local knowledge and identity have retained value in small coastal communities, even when social, economic, and political shifts have transformed many aspects of life. In the communities that are

the focus of this volume—Australia, Cyprus, Ireland, the Faroe Islands, Denmark, and Norway—young people are faced with choices that differ greatly from those of their parents. In many of these communities, employment and livelihoods associated with fishing are no longer the only options available to young people, and in several communities, fishing is no longer a viable profession. Nonetheless, in all chapters, the centrality of fishing to the history of individual families and communities has created a legacy that continues to shape young people's sense of identity. The connections to the sea and to the coast that unite their maritime and terrestrial environments are central to young people's lives and choices, as they were to previous generations. While the challenges brought by change are significant, dynamism and innovation have resulted as young people have negotiated traditional and postmodern knowledge, which is evident in Ireland, in the creative spirit of the Faroe Islands, and in destabilization in Denmark. There is also scope for innovation and creativity through constructive friction, which has been evident in Tasmania and Australia, as communities navigate different conceptualizations of sustainability.

Central to our exploration and the biographical narratives shared by participants are the concepts of social and cultural sustainability, which have been paid less attention than the often-competing concepts of economic and environmental sustainability. The chapter by Bessell and Kjørholt sets the scene for subsequent chapters by exploring different conceptualizations of sustainability. Bessell and Kjørholt map the challenges facing small coastal communities in the context of economic and social transformations that are closely associated with globalization and the outmigration of young people. Moreover, small coastal communities are confronted with tensions arising in efforts to ensure economic sustainability as the environment is degraded and ecological sustainability is threatened. To move forward, Bessell and Kjørholt argue for an intergenerational approach to sustainability that encompasses four pillars: environmental, social, cultural, and economic. They explore ways in which cultural sustainability can be conceptualized, and they map associated concepts of cultural heritage and collective social memory, local knowledge transmission, and justice as it relates to sustainability.

Understanding the relationship between culture and sustainability and the ways in which the past has shaped and continues to shape coastal communities requires a historical understanding of ways of living and learning. In her chapter, Ellen Schrump begins her exploration of childhood, work, and intergenerational relations in Norway by relating a story told by a 12-year-old boy who had his first trip at sea with his father in 1843. Based on the boy's story, Schrump investigates the ways in which both life skills and practical knowledge were transmitted across generations in pre-industrial coastal communities. The central role of children in industries related to the sea is highlighted; for young boys, the sea was a destiny rather than a choice. Schrump explains how young boys were socialized into a life at sea, acquiring not only the knowledge and skills they would need but also specific constructions of masculinity. Girls learned how to keep and manage their households, many of which were headed by women. Interestingly, as coastal communities looked to the sea for their livelihoods, the knowledge obtained by both boys and girls was not only locally relevant but also prepared them for a life that would engage them—via the sea—with

the wider world and its innate dangers. Thus, the transmission of a particular spirit was considered as important as transmitting specific knowledge and skills.

How have ideas about coastal and cultural specificity and related knowledge played out in the early twenty-first century? In their chapter, Crummy and Devine explore the changes that have taken place in small coastal communities in rural Ireland, which have traditionally been reliant on maritime and agricultural employment but are now undergoing significant transitions. They trace the broader economic and political changes that have contributed to the transformation of two coastal communities on Ireland's western Atlantic seaboard. In doing so, they highlight the ways in which Ireland has drawn on not only an economic rationale but also particular values to design rural development policies. Within these shifts, formal education has become central to the lives and learning of children and young people who are now pursuing pathways that are distinct from those in previous generations. Both young men and young women have different trajectories from those of their fathers and mothers, as traditional gendered forms of employment have declined. However, as in other countries discussed in the chapters in this volume, the sense of place and connection to their coastal home has remained strong in many young people. In undertaking both gender and generational analyses, Crummy and Devine shed light on the ways in which situated local cultures have given rise to new forms of innovation and knowledge as the importance of traditionally valued knowledge has diminished.

Similar to Ireland, in Cyprus, small fishing communities are undergoing a transition in the context of wider economic restructuring. Theodorou and Spyrou explore the implications for social and cultural sustainability by examining the processes of local knowledge transmission among three generations of fishing families. It is through these processes and through an ongoing sense of continuity with the past that a strong sense of fisher identity, attachment to place, and belonging to the local community are created. The participants in Theodorou and Spyrou's research described the experiential dimensions of learning about terrestrial and marine environments as a process that is not so much told as encountered, leading to a deep attachment to the sea and a sense of belonging. While fishing and the identity derived from it have been shared across generations, young people are no longer able to earn a living from it. Theodorou and Spyrou map social, economic, and environmental changes that have led to a decline in the option of becoming a professional fisher. Interestingly, however, as young people from small fishing communities have made choices about their futures, many have pursued careers and lifestyles that maintain their connection to the sea, signaling a lingering attachment that continues in the context of transition and rupture.

What are the ways in which people on the coast subsisted and lived in the past? To what extent are ways of being, knowing, and living, and the insights of earlier generations about coastal life still relevant to us?[2] These questions were addressed

[2]These questions were asked in stream 1 at the conference, Mare, People, and the Sea, which was held at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, June 25–28, 2019.

by Kjørholt in a case study of a community of islands on the Norwegian coast, the economy of which had transformed from a traditional small-scale fishing community to a booming fish-farming industry during recent decades. Based on memories of childhood among current grandparents and inspired by the tradition of "rural literacies," she presents childhood in the past as connected to knowledge production through the introduction of the concept, literacies of the sea. This concept reflects an embodied sense of place, pointing to the significance of nature, materiality, and interactions with the sea. Essential skills and knowledge are derived through growing up in intergenerational communities of work. This chapter includes a presentation of contemporary and place-sensitive education in a community from early childhood to upper secondary school. She argues that knowledge about the landscape of childhood and literacies of the sea in traditional fishing communities represents a valuable source of knowledge that ensures the social and cultural sustainability of coastal communities, both as a rich cultural heritage and as a basis for critical discussion, renewed contemporary education, and the place of children and young people in society.

In his chapter, Gaini explores the role of informal learning and cultural knowledge in childhood in Faroese coastal communities. He highlights the ways in which local knowledge supplements formal institutional learning, particularly through the transmission of skills that can only be gained through hands-on experiences. In small communities in the Faroe Islands, like elsewhere, the possibility of earning a livelihood from fishing has diminished over generations, but connection to the sea remains at the core of the everyday lives and identities of young people. Gaini's ethnographic research highlights the deep connection to the ocean felt by people across generations, and the ways in which fishing remains a cherished activity. It is within this context of identity and connection to the sea that local and global knowledge intersect, producing a "creative spirit" that generates innovation in the face of challenges to sustainability. Importantly, Gaini argues that these new ways of thinking continue to be inspired by the sea and by the lives lived on and alongside it.

Bessell explores the potential for new thinking evoked by Gaini in the context of the Faroe Islands by drawing on Anna Tsing's (2004) concept of constructive friction to explore long-standing tensions between environmental protection and economic development in small communities on the east coast of Tasmania in Australia. At the heart of these tensions are different understandings of three concepts that are both powerful and contested: sustainability, knowledge, and social identity. Bessell uses these concepts as lenses to explore identity and map tensions between developmentalists and environmentalists. Although sustainability is conceptualized as embracing the environmental, the social, and the economic, as well as the cultural, which is discussed in Chap. 2, there is often a deep tension between conceptualizations of environmental and economic sustainability. These tensions are exacerbated by economic uncertainty and ecological challenges as well as by insider or outsider status. They are bound up with different conceptualizations of the types of knowledge that are valuable and result in conflicting identities that on one level appear irreconcilable. However, as Bessell highlights, there is also a powerful shared identity, which is deeply connected to the physicality and meaning of the coast and

sea. Bessell argues that it is the strength of coastal identity and connection to place that provides the basis for reaching common ground and imagining new possibilities for sustainability in the communities of Tasmania's east coast.

Beyer Broch draws on more than a decade of ethnographic research in the small island community of Helligvær, which is off the northwest coast of Norway. He explores the ways in which intergenerational communication is used to transfer cultural capital and maintain a deep understanding of and respect for fishing as the foundation of the community. While fishing is often the preserve of men, Broch highlights the role of women in the industry and their struggle to create a role for themselves within it. Nonetheless, in this community, where fishing is central to shared history, to identity, and to everyday life, the cost of becoming a commercial fisher is often prohibitive to young people, which calls into question the future of many coastal fishing communities. Broch observes that there are very few viable fishing communities left in Norway, and the lifeworld of small-scale coastal fishers is one that few understand, particularly in the context of sociocultural change.

In Denmark, as in the other communities discussed in this volume, there is a complex relationship between formal education and the social viability of coastal communities. Gulløv and Gulløv draw on their ethnographic fieldwork in the municipality of Tønder, which is on the southwest coast of Denmark, to explore the ways in which both parents and young people see the relationship between formal education and local opportunities and possibilities. Drawing on the work of the German sociologist Norbert Elias, they highlight the ways in which young people's choices are both affected by and contribute to processes of destabilization in small rural communities. Gulløv and Gulløv illuminate the ways in which social interdependencies and their shifts over time offer new pathways to social and economic viability. While the centralization of political, administrative, and educational institutions has deeply impacted the nature and opportunities of small communities, Gulløv and Gulløv note that these changes are not simply externally driven but also reflect choices made by local people. While the participants in Gulløv and Gulløv's research emphasized the importance of local activities and relations, many also engaged in processes of detachment, which was represented by the outmigration of young people. Gulløv and Gulløv conclude that the challenges facing small coastal communities are integral with "chains of interdependencies" that shape people's choices and preferences. In understanding these choices and preferences and the local interdependencies within which they play out, we can better understand the viability of small coastal communities.

Johansson, Kjørholt, and Krogh's chapters contribute to achieving the aim of this volume, which is to examine practical efforts for developing new approaches to the intergenerational transmission of knowledge in schools and in society. They highlight the ways in which maritime labor and cross-generational education have always been a part of coastal living. Drawing on case studies of communities along the mid- and northern-coastlines of Norway, Johansson, Kjørholt, and Krogh highlight the importance of informal, place-based learning in the intergenerational transfer of skills and knowledge related to the sea. They highlight the centrality of interfamilial and intergenerational relations in shaping children's learning, in which proximity to

nature and learning by doing are central. Inspired by Andersson's (2019) concept, the authors use the concept of the maritime pedagogue to describe a position occupied by elderly fishers with deep local knowledge. Johansson, Kjørholt, and Krogh argue that the maritime pedagogue has the potential to facilitate intergenerational learning beyond familial structures and to supplement the formal knowledge of teachers in schools. The marine pedagogue, as a practitioner with deep experiential knowledge, has the potential to facilitate intergenerational knowledge transmission through activity- and place-based learning and to facilitate intergenerational relations. In doing so, the possibility emerges of connecting not only tradition and modernity but also local and scientific knowledge.

In his closing essay, "Becoming coastal in a minor key," Aitken includes philosophical insights in an overview of the chapters in this volume. He encapsulates the integrated strands throughout the "relational, entangled, and collaged" lives of young people in coastal and island communities. Of particular importance is his assertion that, combined, the chapters challenge "adultist, rational, [and] individuated thinking." Drawing on minor theory (Katz, 1996, 2017) to highlight the process of "becoming coastal," his chapter creatively synthesizes and integrates the theoretical significance of this volume by contributing additional meta-perspectives to the research documented in it.

Combined, the chapters in this volume contribute to ongoing debates about social and cultural sustainability in coastal communities by problematizing them through the lenses of childhood and the intergenerational temporalities of coastal lives. As editors of this volume, it is our hope that readers will gain productive insights into the dynamic changes in coastal communities in today's rapidly changing world.

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Chapter 2
Coastal Communities Past, Present, and Future? The Value of Social and Cultural Sustainability

Sharon Bessell and Anne Trine Kjørholt

Abstract The aim of this chapter is to critically discuss theoretical perspectives on sustainability, providing a conceptual anchor for the chapters in the book. Bessell and Kjørholt map the challenges facing small coastal communities in the context of economic and social transformations that are closely associated with globalisation and challenges such as the out-migration of young people. Moreover, small coastal communities are confronted with tensions arising from efforts to ensure economic sustainability as the environment is degraded and ecological sustainability is threatened. Although highly important, questions related to the social and cultural sustainability of coastal communities receive less attention in discussions around sustainability. This chapter contributes to the nascent literature on social and cultural sustainability. Bessell and Kjørholt argue for an intergenerational approach to sustainability that encompasses four pillars: environmental, social, cultural, and economic. They explore the ways in which cultural sustainability can be conceptualised and map associated concepts of cultural heritage and collective social memory, local knowledge transmission, and justice as they relate to sustainability.

Keywords Social sustainability · Cultural sustainability · Local knowledge

2.1 Introduction

Many of the chapters in this book explore questions related to the social and cultural sustainability of coastal communities in transition through the lens of childhood and knowledge production across three generations in cross national contexts. This

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chapter provides a conceptual anchor for the chapters that follow, not by determining a single approach to complex debates around sustainability, but by mapping and exploring how social sustainability, and the less commonly used concept of cultural sustainability, has been positioned alongside environmental and economic sustainability. In doing so, we aim to contribute to the nascent literature on social and cultural sustainability.

Children and young people are important but often overlooked actors in creating sustainable livelihoods, economies, and knowledge in coastal communities, both now and in the future. High-quality education that provides a sense of inclusion and meaning and is relevant for future (working) life is essential. Also important is the recognition that coastal identities are closely linked to a sense of belonging and connectedness to the sea and the coastal landscape. In contemporary societies, formal education plays multiple roles – not only is it central to preparing young people for success in the labour market, it is expected to contribute to sustainable economies and to promote young people's opportunities and life chances (OECD 2021; UNESCO 2015). These various objectives are captured in the targets of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4, which include achieving literacy and numeracy and skills for 'employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship', as well as the knowledge and skills needed for sustainable development. Education systems are essential in transmitting dominant forms of knowledge, including those that are constructed as being globally important. This includes the targets of SDG4, as well as knowledge that is often subject to international standardised testing and used to compare the relative achievements of countries and individual students. Yet, broadly defined, knowledge acquisition occurs not only through formal schooling, but through inter- and intragenerational relationships that are embedded in day-to-day interactions and shared lives. Education – both formal and informal – and the sharing of knowledge are central not only to economic sustainability, but to environmental, social, and cultural sustainability. Moreover, both formal and informal learning provide knowledge not only for participation in present and future societies, but knowledge that shapes specific understandings of the past. Thus, knowledge is intimately connected to concepts of sustainability, and needs to be appreciated, explored, and problematised.

This chapter explores the relationships between cultural sustainability and local knowledge and practices, with a particular focus on the relevance for children and young people in coastal communities. We highlight the ways in which local knowledge and practices can contribute to the conservation of the oceans and of marine life but also constitute a basis for further renewal of ways of living and ways of knowing in coastal societies. Furthermore, we identify where tensions may be apparent and suggest pathways forward that build on local knowledge for social and cultural sustainability. In doing so, we interrogate social sustainability, as a concept that matters to people's livelihoods and ways of life, but one that has been poorly conceptualised and is often merely an add-on to economic and environmental sustainability. We also explore the relationship of culture to social and other dimensions of sustainability, seeking to contribute to emerging thinking around cultural sustainability.

We begin by discussing the often-fuzzy concepts of sustainability and sustainable development, highlighting the lack of clarity around their meanings. In doing so, we map the development of thinking from the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, as articulated in the Brundtland Report, to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals. We then turn to concepts of social and cultural sustainability, which have often been subsumed in debates around environmental and economic sustainability. We argue that a better understanding of the importance of social and, particularly cultural, sustainability is essential to broader sustainability in small coastal communities that are undergoing transitions. Finally, we outline some key concepts that help to deepen our understanding of social and cultural sustainability, including cultural heritage and collective social memory; education and knowledge transmission; and justice and sustainable development.

2.2 Conceptualising Sustainability

The terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' have become buzzwords in global, national, and local discourses but are often lacking in clarity and substance (Bartelmus 2013). Defining sustainability has proven to be particularly slippery (Acott and Urquhart 2014). Caradonna (2014, p. 3) observes that 'sustainability' is predominantly 'used as a corrective counterbalance, and directly tied to climate change...'. The impact of human activity on nature and the environment has been a particular focus of the sustainability literature, exemplified in Wapner's (2010, p. 4) depiction of the ways in which the 'human world has encroached on and ultimately colonized nonhuman life' and the literal and figurative *consumption* of nature. While concerns about anthropogenic impact on nature are not new (Wapner 2010, p. 2), the rate of that impact is now exceeding the rate at which the planet's diverse ecosystems can evolve, giving urgency to the concept but not necessarily greater definitional clarity (Johnston et al. 2007, p. 61).

Johnston et al. (2007) have noted that the dictionary definition of sustainability, as an activity that can be continued indefinitely, is not particularly useful when time spans of human activity or interest are misaligned with those of the environmental domain. That is, damaging human activity may be able to continue for a human life span (or several human life spans), but cannot be continued indefinitely in terms of planetary ecosystems (Johnston et al. 2007; Wapner 2010). Johnston et al. (2007, p. 63) have pointed out that there appears to be a 'fundamental conflict between ecological systems and human cultures' but argue that this does not preclude the possibility of humans 'co-exist[ing] with natural assemblages of organisms'. The idea of humans living harmoniously with natural systems (Johnston et al. 2007, p. 60), and in ways that do not create degradation and permanent damage (Caradonna 2014), is at the heart of many conceptualisations of sustainability, despite the apparent inability to clearly define it.

2.2.1 Sustainable Development

Accompanying, and often used interchangeably with, the concept of sustainability, is the concept of sustainable development. Yet, as Bartelmus (2013) has noted, the narratives of sustainable development are often unclear about precisely what is to be sustained: is it economic growth, or employment, or human well-being, or planetary health – or some form of 'all-encompassing development'? While the Sustainable Development Goals have created a consensus narrative at one level, they have failed to adequately address many of these fundamental points of confusion.

One of the most influential definitions of sustainable development is that of the 1987 Brundtland report, which focuses on meeting 'the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland 1987, p. 16). This definition highlights the critical relationship between sustainable development and intergenerational equity. In doing so, it focuses attention on longer-term sustainability, and ensuring resources are available into the future.

The Brundtland report, which resulted from the World Commission on Environment and Development, also recognises the need for 'growth that is forceful and at the same time socially and environmentally sustainable' (Brundtland 1987, p. 3) and for new norms of behaviour, and 'changes in attitudes, in social values and in aspirations. . . .'. The report called for a fundamental shift whereby the knowledge and skills that improve economic performance are pivoted towards the knowledge and skills that can respond to challenges that undermine environmental sustainability and to addressing inequality, poverty, ill-health, and overcrowding. The need for knowledge to preserve the natural environment, both land and water, is highlighted throughout the report. This raises important questions about the role of both informal learning and formal education systems in contributing to sustainability and about the ways in which knowledge is shared across generations and is interconnected with various forms of livelihoods in coastal societies.

The Brundtland report (1987, pp. 36–37, section 3.3) importantly highlights the ways in which the traditional knowledge of indigenous groups has been marginalised, and often discarded, by processes of economic development. Yet, attention is not given to forms of cultural and social knowledge and practices in small, long-established nonindigenous communities – either in terms of the value of such knowledge or the need to foster change. Small coastal communities, such as those that are the subject of this volume, often have deep and long-standing knowledge of the natural environment which is often threatened by economic processes that create migration to large urban centres, formal education that discards local knowledge and practice, and changes in key industries, such as fishing, that focus on new technologies and new forms of knowledge. On the other hand, not all local practices – embedded in traditional local knowledge systems – are positive in their impact on the environment or on the well-being of all community members. Local practices that are environmentally damaging or risk human well-being need to be carefully and sensitively identified and included in discussions that are seeking to

contribute to both the valuing of local knowledge and practice *and* the need for change in some circumstances.

The Brundtland report has been the subject of critique, not least for internal contradictions within the document (Daly 1990), but has also been recognised as putting the concept of sustainability – however lacking in clarity – onto the international agenda. Moreover, the Brundtland report identified society, the environment, and the economy as the three pillars of sustainability, which were reiterated in the preamble of the 2002 Sustainable Development Congress in Johannesburg. This set the foundations for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development *Transforming our World* (UN 2015), which restates the three key dimensions. Since the World Commission on Environment and Development, the representation of these dimensions as interrelated and mutually reinforcing has been central to global consensus building, but the deep tensions that often exist between them have not been fully acknowledged in global narratives. In practice, economic sustainability – understood as growth and consumption within the globally dominant neoliberal paradigm – has generally trumped environmental sustainability, leaving issues related to social sustainability behind and creating a serious gap in discourses around sustainability.

2.3 Sustainability in Small Coastal Communities

Issues of sustainability – ecological, social, and economic – are acute for small coastal communities, such as those that are the focus of this volume. *The Future We Want*, the report of the Rio +20 Summit, recognises that 'oceans, seas and coastal areas form an integrated and essential component of the Earth's eco system and are critical to sustaining it...' (UNGA 2012, p. 30). Coastal areas are where the land and sea interact, incorporating both marine and terrestrial ecosystems (Neumann et al. 2017, p. 1019).

Coastal areas are also under threat from the climate emergency, as recognised in *Transforming our World*:

> Increases in global temperature, sea level rise, ocean acidification and other climate change impacts are seriously affecting coastal areas and low-lying coastal countries ... (UN 2015: paragraph 14)

Traditional coastal activities, particularly fishing, are increasingly under pressure in many parts of the world, as a result of changing weather patterns, loss of biodiversity, and declining fish stocks (see Kramer et al. 2017). Patterns of economic activity and environmental practices globally have created threats to both terrestrial and marine ecosystems and to the survival of small communities dependent on fishing and farming, where identity and local ways of life are deeply entwined with those industries (Acott and Urquhart 2014).

In their study of fishing activities and industries along the coast of the English Channel, Acott and Urquhart (2014) highlight the ways in which fishing is intertwined with a sense of connection to place and with social and cultural practices.

They suggest that sustainability, or sustainable development, requires consideration of the cultural ecosystem, including issues such as cultural identity and heritage. As the chapters included in this volume demonstrate, culture, place, and connectedness are essential to understanding coastal communities in transition, as they grapple not only with the environmental issues noted above but with declining employment opportunities and out-migration, particularly of young people. As Urquhart and Acott (2014) note, these issues are also central to identity and to the forms of knowledge that are valued and valuable, not only in an economic sense but to individuals' and communities' sense of self and in shaping childhoods.

In setting out the global agenda for sustainable development, *Transforming our World* (UN 2015: clause 4.7) identifies some of the complex issues identified by Acott and Urquhart (2014) and highlights the need for knowledge that is able to scaffold responses to these challenges. The document states the need for 'all learners to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development. . .', including knowledge that promotes both 'global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainability development'. The same clause refers to sustainable lifestyles, human rights, and gender equality, but does not recognise or problematise where there may be tensions that should be uncovered and addressed if development is to be sustainable. Nor does it refer to the forms of cultural practice that may undermine sustainable development and/or create hierarchies that are counter to sustainable, peaceful, and inclusive societies. The principles articulated in *Transforming our World* are translated into target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals. This target has only one associated indicator, which is vague and not clearly measurable, i.e. (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development, including gender equality and human rights, are mainstreamed at all levels in (a) national education policies, (b) curricula, (c) teacher education, and (d) student assessment. Interestingly, SDG4.7 does not include an indicator around the ways in which 'culture' may contribute to – or undermine – sustainable development. The focus of the target is formal education, and the role of local knowledge, often grounded in long-standing social and cultural practice, is not considered.

2.4 Challenges of Coastal Sustainability and the SDG Agenda

The focus of this volume on small coastal communities highlights the ways in which the ocean and marine life have been essential to livelihoods, social practices, and local knowledge for generations. Economic changes, including economic globalisation, and social changes, particularly migration to larger urban centres, have intertwined to challenge many small coastal communities. Environmental degradation presents an immediate and future challenge to human, social and ecological well-being, and to the very existence of some small communities. These are issues

that children and young people are acutely aware of and which have driven youth activism across the globe (O'Brien et al. 2018; Han and Ahn 2020).

In small coastal communities, the tension between environmental and economic sustainability is often acute. Out-migration of young people and declining opportunities in traditional forms of employment has resulted in the rise of new industries, often structured in ways that maximise profit, but threaten local ecosystems. In both Norway and Australia, these tensions are apparent in the rise of large-scale salmon farming. Norway is the world's largest producer of farmed salmon, with an export of 1.1 million tonnes in 2020 (Norwegian Seafood Council 2021). While small coastal communities along the Norwegian coast are dependent on fish-farming firms for economic sustainability, there is a concern about the consequences for the environment and lack of political control of the industry (Bjørklund 2016). Salmon lice and the use of antibiotics and chemicals are increasing problems, and viruses and parasites have been described as completely out of control (Nylund 2016), deleteriously affecting diverse fish species and thus livelihoods based on traditional small-scale fishing. The resulting debates have highlighted the tension around concepts of ownership and use of sea resources, with local knowledge of the sea environment, based on long experience and transmitted across generations of fisher, often sidelined to larger-scale commercial interests (Andersen 2016). Furthermore, critical voices have pointed to the close collaboration between some research institutions and fish-farming industries, addressing the need for more critical and independent research among academics (Nylund 2016).

In Tasmania, Australia, too, salmon farming has been controversial and deeply divisive. As in Norway, commercial salmon farming has brought hope of employment and economic sustainability to small towns that are struggling with significant transitions (Kirkpatrick et al. 2019). Across the state, salmon farming has a farm gate value of approximately AU$665million and employs more than 2000 people, with an estimated additional 5000 jobs created in ancillary roles (Kirkpatrick et al. 2019, p. 20; Floysand et al. 2021). However, similar issues have been raised around the environmental impacts and potentially irreparable damage to marine ecosystems. In Macquarie Harbor on the west coast of Tasmania, which is on the edge of the Tasmanian Wilderness World Heritage Area, salmon farms were found to cause deoxygenation of the sea and modelling indicated they created significant pollution (Kirkpatrick et al. 2019). Elsewhere in Tasmania, waste from fish farms has been found to increase levels of nitrogen, creating pollution and adverse effects (Coughanowr and Whitehead 2013). While adaptive fish farming practices were able to address some issues, there is ongoing concern and deep debate over the potential damage of fish farms, alongside arguments that they are essential to local development (Floysand et al. 2021).

Salmon farming is a powerful example of the tensions between economic and environmental sustainability that play out in small coastal communities, with the need for economic activity and employment in tension with environmental sustainability. Moreover, highly commercialised aquaculture activities may threaten forms of local knowledge associated with traditional forms of fishing. Within the global narratives around sustainability, there has been increasing attention paid to coastal

regions and to marine ecosystems, with SDG14 of particular relevance. Several targets of SDG14 speak to issues that are challenging small coastal communities, in Norway, Australia, the Faroe Islands, Ireland, Cyprus, and elsewhere: for example, sustainable management and protection of marine and coastal ecosystems (14.1), management of exclusive economic zones (EEZs) based on ecosystem-based approaches (14.2), regulating harvesting and ending overfishing and destructive fishing practices, and conserving at least 10 % of coastal and marine areas (14.5). Achieving these targets requires attitudinal and behavioural change, as well as regulation, with local knowledge potentially playing a powerful role in achieving the goal of conserving and using sustainably the oceans, seas, and marine resources. Yet none of the indicators for monitoring Goal 14 refer to local knowledge or social and cultural norms and practice. There is a striking disconnect between the goal of sustainable use of the oceans and the role of those who have derived their livelihoods, identity, and sociocultural practice from the sea over generations.

Some regional initiatives have paid more, if still limited, attention to culture in fostering sustainable development, particularly sustainability of oceans and marine resources. For example, the report of the European Commission's Mission Starfish 2030: Restore our Oceans and Waters starts from the urgent need to address the unsustainable human footprint, noting that 'The first challenge is the degradation of ocean and freshwaters ecosystems stemming from human activities at sea and on land, with both direct and indirect impacts.' (EU Commission et al. 2020, p. 7). The report further recognises that 'marine and freshwater environments are interlinked with culture, identity, and sense of belonging' (EU Commission et al. 2020, p. 3). The report highlights in some detail the ways in which the arts and cultural sectors can 'play a major role to bridge the knowledge and emotional gap between European citizens and oceans and freshwaters', and to contribute to a 'creative and inspirational re-imagining of what the human-hydrosphere relationships could be' (EU Commission et al. 2020, p. 28). Yet the role of local knowledge, of cultural practices, and of emotional connection in fostering sustainability, or the possible tensions between them, is not fully developed. How then, can we conceptualise social and cultural sustainability?

2.4.1 Social and Cultural Sustainability – A Relational Intergenerational Approach

A holistic approach to sustainable development emphasises the interrelatedness of different pillars of sustainability: environmental, social, cultural, and economic. However, *economic* sustainability has shaped both dominant global narratives and national policy discourse. While tensions around environmental, social, and cultural sustainability are often presented by critics as value-laden and subject to contestation, dominant economic models are often presented as being value-free and representing the only viable alternative available (Fleurbaey et al. 2018). Yet,

dominant ideas about economic sustainability are underpinned by particular values about ways of living, ways of being, and ways of knowing. As the environmental harm created by the rise of the Anthropocene is increasingly evident, dominant economic paradigms have come under increasing challenge. In highlighting new ideas and innovations around political and popular participation, living in harmony with nature, and addressing rampant inequalities, Fleurbaey et al. (2018, p. 6) argue that the 'Western idea that the liberal democratic capitalist institutions have reached their final form and represent the ultimate goal (the "end of history") for all nations of the world must be firmly rejected'. In challenging the dominant economic model – rather than seeking to preserve its sustainability – it becomes possible to challenge the idea that 'resources only have value when they are used (depleted) to produce commodities, which define growth in conventional economics' (Standing 2019).

The concept of environmental sustainability has been reframed, and its urgency heightened, as the climate emergency deepened. In 1987, the Brundtland Report stated that '[E]nvironmental stress has often been seen as the result of the growing demand on scarce resources and the pollution generated by the rising living standards of the relatively affluent', noting that economic growth had 'sometimes been achieved in ways that are globally damaging in the longer term' (Brundtland 1987, p. 30). In the intervening decades, narratives around environmental sustainability have shifted dramatically. Climate change, rising sea levels, mass deforestation, declining biodiversity, and extreme weather events are taking a toll on planetary and human health that is unprecedented (IPCC 2021). While a global narrative of economic growth as sustainability remains dominant, existing economic models are increasingly challenged and identified as unsustainable (Standing 2019; Raworth 2017). Ideas around environmental justice highlight both the dependency of human life on the sustainability of the environment and the current maldistribution of global resource use and the unequal impacts of climate change (Menton et al. 2020). From this perspective, sustainability requires not consideration of sustainable economic growth as an element of economic sustainability but 'sustainable degrowth' (Menton et al. 2020). Various interpretations of the relationships between economic and environmental sustainability can be the source of tensions within and between communities (see Bessell, Chap. 8, this volume). Yet to understand the concept of sustainability, and to use it as a building block of knowledge and policy, it is necessary to explore all pillars that underpin it (see Salas-Zapata and Ortiz-Munoz 2019). Accordingly, we attempt here to further unpack the meanings of sustainability by taking account of social sustainability and cultural sustainability.

A holistic conceptualisation of sustainability also requires attention to its inherently intergenerational nature. As discussed earlier, limited educational and employment opportunities are a key driver of young people's out-migration from small coastal communities, while job creation may be in tension with environmental sustainability, as demonstrated through the example of salmon farming. These issues are acutely important for young people, as they seek to make their lives and are deeply entwined with issues of both economic and environmental sustainability. Yet, these two pillars form only part of the story of sustainability and neglect the ways in which people's choices about ways of living, being, and knowing are embedded in

social and cultural values, attitudes, and practices. Our conceptual approach to social and cultural sustainability is *relational*, underlining the significance of social relations and interdependencies between people across generations (*intergenerational*) and within same generations (*intragenerational*), while acknowledging that both values and knowledge are dynamic.

While there is no agreed definition of social sustainability within the literature, Vallance et al. (2011, p. 345) identify three approaches, which they describe as:

- Development sustainability 'which addresses poverty and inequity'.
- Bridge sustainability 'with its concerns about changes in behaviour so as to achieve biophysical environmental goals'.
- Maintenance sustainability 'which refers to the preservation of sociocultural patterns and practices in the context of social and economic change'.

While each of these ways of conceptualising social sustainability is important in its own right, they are often in tension with one another (Vallance et al. 2011; Åhman 2013).

Maintenance sustainability is particularly useful in understanding the ways in which knowledge is transmitted within and across generations in small coastal communities. As Vallance et al. (2011) note, however, maintaining current social and economic systems, and ways of learning and living, may be more appealing to those who benefit from the current system than those who are left behind. However, our research (see Chaps. 6 and 8) demonstrates that the desire for maintenance of ways of living is complex and multilayered, often producing apparent tensions and contradictions. Development sustainability helps to uncover the ways in which current practices lead to the maldistribution of resources, including between present and future generations, potentially resulting in intergenerational inequality as resources are exploited and depleted to the detriment of future generations. Bridge sustainability highlights the ways in which values and activities are in tension with environmental limits and provides a critical place for the social in debates around environmental and economic sustainability. A generational and relational approach illuminates the close interactions and interdependencies between human beings and nature. Here, the focus is on the human-community-nature relationship within various contexts, landscapes, and ecosystems, seeking a balance between humans and nature (Soini and Birkeland 2014). Of key importance are various forms of local environmental knowledge, transmitted and renewed within intergenerational relationships in everyday life practices, deeply intertwined with processes of placemaking and a sense of belonging to place and nature. A relational and intergenerational approach also uncovers where tensions and inequities may exist, even when they are not immediately apparent.

2.4.2 Bringing Culture In

Social sustainability is, then, critical to a holistic conceptualisation of sustainability, highlighting the role of formal institutions (such as education) and informal

relationships, as well as issues of equity and distribution. It does not, however, sufficiently illuminate the critical role of values. Here, cultural sustainability is an important addition to a holistic conceptualisation.

In a review of cultural sustainability in research and policy documents Soini and Birkeland argue that:

> ... cultural sustainability moves beyond social sustainability and that there can be important issues of sustainable development that are missed without a further examination of the role of culture. (Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 215)

In highlighting the value of bringing culture into sustainability debates, we recognise it as multilayered, as conceptualised by anthropologists. 'Culture' has been described as situated, referring to the meaning-making dimension of social life (Gullestad 1992), thus putting light on particular *moral values* embedded in and produced through social practices of a group of people, at a particular place in a particular time. The concept is vibrant, not referring to fixed, distinct, and separate entities, but is flexible and in dynamic transition, intersecting with time and place. Ulf Hannerz (1992) has demonstrated that culture is not homogenous, stable, or bounded but reflects interactions and combinations between the global and the local, to produce diversity and fluid boundaries (see also Hylland Eriksen 2017; Hastrup and Olwig 1997).

Soini and Dessein (2016) note the different ways in which culture is understood and represented, but despite this conceptual contestation, they argue that if culture is not explicitly addressed, then it will tend to disappear as a priority in sustainability work. They suggest that culture is important in conceptualising and understanding pathways to sustainability, in both explaining the structure of societies and as 'an engine of the functions of society and its evolution', which can act as an agent in transformation towards sustainability (Soini and Dessein 2016, p. 167).

Yenken and Wilkinson (2000) make the case for culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability, on the grounds that cultural practices can be fruitfully harnessed in pursuit of environmental sustainability. They highlight the ways in which Indigenous knowledge is central to 'understanding and wise management of the land', highlighting the concept of caring for country as central to the culture of Australia's First Nations Peoples. Yenken and Wilkinson (2000) call for explicit recognition of the ways in which connection to and care for nature, sea, and landscapes shape and are shaped by cultures, in order to develop a concept of cultural sustainability. Hawkes (2001) has further developed the idea of culture as a fourth pillar of sustainability, arguing it must be a 'separate and distinct reference point'.

For Hawkes (2001, p. 25), the four pillars of sustainability are:

- Cultural vitality: wellbeing, creativity, diversity, and innovation.
- Social equity: justice, engagement, cohesion, welfare.
- Environmental responsibility: ecological balance.
- Economic viability: material prosperity.

Hawkes argues that community well-being must be integrated into a sustainability agenda, including a recognition of the importance of a sense of shared purpose

and respect for the values that inform action. For Hawkes (2001, p. 25), 'a healthy society depends, first and foremost, on open, lively and influential cultural activity amongst the communities within it; sustainability can only be achieved when it becomes an enthusiastically embraced part of our culture.' Thus, cultural sustainability should be embedded into planning and governance frames if overall sustainability is to be achieved (Hawkes 2001).

Our conceptual thinking is based on the recognition of culture as a fourth pillar of sustainability (Soini and Birkeland 2014; Yenken and Wilkinson 2000) and the distinction Hawkes (2001) makes between cultural and social sustainability, whereby cultural sustainability or cultural vitality is intrinsically associated with wellbeing, creativity, diversity, and innovation. Cultural vitality can be understood as 'providing a sense of belonging, shared meaning of recognition of identity, respect for society, creativity and education' (Amberg 2010, in Soini and Birkeland 2014). For Hawkes (2001), social sustainability is distinct from cultural sustainability and is closely associated with social equity, encompassing social and economic justice, engagement in society, social cohesion, and social welfare. This positions 'cultural sustainability' as entwined with wellbeing (Duxbury and Jeannotte 2012), community resilience (Magis 2010), and social change through cultural policy (Rayman-Bacchus and Radavoi 2020). While social sustainability provides the institutions that underpin society and shape formal learning through education, cultural sustainability is entwined with the intergenerational flow of values, knowledge, and sense of identity. This does not imply a one-way transmission from older to younger generations but a rich and dynamic exchange within and between generations that is deeply relational.

The following sections explore and develop several concepts that are central to both social and cultural sustainability.

2.5 Cultural Heritage and Collective Social Memory

Soini and Birkeland (2014) point to different ways of using the concept of cultural sustainability, one of which is referring to cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is sometimes conceptualised as a 'fixed commodity'. In this way, it is seen as encompassing tangible, identifiable, undisputed cultural items, events, and history in a particular local context. When conceptualised in this way, the dynamic and complex social processes that produce and reproduce heritage are easily hidden. However, we find the concept cultural heritage – which is widely used in policy documents related to sustainability (see UN 2015) – useful, emphasising a broad understanding of *lived lives*, revealing the importance of local identities and belonging. Investigation of everyday life in coastal communities in transition, through the lenses of childhood memories, identities, and knowledge production across three generations, as in many of the chapters in this book, provide insights into cultural heritage as experiences of lived lives in coastal communities.

Memories constitute an important reservoir for construction of self and identity. Casey (1987, p. ix) argues that we are always 'steeped' in memory. Memories are individual, but also social and collective, created through the social interactions and practices of groups of people, inscribed in economic, political, and social discourses (Climo and Cattell 2002). Using the term collective memories, Halbwachs (1992) asserts that images of self and society are constructed by social groups of people based on shared versions of the past, produced through communication. Collective social memories reflect shared identities, values, and norms connected to 'appropriate' ways of being and ways of knowing, also implying power, produced and reproduced through communication (Climo and Cattell 2002).

Cultural heritage, seen as lived lives, is intimately interconnected with social collective memories. Memories of the past thus represent a powerful foundation for creating social collective memories, which have the potential to contribute to culturally vibrant coastal communities, now and in the future. However, cultural heritage and social collective memories can also reflect and reproduce power differences, inequalities, and conflicts of interest between different groups who have a stake in cultural sustainability. A pluralistic approach is both necessary and useful because it recognises that many lived experiences (across time and space) will require many different approaches to cultural/social sustainability (Boström 2012).

2.6 Local Knowledge Transmission

Hawkes (2001, p. 28) contends that education is an area of 'social interaction in which culture (that is, the social generation and transmission of meanings and values) is the prime energiser'. Here, the primary function of education is understood as the transmission of values and may be both formal and informal. In the latter half of the twentieth century, formal education came to be considered the *primary* site of knowledge transmission, with young people's lives increasingly dominated by formal schooling (Roberts and Peters 2008). The increasing centrality of school and associated qualifications to young people's life chances and choices represents a specific set of values, often associated with advanced capitalism and individualisation (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

Formal schooling has also been identified as both a product of and vehicle for the transmission of dominant ideologies, most recently, neoliberal ideas (Apple 2019. It has also been associated with an intensified focus on the individual, creating pressure for personal achievement and the expectation that young people will make something of their lives (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; White and Wyn 2004). The values that underpin formal education systems are often not well aligned with local knowledge or with concepts of social sustainability, such as social equity, and cultural sustainability, such as cultural vitality. Yet, knowledge and values are not only transmitted though formal education; in reality, there are myriad ways in which knowledge is shared and a diversity of learning sites. Informal or outside-of-school learning is especially important in communities where traditional skills are valued

and transferred outside formal education systems, often as a result of children and young people engaging in activities alongside parents, grandparents, or other adults.

In coastal communities where fishing is both a way of life and a means of livelihoods, a great deal of knowledge and associated values are transmitted informally.

Brookfield et al. (2005) have described the centrality of fishing to coastal communities, beyond economic dependence. Fishing is far more than a form of employment or income generation; it 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' (Brookfield et al. 2005, p. 56). In such contexts the fishing industry is the 'forum through which community bonds, values, knowledge, language and traditions are established, confirmed and passed on' (Brookfield et al. 2005, p. 56). Knowledge, as well as social practices and values, are passed across generations, often outside of formal education systems, as an intrinsic part of informal learning. Here we can see how fishing may facilitate both social sustainability and cultural sustainability. The former by preserving particular sociocultural patterns (maintenance sustainability) that are important to social cohesion (Vallance et al. 2011; Hawkes 2001), the latter by preserving a sense of wellbeing and belonging (Soini and Birkeland 2014). Yet there are also tensions, between local knowledge and global ideas, and between maintenance sustainability and bridging sustainability that takes account of – and often prioritises – the limits of the environment.

Transmitting various forms of local knowledge through intergenerational relations – in the way that Brookfield et al. and several chapters of this book illuminate – creates feelings of both socio-spatial and temporal belonging. Intergenerational transmission of knowledge in everyday life between children, parents, and grandparents is therefore a theme that emerges in several chapters in this book. Some also identify tensions between various conceptualisations of sustainability and various forms of knowledge, thus deepening understanding of the complexities at play. A starting point for exploring *cultural sustainability* is the awareness that past and present lives are intertwined through shared knowledge and ways of living. In this volume, several authors seek to understand how the livelihoods, skills, and values of previous generations shape present education and learning for young people and how the past shapes identity (particularly among young people) and connectedness across generations and to place. Understanding the dynamics of culture, identity, belonging, and connection to place – past and present – provides deeper insights into the opportunities and challenges facing small coastal communities today.

Recognising the value of local knowledge, including knowledge about the environment, work and livelihood skills, and various forms of practical knowledge, is crucial to culturally sustainable futures. So too is critically identifying its limits.

The research undertaken through the *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future* research project supports Akpan's assertion:

> No society can be so 'advanced' that it no longer has need of 'local knowledge'. No 'traditional' society can hope to make progress without knowledge from outside. No knowledge systems are so 'complete' that it needs nothing from outside its domain...there is the local in the global and vice versa. (Akpan 2011, p.121)

Critical investigation of the ways in which various forms of local knowledge and skills are intertwined with livelihoods and everyday life across generations is important to avoid the loss of rich sources of belonging which are of vital importance for local identities. So too is it necessary to acknowledge that local knowledge is not always homogenous and may be contested.

In line with Birkeland (2008) we highlight the ways in which both social and cultural resources can be mobilised in order to reimagine and reinvigorate the idea and reality of place. Yet local knowledge, like all forms of knowledge, is often contested and reflects patterns of power, inclusion, and exclusion. Valuing past knowledge requires critical analysis and reflection and an appreciation of 'insider' perspectives as provided through the biographical interviews that underpin many chapters of this book. It also requires recognition that 'newcomers' who have migrated to coastal communities, either recently or in the past, carry with them different forms of knowledge. Instead of positioning different knowledge as in competition or tension, Hawkes (2001) suggests embracing a form of meaningful multiculturalism that engages with diverse knowledge sources to foster inclusive and just sustainability. This is necessary if the promise of reanimation is to be fulfilled.

2.7 Justice and Sustainability

In discussions of sustainability, knowledge, and the relationships between past and future, humans, and nature, it is necessary also to consider justice. In transitions to sustainable futures, there will be change and disruption. Without consideration of justice, it is likely that valued local knowledge will be lost and the most vulnerable will lose out.

As discussed, the concept of sustainability is often lacking in clarity, leaving questions of sustainability of what and for whom unanswered. Agyeman and Evans (2004) have argued that conceptual work is needed to bridge the disconnect between care for the environment and justice and equity for humans. They argue that 'A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems' (Agyeman and Evans 2004, p. 78). Here the pillars of environmental and social sustainability are considered as indivisible and mutually reinforcing. For Agyeman and Evans (2004) social justice and equality are central elements of social sustainability, without which societies are unable to flourish – just as they are unable to flourish in contexts of environmental and ecological degradation. Agyeman and Evans (2004) call for just sustainability, which takes account of the social *and* the environmental. Soini and Birkeland's (2014) distinction between social and cultural sustainability is also important here, as each plays an important

role in fostering equity and justice. Social sustainability is centrally concerned with social justice and equity, as well as social infrastructure, participation and engaged governance, social cohesion, social capital, awareness, needs and work, and issues of the distribution of environmental 'goods' and 'bads' (Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 214).

Cultural sustainability, when understood as human well-being and respect for diversity, is also essential to just sustainability. Moreover, cultural sustainability also offers hope of solutions to seemingly intractable problems when understood as harnessing the relationship of people to nature and bringing creativity and innovation. An intergenerational approach to social and cultural sustainability thus includes the reanimation and renewal of place and embracing diversity. It enables a critical exploration of power dynamics and the meaning and value of various forms of local environmental knowledge and lived lives by previous generations.

For Polese and Stren (2000, p. 15), environmental sustainability necessitates social sustainability. This interrelationship is described by Agyeman and Evans (2004) as 'just sustainability'. Just sustainability might be considered in terms of procedural justice and outcome justice, whereby the former speaks to issues such as the right to participate in decision-making processes, and the latter is concerned with end results (such as social inclusion or clean air). In these terms local knowledge and cultural heritage are critical to both procedural *and* outcome justice.

Central to just sustainability is *intergenerational* equity, which was included in the definition of sustainable development provided in the Brundtland report, and in most influential definitions since. Intergenerational equity is challenged by unsustainable environmental practices, but also by unsustainable social practices, whereby inclusion, equity, and shared ways of living (Acott and Urquhart 2014) – and the knowledge that underpins them – are lost. So too is *intragenerational* equity important. As Agyeman and Evans (2004, p. 162) point out, the 'goods' and 'bads' of environmental problems are not equally distributed, and those experiencing disadvantage and marginalisation are far more likely to experience the 'bads'. Thus, just sustainability requires both the social justice and equity that underpin social sustainability, and a respect of the diversity of values, perceptions, and attitudes and for the material cultural manifestations that are linked to these values (Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 217).

2.8 Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future?

A point of departure for the research project on which this anthology draws is a hypothesis that sustainability is temporally connected not only to the present and future, but also to the past. Sustainable coastal communities depend on vibrant environments and economies and also on social and cultural sustainability. In addition to concepts of social and cultural sustainability, cultural heritage, collective social memory and local knowledge are essential elements of thriving coastal communities. Cultural heritage and social collective memories can be seen as a

source of identity connected with local sense of place and belonging. Ecological knowledge and ecocultural resilience are an important part of this, and of the urgent struggle to address the crisis of biodiversity loss, environmental degradation, and climate change. Furthermore, embedded in a contextual understanding of education and knowledge, sustainability also requires consideration of *the social value of education* as perceived by different generations and of *cultural continuity* between past, present, and future, with regard to *awareness of* ways of living and ways of knowing in the past. Finally, it is essential that careful attention is given to the ways in which issues of equity and wellbeing intersect with sustainable development to ensure just sustainability is achieved now and in the future.

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Chapter 3
Growing Up in a Norwegian Coastal Town in the Nineteenth Century: Work and Intergenerational Relations

Ellen Schrumpf

Abstract This chapter is about the conditions of children in a Norwegian coastal town in the nineteenth century. The point of departure is a story told by a 12-year-old boy who had his first trip at sea with his father in 1843. From this micro-story, the perspective expands to a micro-macro view that sheds light on how growing up in a coastal community, where shipping was the most important industry, was affected by local and global changes in the economy and businesses. Moreover, the chapter analyses how life skills and practical knowledge were transmitted from one generation to the next in a pre-industrial coastal town where girls and boys had an important part of their education in a practical school. At work, children acquired the knowledge and skills needed to become capable adults. Boys worked primarily in the shipping industry, and girls worked as domestic servants. At sea and on shore, boys and girls also underwent an education in their culture. They became part of a specific coastal, MARE culture, which is characterised by a spirit of danger and 'open mindedness' towards the world.

Keywords Child work · Local community · Shipping industry · Nineteenth century

3.1 Introduction

> I was only 11 years old when I had my first trip at sea. We children were not allowed to stay home longer when I grew up. I turned 12 years on my first trip (. . .) But when I was about to go out on my second trip, I held to my mother's skirt and prayed for myself. She cried and I cried. Father was however strict and forced me to go. I thank him for that. If I had stayed home that time, it would be hard to tell what kind of man I would have become. (Porsgrunds Dagblad, 23. January 1915)

This story was told by Carl Norberg when, as an old man, he was interviewed in the local newspaper. Carl was born in the coastal town of, Porsgrunn in 1832, and in the interview, he looked back at a lifelong career at sea. He had his first trip at sea—

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together with his father—the summer he turned 12 years old. The year was 1843, and the following year, his father expected him to sign up again. Carl cried and begged his father to let the ship go without him. His father was, however, strict and there was no mercy, so Carl had another trip at sea with his father. Later in life, Carl thought his father's decision had been good for him. If his father had let him stay home that day in 1843, no one could have foreseen the person he would have become, Carl explained.

Carl's story introduces the subject of this chapter, which is about the conditions in which children grew up in a Norwegian coastal town in the nineteenth century.

The following questions will be addressed:
- How were life skills and practical knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next in Porsgrunn at that time?
- How and where were young boys and girls educated in a pre-industrial coastal community such as Porsgrunn?
- How were children's conditions in a coastal community affected by global and local changes in economy and businesses in the nineteenth century?

3.2 Intergenerational Relations and Child Work

The transfer of life skills and practical knowledge is perceived to be an integrated part of intergenerational relations and everyday life in pre-industrial societies. Furthermore, such skills and knowledge are transmitted at work from the older generation to the younger generation. The concept of work is understood as routinised practice, which children acquire through bodily experiences and efforts (Merleau-Ponty 2012, p. 86, 145). Thus, practical tasks and work were learned by doing. Children co-worked with parents, grandparents, or other adults and copied their body motions and practices. At work, boys and girls acquired not only skills but also socially adequate roles and duties for the future. They learned the specific working culture at that time, which was predominant in work environments. In this work culture, work and life were integrated. Accordingly, work was life and vice versa in such environments. For young girls, growing up meant that they took part in their mother's work in the households before they applied for domestic service in other households. In contrast, young boys followed in their father's footsteps, which for many boys in Porsgrunn meant work at sea. Accordingly, work was considered an adequate practical school and educational arena for children of the common people in Porsgrunn at that time. Furthermore, intergenerational co-work was considered the way for children to become capable adults and form their identities.

At work and as participants in intergenerational relations, children were also perceived as historical agents. That is, child work took place within a social and cultural context—within and outside families—in which children acted as subjects who contributed to their, as well as their family's, well-being and livelihood (James and Prout 1990, pp. 7–35). Children were partners and co-workers in a family–wage

economy. All contributions from the paid and unpaid work of children went into the family's joint economy (Tilly and Scott 1978, pp. 147–227). At work, children also participated in the local community in multiple ways. Accordingly, children were agents who influenced and were influenced by the family and the local and coastal community economically, socially and culturally.

Child work had wide social, cultural and educational significance. At work, children acquired and maintained practical and environmental knowledge, which was of vital importance for a sustainable present and future in coastal communities such as Porsgrunn. However, the knowledge was not only a phenomenon constructed in the local community. The coastal community and the production of knowledge were parts of, and interconnected to, a larger world, and they were outcomes of local and global, or 'glocal', connections and work. Hence, in this chapter, people and coastal communities are considered links in networks and chains where they and sea-based businesses were mutually dependent (Meyer 2007, p. 449).

3.3 Shipping Industry in Porsgrunn in the Nineteenth Century

Porsgrunn is a small coastal town in the southern part of Norway. In the nineteenth century, the town experienced substantial population growth. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, 1883 inhabitants lived in Porsgrunn. By 1900, the population had increased to 4965.

In 1845, 2214 men, women and children in Porsgrunn earned their living in different ways. Most people worked in trade and crafts, some had office work, and women worked as domestic servants. In addition, there were several skippers, both with and without citizenship.[1] The most common occupation was, however, that of seafarer. They accounted for 237, and including the skippers, 279 inhabitants—and their families—made their living in the shipping industry. The fact that shipping was an important industry in Porsgrunn was confirmed by the governor of Bratsberg (Telemark) County in a report in 1845: 'Shipping must be considered to be Porsgrund's most important industry, not only because of the shipping companies, but not at least because a substantial part of the population in Porsgrunn are seafarers' (Schrumpf 2006, p. 35).[2]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, timber was the main export product, and the tradesmen who traded and exported timber were also ship owners. The ship owners exported timber on their own ships, and the timber and shipping industries were interconnected. The ships headed for foreign markets, and the local businesses in Porsgrunn were integrated into the international economy. The export markets

[1] Historically, skippers with citizenship had the right to trade and run business.

[2] In the nineteenth century, Porsgrunn was written with nd and later with nn.

were located in Europe, primarily in Denmark, France and England. There, Norwegian timber was used to make tools for the agricultural sector, pillars in British mines and construction material in growing urban areas. After the 1840s, ships from Porsgrunn transported emigrants to America. Shipping was part of a broad range of businesses, such as shipping companies, shipyards and trades.

A few very powerful and rich aristocratic families dominated local businesses as well as political, social and economic matters in Porsgrunn. After the Napoleonic wars, however, the local economy experienced a serious depression, and many of the companies went bankrupt. Consequently, the old aristocratic families left Porsgrunn and established trades elsewhere. After some difficult decades, the local businesses recovered and experienced substantial economic growth. This was especially the case in the years after 1850, following the abolishment of the British Navigation Act in 1849. Subsequently, there was a growing demand for Norwegian tonnage abroad, and local shipyards and shipping companies in Porsgrunn expanded. According to the Navigation Act, all trades between British colonies and England were bound for British ships, but after 1849, the shipping trade to the British Isles was unrestricted.

Ship owners and self-made men in Porsgrunn made the most of the new situation. Shipping expanded and became dominant in the local economy, and people in Porsgrunn increasingly made their livings from businesses connected to shipping. A growing number of people worked at shipping yards, at stores that delivered goods to the ships, or as sailors in the local fleet. White sails became symbols of prosperity and local identity (Schrumpf 2006, p. 99).

At that time, Porsgrunn was increasingly integrated into the developed part of the world economy, and the growth in the shipping industry was the main reason. Norway climbed from number eight to number three in the international shipping ranking, and Porsgrunn rose in the national shipping ranking. Population growth, urbanisation, industrialisation and increases in world trade were reasons for the growing demand for tonnage. In each decade between 1840 and 1870, world trade increased by more than 50%. The oceans served as global transport highways at that time. Ships transported goods from one country to the other (Try 1979, p. 117).

During ‘the golden era’ of Norwegian shipping in the years between 1850 and 1879, the local fleet changed shipping routes. From sailing in nearby waters between Porsgrunn, Denmark, France and England with timber as cargo and ballast on the return voyage, the routes changed according to global trade in all kinds of goods between England, the colonies and South America. Accordingly, the ships sailed longer distances and were away for longer periods, sometimes for years. In these decades, shipping became an increasingly independent and global trade.

The Porsgrunn fleet, as well as its crew, more than doubled in these years (Beretning om Kongeriget Norges økonomiske Tilstand 1841–1870 and Tønnessen 1957, pp. 325–330). Ship owners made huge profits, and shipping became the most profitable business in Porsgrunn. Because the shipping business was increasingly integrated into the international economy, the local economy was highly sensitive to international trade cycles. In the years between 1850 and 1880, the fleet experienced general prosperity with a few temporary setbacks. The first setback was at the end of the 1850s (after the Crimean war in 1856) and at the end of the 1860s (after the

American civil war in 1865). At the end of the 1870s, however, shipping was affected by a serious and long-lasting setback. The explanation is twofold. First, the local shipping trade was severely hit by an international economic depression that was caused by overproduction on the world trade market. Second, the local fleet consisted of sailing ships, which experienced stiff competition—on the national and international levels—from a growing fleet of more efficient and profitable steamboats.

The international crises affected all parts of the local economy in Porsgrunn. Freight fell, shipyards were locked up, and people lost their jobs. Consequently, local authorities decided to start public work to avoid poverty among the unemployed (Forhandlingsprotokol for Porsgrunds Formandskab 1873–1882, p. 114; Beretning om Amternes økonomiske Tilstand i Bratsberg Amt 1884, p. 21). However, the crisis continued into the 1880s. Prices fell, ships were sold at prices far below their worth, and freight was so low that the ship owners had to calculate the profitability of each trade. However, after several years, new industries were established in Porsgrunn. In 1883, the whetstone industry, Norønna Fabriker, which employed 50–60 male workers, was established on the west bank of the Porsgrunn river. Porsgrunds Porselænsfabrik was established in 1885 and became a workplace for several hundred male and female industrial workers. In 1899, Porsgrunds mekaniske Værksted was sold, and a new owner and director reorganised the workshop to be the largest workplace in town. More than 300 male workers worked there after the turn of the nineteenth century. In addition, a number of small industries produced consumption goods, such as ribbons, braces, buttons and clogs.

Therefore, an industrial revolution took place in Porsgrunn at the end of the nineteenth century. Working life in the local community transformed from traditional shipping, timber industry and shipping yards to a complex structure that included industry, shops and a growing public sector. Nevertheless, shipping and mechanical workshops played a significant role in the local economy.

These changes raise the following questions: Were child work and intergenerational relations affected by these local and global changes in businesses and, eventually, how? We will return to Carl Norberg and other children in Porsgrunn at that time to answer these questions.

3.4 Young Boys at Sea

In the summer of 1843, Carl went to sea with his father, who was also a sailor. For a young boy growing up in Porsgrunn at that time, going to sea was a destiny rather than a choice. Carl followed in his father's footsteps as most children did in the stable pre-modern society at that time.

In addition to shipping, there were other work options for young boys in Porsgrunn at that time. Apprenticeships in the crafts were regulated, and training to become a craftsman took place in cooperative work between a young unskilled

worker and an older skilled worker. The craftmaster hired only a few boys whom he needed to keep up with the workload. In 1865, nine boys worked in crafts in Porsgrunn. Furthermore, five boys worked as day labourers or ran errands (Census for Porsgrunn 1865). In the mid-nineteenth century, shipping was the most important trade in town. Signing on one of the local ships was a safe way for young boys who wanted to ensure that they would acquire relevant life skills and practical knowledge for the future. The prospect of adventures at sea would also have attracted boys in a coastal community where the sailor culture was imbibed with breastmilk, according to A. T. Rasmussen. He was born in 1883 in Skien, Porsgrunn's neighbouring town. He said that he tried to escape at sea when he was 5 years old. Later, he succeeded in fulfilling his dream and sailed on the English coast when he was 14 years old. Early in life, he contracted 'sea fever', and he was never cured:

> I guess that under this inexplicable attraction to the sea is hidden an indomitable urge to adventures and experiences—an enchanted longing for the sea in all its changing whims, with its lavish richness of nuances, with its vast contrasts—a deep, true love for ships from childhood. (Rasmussen 1963, p. 13)

What was everyday life at sea like for Rasmussen and other young boys? At that time, the sailing ship was a small and close community. Everyday life and work were integrated, and young boys were educated based on intergenerational relations. We can, however, suppose that education also took place in intragenerational relations, in which older boys transmitted experience-based practical knowledge to younger novice boys. They learned seamanship and practical knowledge from their co-workers on board, and they also acquired social and cultural competence. On board, the boundaries between work, leisure time and privacy were broken down. Working hours were not regulated, and the space on board was limited. The young boys shared places not only for sleeping but also for working and eating and, probably playing the accordion and singing shanties, found place in a confined atmosphere.

The ship was organised according to a strict and masculine hierarchy where everyone had to accept his place. At the top of the hierarchy was the skipper, who was responsible for the crew and who had unrestricted power. Ranked below, the skipper was followed by the mate, who was deputy commander on board. Among the crew were sailmakers, carpenters, sailors, cabin keepers and deck boys. The sailors comprised the most numerous group on board, and among them, the career ladder led from light sailor to sailor and boatman, who was a kind of chairman and boss of the crew but ranked below the skipper. At the bottom of the hierarchy were 'first-travel' boys who were cabin keepers, deck boys and ship boys. On board the ship, the boys attended a 'school of practical work', which lasted from 2 to 4 years before they were trained sailors. The 'teachers' of the ship's practical school were older and experienced seafarers (Jensen 2007, pp. 28–29). The ship was geographically mobile but socially stable. It was not for everybody to climb to the top of the hierarchy and become skipper on his own ship. However, the fact that some succeeded awakened dreams and hopes in many first-travel sea boys.

Therefore, the ship was an educational arena in which young boys were prepared for their future profession as sailors. Over time, the ship became a 'home' and the sea a place where life itself was lived. In the interview referred to above, Carl Norberg said that he loved life at sea. He underwent hard discipline there—probably brutality as well—and he had to adjust to the strict hierarchy on board. Furthermore, he said that life at sea was full of hardship, storms and cold weather, but he also experienced warm climates, quiet waters and exciting visits to foreign countries, people and cultures. At sea, Carl informed himself about the entire world, and he learned more about places and harbours in foreign countries than he did about his home country. He also learned some words in foreign languages. Thus, geography and language were additional syllabuses on board the ship. When he was old and no longer at sea, he missed his sea life every day. He said that he was proud of being a Norwegian sailor, who are 'the best sailors in the world', and he felt much safer at sea than on shore.

Early in life, young sea boys in Porsgrunn learned lessons about the expectations and demands that a child in a coastal society met at that time and what was required to grow up and become a capable adult. On board ships, together with fathers, relatives and/or other grown-up sailors, and at work, the boys gradually acquired the knowledge and skills a sailor needed to master. Carl said that giving into weakness was a dead end for boys who wanted to become good sailors. Young boys at sea had to become socialised in the specific masculine shipping and coastal culture in the hard school of life. To handle hazards and unexpected dangers and to know that they might never return home and that the sea might be their graveyard was part of seamanship's 'curriculum', in addition to knowing and accepting their place in the strict hierarchy on board a ship. Young boys received a cultural, social and practical education by working on board ships.

Emotional relations are important elements in intergenerational relations and the upbringing of children. Carl's story revealed many feelings, such as anger, fear, sorrow, longing, joy and happiness. Questions in this context are the following: Were young boys like Carl brutally 'forced' to go to sea at a very young age? Did they go to sea because they did not dare to oppose their parents, particularly their fathers?[3]

To understand how and why young boys started a career at sea early in life, we have to be aware of how the coastal culture at that time influenced families. The local community belonged to a coastal culture of duty and necessity, which can be denoted as 'the Protestant Ethic'. According to the Protestant ethic, children's upbringing should include the disciplining of girls and boys to become diligent and industrious; thus, they would later obtain salvation. The saying 'a strong hook should be early curved' expresses how childhood was perceived in this Protestant culture. Intergenerational relations were practiced according to the demands and obligations embedded in the Protestant ethic. That is, children should have duties

[3] For further reading about parenting and emotions, see Schrumpf (2022).

and be responsible. Hard work in school and at work with parents and adults was the recipe for raising a good Protestant child (Weber 2001).

The Protestant and seafaring culture both influenced child rearing and family life at that time. In a coastal town like Porsgrunn, we know that captains' families quite often joined on long and short trips. As late as 1892, the entire Hauff family spent many years at sea. The father—Anon Hauff—was captain of the 'Wenonah' of Porsgrunn. His wife Marthine and their two children, Agnes (3 years) and Tommy (11 years), joined him, boarding the ship in England. The whole family stayed on board for a long time, and Marthine gave birth to her third child at sea. Tommy was supposed to do his schoolwork on board, but he said that he preferred to stay on deck and climb to the top of the mast (Sørbø, 1981, pp. 8–9).

Such family trips at sea illustrate the importance of intergenerational relations in maintaining and transmitting shipping knowledge and culture in a coastal community. On such trips, which lasted for several years, the children learned lessons about shipping, sailing, the ocean and weather conditions, as well as about foreign cultures and countries. The ship was 'home' for young sailors in the important formative years, and like Carl, Tommy's career as a sailor started early in life. He spent most of his life at sea, climbed the career ladder and became a captain. His education consisted of practical training on deck rather than reading textbooks.

Furthermore, before going to sea, young boys in Porsgrunn became familiar with the shipping industry because the harbour and shipping yards were their playgrounds. Many sea boys, like Carl Norberg, grew up in sailor's houses in the west end of the town, which was 'the skipper's district'. Here, young boys spent much time in the busy harbour where ships docked and left the port every day. The boys spent time with adult sailors there, and by being present and participating in intergenerational relations, they were integrated into the maritime culture. Spending time in the yards and on board docked ships, the boys learned about shipbuilding, rigging and the maintenance of ships, and they learned words and expressions from seafarers. A. T. Rasmussen related his experiences when he visited the docked ships:

> I ran away and climbed up the rig (.) I struggled multiple times until I succeeded and did it right (. . .). To the great joys of childhood was, however, not only climbing the rigs. I visited the "ruff" frequently at noon and got big biscuits to bite into (. . .). There were things that they had bought abroad and brought a wonderful fragrance from the big world (. . .). There were magnificent tattoos on arms and chests. They fascinated me, and I never got tired studying and admiring them. (Rasmussen 1969, p. 18)

In spending time at the harbour, the young boys learned a great deal by listening to older sailor's stories about life at sea. Thus, they became familiar with the coastal and shipping industry's culture, values and myths. Freedom, the urge to travel, heroic deeds and masculine power and courage were elements in these stories, which were also coloured by exotic and adventurous elements. The stories were usually nostalgic and distant from the hard realities of life at sea, which also consisted of exhaustion, cold, rough weather, hard discipline and brutality.

3.5 Changing Businesses and Child Work in Porsgrunn

As a young boy in Porsgrunn, Carl and other young boys had sailing ships as a workplace and educational arena. There they connected to global markets, which, at that time, were changing in response to significant political, economic and technological changes. In order to understand how shipping and child work at sea changed in the late nineteenth century, we need a perspective that includes both the local community and the global world. This perspective allows for determining the dynamics between local and global communities and perceiving children at sea as agents in both local and global arenas. Coastal communities must then be perceived as not only limited places but also spaces that were open and responsive to the exchange of ideas, impulses and influences across the globe. Child education in a coastal community and at sea should therefore be seen within a dynamic context where the boundaries between the local and global world are unstable (Abebe 2008, p. 38).

In a time of global economic liberalisation, the coastal community of Porsgrunn underwent significant changes as the community became closely connected to the larger world, which itself was interconnected through networks and chains where people and businesses were mutually dependent (Meyer 2007, p. 449). Young boys at sea were thus part of global business and economic and social networks. It is, however, necessary to underline the fact that global trade, transportation and the flow of goods are always local and embedded in locally constituted lifeworlds and power relations (Eriksen 2003, pp. 1–18).

How did economic liberalisation in the mid-nineteenth century affect families and child work in Porsgrunn? Since early times, it was a highly esteemed wish among families that their boys would become sailors on ships that sailed nearby waters on short trips. As documented in censuses in the first half of the nineteenth century (see below), many young boys in Porsgrunn signed on ships. According to the census in 1801, 28 boys below the age of 18 years were sea boys. They comprised 45% of all children at work that year. After the British repealed the Navigation Act in 1849, and when Porsgrunn gradually became integrated into the developed part of the world economy, the freight market changed, as we have discussed. The possibilities and conditions for young boys who wanted to sign up on local ships changed accordingly. The number of young sea boys registered in the censuses declined throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The percentages of young boys at sea in relation to all children at work also declined (Fig. 3.1).

In 1865, 21 sea boys were recorded in the census, and the percentage had decreased to approximately 32%. In 1900, the number and percentage were 12 and slightly below 4%, respectively. The explanation probably has to do with the development in shipping described above. As shipping trades turned more international and the ships were away for longer periods, often for many years, going to sea was to a lesser degree an option for young boys in Porsgrunn. Moreover, as more work became available on shore because of industrialisation at the end of the century, young boys increasingly chose such jobs. In the 1900 census, 82 young boys were recorded as workers in industry and crafts.

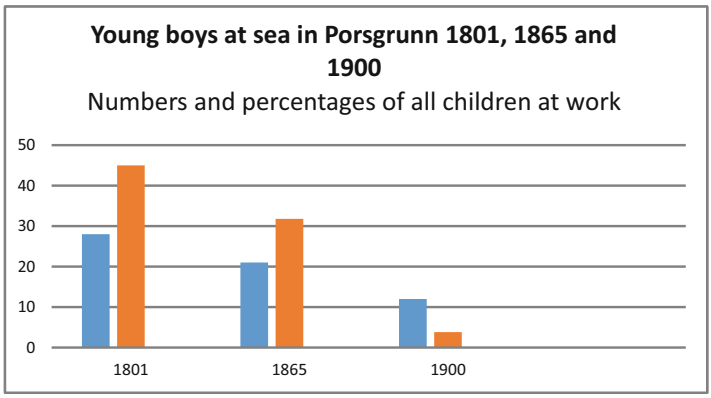

Fig. 3.1 Young boys at sea 1801–900. The blue column shows total numbers; the yellow column shows percentages of sea boys in relation to all children at work. (Source: Censuses of Porsgrunn 1801, 1865 and 1900. The Norwegian Digital Archive)

However, the statistics must be read carefully and critically. First, we must be aware that the censuses were registered, in December.[4] At that time of the year, many ships were in port or drydock for repair, and the crew stayed on shore, which led to under-registration in the census. Furthermore, young boys who signed on board a ship for the first time did so usually in summer and for shorter trips, similar to Carl Norberg. Part-time and summer sailing was another reason that young sailors were under-registered in the censuses.

Oral sources confirm such cases of under-registration. Johan P. Olsen and Arnt P. Aslaksen were both born in Porsgrunn in 1857. In the local newspaper, they told about their careers at sea and how and when they started. Arnt's first trip at sea was on ferries to a port nearby in Denmark. He was then in his early teens. At sea, he learned about navigation, equipment and technology. He said that when he was 14, he furthered his career at sea and began sailing longer distances on foreign freighter ships. Johan recounted that he had his first trip at sea when he was 13 (Breviksposten 16. April 1927). Neither of the two boys was registered in the censuses, and their stories exemplify that more boys than those who were registered actually had work experiences at sea. It is likely that the youngest boys were hired on board schooners that sailed in nearby waters.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the censuses reveal a decline in the numbers and percentages of young boys who were at sea during the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of sea boys fell by 50% between 1865 and 1900. From the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century, the percentage of sea boys compared with the number of children at work on shore decreased from 45% to less than 4%.

[4] On 11 October 1865, a royal resolution decided that between 31 December 1865 and 1 January 1866 a general census should take place in Norway. A similar decision was made in 1801 and 1900.

How can we understand these changes? Clearly, the explanation has to do with changes in freight routes and demands in the world's trade market. Liberalisation and changes in freight markets had consequences for the local shipping industry and children's work at sea. The families could not maintain close relations with young boys at sea because the ships carried global freight for greater distances. Hence, because of the amount of time away and geographic distances between the ship, the local community and the families, the number of sea boys decreased in the second half of the nineteenth century.

These changes were not only consequences of global structural changes which the families were determined to adjust to. In addition, we have to consider how families adjusted to new situations and how they and their children took advantage of the possibilities that arose in the local community. In the local community, and according to the Protestant ethic, children participated in the economic support of the family, working wherever possible with or without pay (Schrumpf 1997). As long as the ships took shorter trips in nearby waters to ports in Sweden, Denmark, or Germany, hiring on board a ship was both practicable and acceptable. Children could then sail in summer and stay home and attend school in winter. Families prioritised their children's schooling. Towards the end of the century, school absenteeism in primary and lower secondary schools decreased to about 7% in Porsgrunn. Thus, more than 90% of all children attended school at that time (Schrumpf 2006, p. 189).

The first Norwegian School Act was passed in 1739 when compulsory school was introduced. At that time, children learned about Christianity in school. The mandatory Norwegian school period was extended, and compulsory schooling was tightened in Acts passed in 1827, 1848 and 1860. However, the most important was the School Act of 1889, which expanded the curriculum by adding secular subjects, such as geography, history and Norwegian. Children in cities were now mandated to attend school every weekday for 7 years. The Norwegian School Act of 1889 was more democratic than in any other western country at that time because all children were included in primary schools, regardless of their social and economic background. In 1969, compulsory school was extended to 9 years and then to 10 years in 1997. Children then started school when they were 6 years old, and all Norwegian youth had the right to secondary education (Korsvold 2016).

Child work on shore was gradually preferred among families in Porsgrunn as actual and legal industrial work became available. Before 1892, child work in Norway was unregulated. In 1892, the Factory Inspection Act was passed, and child work in factories became illegal for children below the age of 12 years. Children between 12 and 14 years were allowed to work 6 h per day, and no child below the age of 18 years could work at night (Schrumpf 2007, p. 50). However, the Factory Act did not regulate work outside factories, and child work in agriculture and at sea was not affected by the law.[5] School was mandatory, and before they had

[5]The ban on child labour has since been extended and according to the Norwegian Working Environment Act of 2005 children below 15 years are not allowed to work, except for 13 years old who are allowed to have light work and cultural work.

finished school at the age of 14, young boys had to sail in the summer in order to attend school.

To fully understand the fluctuations in child work at sea, we also must address the following questions: How was the financial situation in the local community, particularly working-class families in Porsgrunn at that time? How did the financial situation change during the latest decades of the nineteenth century? As previously mentioned, the 1850s and 1860s constituted a golden age in the history of shipping as well as in the history of the local community. According to public reports, unemployment decreased after the years of crisis in the 1840s. Wages increased, including those in the shipping industry (Beretning om Kongeriget Norges økonomiske Tilstand, Bratsberg 1853, p. 10 and 1858, p. 10). The boom affected adjacent businesses, such as shipyards, sailmaker's workshops, smiths and shipping agencies, which delivered goods and equipment to the ships. The demand for labour rose, and the boom in the local shipping industry meant prosperous times for working families in Porsgrunn. Thus, children's economic support was not crucial for the families' livelihood to be sufficient. Hence, these families did not have to demand that their children go to sea for economic reasons. When changes in shipping freights caused the ships to head for distant waters, the families could let the boys stay home. Leaving their families for a long time would not be in accordance with traditions in the local community or with ideas about childhood and education. As mentioned above, young boys might still hire on ferries and ships that sailed along the coast and in close waters. Moreover, we know that as late as the interwar period and after WW 2, it was an option and quite common for boys older than 14 years to go to sea. At that age, they had finished primary or middle school.

After industrialisation in the late nineteenth century, Porsgrunn continued to be a shipping town that offered employment options for young boys who wanted to make a career at sea. However, young boys in Porsgrunn increasingly turned their attention towards working on shore. In summary, we can conclude that global and local changes affected working families and young boys at sea in Porsgrunn so that intergenerational relations and education at work were increasingly conducted on shore at the end of the nineteenth century.

3.6 Child Work and Intergenerational Relations on Shore in Porsgrunn

In the local community and in families, child work was regarded as a financial contribution as well as a means of socialisation and education (Schrumpf 1997, p. 205). In pre-modern communities, work and life were integrated, and in working and lower-middle class families, children participated wherever they could make themselves useful with their parents and the older generation. At work, children were socialised in a way of life in which work was perceived as both necessary and meaningful. However, they did not reflect on work but accepted that work was life for everyone—women, men, the young and the elderly.

In Porsgrunn, the crisis in the shipping industry at the end of the 1870s was, as we have seen, a point of departure for industrial growth. In 1900, as high as 37% of all working children in the town were employed in crafts and industry. Office work was also an option: 12% of children and youth employed in Porsgrunn worked in offices (Censuses from Porsgrunn 1801 and 1900). Accordingly, there was a change from sea to shore for working boys in Porsgrunn, which is illustrated by the story of Severin Bertiniussen, who was born in Porsgrunn in 1875:

> Like most other boys in Porsgrunn, I had planned to go to sea, but then the porcelain factory started in 1887. This was a brand-new company, which offered new options, and I, who always was interested in design and painting, applied, and was accepted, as apprentice in the painting department. (Schrumpf 1997, p. 37)

Severin Bertiniussen was 12 years old when he applied for work on shore rather than at sea, like his father. His decision implied that the traditions of the intergenerational transfer of work were broken in this case. A few years after its establishment, children were recruited to the porcelain factory through family, and many of the child workers joined fathers, mothers or other relatives at the workplace. In this way, intergenerational relations at work on shore continued in the coastal community.

At sea, children were connected to a larger world in global chains of trade. This also applied to industrial child workers. For example, the porcelain factory imported raw materials from abroad, exported finished goods to an international market and recruited skilled labour from other countries. When they worked with skilled workers from foreign countries, the children became familiar with foreign customs, work cultures and modes of expression. Children at work on shore and at sea in Porsgrunn were thus educated in diverse and multicultural arenas.

What about work options for young girls in coastal communities like Porsgrunn? Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the only option for young girls in Porsgrunn was to work as domestic servants (Fig. 3.2).

The numbers and percentages shown in Figure 3.2 indicate that almost all girls employed in Porsgrunn worked as domestic servants until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1900, however, as many as 35 girls below the age of 18 years were employed as follows: industrial workers (14); in crafts (10); and office work (11). However, 113 girls still worked as domestic servants.

Housework and domestic service can also be considered educational since the girls prepared for a future as houseworkers in their own households, many of which were headed by females. In a coastal and shipping community, an important part of the male population was comprised of sailors who were absent. According to the 1855 census in Porsgrunn, 338 men were registered in the age group from 25 to 50 years, and 410 women were in the same age group. These statistics indicate that women exceeded men by 72 in the same age group (Census for Porsgrunn 1855). The statistics tell a story about absent fathers and husbands in many of Porsgrunn's family households. Women and children were the responsible ones, and they had to manage all household tasks on their own. In addition to a heavy workload, they were also destined to live with the uncertainty and anxiety that characterise a coastal culture, knowing that their husbands and fathers might never return from the sea.

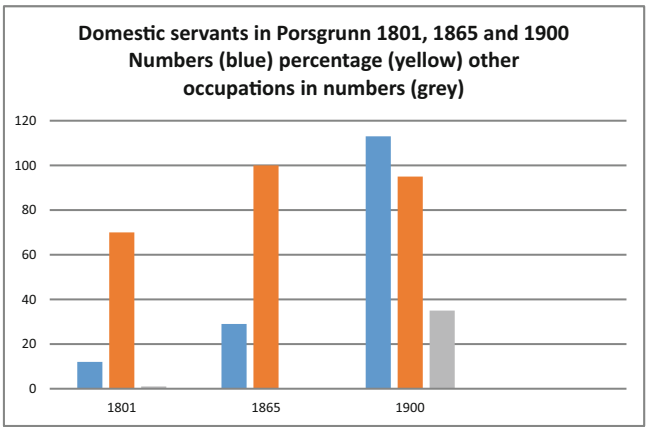

Fig. 3.2 Women's work in Porsgrunn 1801, 1865 and 1900. Domestic servants and other occupations. (Source: Censuses from Porsgrunn 1801, 1865 and 1900)

In female-headed households, the women were the most important educators. The mothers instructed children from the early age of 5 years to do all kinds of work, both indoors and outdoors. These families often had a small piece of land where they grew potatoes and vegetables. In addition, they may have had a cow, a pig, some sheep and hens. Women and children had their hands full with housework as well as agricultural work. Tasks were adjusted to the children's physical age, and gradually they developed the skills and abilities required for such work. For girls, their education continued when after having had a practical education at home doing all kinds of household work with their mothers, they started to work as domestic servants. The girls were usually 12–13 years old at that stage and sometimes younger. In the employer's middle-class household, the work 'syllabus' included other demands, and the girls acquired other skills. They worked as domestic servants until they married and became houseworkers in their own households. In the following, we will learn about the domestic work of a young girl in a sailor's family in Porsgrunn in the nineteenth century.

Maren Iversdatter was born in 1837 in a small place outside Porsgrunn (Knarrdalstrand). According to her son, Hans Andersen, she started to work as a domestic servant before she was 14 years old. She served in different houses and ended in a well-to-do family in Porsgrunn. When she was 30 years old, Maren married a sailor from Porsgrunn. They had five children, all of whom became child workers. The two oldest children were girls. Anna was born in 1868, and according to her brother, she started to work as a domestic servant when she was 8 or 9 years old. The younger sister, Ida, was born in 1870, and she started to work as a domestic servant when she was 10 or 12 years old. Both girls worked until they married in the 1890s (Hans Andersen, born 1877). Before they started to work as domestic servants in other households, the two sisters worked together with their mother and learned practical skills from her.

Maren and her two daughters learned all the tasks and skills needed in a coastal household at that time: farming, cooking, sewing, cleaning and taking care of children. The family income was based on a combined wage and subsistence economy, which consisted of growing potatoes and vegetables and keeping a cow, sheep, a pig and hens. For women and children in working-class and sailor households, work was physically strenuous and tiring.

Mothers were also responsible for their children's schooling, which they prioritised. For example, Maren taught her children how to read before they started school. Parents appreciated the combination of schooling and education at work. Thus, the children acquired basic theoretical and practical skills. The children were part-time workers. They combined school and work, or they finished school first and then became full-time workers.

The family's wage economy consisted of the father's earnings and the wages of three sons who started to work early in life. As domestic servants, the earnings of the two girls, Ida and Anna, were mainly in kind. Maren's eldest son, Johan, who was born in 1875, was a sailor. The youngest, Peder, who was born in 1879, emigrated to America. Hans, who was born in 1877, started to work in a sawmill and then was employed as a painter at Porsgrunds Porselænsfabrik. All wages contributed to the family's finances.

3.7 Work, Education and Intergenerational Relations in a Pre-modern Coastal Community

Carl Norberg's story introduced this chapter. Carl told about his first trip at sea in 1843 when he was 12 years old, and then later had a long career at sea. From this micro-story, a macro-story unfolded, which included families in Porsgrunn, intergenerational relations, child work and education in a coastal community. The macro-story also involved development in shipping and changing global and local economic conditions in the nineteenth century.

It is time to sum up and answer the questions posed in the introduction: How were life skills and practical knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next in Porsgrunn at that time? How and where did young boys and girls gain their education in a pre-industrial coastal community? How were children's conditions in a coastal community affected by global and local changes in the economy and business in the nineteenth century?

First, in Porsgrunn in the nineteenth century, child work in sailor and working-class families was an integral part of growing up. Children were educated at work, and they acquired the knowledge and skills needed to become capable adults. For the families, child work was a strategy for transmitting practical skills, experiences, traditions, values and an entire way of life, from one generation to the next (Bull 1981, p. 35). Boys worked primarily in the shipping industry, and girls worked as domestic servants.

Second, Porsgrunn was a coastal town in which the shipping industry was vitally important, especially after the repeal of the British Navigation Act in 1849. The sea was a workplace for young boys growing up in Porsgrunn. Sea boys acquired practical, experience-based knowledge about seamanship and navigation and shipping routes. In foreign ports, they learned other languages and became acquainted with foreign people and cultures. They acquired such knowledge in cooperative work not only with the older generation but also in intragenerational relations, first in the local community where they frequented shipyards and sailing ships in ports and docks and then on ships sailing the world's oceans. The ports they frequented were multicultural places where sailors of different cultural backgrounds and ages met. One can imagine that in these ports, as well as on board ships, cultures and mentalities were influenced by the larger world. Language, behaviours and attitudes were shaped and reshaped. People in coastal communities did not perceive the local community and the global world as separate spheres (i.e. as dichotomous), but rather as communities interconnected in a larger global system (Lien 2003, p. 101). Porsgrunn was a 'network city', which means that businesses and people were more oriented towards the world across the sea than towards neighbouring and inland cities, such as Skien. Coastal and inland communities differed in many respects, such as in trade and business as well as in culture and mentality.

The shipping industry was an arena of practical and cultural learning. Like Carl, boys developed a strong sense of belonging to the ship, the sea and a larger world early in life. Both at sea and on shore, boys and girls and men and women became part of this specific coastal—or MARE—culture, which was characterised by a spirit of hazard and 'open-mindedness' regarding the world. The MARE culture also involved a specific kind of fatalism, which had to do with faith in destiny and the uncertainty and worry with which they had to live, accepting that the ocean might be the graveyard of a father, son, brother, or oneself.

Third, we learned that trade was liberalised in the nineteenth century. The period of liberalisation was later termed 'the first era of globalisation'. The shipping industry played a major role in globalisation. Important in this context was the repeal of the British Navigation Act in 1849. The repeal removed trade restrictions, so goods could flow more freely on the global freight market. Coastal communities like Porsgrunn were further integrated into the global economy and became more sensitive to international trade cycles. Growth in the shipping industry in the first decades after 1850 and the subsequent decline indicates that changes in the global markets affected local and coastal communities. While the sea was the most important workplace for young boys during the first half of the nineteenth century, on shore employment in industrial, craft and office work became increasingly common at the end of the century. For girls, industrialisation meant liberation because they had more options for paid employment outside the paternalist private sphere in industry, crafts and office work.

Families in the local community were affected by such structural changes, but they had room to manoeuvre. Families both maintained and adapted to ways of living and patterns of action in response to externally caused changes in living conditions. As historical agents, children were active participants in both

maintaining and changing ways of life. The change and maintenance of traditions and educational practices took place in intergenerational relations both at sea and on shore.

Today, the digital revolution, global trade, migration and supranational politics are evidence that the world is interconnected and that people and societies are mutually dependent. This chapter demonstrated that the world was also interconnected in the past and that peoples and places—especially coastal communities—constituted links in global networks of work processes, trade and cultural impulses in which the rising generation were educated by the older generation.

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Chapter 4
‘I’m Treading Water Here for My Generation’: Gendered and Generational Perspectives on Informal Knowledge Transmissions in Irish Coastal Communities

Aoife Crummy and Dympna Devine

Abstract Traditionally reliant on maritime and agricultural forms of labour, small coastal communities in rural Ireland have experienced major socioeconomic and cultural transitions. These shifts include the devaluation of traditional knowledge forms, transitioning towards local post-industrial service sectors and an increasingly educated and high-tech society linked to urbanisation trends. Despite such patterns, these contemporary sites are, however, becoming simultaneously more dynamic, as youth are required to (re)negotiate existing informal local knowledge practices with the increasing demands of modernity. We explore these processes within the context of both *gender* and *generation*, as young males have experienced significant shifts in line with changing local economies, linked to declining small-scale fisheries and agriculture. Locating the study within both time and space, life biographies and ethnographic methods capture the changing informal learning experiences as characterised over three generations of patrilineal transmissions, in two small coastal communities along the Western Atlantic Seaboard.

Keywords Intergenerational · Informal learning · Gender · Coastal communities · Sustainability

4.1 Introduction – Local Knowledge in Coastal Contexts

> My young heart fluttered with wings of joy as I went to search the exposed harbour reef with a master fisherman.

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Many childhood memories of coastal participants in this study are adorned with illustrations of informal intergenerational knowledge transmissions amidst the backdrop of the coastal landscape, and often, pertaining to activities directly related to the sea and the land. As the excerpt above, from a local storyteller demonstrates while recalling a childhood experience with his father, these learning experiences and *spaces* were informal, intergenerational and often gendered.

We have argued elsewhere (see Crummy and Devine 2021) that childhood experiences in previous generations were predominantly characterised through informal working responsibilities. Children and young people were fundamental co-contributors to the socioeconomic landscape of the community. They learned modes of survival from a young age, related to a reliance on small-scale fishing, agriculture and the informal harvesting of resources from the natural (and often precarious) coastal environment. Ties of interdependency and intangible codes of reciprocity were expressed as emblematic of coastal life for these generations and drawn on today especially during difficult times. These constructions of Irish rural life on the coast, have been evoked elsewhere in the literature, as 'shared hardships' experienced through both living and historical, peripheral identities; operationalised through the reciprocation of tools, consumables and cooperation (Burholt et al. 2013).

The particular informal local knowledge we have chosen to interrogate considers a male associated 'know-how'. This relates to both practical and tacit knowledge that is transmitted informally on a patrilineal basis (see also Chaps. 3, 6 and 9, this volume). This is not to say that female intergenerational knowledge transmissions do not exist in our coastal sites. However, the kinds of knowledge which our female participants spoke about did not translate with the same social or material value nor perceived relevance to women's livelihoods today.[1] Elsewhere, specific working values relating to practical coastal knowledge embodied in the perceivably valued 'multiple skills' of men (Corbett 2004) have been argued as overshadowing the fundamental role of women and children in the maintenance of community-based fisheries on an international scale (Lowe 2015). In examining the 1990s collapse of the cod fisheries in Atlantic Canada and Norway, Neis et al. (2013) have highlighted privatisation polices as *gender* and *generationally* blind in their failures to recognise the role of women and children in fisheries. This failure was linked not only to the collapse of local fisheries, but to the perpetuation of female unemployment as their roles within the community were not realised. Equally however, it has been elucidated that a 'gender periphery' of another kind is perhaps being experienced by males, through feelings of subordination associated within declining small-scale fisheries (Glendinning et al. 2003). More widely, this raises the issue of local policies needing to be locally informed and situated within specific understandings of place.

The focus given to the male perspective in this chapter is therefore addressed in line with the wider literature which identifies a predominance of male gendered

[1] During the period of study (1945–present), Ireland has seen significant shifts in women's increasing visibility in the labour market and higher education.

landscapes, within rural Ireland more generally (Donkersloot 2012; Laoire 2002). As emerged within our empirical data, these existing patrilineal knowledge transmissions are characterised through a sense of resourcefulness and problem-solving. This we argue reflects an ability to adapt through modes of resilience, and the capacity to maintain a 'way of life' (Vanclay 2004), despite existential changes over time (see also Theodorou and Spyrou, Chap. 5, this volume). We will look primarily at the informal transmission of this resilient aptitude relating to the sea, with considerations given to variances in manifestations of knowledge, as they change through renegotiations over time. This continuous adaption and navigation of individual and collective challenges constitutes the bedrock of locally based knowledge applications in transitioning coastal communities. We argue attachment to place, and to the coast more specifically, is a prerequisite to the acquisition of informal local knowledge and therefore also a crucial component in community sustainability. Understanding the local environment through responding to how it shifts and transitions over time is, accordingly, central within our analysis. The two overarching research questions which foreground this chapter are:

1. How are wider shifts relevant to small Irish coastal communities, adapted and renegotiated from an intergenerational male perspective?
2. How can male associated 'local' and informal knowledge be useful in terms of sociocultural sustainability?

The chapter draws primarily on data from two case study families, in two coastal field sites. These exemplars reflect three generations of change (grandparents, parents and young people), collected through biographical interview techniques and ethnographic field work. A primary focus is given to both the shift in working trajectories for young males and their negotiations of these transitions (including formal and informal education). Secondly, we will demonstrate the active participation of their fathers in influencing their trajectories, based on their own experiences and understandings of locally situated informal knowledge. Finally, possibilities for 'hybrid' knowledge systems will be interrogated to expand assumptions of *valued* knowledge beyond 'traditional' and *gendered* assumptions.

4.2 Setting the Coastal Context: The Transition from Working Childhoods to Educational Trajectories

Within Ireland, membership of the European Union (entered the European Economic Community in 1973) has seen a shift in decision making powers towards a more centralised fisheries model. This has resulted in barriers for many young people entering industries traditionally carried out locally (and transmitted intergenerationally) at small-scale levels. These difficulties have resulted in the devaluation of traditionally associated coastal industries as perceivably sustainable employment options (Donkersloot 2012). Simultaneously, Ireland has one of the

highest transfer rates to third level education in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2019), with historical patterns of early school leaving alleviating, including within our coastal field sites (Hasse and Engling 2013). While previous generations were often required to leave school to obtain work or raise a family (Donkersloot 2012), in contemporary terms, those who leave school early in Ireland today, are three times less likely to be employed than those who remain in education until completing final state examinations (CSO 2019). Formal education has therefore become an imperative component for Irish youth investing in their futures. As has been reported internationally (Schafft and Jackson 2010), much of these investments are linked to urban municipalities requiring a majority of youth in small coastal communities of Ireland to make provisions for these trajectories with a view to living elsewhere. As will be outlined from our research, some variations are present within the Irish context, particularly among males who acquire 'multiple roles' in balancing the maintenance of family farm- and sea-related businesses with secondary employment.

Such patterns correlate with international coastal literature (Corbett 2007, 2009) and childhood studies more generally, as children and young people are increasingly seen as users and consumers of education (Devine and Luttrell 2013; Kjørholt 2013). Lifestyles have, thus, become more individually orientated (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) and increasingly private, as values have transferred to investments which do not always reflect the present needs of the local community. Parents and educators find themselves in difficult positions between concerted cultivation (Lareau 2011) of the younger generation and concerted dissociation (Donkersloot 2010).

In contrast to previous generations therefore, to have local and place-specific knowledge, in contemporary terms, is to practice simultaneous acts of both pulling together (for the community) and separating (towards individualised needs), within the context of global modernity. Reflected then is a distinct requirement of the younger generation to negotiate and value the past (interdependence, reciprocity and an understanding of the natural environment) with the needs of today (globally relevant networks and investments within an increasingly educated society). This highly sophisticated, nuanced and place-specific leveraging endows a multitude of meanings and is almost impossible to define, due to both its tacit and intangible nature and its embodied subjectivity. This ambiguity does, however, lend an openness to its possibilities. Similarly, the ambiguity of the existing sustainability narrative lends opportunities for (re)interpretations and new understandings.

Given the centrality of sustainability discourses to our field sites, the chapter begins with theoretical considerations pertaining to concepts of sociocultural sustainability, local knowledge and community resilience. Arising from COP 21,[2] Ireland is legally bound to a global agreement of implementing climate change

[2]The Paris COP 21 conference was the 21st annual review of climate change since the Rio Earth Summit, through the United Nations Framework Convention on climate change (UNFCCC). Most recently, COP 26 was held in Glasgow, Scotland, 2021, to further address the climate emergency.

solutions on a national level while providing aid to adjust the ongoing effects in other nations (Torney 2017). These agreements have been further consolidated in the most recent COP 26 global summit, giving precedence to the nations' role in the global climate emergency. As a result, prominence is accorded to sustainability narratives within all levels of Irish development policies. This is most recently reflected in the three core national development initiatives which give a central focus to the promotion of ethical bioeconomy and economic connectivity through digital infrastructures (see NDP 2018; Government of Ireland 2020).

4.3 Theorising 'Local' Knowledge and (Sociocultural) Sustainability

For this chapter, we consider the relevance of community social and cultural resilience, when defining sociocultural sustainability. Shared values and 'localised' identities must exist within spheres of heterogeneity and can essentially, be both compounded and extended by global narratives such as sustainable development (Kosanović et al. 2018). From this perspective, we define sociocultural sustainability as the effective harnessing of both the preservation of shared social and cultural values systems relating to a local and national identity, while embracing diversity, adaption and change (Akpan 2011). The capacity to enact this resilience is recognised as transferring generationally (Lekic and Milovanovic 2018), while recognising the need for creativity and diversity beyond 'traditional' scope (Broch 2013).

Within Ireland, rural development policy is (at least theoretically) underpinned by an existential, rather than a purely economic rationale. This positions the inherent role of small-scale enterprises, such as those related to fishing and agriculture, within the sociocultural fabric of rural Ireland. These indigenous economies are reinforced by accumulations of informal local knowledge practices transmitted over generations, to instil a 'way of life' (Vanclay 2004), vivified by occupational values and symbols of personal and collective cultural identity (Macken-Walsh 2009).

Within the Irish context, the promotion of access to indigenous knowledge resources and operational traditions, has been argued through a right-based lens reinstating the:

> rights and possibilities of rural inhabitants to generate a livelihood for themselves from a sustainable use of the natural, cultural and social resources specific to their own rural locale. (Tovey and Mooney 2006, p. 173)

Despite such principles being central in the narrative surrounding contemporary rural development agendas, rural sociology, more generally speaking, informs us of the unevenness embedded within developmental policies. In other words, not every rural economy is equipped to compete in the global market on equal footing (Woods and McDonagh 2011). Within Ireland the uneven development of the marine and fisheries sector, for example, has been argued as overshadowed by strong Irish

agricultural policy (Donkersloot and Menzies 2015; O'Donnchadha et al. 2000). Consequently, the transformative 'self-help' rhetoric present within 'rights-based' policies can detract from inequalities given its emphasis on individualised responses (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) that perpetuate neoliberal agendas in fisheries (Lowe 2015).

These tensions between rhetoric and practice (Donkersloot and Menzies 2015; Lowe 2015) highlight the centrality of resilience for communities to be sustainable, to adapt and develop within circumstances of uncertainty (Kosanović et al. 2018). This is based on shifts within forms of continuity and discontinuity, between 'autonomy on the one hand and connectivity on the other' (Allan and Bryant 2011, p. 43). Such adaptive capacities are therefore the pinnacle of sustainable communities and particularly important in terms of indicating cultural and social sustainability (Magis 2010). Local knowledge is key here, understood as an 'immensely valuable resource' (Bicker et al. 2004, p. xi), tapping into generations of 'experience and problem-solving by humans around the world'. This type of learning is circulated through social networks, transferred through experience, example and interpretation, instilling capacity for collaborative information sharing and organisational agility (Bathelt and Glückler 2011). With the universal spread of codified knowledge systems (typically through science and technology), communities with existing local knowledge networks of this kind are at a distinct advantage. Scope to transform learning spaces within these networks is defined by Tovey and Mooney (2006, p. 12) as 'learning regions', through practices of 'broadening, deepening and re-grounding'.

As knowledge is networked, however, it is never, therefore, intrinsically local but influenced by external interactions. When considering how situated knowledge practices may transform over time, caution must be given to universal assumptions of value and to concepts such as 'local needs'. For example, within our own research, not all young people may identify with the assumed traditional 'coastal' image[3] or value the specific knowledge we have considered as central within our *gendered* and *generational* analysis.

4.4 The Irish Study Field Sites and Sample Population

Data pertains to two peninsulas on the Western Atlantic seaboard of Ireland. Each peninsula represents a field site, which is in turn comprised of several small islands, villages and towns. Field sites (each peninsula) will be referred to with their given

[3] Over 40% of Irish residents reported living within only 5 km of the coast in the latest published national census in 2016. Field sites were chosen in relation to their historical association with traditional coastal industries and subsequent decline.

pseudonyms[4]: (a) Banba and (b) Ériu. A relatively small population range of 113–1480 inhabitants is present from the smallest village to largest town respectively (CSO 2016). Both 'sites' are considered places of socioeconomic and geographical peripherality with high levels of youth unemployment and sustained historical emigration patterns. Some economic migrants are present, reflected within the fishing industry and service sectors, typically tourism-based accommodation, and food (CSO 2016; WDC 2019).

4.5 Methods and Tools of Analysis

Collection of data occurred across two phases during 2018 and 2019. Phase one consisted of a biographical narrative approach to interviewing (Brannen and Nilsen 2011). Methods such as photo elicitation and map drawing stimulated open biographical accounts from participants, prior to the steering of a semi-structured process. Interviews took place predominantly in the home, but some took place in office spaces, hotel lounges and community halls, with decisions regarding destination left to participant. This phase constitutes the largest sampling with 21 families (11 Éiru, 10 Banba) over 3 generations (grandparents and parents (40–88 years) and children/young people 11–22 years: majority of youth ranging between 16 and 19 years). This spans a total of 63 interviews for this initial phase. Across the entire children and youth sample, there were a total of 17 females and 13 males. In 2019 targeted focus groups with young people (2 groups with 5 participants each: 14–16 years) were conducted, along with two walking interviews (on a docked boat with a fisher and in a local school with principal). Additional ethnographic methods were generated through participatory and non-participatory observations (organic school garden, community committee meetings, the beach, the café) in field site Éiru.

Participants were recruited using local gatekeepers, followed by personal contacts with increased trust gained in communities. Attempts were made to reflect the varying working patterns of parents (typically relating to traditional coastal industries, but not exclusively) within the localities. Six economic migrants/minority ethnic participants and thirteen lifestyle/return migrants (mainly the United Kingdom, the United States, or returning Irish) took part in the overall study. A total of eleven youth participants identified as early school leavers were also represented. A gender balance of 50% was achieved across the *overall* sampling (cross-generationally).

Data for this chapter has been drawn from both phases and analysed through NVivo software. This was initiated through an inductive and exploratory process of broad interpretative thematic coding (Bryman 2012), before undertaking more

[4] Banba and Éiru are two of the three goddess sisters from the Celtic mythological deity, the Tuatha Dé Danann (translated as 'People of the Goddess of Danu').

deductive and specific analysis of emerging themes in phase two. To understand how these negotiations have transmitted and transformed over time, we adopt an intergenerational approach (Alanen and Mayall 2001; Punch 2020), with sensitivity to place phenomenology (Seamon 2018).

The study has received full ethical approval from the University Research Ethics Committee and has been carried out in line with the university ethical guidelines and code of practice, in line with participant rights and well-being. Sensitivity to the generational context through considerations of child protection issues and difficulties impacting the older generation were incorporated into the design, while translation services were offered for those who did not have English as a first language.

The remainder of the chapter will demonstrate, thematically, core findings which have emerged from the Irish context demonstrating how informal knowledge practices have manifested locally among males over time. Each case study family is incorporated into a thematic heading, reflecting modes of 'broadening, deepening and re-grounding', as reflected in Tovey and Mooney's (2006) previously discussed conceptualisation of sustainable local knowledge. A closing discussion will consider the possibility of a more diverse and hybrid 'local' knowledge conceptualisation, in line with the agentic capacities demonstrated by our male participants and reiterated by participants in the wider communities.

4.6 Manifestations of Informal Local Knowledge Transmissions Across Time and Gender in the Sustainability of Irish Coastal Communities

> I just couldn't imagine him doing anything else, it's in his blood. (Dee, mother, 40 years Banba)

Within both our coastal field sites, the term 'in his blood' was frequently used to describe the patrilineal transmission of work practice relating to fishing and agriculture. Work at sea was an overwhelmingly gendered responsibility, where knowledge was traditionally transmitted from fathers to sons. These transmissions were seen not only as 'natural' but also obligatory, referenced as a distinct: 'tie to the farm' *(Seán, father, 44 years, Banba)* or anchoring to the sea. Diversification into ancillary industries such as netting factories, boatbuilding and sea-related tourism pursuits, for example, were extensions of an expected work ethic and entrepreneurialism inculcated in males from a young age. These constructions of place-making are internationally reflected more broadly speaking in transitions from informal intergenerational working practices to entrepreneurship (Abebe and Kjørholt 2009). This tacit informal knowledge was expressed as a form of 'ingenuity' *(Barry, father, Éiru)* and resourcefulness. Firstly, we introduce an exemplar which illustrates the (re)negotiation of locally informed patrilineal knowledge reappropriated through decisions made by Harry, to align with formal education. This is depicted predominantly through the eyes of his father, Max (and Grandfather

Eddie), as we trace how generational definitions of 'useful' knowledge directly influence reappropriations for the next generation.

4.6.1 Broadening and Deepening a 'Way of Life'

Max describes himself as a 'proud islander'. He lives on a small island off the coast of one of our main field sites. Max is a fisher and a publican in a busy public house located adjacent to the pier and ferry harbour. Other than a short time traveling in the United States, he has spent most of his life on the island, knowing that this is where he would always return to raise a family. Max is strongly attached to his community; outside of his work as a fisher and publican, he is a community activist. He has a specific interest in what he terms the 'right' to practise sustainable small-scale fisheries. He is, however, acutely aware of the challenges the industry faces and is highly active in enabling alternative modes of creating occupational possibilities (through the local digital work hub), for future generations. Max expresses his identity as engrained within island life.

Although he is passionate in advocating local fishery rights, more generally speaking, it is an intangible, yet distinct 'way of life' found on the island, which he feels is his ultimate responsibility to transmit to future generations:

> I feel that I have a responsibility as a custodian of the island, because that's who we are, we're just passing through, is to pass that uncomplicated, simple, beautiful **way of life** [author's emphasis] on. And if I can't do that, at least I know I've tried, and I know that the last time I close my eyes, I will certainly say, well, you know what...I've done my bit. (Max, father, 52 years, Banba)

His father, Eddie (80 years, grandfather, Banba), worked in exactly these spaces and describes his islander identity with great dignity. He is still very much engaged in Max's work, coming to quiz him on his daily catch or by casting an eye on the pier, as he worries if his son will return home, when the weather at sea is inclement. Eddie and Max display a direct intergenerational knowledge transmission of work practices and traditional coastal skills, emulating place-based local knowledge, most specifically through their ability to read weather signals:

> ...that's just the old, old saying, never leave yourself a victim on the shore, and that's engrained in me. To this day, yeah. I can look out my window, and see that little rock out there, I can tell that the swell on that, by the swell that's breaking on that rock that I can work at the back of the island. Whether it will be calm or rough, I can work it out, just by looking at it, first thing (clicks fingers). It takes two seconds, walk down the stairs, look out, yeah, I know. (Max, father, 52 years, Banba)

Max seamlessly demonstrated during his biographical interview, his ease of 'knowing place' and its enmeshed interlinkages with a radically altering globalised economy. The romantic image of 'traditional fisher' practicing an intergenerationally transmitted craft is juxtaposed with a very real and increasingly challenging endangered tradition on both local and international scales (Donkersloot

and Menzies 2015; Linke and Jentoft 2014). Max therefore took it upon himself to ensure his son would not follow suit and, instead, invest in education. He narrated a particular incident where he took his son on his fishing boat as a very young child and purposefully scared him, with the intention of securing him a better future:

> . . .It was the boat we used for salmon, just on the shore, and I took him at about three, four years of age, took him down to the pier, I said: "Come on, Harry, we're going on the boat," that was all I said, took him into the boat and I purposely scared him to death. I purposely discouraged him. Because I didn't want him to have the troubles that I had, that I was going through, the same as me. I'm treading water here like, for my generation. And I'm constantly fighting, constantly. (Max, father, 52 years, Bamba)

Max's positioning demonstrates an intense knowledge of place which is intertwined within deeply rooted patrilineal lineage, symbolic markers of culture and identity. Practically and metaphorically, Max feels he is 'treading water' as decisions translate as profoundly local and global. This stance (although radical) demonstrates poignantly the unravelling of distinctly local forms of knowledge, as negotiations are made and reconfigured through shifts in modernity. Harry did not follow his father's trajectory and become a fisher. He did, however, utilise the managerial and organisational skills he has gained from working in the family public house to inform his decision making to undertake business studies in third level education:

> You're part of the fabric of the [family]business once you're born. To do that from a young age, it didn't feel it didn't feel weird, it's just natural. I just started my [third level] business course a few weeks ago. I kind of feel like I've been surrounded by business for my whole life. (Harry, young male, 18 years, Banba)

Harry's strong attachment to place is likely to influence future decisions however, highlighting that with positive infrastructural resources, he wishes to return 'home' after completing his education:

> I'd love to[live locally], if there is an environment to work in, because I love the place. (Harry, young male, 18 years, Banba)

Stories like Harry's were narrated across both field sites, as many young males were actively linking formal educational experience to align with local, informal knowledge of place. This required an understanding of the needs and opportunities available in local economies and, for some, personal (re)investments to align with shifting needs. Predominantly, academic and entrepreneurial pursuits made by young males in these transitional circumstances were linked to the sea and in some manner represented a manifestation of traditional practices. These took place in the form of tourism and service-based sectors, marine engineering, deep sea international fishing or ancillary industries, as previously alluded.

In our second field site, a contrary exemplar is provided through youth dissociation with mainstream education and the patrilineal (re)negotiations which followed in relation to the sea. The pivotal role of Dermot's father Barry is expressed as influential in shaping Dermot's formal years relating to the coast, which we argue as instrumental in his entrepreneurial decisions and informal knowledge transmissions.

4.6.2 Deepening and Regrounding

As the only means of transport to the small island located in Éiru was by ferry until the 1970s, Barry, like all others in his generation, made one of his first journeys as a newborn by boat. Now a boatbuilder, Barry has spent almost all his life on the island, outside of a short period in the United States. Similarly, to Max, his return was influenced by strong community ties and attachment to place. Barry (father, Éiru) described his islander identity as unambiguous, consolidated through the distinctly 'defined border' of the sea but also through lineage, stemming from 'generations before' him.

Informal learning was something which 'happened' within the community. Barry began learning through *watching* his father building punts (small traditional Irish fishing boats) for leisure. He referred consistently to a 'work ethic' which inspired him to continue learning.

This was something which was heavily expressed among males in relation to informal and experiential learning practices, across both field sites:

> ...We would have always been busy. There would have been good aul work ethic yeah. I suppose, you kind of see your father too and you get into it, you learn how to do it if you know what I mean? I learned to weld over in the garage, over in my own house. My dad used to be welding, he used to prepare stuff for fellas, make dredgers for dredging for scallop and stuff like that, for lads. He used to make trailers and all that kind of stuff. (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru)

Barry alluded to this: 'work ethic' as a rural characteristic, where fixing and mending things was a necessity and 'ingenuity', a male expectation. After leaving formal education Barry began as an apprentice within the local boatyard before setting up his own business. He saw this as an opportunity that would allow him to live and work locally. Barry feels passionately about what he considered a deficit of practical learning in formal education (Mulcahy 2018). He linked this as a failing within the Irish educational system to allow young people the opportunity to realise what is available in terms of local employment:

> I think the education system might be a part to play there. Because we often don't recognise what we actually have. I often think we miss, you know, look around you. I think we often don't educate children to realise what they actually have under our own noses, you know? We're educating children to leave. That is what we are doing and have been doing. Well, that's been the norm, you're educating them to go, you know? (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru)

Such misgivings reflect tensions between formal and informal learning more widely within the education system, heavily geared toward the production of high skilled graduates for a post-industrial technological society (Boland 2018; O'Sullivan 2005).

In turn, Barry's son, Dermot, left school early at 15 years old and before completing his final state examinations. This was a decision supported by his parents, which saw Barry and his wife taking direct action in applying for a position for Dermot at a national fisheries college: 'the course came up and we applied for it for him' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru).

Dermot narrated this decision as influenced by not having: 'much interest in the whole book side of things. So, I went straight into kind of boats and stuff' (Dermot, young male, 20 years, Éiru). Barry described this experience of formal education as not aligning with his son's personal interests and entrepreneurial characteristics:

> Look, Dermot was always running a business he was a bit entrepreneurial. He was running a business while he was in school, he was fixing life bungs [equipment for life saving boats] and everything else so he was bringing money in all the time. So, he wasn't bothering his ass in school. (Barry, father, 41 years, Banba)

Barry illustrated his son as gaining his interest in fishing as a result of him being 'brought up around the boat yard' and being on boats 'since he could walk'. This was seen as a 'natural' progression and experiential process: 'you're a product of your environment I suppose aren't you?' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru). Despite disengagement from formal schooling, Barry described how his son would now: 'go off on a trawler and he wouldn't take any notice of it like' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru).

Dermot spoke about his own childhood in similar terms to his father, Barry. He had access to 'a little speed boat' and fished for 'a bit of mackerel or pollock', from 'a very young age' (Dermot, young male, 20 years, Éiru). As Barry had previously illustrated, Dermot felt his formative years spent around boats, gave opportunities to work both alongside his father and independently, when Barry needed to leave him in charge of the boat yard:

> Researcher: So, where did the interest come from?
> I don't know, the father building boats. I've been brought around boats since I was born like, so. . .If my father would have been away, I would have been launching boats and stuff, that kind of thing, like. (Dermot, young male, 20 years, Éiru)

Dermot is now 20 years old. He works as a commercial fisher for almost 6 months each year, on the deck of a large deep-sea vessel. Illustrating the lack of sustainable employment in local small-scale fisheries, Dermot outlined barriers such as expensive licences as preventing young people from entering the industry:

> It's very expensive for a licence and then it's if you have a horse powered engine and how much water the boat is displacing. So, even for a little punt you're talking 10 grand for a licence for potting and that's a very small kind of boat. (Dermot, young male, 20 years, Éiru)

The European quota system was outlined as another barrier, with Ireland having a relatively small allowance in a European context. This resulted in boats being left idle for long periods after quota were reached:

> It just means less money for fishing boats really, I suppose. Obviously, they would be tied up for a couple of weeks once their quota is full. (Dermot, young male, 20 years)

As a result of the challenges facing the industry, Dermot's father Barry, has begun actively making plans for his son's exit from what he sees as the 'tough business', of large-scale 'commercial fishing' requiring 'generational investment' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru). With his father's guidance, Dermot has built a large tour boat with his father which he now uses during the summer months, operating his own tours within a lucrative local marine tourist sector. Barry explained this as a more sustainable option. He had carefully mapped out the timing of Dermot's entry

point into the industry from a generational perspective. This was a locally supported community initiative to:

> . . .Push the younger generation into it, because a lot of the guys are going out the other side now, do you know what you mean? They’re getting old and like to have longevity you have to have youngsters coming in, you know? (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru)

4.7 Hybrid ‘Local’ Knowledge for the Future?

Generally speaking, the importance of volunteerism was overwhelmingly expressed across both field sites as imperative in the sustainability of community-based grassroots initiatives. Similarly, to Max, as outlined previously, Barry is heavily involved in community work aimed at planning for the future of the next generation. Like Max, Barry is also a pioneer of the development of his local digital hub project. This is to be housed in a historically protected building with an existing early communication technology museum, recently accredited with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world heritage status. Essentially, this digital project is, therefore, utilising local knowledge to ‘broaden, deepen and reground’ (Tovey and Mooney 2006) an existing space. In other words, the potential scope is being broadened beyond its traditional use, to maximise potential through deepening the local historical context to align with the distinctiveness of its new function. Acquisition of the UNESCO heritage status could have the capacity to further this in terms of sociocultural sustainable development, thereby seeing culture as an enabler to other forms of sustainability such as the economic capital gained from tourism and the digital working hub.

These practices are not only in line with local, national and European development policies (Government of Ireland 2020; WDC 2019), but with local concerns and hopes for the future, expressed by participants. Across both field sites, concerns were expressed about the sustainability of their communities, framed predominantly in terms of employment for young people. Demands for more ‘viable’ (Laura, mother, 48 years, ‘walking interview’ primary school principal, Éiru) employment options were noted through narratives around the need for a decentralisation of services from urban hubs. The ability to work remotely and live locally was expressed as particularly advantageous for those with young families. With the rapid expansion of the digital sector and technologies, the creation of digital spaces was endorsed as an imperative transition, to allow young people the ability to live and work in these communities (Government of Ireland 2021).

As we see from Max and Barry’s narratives, within both field sites, this is being actively championed from the ground-up as a crucial component in attracting young families in light of economic sustainability. Scope for extending these possibilities is highlighted within the growth of remote and flexible working conditions arising from the Covid-19 pandemic (Mc Carthy et al. 2020) and emerging increases in those looking to *flex* these lifestyles in more remote (and particularly coastal) locations in Ireland (Hunt 2020). That said, such transitions bring with it new

complexities in terms of sustainability, most notably, the possibilities of further *gentrifying the rural Irish coast* and disrupting the existing sociocultural, environmental and economic systems currently in place.

The creation of digital hubs was described as 'not terribly indigenous. You know, we don't have a fishing rod in there' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru), but vital nonetheless, in line with global modernity and flexible working lives:

> Forty years ago, it would have been the fishing but here we are 40 years later, and it might be the internet that's kind of... Bringing people back. (Harry, young male, 20 years, Banba)

Harry hopes the 'environment' (Harry, young male, 20 years, Banba) will be in place for him to return, after completing his education. As was overwhelmingly expressed by almost all youth participants within our field sites, despite many deciding not to invest in work traditionally linked to the sea, the desire to return 'home' to the coast is enduring.

Within our case studies, place attachment was described as definitively coastal,[5] 'I definitely would go to the coast anyway' (Dermot, young male, 20 years, Éiru), and yet intangible, 'you know what it is, you just can't describe it' (Harry, young male, 18 years, Banba). These identities are linked to a distinct way of 'comprehending the world' (Olwig 2007, pp. 186–187). The symbolic permanency of water is, therefore, reflected in both the continuity and discontinuity of informal knowledge practices, as although connections to the sea may change and transform, they remain nonetheless, experienced: 'with every fibre of my being' (Max, father, 52 years, Banba).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explicated how a sense of resourcefulness and problem-solving evidenced in historically endured 'shared hardships' (Burholt et al. 2013) emblematic of remote coastal communities in Ireland, have manifested as an expected male 'work ethic' and an adaptability, to navigate changing circumstances through modes of resilience. In accordance with this, we have argued the importance of understanding the local environment through responding to how it shifts and transitions over time. These adaptive capacities are conceptualised as the bedrock of local knowledge, emulating from strong place attachments shaped by intergenerational childhood experiences, and informed by identity markers, inextricably linked to the natural coastal environment in the formative years. Linking with the Irish and international context, these experiences have presented as explicitly gendered (Donkersloot 2012; Lowe 2015; Neis et al. 2013). Arguably however, while much of the literature points to the overshadowing of females within male gendered coastal

[5] The sea and the ocean are also understood by participants through fear and respect for its unpredictable nature, with concepts of maritime leisure considered a relatively new phenomenon, linked to the industrial and modernisation era, pre-eighteenth century.

landscapes, males may be experiencing declining fisheries as a 'periphery of another kind' (Glendinning et al. 2003). This reiterates the importance of highlighting how young males are negotiating these transitions, through resilient adaption to change, in light of sociocultural sustainability.

Small Irish coastal economies are influenced by sociopolitical and economic intersections at national and international levels (Donkersloot and Menzies 2015). Young people within our case studies are negotiating these shifting environments and values in new ways and redefining local knowledge in relation to changing economies and values (see Gulløv and Gulløv, Chap. 10, this volume, for more on the complexities of enacting this). For both Harry and Dermot, wider shifts within EU and international fisheries policy (Linke and Jentoft 2014) and ongoing increases in global societal values for education (Devine and Luttrell 2013; OECD 2019) are redirecting the modes of knowledge transmission which were made available to them by their fathers.

For Harry, this necessitated a disconnect from the 'traditional' coastal working knowledge carried out within male gender lines over the last two generations to invest in formal education (Corbett 2007, 2009). Evident was Harry's linkage with the skillsets he had gained from his business and management experience growing up in the family public house by the pier. His actions were directly influenced by his father Max and grandfather Eddie before him. These generational influences defined *which knowledge* would be made available for Harry's reappropriation. Ultimately, this defined Harry's path to pursue business within higher education, reproducing a distinct juncture in the traditional transmission of the 'way of life' (Vanclay 2004) experienced by his father and grandfather.

For Dermot, his father, Barry's value for practically based learning and his experience working with his father on boats was undoubtedly instrumental in his entrepreneurial spirit (Abebe and Kjørholt 2009), but also the choices he made to discontinue formal mainstream education and build his career with reference to the sea. Both Max and Barry illustrate simultaneous processes of continuity and discontinuity, practicing investments in the preservation of tradition, while also planning for a sustainable future for their sons. As active orchestraters of their children's futures, parents are shaping their children's lives around tailored forms of local knowledge transmissions, in a process of concerted cultivation (Lareau 2011) and concerted disassociation (Donkersloot 2010). Informal knowledge transmissions are therefore occurring through *value judgements*, influenced not only by wider structures and systems, but through (dis)attachment to place, to profession and through knowledge of place, informed by identities linked to childhood experiences. Both Harry and Dermot traced their skillsets and subsequent knowledge reappropriations to their own intergenerational childhood experiences.

Community grassroots volunteerism was expansively explicated across both field sites as acts of local knowledge reproductions. These were highlighted not only as catalysts for sociocultural sustainability but shed light on the importance of place attachment as a proponent for meaningful place investment, driving other dimensions of sustainability. 'Broadening, deepening and regrounding' (Tovey and Mooney 2006) must look beyond engaging with the past at surface level, however,

to unearth *situated* local cultures of indigenous innovation and resilience beyond the scope of those which have been *traditionally valued*. We therefore conclude by reiterating the importance of *gender* and *generational* analysis (Neis et al. 2013). This we urge as imperative for sociocultural sustainability in unveiling the less conspicuous negotiation capacities of males as they attempt to overcome subordination in shifting local coastal economies, through more heterogenous forms of 'ingenuity' (Barry, father, 41 years, Éiru).

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Chapter 5
Local Knowledge and Change in a Small Fishing Community in Cyprus: Implications for Social and Cultural Sustainability

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Abstract This chapter explores the question of social and cultural sustainability for a small fishing community in Cyprus undergoing transition in light of wider economic restructuring. Drawing on qualitative data collected from three generations of fishing families, we focus our exploration on the processes through which local knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation creating a sense of continuity with the past. A strong shared sense of identity and belonging to the local community was reflected in our participants' narratives across all three generations. In our chapter, we interrogate the significance of the local knowledge shared among participants which includes ways of thinking, feeling, and relating to others and the environment and which entail much more than the mere transmission of cognitive and practical skills related to fishing. Our research clearly pinpoints a radical break in processes of local knowledge transmission at this historical juncture as young people turn away from fishing which is no longer economically viable to seek opportunities for employment beyond the local community. Possibilities for a reconstituted sense of self emerge under these conditions which highlight the challenges posed by change for the social and cultural sustainability of small coastal communities.

Keywords Childhood · Cyprus · Local knowledge · Social and cultural sustainability · Fishing

5.1 Introduction

> Kostas (m.,[1] 3rd generation): It's [i.e., fishing] not attractive to all [of us young people] because it's a profession that requires that you not only have will, you also need to be smart. That is, if you make just one mistake, you will get stuck, you will tear your nets, you will have other damage, something which does not pay. Or let's say there are some bad areas let's

[1] M. and f. in parentheses accompanying quotes are used to denote male and female participants, respectively.

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say, that you need to cut off so that when the fish comes to eat, to be able to catch them with the net. That is, if we go, we will end up in there. We will go straight in there and this will cause other damage. You will end up spending the profit you make on the damage and you will be forced to . . . As a result of the damage you cause, you will be forced to quit on your own. It's a smart profession, it's not something easy. And you today. . . .

Researcher: They [young people] do not want these things.

Kostas: We do not put our mind on that aim, let's say, to be able to do that. So, it [i.e., fishing] does not attract them very much.

Researcher: Yes. How about you Stavro, do you agree, disagree?

Stavros (m., 3rd generation): I believe that only somebody who has personal experiences with the sea through their father's family, their grandfather, can do this job because it is a difficult job, it is not an easy job. You must have experiences, lessons must start early on because there's, as [name of participant 2] said [there are] a lot of traps. You might even hurt yourself and end up not making it.

The excerpt above comes from a focus group discussion we had with young people at Psari village, a small fishing village in Cyprus which is currently undergoing a significant transition in light of larger scale economic, social, and environmental changes which impact fishing in the area. The young people who participated in our focus group discussion explain why their generation is not actively pursuing fishing as a profession. Earlier in our discussion, they explained to us that while it was possible for previous generations to earn a living, they consider fishing to be no longer economically viable. They recognize how their lifestyles and preferences have changed and how most of them would not be willing to put up with the hardships and demands of fishing. Moreover, they seem to be fully aware that this is a profession which heavily depends on having the necessary skills and local knowledge which are not acquired overnight, nor can they be easily taught; but rather are ingrained in a way of life, of growing up in a fishing family and being immersed in fishing activities that make one a fisher. It is this rupture in the intergenerational transmission of local fishing knowledge and way of life that their comments allude to and which is our main concern here.

Drawing on qualitative data collected from three generations of fishing families, we focus our exploration on the processes through which local knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation creating a sense of continuity with the past. A strong shared sense of identity and belonging to the local community was reflected in our participants' narratives across all three generations. In our chapter, we interrogate the significance of this local knowledge which includes ways of thinking, feeling, and relating to others and the environment and which entail much more than the mere transmission of cognitive and practical skills related to fishing. Our research clearly pinpoints a radical break in processes of local knowledge transmission at this historical juncture as young people turn away from fishing which is no longer economically viable to seek opportunities for employment beyond the local community. A reconstituted sense of self emerges under these conditions, which highlights the challenges posed by change for the social and cultural sustainability of small coastal communities. Our participants' narratives document the sense of loss and the complexities and ambiguities of a way of life which is anchored in fishing but is also more broadly encompassing social relations in the community as well as people's relations with the environment, both the aquatic and the terrestrial.

5.2 Sense of Place, Belonging, and Ruptures in the Intergenerational Transmission of Local Knowledge

Understanding youth transitions in coastal fishing communities benefits a great deal from an intergenerational analytical lens which places young people's lives within both a temporal and a spatial context which is itself constitutive of change. This allows for a clearer exposition of both continuities and discontinuities which stem from larger environmental, economic, and social changes that escape any individual young person's control but manifest themselves, nevertheless, in young people's choices and decision-making.

Gustavsson and Riley (2018) use a life course approach to understand the temporal dimension of fishing lives, an approach which highlights the ways through which knowledge is transmitted and lives are intergenerationally connected and which is in line with our own approach in this study. The intergenerational connectedness which characterizes fishing families and the transmission of knowledge from a very young age from fathers to sons creates a strong sense of fisher identity which is more akin to "a way of life"—a constitutive element of one's being—rather than merely a profession. This intergenerational element in occupational fishing is undeniably gendered; and although the discussion of the gendered nature of the fishing falls beyond the scope of this chapter, it is, nevertheless, even if briefly, worth noting. As Blomquist et al. (2016) explain, among farming and fishing families in Sweden, sons are more likely than daughters to pursue parental occupation in these professions. This trend is linked to broader issues of occupational gender segregation and gender inequity in fishing with women historically playing a vital role in the fishing industry mostly at shore, while having all but a scarce presence at sea in engaging in the act of fishing or boat owning (Gerrard and Kleiber 2019; Kleiber et al. 2017). As Yodanis's (2000) ethnographic study of women and fishing in a small town sitting by the Atlantic Ocean has exemplified, multiple factors such as gender socialization, gender discrimination, as well as gender construction were simultaneously at play to construct fishing as non-feminine and women as non-fishers, attesting to the gendered nature of relations and knowledge transmission in fishing.

Returning to intergenerationality in fishing, this strong intergenerational component of the profession not only contributes to a strong sense of fisher identity but also to a strong sense of attachment to place which extends to the past:

> There is a connection to the past through the skills that have been passed down through generations, skills that cannot be learnt in a textbook, such as how to get the boats up and down the beach, how to mend nets and how to prepare the fish. Boats, gear, knowledge and skills have been passed on from father to son for generations and there is often a sense of pride in coming from a local fishing family. (Acott and Urquhart 2014, p. 268)

This points to a chronotopic intersection where time and place are entangled in individual and collective fisher identities giving rise to a strong sense of belonging

and attachment to place all of which have preoccupied scholars who seek to situate fishers' lives in the social and cultural contexts in which they unfold.

One key component of fisher identity is the acquired knowledge that goes with being a fisher. Fishers' knowledge can be both generic and place-specific (tied, for instance, to specific fishing grounds) and embodied or tacit (Gustavsson 2018, p. 263). It is this local knowledge which fishers come to acquire in the particular cultural and social contexts of fishing and which is passed on from one generation to the next that gives them a unique sense of fisher identity (Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm 2017, p. 634).

In their review of the value and significance of local ecological knowledge, Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm (2017, p. 629) point out that the literature refers "to the various forms of users' ecological knowledge as place-based knowledge, and a component of the intellectual and cultural property of many communities, resulting in a very intimate relation among people (i.e. individuals and communities), the environment and natural resources." This intimate relation that fishers have with their local environments which is part of their family heritage allows for the construction of a strong sense of place (including attachment to fishing places) and to the natural environment at large (Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm 2017, p. 650). As a result, there is increasing attention today to the literature which examines "the importance of symbolic capital in fishing – that is, social capital (coming from, and reaffirmed by, social contacts) and cultural capital (knowledge, skills, and dispositions which may be developed by socialization or education)" (Gustavsson 2018, p. 264).

The intimate relation with the environment and people which characterizes fishing also creates a strong sense of belonging. Cuervo and Wyn (2017, p. 222) draw on post-structural theory using Butler's concepts of performance and performativity to approach belonging as "constructed through self-conscious and deliberate performances and also through unreflexive processes and actions of performativity" and extrapolating on how this opens up an understanding of belonging as linked to the everyday practices of people and the crucial role place plays in the (repetitive) performance of such practices over time: "It is the reiteration of these performative acts embedded in norms, values and rituals that builds a sense of belonging" (Cuervo and Wyn 2017, p. 228). Understanding the temporal/historical element of how belonging is formed through the performance of everyday practices over time (Cuervo and Wyn 2017) sheds light onto the multiple layering of place which in our case is afforded by the intergenerational method applied to this study. Discussing youth transitions in a snapshot in time does not allow for the understanding of this temporal layering of place experiences and relationships. Rather, the intergenerational method allows us to see how everyday practices and routines which transcend the generational (or the individual) time form a deep layer of attachment to place that is historically and intergenerationally configured and grounded in the ordinary.

Fishers' sense of attachment and identity is linked to specific physical spaces and the social activity that revolves around them and is rooted in both their personal and family history and experience (Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm 2017,

pp. 648, 650). Their everyday practices build layers of affective experience of place (Cuervo and Wyn 2017) and construct identities which stem from their experiences and relationships with, on the one hand, the physical environment and the landscape, and the community, on the other (Acott and Urquhart 2014, p. 271; see also Urquhart and Acott 2013, p. 45). This entanglement of ecological knowledge, social identity, and attachment to place encountered in fishing lives is also found in other occupations that have a strong tradition of intergenerational recruitment such as farming (Blomquist et al. 2016). As Mueller, Worster and Abrams (2005) note, for New England farmers and fishers in their study, the line between the professional and the personal was blurred as farming and fishing to them were more akin to a way of life infused with deep ecological knowledge and linked to a strong attachment to place.

Public places play a crucial role in developing a communal sense of place and belonging and contribute to quality of life as they provide spaces for developing relations and processes of exchange and interaction which strengthen social cohesion, help form feelings of belongingness and sense of place among community members, encourage democratic processes, and facilitate the sharing and building of capital and networks (Piyapong et al. 2019, p. 486). Piyapong et al. (2019) described public spaces in coastal communities as spaces where people interact and engage, providing opportunities for communicating, exchanging knowledge, and creating and transmitting cultural and social values as well as a sense of community and place, but also providing youth with opportunities to interact, play, or simply hang out.

An approach that takes "sense of place" seriously allows us to explore the social and cultural values that spring from the relational processes at work as well as to connect what takes place in marine fishing with what happens in terrestrial communities (Acott and Urquhart 2014, p. 258). However, sense of place also has a material dimension which is not just about the marine environment and the coastal landscape but also involves the physical objects created by people in the context of their fishing activities whether these are buildings, nets, or boats which contribute in their way to constructing a sense of place (Acott and Urquhart 2014, p. 265).

The crucial point here is that the very process of fishing is not just a task-oriented process but also "creates a range of values that tie people, places and ecosystems into a network of relational encounters" (Acott and Urquhart 2014, p. 257). Studies have shown the significance of both tangible and intangible cultural values for fishers (Khakzad and Griffith 2016, p. 97) related to the landscape or the infrastructure of fishing as well as to traditions, skills, and memories (Acott and Urquhart 2014: 267) and certain emotions which constitute fisher identity (Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm 2017, p. 638). In their study, Garavito-Bermúdez and Lundholm (2017, p. 639), for example, found that fishers expressed:

> Happiness, challenge and pride for having coastal fishing as a lifestyle and carrying on an old family tradition; freedom to become what they wanted to, love and longing for the sea; sadness and concern for the future of fishing cultural heritage; and disappointment and anger against authorities, unlawful fishing, tighter regulations and increased costs to enter deterring new entrants.

Close examination of how the affective dimensions of place and belonging are formed may provide insights into how youth make decisions about their future and whether to move out of the community or not. This resonates with findings by Cox and colleagues (2014) in relation to youth's occupational aspirations in rural USA as declining economies in rural communities affected the educational and occupational aspirations of youth in a struggle to balance their attachment to their local communities and the need to seek viable professional options inside or outside these communities. Such dilemmas, tensions, or struggles faced by rural youth in Cyprus and elsewhere hinge upon broader questions of sustainability, especially where the continuation of particular means of livelihood and lifestyle—in our case fishing—largely, if not exclusively, depends on its intergenerational endurance.

When the spatial and temporal connections with fishing as "a way of life" are severed, as in our study, fisher identity, sense of place, and attachment to place are likely to change as well which more generally can lead to "the loss of maritime cultural heritage such as fishing material culture, traditional waterfronts, and maritime cultural landscape" (Khakzad and Griffith 2016, p. 96).

Though coastal fishing communities around the world try to adapt to the environmental and social challenges they face, in recent years new problems such as climate change and overfishing create additional challenges for many of them (Blythe et al. 2014: 6). Small fisheries in Cyprus suffer from the same environmental and social pressures. As Hadjimichael (2015) explains, fisheries in Cyprus suffer from overexploitation of resources not just by professional fishers but also by recreational and illegal ones, "conflicts over access to space and resource and power struggles (between different métiers but also between fishers and the authorities)," the weak enforcement of regulations, environmental change stemming from climate change, and the invasion of destructive species such as the *Lagocephalus* (rabbit fish) which has come from the Red Sea and can cause serious damage to both the fishing gear and the catch. The heavy exploitation of fishing grounds is also largely attributed to the Turkish invasion in 1974 which led to the forced movement of 300 fishers from the occupied north to the south. For all these reasons, fish stocks have been declining since the 1990s and today fishers partly depend on financial aid from the government for their survival (Hadjimichael 2015, pp. 462–463, 471).

To understand youth transitions in the face of environmental, economic, and social changes, we need to understand how young people situate themselves within the moral and cultural landscape of the fishing community (Donkersloot 2010, p. 33). Though they are no longer opting for fishing as a profession, our third generation participants, as in other studies (see Ainsworth et al. 2019, p. 6), expressed a sense of belonging to the coastal, fishing culture built through partaking in particular activities at particular places. Thus, despite the globalizing and modernizing forces at play including technological developments which might encourage a sense of placenessness, sense of place remains meaningful and important in young people's lives (Donkersloot 2010, p. 49). In fact, a sense of attachment to the local community and to place (including a sense of attachment to family) together with the economic realities with which young people are faced is likely to play a role when deciding about their educational and occupational future (Cox et al. 2014, p. 174).

In many small-scale fisheries around the world, parents engaged in fishing realize that fishing is no longer viable as a profession and encourage their children to pursue formal education as an avenue towards a more desired and economically successful future (Idrobo and Johnson 2019; see also Power et al. 2014, p. 6). In our case, as in Idrobo and Johnson's (2019) study, the identities of the younger generations become more fluid partly because of their increased mobility and participation in the region's tourism economy (which clearly offers more opportunities for employment) and partly from the increased significance attributed to formal education in light of fishing's diminishing importance as a viable profession (see also Coulthard and Britton 2015; White 2015).

The new orientations and fluidity in the younger generation's identities, however, do not resolve diverse attachments and orientations which linger on for many in the younger generation creating, at least at some level, a tension. In their study of rural communities, Cox et al. (2014) found young emerging adults were caught in between their positive attachments to the local community and the reality of limited economic opportunities there. Likewise, Gram-Hanssen (2018) discusses the complexities of the role of formal education in youth mobility among Native Alaskans, problematizing the dichotomies of leaving vs. staying and pointing to the importance of context as well as the role of local cultural values and ties in youth decisions for mobility. The author stresses both the importance of education but also the importance of a supportive community culture before the youth decide to move but also when/if the youth decide to return.

5.3 Methodology

Data analyzed for this chapter originate from a larger set of data collected through the use of ethnographic methods in the fishing village of Psari in the southeast of Cyprus in 2018 and 2019 to examine intergenerational knowledge transmission in coastal communities. At the time of the study, there were 35–40 families involved with fishing at the village. Based on the latest census of 2011, there is a population of 4951 inhabitants at Psari (CYSTAT 2014). The small port herein referred to as "Inlet"[2] (pseudonym) is a significant landmark in the village.

The larger project employed an intergenerational and biographical approach which during its first phase (2018) of data collection included interviews with three generations of (mostly) men (grandfathers, fathers, and sons) from each participating fishing family. For the interviews of the first phase, we adopted a life-history approach looking at important phases in participants' lives, such as

[2]The Inlet refers to a narrow bay formed by an inward curve of the sea in the coastal village where fieldwork was conducted. For village residents and the fishers in our study, the Inlet is more than a docking area; it is a place where social gatherings and many activities related to fishing take place.

childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. We also inquired about their experiences with education, work, and the physical space around them.

The data discussed in this article stem from the second phase of data collection conducted in 2019 with some of the original participants. For this phase we primarily employed walking and on-site interviews during which participants would guide us through places they frequented and which held particular meaning(s) to them. The aim of employing this method was to zoom in on important themes which emerged from the first phase of the study such as the significance of local knowledge and attachment to place and the sea. The walking interviews were complemented with photographs taken along the route and with a focus-group interview with three members of the younger generation.

Owing to the intergenerational approach of the study, the selection of participants for the first phase of the study was based on the participation of families involved with fishing professionally across the three generations of interest (grandparent, parent, and child). Participants in generation one were between 59 and 92 years of age; the age of participants in generation two ranged from 35 to 66 years, whereas the majority of participants of the third generation were children and young adults in their early 20s (the youngest participant was 10 and the oldest was 42 years of age).[3] Even though the study's original methodological design prescribed the recruitment of all three generations of professional fishers, during our fieldwork it became apparent that the third generation of participants were involved with fishing only recreationally resulting in the participation of twenty-four male and two female participants from a total of eight fishing families (in two families more than one member of a generation partook in the study). All participants (a total of 17) of generations one and two (grandfathers and fathers, respectively) self-identified as professional fishers, except for a female participant involved in fishing-related activities ashore.

Of the total of 26 participants, 8 also took part in the second phase of the study. They were selected based on their interest and deeper understanding of the issues under study, resulting in the participation of two members of the first generation and three from the second and third generation, respectively.

To analyze the interviews, we employed a content analysis approach through open, axial, and selective coding using a qualitative analysis software (Atlas.ti). Inter-coder reliability between members of the research team was sought. Coding themes for the data of the second phase centered on participants' experiences with/of place, their connection with the sea, their everyday life, and processes of local and intergenerational knowledge transmission.

Project activities were approved by the Cyprus National Bioethics Committee. Participants gave their free, voluntary, and informed consent, and in the event of children's participation, both child assent and parental consent were obtained. All

[3] This wide age range was mainly a factor of the small number of three-generational families of fishers coupled with the overall small number of fishing families at Psari (estimated at around 35–40 families) that we could draw from for our research sample.

names of places and people have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

5.4 Local Knowledge, Skills, and Values

As participants walked us through and around places of importance to them, sharing stories of their lives by/at the sea, their narrations of self revealed an abundance of tacit knowledge on fishing and the environment, both aquatic and terrestrial, forming an intricate web of symbolic capital that included skills, values, and intergenerational and intragenerational relations of kin as well as social relations with/in the community. The local knowledge shared among fishers involved deep familiarity with the sea, the underwater and the terrestrial world, manifested in detailed knowledge of, for instance, the different fish species, where and when to catch them, their characteristics, the variegated types of the tides, the meanings of waves, the different types of breezes, and the interconnectedness of underwater life. As fishers introduced their worlds to us, through their stories fishing emerged not as (just) an occupation but as a way of life. To understand the latter means to understand the peculiarity of fishing as an undertaking that is both aquatic and terrestrial, happening both in/under and out of water, on and off land, as an act that occurs out in the sea but is followed by a whole variety of subsequent acts at shore (cleaning the fish, mending nets, etc.) (Acott and Urquhart 2014). Participants of especially the first and second generation shared stories of their childhood but also of their adult life as fishers, family men, and members of a coastal community, steeped in a wealth of local and localized knowledge connected with the natural, social, and cultural landscapes of the locality, as evidenced in Panos's (m, first generation) recalling of how fishers of his grandfather's generation had intimate knowledge of the sea, the tides, and the different types of water. He recounted with admiration how his own grandfather used to fish with horse hair because they did not have fishing line back then and how deeply knowledgeable he was of the fishing areas so that he could go to the holes where the octapi would hide and catch them: "He knew the hole" ... "That is, he knew this area ... here is a hole ... he wasn't roaming around. He knew where to find the octapi." Angelos (m, second generation) likewise shared with us the kind of intimate knowledge that fishers have of the temporalities of fishing. He explained for instance how the appearance of different migratory birds or of the blooming of different flowers signals the start of the fishing season for different varieties of fish.

Along with knowledge needed for fishing, an array of skills cultivated were also amassed which were both necessary for one's survival in the profession (and at sea) as well as lie at the core of fishinghood proper.

Utilizing and developing skills such as casting and mending the nets, removing the fish from the nets, managing tides, landing the boat safely in the water and at port, and making their own tools (e.g., needles) are part and parcel of a performance

of "true" fishinghood and serve as testimony to one's recognition as fisher "proper," exemplified in the account below where Giorgos (m, second generation) showed the researcher how he was able to mend the big hole in his nets:

> Giorgos: Did you see how it was [i.e., the hole]. How big this hole was?
> Researcher: Yes, all this time you were working on it.
> Giorgos: You see, now it [i.e., the net) is like it was before.
> Researcher: Looks fine now.
> Giorgos: Not everyone knows how to make them appear like they used to be.
> Researcher: Yes.
> Giorgos: They cut them off, throw them away, [. . .], bring new ones, bring new ones [. . .] they have others do it [mend them] for them and pay them [. . .] those who are fishers [inaudible] do the work I do now.

The cultivation of these skills is largely experiential and social in nature as it occurs on the job, in the company and under the guidance of others on board a boat or while working on a quayside. As Acott and Urquhart (2014, p. 257) purport, fishing is a relational activity where a "network of relational encounters" an array of practices, values, people, places, and ecosystems are bound up together. These skills (and tacit knowledge) are not something that can be learned in school through formal instruction but rather are seamlessly conveyed through a process of intergenerational transmission based mainly on kinship and are the outcome of one's enduring investment of time, effort, and commitment. Skills that pertain to the activity of fishing (e.g., catching fish, driving the boat, mending nets, etc.) as well as skills that relate to the management of the occupational hazards that come along with it are essential elements in securing one's survival at sea but also in terms of their ability to manage the (largely financial) insecurities of the profession (e.g., saving to cover unexpected damages on the boat and poor catch, keeping spare nets) given the lack of predictability and stability that comes with it:

> what's important is [good] management. To not think that everything is yours. If you go out today and get 500 pounds from the sea, tomorrow you might not. [. . .] you have to have a sea reserve [. . .] any time something happens: you want to make nets, an accident happened, your engine broke down, in record time to have it fixed. (Angelos, m, second generation)

Understanding fishing not merely as a means of livelihood but also as a way of life also entails understanding the complex ways in which local knowledge and skills are linked with values, transmitted, and shaped through the way the many different facets of fisher's lives are interwoven around fishing as well as in the way these values mediate their relationship with the environment and the people around them. Participants' stories of fishing, the sea, and what it means to be a fisher were replete with a strong work ethic honoring the laboriousness, dedication, and decency fishing requires; a pronounced respect and concern for the natural environment, both the sea- and the land-scape; reverence for the freedom they feel when at sea; and a sense of gratitude for the opportunities fishing has afforded them to connect: with the sea, their selves, fellow fishers, and members of their community at large. As Maria (f, second generation), a fisher's daughter, shared, she liked the fact that her 16-year-old son is learning to love nature by spending time at the Inlet with his friends and explained that this is something that is passed on from one's parents but also learned

experientially: "it is not something that they tell you to do—do this and that—it comes out of your encounter with, as a result of the time you spend [at the sea] you learn yourself. My parents were sensitive about nature as well, so this is something they passed on to us."

5.5 Place, Intergenerational Relationships, and Sustainability

Acott and Urquhart (2014, p. 258) highlight the importance of place as "a useful approach to begin to understand the range of social and cultural values emerging from the relational process that connects marine fishing and terrestrial communities and is important in planning for a sustainable future." Looking at places as configured through the meanings humans attribute to them but also as influenced by the material reality of the biophysical world means to pay attention to both the material and the subjective (Acott and Urquhart 2014). It also involves working off an understanding of space as contested and constructed in the midst of/by social relations (Cuervo and Wyn 2017) as everyday practices build layers of affective experience of place (Cuervo and Wyn 2017). Paying attention to feelings of belonging visibilizes relationships of intergenerational interconnectivity between youth and their families as well as between people, space, and the environment—shedding light upon how place is configured through not only affective layers of meaning and relations at a particular point in time, but also on how these come about *intergenerationally*.

Participants' sense of belonging was expressed through feelings of attachment to the sea, the Inlet, and the surrounding coastal area and was reflected in the very intimate knowledge of both the under/water and the terrestrial landscape, manifested in the detailed place-naming that filled participants' accounts.

Attributing names to quite small and geographically proximate strips of land/sea can be read as an act of intimacy, built in a web of close social relations and through the situated practice of regular routines and traditions (such as camping, learning to swim and fish, hanging out, cooking, and cleaning the fish by the coast), and sustained through participants' memories of childhood and adulthood:

> [When we hear the word Inlet] what comes to mind is fish, diving, boat trips, that's what comes to mind. Sometimes we would go and set up huts and light the coals [for grilling] and would stay there until the next day. Now there is no room to do that. [...] These are very good memories. (Kostas, third generation, focus group interview)

The materiality of fishing (nets, needles, pots, boats, gear, and equipment) both mediates and is mediated by social and intergenerational relations which are locally situated, as storied by the participants. Along with the symbolic (knowledge, skills, and values) handed down from generation to generation through layers upon layers of affective experience of place (on the boat, at the quayside, at the port, at the beach), attention should also be paid to the material and the way the boundaries of

each blur as they converge to forge both individual and collective senses of self and place. The material aspect of fishing does not only relate to the marine ecosystem and the coastal landscape but also to buildings and a range of objects such as nets, boats, tools, and fishing gear (e.g., clothes and boots) that are linked to the materiality of fishing (Acott and Urquhart 2014) and are constitutive of the performative element of belonging to the extent that the latter is materialized as a performance of repetitive, even routinized, practices inextricably intertwined with the physical (Cuervo and Wyn 2017). In his account, a young recreational fisher, for example, explained to us how he would follow around his uncle and his father and grandfather who were people with "old ways of thinking" and described how he learned the many of the technical skills of preparing and mending the nets through performing a set of elaborate and routinized procedures of finding the holes, untangling the fish, and sowing the nets starting from the age of 6 and "as we progressed they would give us gradually something more difficult [to do]" (Kostas, third generation, focus group).

Shedding light on the material as well as the sociocultural dimensions of fishing inescapably begs attention to the question of intergenerationality and how the latter impacts sustainability. The intergenerational method adopted in our study has made visible the intergenerational character of attachment to sea and place (Spyrou et al. 2021), as well as of the local knowledge, skills, and values as seen in participants' accounts throughout this chapter. It has also provided an insight into exploring questions of sustainability through apprehending the importance of intergenerational recruitment to the fishing profession (White 2015). As participants across generations in our study recount, induction to fishing was done from an early age, on the job, and through relationships of kinship (cf. Spyrou et al. 2021). This intergenerational recruitment to (professional) fishing for the first and second generation was marked by the passing down from one generation to another of both material inheritance, such as boats (Maria, f, second generation) and quays "our son's quay was my father's father's, my grandfather's" (Marios, m, first generation), as well as of symbolic, through the transmission of knowledge, skills, and values.

Participants' narrations of fishing paint it as a relational (both with the human and the more-than-human element), intergenerational, emotive, material, and symbolic activity whose performance becomes inseparably entangled with one's sense of self, akin to a love affair as Panos (m, first generation) told us: "It's no small thing to fall in love with her [i.e., the sea] [. . .] You can't easily forget it, can't easily do without it." Such is the extent of the enduring investment, commitment, and resources (material but mostly symbolic) needed that for people not being inducted into fishing from a very young age and not sharing a deep love for the "sorceress sea" (Angelos, m, second generation), entering and lingering in the racks of the profession would pose a difficult and risky path. Elaborating on this, Angelos (m, second generation) explained that he learned how to fish from his father and that "I know the sea underneath as I know the land outside," insisting that he is one of the best fishers around because of the experiences he has had. He went on to say that "It is very important to know the movements of the fish, when the fish moves, what times of the year the fish moves, which fish is moving, what materials and tools to use. It is an art

that you cannot learn in coffeeshops or in schools. You can learn it in the sea and that is why I said you must love this job." And he concluded: "This is the reason we were able to hold on to this [profession] despite all the difficulties. A young person who enters the profession today will starve."

Beyond the sheer hardship of and devotion to the profession, our research tells us that for the third generation of participants becoming a professional fisher constitutes not merely a challenging but in fact an impossible choice due to significant environmental change (and social, as will be shown below) that has transpired over the course of a few decades and which undermines the viability of fishing with stocks depletion, changes in the natural environment due to construction or land development, shifts in social relations as the use and character of public places (e.g., the closure of fisher's coffeehouse and plans for the imminent development of the docks) that nourished and supported them dwindle, and rising costs associated with fishing and reduction in profit, all described as shifts which disrupt the intergenerational recruitment into fishing and all that comes with it:

> It is not easy [for a young fisher] to survive [today] because he does not have the experience, you can't find the volume of fish we had in the good old days. You need to know where to go and find the fish, it's based on the different seasons, you need the proper equipment, you need a lot of things. (Angelos m, second generation)

Changes in the physical environment with the coast being described as a far greener and more "pristine" place back then, untouched by human interference (e.g., vis-à-vis the establishment of a fish farm and imminent plans to reconstruct the area) and with a richer sea life free from pollution, co-occur with changes in the symbolic. Social and cultural changes in the way participants experienced childhood, youth, and adulthood are evident in their narratives with members of the younger generations describing a less mobile and outdoor leisure time, still hanging out and swimming at the docs, yet devoting time to activities typical among youth in contemporary western societies such as playing electronic games, meeting up in cafeterias, and browsing on social media (interview with Orestis, m, third generation). Instead, older generations would recount to a far greater degree fond memories of fellow fishers, relatives, and friends meeting regularly at the coast and the docks to fish, cook, eat, and socialize, speaking of the Inlet as a place to work, hang out, relax, and find peace almost as a thing of the past. They would reminisce about traditions such as learning and teaching younger generations how to swim in rocky shallow water and camping with family by the beach and the docks during the summer time. All of these practices, traditions and routines created for participants primarily of the older generation's affective layers of experience of place, reflected in the toponyms they used. In fact the very act of naming places, the quite limited geographical distance between which would not warrant them with a toponym, operates in participants' narrations as a way of conveying and solidifying affective layers of experiencing place enveloped in nostalgia, intimacy, and interconnectedness with environment and people, history, and cultural heritage—all bound up in the single word of a place-name.

Generational shifts in the way public spaces such as the beach and the docks are/have been used imply changes in the way people in this coastal community connect and interact among them and with the spaces around them (cf. Piyapong et al. 2019). This is no inconsequential shift. In fact we would argue that one of the most significant implications deriving from our research is that with social and environmental change and emerging questions for this fishing community's sustainability at the backdrop of the realization of fading intergenerational recruitment to fishing, comes a gloom future for the continuance of the profession in this small community. This also signals a disruption in the ways in which people come to know, connect with, and understand the physical and social world around them. The older generations' deep knowledge of and long-term engagement with the aquatic and terrestrial environment and the way in which these were accumulated, shared, and transmitted intergenerationally through the activity of fishing and the cultural and social fabric that has been woven around it will be severely altered upon the second generation's retirement:

> And we have a number of households who weave baskets and mend nets. People are involved with different activities which they still slowly-slowly continue doing since the old days. Ok, slowly-slowly this is being lost because we, the young ones, cannot do this. Even if we want to do it, we can't. [. . .] Because now we have tablets . . . While back then they did not have much else, they dealt with those things. We cannot make baskets today, we will fail. [. . .] We can't. We need to go buy them. Let's say to mend the nets, no matter how many times somebody shows us, we are still not going to be able to do it. (Kostas, third generation, focus group)

Some of these skills (e.g., basket weaving, net mending) are unlikely to remain integral to the community's way of life; as fishing diminishes in importance with the current generation, one would expect that they will be lost over time. It is possible, of course, that some such skills may be reappropriated if the community finds a renewed vision for a sustainable future that allows for such skills and cultural and social artifacts of significance, as hinted at in a participant's recount of how a fish trap he made for someone ended up being used as a lamp.

The decision among the third generation not to follow fishing professionally is a choice that appears to be supported and even encouraged among members of the second generation (see also White 2015) who had too often during our interviews emphasized the hardships that come with the profession, the physical toll it takes on the body as well as the character needed to survive it, all elements of which were depicted implicitly or explicitly among participants as incompatible with a modern way of life and as too demanding for today's youth who were better off investing instead in formal education. As Angelos (m, second generation) explained: "I never pressured them [i.e., his children to get into fishing]. Ok, I would take them with me but this is a difficult job for them." It is important to note here that though in theory the young people who belong to the third generation *choose* not to follow fishing professionally, for all practical purposes, this choice is an impossible one as we have explained earlier on, not just because of the hardship that fishing entails but also, and more importantly, because it no longer is a viable, profitable career path. Thus, though they could opt to follow fishing professionally, none of the young people in

our sample chose to do so suggesting that, in essence, the structural constraints are so powerful as to make their putative choice a non-choice after all. This follows trends also noted elsewhere with Blomquist et al. (2016) arguing that paternal occupational income during childhood is a contributing factor in decisions among sons of farmers and fishers in Sweden to follow in their fathers' footsteps. Hence, for sons of families in farming and fishing in Sweden, experiences of low income during childhood play a factor in their decision to seek occupation outside of fishing and agriculture, thereby disrupting a tradition of intergenerational occupation in much similar ways to what we see happening in the case of Psari in Cyprus.

Investing in formal education within the broader socioeconomic framework of a knowledge economy as well as venturing into regional tourism given the area's prominence in the Cypriot tourism industry appear to be more promising venues for youth in Psari as Stavros (m, third generation, focus group) explained: "[studying law] was a way out [...] but it turned out good for me. Having [the degree] was a powerful ace that opened many doors," while Kostas (m, third generation, focus group) added that "I wanted to transmit what I learned to others somehow. If I were to do so without papers [i.e. a university degree], nobody would listen."

Yet despite turning away from fishing and choosing formal education, a lingering attachment with place and sea (Spyrou et al. 2021) remains with third generation participants contemplating alternative professional choices which would allow them to remain connected with land/topos and water (e.g., opening a pool, becoming nautical engineers or lifeguards). Their impossible choice (i.e., their decision not to pursue fishing professionally) is partly met in this way with more realistic choices which allow them to retain a sense of closeness to what they have grown to love, namely, the sea, rather than a complete rapture:

> I became a PE instructor with a specialization in swimming. It's something I have liked for years and it's what I pursued. We really love the sea. The bottom of the sea cannot be explained in any way [...] The sea bottom is magical, you lose yourself. [...] It's a hobby to catch fish [...] personally I am into it, wherever I have time I go [fishing]. (Kostas, m, third generation, focus group)

Several also mention still hanging out at the quayside, going to the sea to relax, taking up fishing as a hobby, and maintaining some of the older traditions (e.g., camping at the beach) with their families and young kids, speaking to the intergenerational and emotive nature of attachment to the sea and what one of the participants has referred to as the inevitable heritage of being born to "watermen," of being sons of fish:

> Because it's not all kids of every family who are like this with the sea and all. Because our parents are sea people, watermen, in other words our parents are fish [smile], the only thing left for them is to grow scales from the many hours they spend at sea. They transmitted this to us, and it makes sense. (Kostas, m, third generation, focus group)

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we tried to document what happens to a small fishing community when fishing ceases to be economically viable and young people opt for different professional futures. Our case study is clearly not unique with many other communities around the world experiencing similar transitions. Nevertheless, our intergenerational approach to documenting this transition provides interesting insights into the workings of structural and temporal change in such communities.

By focusing on the narratives of three generations of fishers, we are able to situate the larger environmental, economic, and social changes in the everyday lives of the people who are being impacted by them. Thus, at one level, it becomes clear that something significant is being lost with such a transition. A way of life which characterized successive generations of fishers is, for most of our research participants, coming to an end with the third generation pursuing formal education and employment opportunities beyond fishing. This has direct consequences for the intergenerational transmission of local fishing knowledge which is interrupted with the decisions of the younger generation (Neis et al. 2013) to abandon fishing. As a result, today there is increased awareness about the loss of local knowledge and its implications on human societies and the environment (Aswani et al. 2018). As Gómez-Baggethun and Reyes-García (2013, p. 646) point out, however, when considering the loss of local knowledge, it is not so much about what is lost but rather about "the capacity to generate and apply knowledge that enables actions and adjustments in response to current and future changes." Moreover, as Idrobo and Johnson (2019) show through their own research, despite the fact that formal education for the younger generation may be seen by the older generation as a strategic way of responding to globalized change with young people moving from their fishing communities to urban centers, it is also seen as a means towards maintaining a connection to community and place through the mobilization of local knowledge into the tourism economy. Indeed, this might offer an opening for Psari as a community which is finding itself in a transitional point in its history where one way of life will have to give way to another by reinventing its place in the world, perhaps in the context of the local tourist industry. Indeed, the faith of all three generations on the value of formal education attests to wider global changes and developments which are aligned with neoliberal logics of subjectification. Though this is pure conjecture on our part at this point (given that Psari is in the midst of this transition), faith in education provides a means through which to reinvent the locality. The hoped for entrepreneurial abilities of the educated younger generation and their capacity to utilize the technical and technological skills they acquire through education to create new possibilities for themselves and their communities provides formal education with an added importance and challenge which is unclear at this point to what extent it can deliver.

At another level, it is more than local knowledge which is being lost; it is also a way of life which creates strong attachment to place and community and characterized by particular cultural values that go hand-in-hand with the practice of fishing.

As relations between people and between people and the environment change, a way of life comes to be reconstituted within a new set of parameters. In our case, it is still too early to tell what these parameters are but the turn to formal education and subsequently to local employment opportunities within the tourism industry which has flourished in the region during the last few decades is suggestive of what this transition entails.

So, in a sense, this leaves open the larger question of what happens to Psari and other small fishing communities like Psari, as a result of this rupture. As White (2015, p. 291) has pointed out, the lack of interest among younger people in fishing as a commercial activity is a wider European phenomenon which "not only does it pose questions for the survival of individual enterprises and put at risk local ecological knowledge, skills and fishing heritage, but it also deprives the industry of future sources of innovation, adaptability and enterprise." This then is a larger issue that centers squarely on the question of sustainability. Along with calls for promoting the sustainability of fisheries, there have been skeptical voices over time raising the issue of the unsustainability of fishing as a means of livelihood, citing the increasing depletion of stocks, the rising costs, and the increasing difficulties to access the profession pointing to the "complexity of understanding and regulating ecosystems and human impact" (Martindale 2014, p. 280). Are such communities resilient enough to engage productively and creatively with these challenges and to transform themselves economically and socially? Magis (2010, p. 402) defines community resilience as "the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise." For Psari this is a challenge which lies ahead in the years to come. The process of coastal community adaptation to ongoing social and ecological change is heterogeneous and multifactor involving diverse actors involved in diverse activities, choices, and actions (Blythe et al. 2014, p. 6) and therefore one which is hard to predict. Longitudinal studies of such transitions are therefore called for to shed light on such processes and to questions of sustainability in the longer term.

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Chapter 6
The Shifting Landscape of Childhood and Literacies of the Sea in a Coastal Community in Mid-Norway: Sustaining the Future by Valuing the Past?

Anne Trine Kjørholt

Abstract In this chapter a coastal community in Norway, transformed from being a small-scale fishing community to booming fish farmer industry during the last decades, is explored through the lens of childhood and knowledge production. Based on the analyses of memories of childhood among current grandparents, I introduce the concept *literacies of the sea*, to show how children learnt particular ways of *being, living, and knowing*. *Literacies of the sea* reflect an embodied sense of place, pointing to the significance of nature, materiality, and interaction with the sea. Essential skills and knowledge are derived through growing into intergenerational communities of work. In the transition of the community, intergenerational collaboration and mutual interdependence have been largely replaced by individual enterprises linked to new dependences on a global market with the aim of maximizing profit. I argue that knowledge about the landscape of childhood and "literacies of the sea" represent a valuable source of knowledge to ensure *social* and *cultural* sustainability, both as a rich cultural heritage, but also as a basis to critically discuss and renew contemporary education and the place of children and young people in society.

Keywords Literacies of the sea · Work · Intergenerational communities · Social and cultural sustainability

6.1 Introduction

> Dad was extremely good at doing everything—practical things. He did most things himself. His father was the same. They had pretty large boats at that time, you know. And large houses by the sea for the boats, fishing equipment, and stuff. And there was a big farmhouse (*trønderlån)* and a large barn. On the first floor of the barn, there was a loom (*vævstue).* The women made bedlinens for the boats. They spent a lot of time there. And the small carpenter

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> hut (*snekkerbua).* They made everything themselves –were so self-reliant. The table you see there in the corner, it was made there. My granddad did.

This excerpt is from Peder's memories of his childhood. At the time of the interview, Peder was 74 years old; he grew up on an island far out in the Norwegian Sea. His memories describe the island dwellers as handy and self-sufficient. The Norwegian term *mangsysslern* refers to the variety of activities of the fishing people and the multifaceted skills they developed in close interactions with the sea to make a sustainable living.

Norway is a sea nation consisting of thousands of islands. Adaptation to marine resources, especially fishing, has been key in settlement patterns, economic development, and ways of life throughout its history. Fish farming was a community-based social system that had been at the core of coastal culture for more than a thousand years (Jentoft 2020b), and the family was a key production unit. These households comprised more than 90% of the coastal communities well into the twentieth century. The division of labor was gendered, demanding strong and autonomous women who were responsible for farming, keeping house, and caring for children while the men were at sea fishing (Gerrard 2008; Neis et al. 2013). They also took part in "home-fishing." However, compared with men, both historically and today, women have been marginalized financially and politically (Gerrard and Kleiber 2019), and their contribution to sustaining fishing communities has been largely overlooked because such communities have been overlooked (Jentoft 2020a).

Similarly neglected have been the roles of children and young people as significant economic and social contributors to maintaining and creating vibrant coastal communities connected to identities as islanders and fishing people through generations. Peder, like other children at that time, grew up in an intergenerational community and was encultured in particular ways of *living*, *being*, and *learning* through participation in work and diverse social practices in everyday life. From an early age, he gained skills and knowledge through intimate interactions with the sea in the often-rough coastal environment.

Coastal communities are characterized by transition with regard to economies, working life, demography, and social-cultural life. In contemporary late modern societies, the transmission of knowledge and skills from one generation to the next through work and practices in everyday life has been largely replaced by schooling as a valued form of education. Thus, we have witnessed shifting and competing forms of knowledge production over time. There is a danger of both deskilling and a devaluation of life skills that are based on practical and environmental local knowledge that is of vital importance for maintaining and developing sustainable livelihoods in coastal communities.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the shifting landscapes of childhood[1] and the *literacies of the sea*[2] across generations, linking them to discussions of cultural and social sustainability. This chapter addresses the following questions: What are the ways in which coastal people have subsisted and lived in the past? To what extent are ways of being, knowing, and living, as well as the insights of earlier coastal generations, still relevant to us?[3] My discussion is linked to the research project *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future: Education, Knowledge, and Identities Across Three Generations in Coastal Communities*. In Norway, the project includes several case studies based on the life biographies of youth, their parents, and grandparents with the aim of tracing memories of everyday life and childhood from 1945 to the present.

Education and knowledge production are inextricably linked to ways of living and ways of being, which challenges the contemporary hegemonic position that education takes place in schools. The dynamic interconnectedness between education, on the one hand, and the place of children in a societal structure, on the other hand, is revealed. I argue that landscapes of childhood and literacies of the sea in traditional fishing communities represent a valuable source of knowledge that could contribute to the *social* and *cultural* sustainability of coastal communities, both as a rich cultural heritage and as a basis for critically discussing and renewing contemporary education and the place of children and young people in society.

To present the landscapes of childhood and literacies of the sea in fishing communities, I have selected Peder's life biography as the focus of this investigation because it is representative of former fishers in the first generation.[4] Peder's narrative reflects key themes and points that emerged from the analysis of data collected from the research participants, thus constituting the collective social memories of a group of people in the community. Collective social memories reflect shared identities, values, and norms that are connected to appropriate ways of being and ways of knowing that are produced and reproduced through communication (Climo and Cattell 2002). Peder was born and still lives in *Frøya*, which is a community of islands far out in the Norwegian Sea off the coast of Mid-Norway.

The discussion will be linked to a presentation of contemporary and place-sensitive education in the community from early childhood to upper secondary school, revealing a certain continuity with the past. The centrality of linking the shifting landscapes of childhood, education, and intergenerational relationships to the discussion of social and cultural sustainability today is underlined.

[1] The terms children and childhood refer to the age group 0–18 years based on the definition in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was adopted by UN Assembly in 1989 and ratified by all countries in the world, except the USA, Somalia, and South Sudan.

[2] This concept will be discussed in the theory section.

[3] These questions were asked in stream 1 at the conference, *Mare, People and the Sea*, which was held at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, June 25–28, 2019.

[4] Peder (a nickname) has read the text, confirmed the content, and given his consent to use the text in this publication.

6.2 Methodology and Site of Investigation

This chapter is based on a case study of a community consisting of 5000 islands and 5000 people on the coast of Mid-Norway. In the early 1970s, the economic basis of the community shifted from traditional small-scale fishing to a booming fish-farming industry. Today, 10% of the world's farmed salmon is produced at Frøya, and annual exports have amounted to approximately 1.5 billion euros. It has been ranked first in national statistics regarding business development and employment growth. There is still small-scale fishing, but similar to Norway in general, the amount of fishing has been reduced by neo-liberal and market-oriented fishing policies. In 1983, 360 full-time fishers were registered in the community, which decreased to 89 in 2019 (Directorate Fishing, Norway 2019). The population is growing, and the municipality is ranked second in the country with regard to population growth. The community of islands has a diverse population, and the number of labor migrants has increased from 281 in 2005 to 1800 in 2020, representing 50 different nationalities in the total population of 5300 (Kjørholt and Bunting 2021).

The ongoing fieldwork for this study began in 2016. The main data collection was based on life biographies across three generations, which was inspired by a research design developed by Brannen et al. (2004). Narrating a life includes memory work. Through memories, the past is made present, including images of self and society (Gullestad 1996), which are understood as a dynamic "living landscape" that not only recalls the past but also influences the present and the future (see Chap. 1).

The representative sample of three generations consists of 16 families, including youths (aged 16–19 years), parents (aged 40–55 years), and grandparents (aged 60–92 years). The sample included migrants and families who were living on different islands in the community. Memories of childhood, identities, everyday lives, and relations between different generations were a particular focus. The life biographies were supplemented by fieldwork consisting of observations and informal dialogues conducted in different settings on different islands, such as at quays, on ferries between islands, in fishing boats, and at the library. To obtain in-depth insights, supplementary interviews were conducted with the head teacher in one early childhood center, the rector at the youth school, and five teachers and twenty-five students at the upper secondary school in the community. A thematic analysis was applied to the narratives, which identified emerging and cross-cutting themes (Riesmann 2005). The research was granted ethical approval by the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD).

My presentation of literacies of the sea is based on analyses of the first generation in *Frøya* and supplemented by themes drawn from *Ivar*'s memories to reveal similarities across island communities. Ivar was 90 years old at the time of the study, living on *Jomfruland*, an island in *Skagerak* on the southern Norwegian coast. Their narratives had clear similarities, both representing "small pockets of history" (Nielsen 2003, p. 18) of childhood and informal education, which may be considered core intertwined elements of Norwegian coastal culture. Narratives of childhood thus

provide a lens through which knowledge can be gained about how children and their families in the past lived and interacted with the sea and the coastal environment.

6.2.1 *Landscapes of Childhood and Literacies of the Sea: Theoretical Perspectives*

Sustainable development in coastal communities demands paying attention to and recognizing cultural ecosystems, including identity, cultural heritage, and cultural vitality (Acott and Urquhart 2014), which are developed across generations. This chapter is anchored in the concept of culture as a fourth pillar of sustainability (Soini and Dessein 2016; Yenken and Wilkinson 2000). Distinct from social sustainability, culture refers to values embedded in ways of being and living (Hawkes 2001) and ways of belonging.

Individual memories of childhood reflect, portray, shape, and are shaped by a particular political and cultural landscape or cultural ecosystem. Landscapes of childhood are discursively constructed, including the dynamic interconnectedness between ways of being, knowing, and belonging that are linked to the place of children in a societal structure. Individual narratives of childhood are relational in the sense that they are inextricably interwoven with the lives of other generations in families and communities, which raises questions related to intragenerational and intergenerational cultural and social sustainability. As a child, Peder lived within an intergenerational social order, whereas the children and youth of today are positioned within an age-segregated social order (Alanen 2014; Punch 2019). Identities, skills, interdependencies, and a sense of belonging are developed through routinized social practices in everyday life, which are impacted by their position within a specific structural generational order, also enabled and restricted by young people's relational histories (Kjørholt and Bunting 2021).

My concept, literacies of the sea, is inspired by rural literacies, that is, "the particular kinds of literate skills needed to achieve the goals of sustaining life in rural areas" (Donehover et al. 2007; Green 2013). Literacies of the sea constitute a key element in the cultural ecosystem, reflecting cultural heritage seen as collective memories of lived lives of a group of people in the fishing community. Local knowledge, which is comprised of everyday, practical, and tacit knowledge, is thus shared, cultivated, and transferred through intergenerational relationships (Abebe and Kjørholt 2013) that are part of the dynamics of global-local discourses. Learning processes are intimately connected to social relationships, identity formation, and perceptions of social value and belonging (Devine and Luttrell 2013). In the hierarchical ordering of knowledge in the Global North, abstract and generalized knowledge is privileged at the cost of embodied, local knowledge (Sommerville 2013). Rural literacies – as my concept literacies of the sea – reflect an embodied sense of place (Green and Corbett 2013, p 8), pointing to the significance of "nature," here the seascape. However, as the concept local knowledge, *literacies*

of the sea is not fixed and static, but differentiated, dynamic, and shifting, attached with power dynamics between different groups of islanders, reflecting different interests and values.

It has been argued that formal education needs to be anchored in what are considered real problems and in communities of practice (Green and Corbett 2013). Place is defined as a site of knowing (Kerkham and Comber 2013). Drawing on Sommerville (2013, p. 181), with place as a starting point, literacy is defined as a "process of meaning making through representational practices." Furthermore, literacies are diverse and culturally located, seen as "multidimensional culture-critical practices and operational skillsets" (Green 2013, p. 183).

Differences in cultural knowledge are primarily linked to variations in embodied skills (Ingold 2000) and developed in the community through intimate interactions with the environment. These skills are derived through observation and imitation in interconnected social relationships in a particular place, that is, *apprenticeship* (Ingold 2000). According to Latour (1986), this process comprises "thinking with eyes and hands," emphasizing the importance of the senses. The intergenerational transmission of knowledge and skills from older generations to younger generations includes not only processes of observation and imitation but also active participation. Children and young people gradually derive a cultural *repertoire of practices* (Rogoff 2014), which, in the case of the fishing communities examined in this study, constitute a repertoire of emotional, tacit, and embodied literacies of the sea. Emotions and senses are key ingredients because learning is linked to smells, sounds, and aesthetic experiences (Krogh 2017; Chap. 11). In the following sections, I present themes that emerged from analyses of the memories and narratives of the first generation, confirming theoretical perspectives I have presented, constituting what I have called *landscapes of childhood and literacies of the sea*.

6.3 Landscapes of Childhood and Literacies of the Sea in a Small-Scale Fishing Community

The main characteristics of the landscape of literacies of the sea that emerged from the narratives told by the first generation illuminate the close interactions and interdependencies between generations and between human beings and nature, pointing to the dynamics between environmental, social, and cultural sustainability. Growing up means growing *into intergenerational* and *interdependent* communities of work, contributing to intergenerational social sustainability, conceptualized by Hawkes (2001) as including social and economic justice, engagement in society, social cohesion, and social welfare. As argued by Jentoft (2020b), small-scale fisheries are anchored in particular community-based cultural norms and values. Through the literacies of the sea, children are encultured by these overall moral values and collective identities as members of the fishing community, thus promoting cultural sustainability and continuity. Furthermore, the coastal environment and

the sea operated as significant *actants* of ways of being, knowing, and belonging. Predominant themes that emerged from the memories of childhood of the grandparent's generation were clearly evident in Peder's story, thus confirming key points in the theoretical perspective elaborated above and providing evidence that literacies are embodied, social, and inextricably linked to identity and a sense of belonging.

6.3.1 Place as a Site of Knowing; the Sea as an Educator

Peder began his life story by describing the *sea* and the *boat* as valued places and therefore *significant places* for learning:

> I was born in my uncle's house. He was out on a boat (*te sjøs*), and we stayed in his house. When he came back, we moved to Bird Island when I was about 4 years old. We were the only family living on that island. I grew up in the boat, so to speak. That's the place we wanted to be. (Peder)

Peder's memories aligned with what emerged from the majority of narratives: the sea was of key importance. He continued:

> We learned from each other. When we started at school by the age of 6–7, we were rowing from Bird Island to the main island—there was no school shuttle like today.

He and his younger brother got their own boat at an early age:

> Kåre and I were rigging the shark. Jørn (a neigbour) installed a motor for us (in the boat). Then we were in the boats—far out in the sea—my brother and I. During the winter, too. He was 13, and I was 14. We managed on our own—actually, we grew up in the boats. Then we were out on the sea alone all winter and spring, on our own, fishing with fishing nets, lines, and fish-spikes and everything. (Peder)

Peder's narrative demonstrates that learning processes are embodied and social, creating a strong sense of belonging to a place and an extended family, confirming Cuervo and Wyn's (2014) observation that belonging includes a sense of attachment to a place and a feeling of connectedness to families and friends. Belonging also has a time dimension because one is located at a particular time in a particular generation (Cuervo and Wyn 2014). A strong sense of emotional belonging to the sea is maintained and nurtured through continuous and repetitive social practices and interactions with the sea. The sea and the rough and special island landscape are thus *actants* that contribute to shaping the identities of islanders and fishing people, confirming the findings of Australian studies that the embodied sense of belonging to the landscape is of key importance in young people's relationships to their local communities (Farrugia 2016).

Interdependence between generations thus moves beyond the human community to include nonhuman nature and materiality. The row boat is an important classroom where one learns to row, to identify and understand signs in the sea, flocks of birds, and everything one must know in living with the sea as a neighbor. The role of the rowboat was documented in a biography of Petter Dass, a famous Norwegian priest

and author who grew up in a coastal community more than three hundred years ago (Knutsen 2019, p. 162).

Growing up as the son of a fisher meant growing up in communities of men: fathers, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandfathers, and neighbors. These communities were extended families and neighbors who were settled in a particularly named locality – *grend* – that was a significant identity marker of being a real *Frøyværing* (Kjørholt and Bunting 2021). Children learned by daily repeated observations, gradually deriving increasing responsibilities and autonomy. Play and various activities with peers were important daily experiences. Freedom of movement on the island and between islands with peers without adults was vital in learning about the environment and belonging to it.

6.3.2 *Mutual Interdependent and Intergenerational Communities of Work*

The variety of skills and knowledge required to be a fisher and an islander was derived through the transfer of knowledge and skills from older men, such as grandfathers and fathers, to boys from an early age:

> We spent a lot of time with granddad, when dad was far out on the sea, fishing. We were always around with the adults—*dæm voksnan*—helping them with fish nets, fish traps, mooring, rigging at the sea, dealing with the boats, the fish, and such things. Learned all these things. (Peder)

Work has been described as a key symbol in coastal communities in northern Norway, connoting meanings and values beyond working life. Participation in work, which is particularly connected to fisheries, has been seen as key in developing the skills and knowledge that are prerequisites for active citizenship in the local community (Gerrard 1983). The transfer of knowledge and skills related to fishing, boats, and the sea is thus social and deeply embedded in interactions with the sea. This complies with former research in Northern Norway, of boys being included in a masculine working community with obligations to join the fishing boat as the youngest in the team, sometimes in conflict with attending school. Everyday life and participation in work is an alternative school; exams take place on the sea (Rossvær 1998; Broch 2013).

Women participated in many types of work related to their responsibilities. Women were responsible for running the farm and family when their men were out fishing. Milking cows in the barn, looking after animals, weeding, digging potatoes, and picking berries were girls' responsibilities. Furthermore, girls participated in various household chores, such as cooking, looking after younger siblings, and so on. Children learned by daily repeated observations before gradually assuming more responsibilities, skills, and autonomy within intergenerational, interdependent, and gendered communities of work. Women were significant

economic and social contributors to the fishing economy, even if they did not catch fish. In some coastal communities, they also took part in fishing close to their homes.

6.3.3 *Robust Adaptation to Marine Resources: Diverse Skills; Mangsyssler'n*

> Dad–he was so self-reliant. Granddad also. They managed all kinds of practical things. They had a forge—*smie*—making things. And the women cooked soap from lard, I remember, in a pan. We learned a lot from dad. Carpentering, for example, he made everything. Because he had to, we didn't have much money to buy things, so we had to do almost everything ourselves. (Peder)

Peder continued:

> We learned to cope—always see new possibilities, new ways of surviving. Use the various resources of the sea. We have tried and done so many different things. Actually, we have always been our own employers.

Though growing up at an island far away from Peder, Ivar's memories of childhood resonate with Peder's in many ways. Ivar was 90 years old at the time of the study, and he lives at *Jomfruland* where he was born, a small island located far out in the sea off the coast of Southern Norway. Fish and farming – *fiskarbonden* – was the main traditional subsistence at both island communities, though with more emphasis on farming at *Jomfruland* than at *Frøya*. The excerpt below from his memories reveals that he also learnt essential practical skills through observation, imitation and active practice – *apprenticeship*:

> I was together with dad and slaughtered as soon as I was big enough to be able to hold a leg of the calf when he slaughtered. And the day I managed to use the knife myself, - I remember so well-- dad said: Now I go out on the sea fishing, you do the slaughtering. Actually, I was very little when I started to slaughter calves and sheep on my own at the farm, in the autumn. Then after some years I was together with the professional slaughters along the archipelago – *i skjærgården her.* A local slaughter was travelling around. I was watching, and learnt how they did it. When I was 20 years old I started as a local slaughter myself, travelling around! (Ivar)

Diverse practical and environmental skills and knowledge were also part of the repertoire of practices he learned as part of growing up by being included in an intergenerational social network.

The following excerpt describes literacy practices connected to the use of seaweed – *tang* – collected from the sea and the shore, which was used to fertilize the fields:

> Seaweed has meant a lot to *Jomfruland.* It was also a process that we learned from when we were very young. Dad had made a horse and a harness—I was so small when I got it, that I could not use anything else—but then he made a small seaweed sled to me too, which I could pull. But then I was so small—I put the seaweed crossed over the harness, the kind of seaweed that split, sort of, and down from the shore. While the others drove, I was lying and crawling at the rolling stone shore, with seaweed on top of this horse, dragging it up and

> making my own little heap, which could lie there on the island. Everyone had seaweed sleds, often two to three of them. (Ivar)

He continued:

> Heaps of seaweed—heaps out there! And then when it had been lying there burning and sort of fermenting then, from September / October when it came ashore from the storms, we carried it over and then put it in new piles. And when spring came, and we were to start planting potatoes, it was driven out in small portions that were suitable for plowing down every other furrow—and that we put the potatoes on top. And then it kept on moisture in the sandy soil here. And that process we learned before we could walk, roughly, you know. (Ivar)

Ivar shared many rich and detailed memories, revealing that environmental skills and knowledge, as literacies of the sea, were derived through intertwined processes of gaining a sense of belonging to the sea and to an intergenerational community, thus promoting environmental, social, and cultural sustainability:

> Then I really belonged to that gang that sat and talked and—about how many loads they had driven up and managed—you know. Then we felt very.... When we could eat with them and sit there and listen to those conversations. There were so many exciting stories! If there had been an accident at sea outside, and there had been a storm and.... And it was at that time that there were pots out, and they fished lobster.
>
> At that time, we could sit there and listen—and inside the seaweed that had filtered up and that they drove, then they could find some lobsterpots inside there—and lobsterpots—ropes, not least, which had filtered in the seaweed. We were so happy because we could use them to catch lobster and crabs.

6.3.4 Moral/Cultural Values: The Best of the Community as an Overall Aim

The narratives revealed that the best interests of the community were an overall aim and driving force. These values were also reflected in the way grandparents shared their memories of childhood, which were told as a "we-story," in contrast to contemporary youth who used "I" in telling their stories (Kjørholt and Bunting 2021). To succeed as fishers, various forms of collaboration and collective action were required. Memories about individual life were thus *social* and *collective.* From an early age, children learned the moral value of acting for the best interests of the community, which was embedded in the mutual interdependence of members of the community, families, and neighborhoods – *grender.* Freedom, self-reliance, and autonomy stood out as culturally highly valued and deeply embedded in the mentality of communal thinking. Hence, they also learned to be flexible and dynamic in learning to be *entrepreneurs*.

Childhood memories were deeply intertwined with memories of the coastal landscape: the sea, the boat, the shore, and the sea house, revealing an intimate *togetherness* between nature and people. As elaborated elsewhere (Kjørholt and Bunting 2021), the sense of *togetherness* was constituted by *doing* things and

interacting with the coastal environment, such as fishing at sea and in lakes and playing with friends. Play activities included fishing for trout in lakes, building stone-huts, playing football, and playing with toys they made themselves, such as small boats and trucks of wood, dolls, cows, and sheep (using cones). In the following excerpt, Eva, aged 76 (the first generation), shared her memories:

> We made nice houses of material from nature, such as leaves, spruce of woods, and stones. A barn to the cows and sheep, and sometimes also a sea house—*naust*. With dolls, creating a sort of family life. Exiting stories of what happened with fishers at sea. I loved being with my younger sister and Toril, my best friend. (Eva)

Collecting seagull eggs on small islands (sometimes 300 per day) was also described as play, reflecting blurred boundaries between play and work and between intra- and intergenerational relationships. The everyday lives and education of children and young people in coastal communities today differ greatly from the time in which Peder grew up. The following section describes the transition of the community of islands, *Frøya*, as narrated by Peder.

6.3.5 *"When People Got Money, There Was a Change": Transition to the Fish-Farming Industry*

From Peder's narrative, we obtained an understanding of change as he experienced it. He worked as a fisher for decades after finishing 7 years of primary school and 1 year of upper secondary school. During the 1950s and 1960s when the number of fish in the sea was decreasing, he went with his father to the Barents Sea – *Barentshave*t. He also worked as a young sailor on a ship – *te sjøs* – abroad and foreign trade – *i utenriksfart* – for several years. When the fish had almost disappeared, they began "to think about new ways of making a living of fish at the island." The following excerpt reveals his strong identity as a fisher and his sense of belonging to the island where he grew up. Furthermore, his choices in life regarding his profession and livelihood were connected to his masculine extended family and *the intergenerational community of work* to which he belonged, which promoted cultural and social sustainability:

> My father was also a fisherman. For a while, he worked at the big fishing trawler, catching herring, and he managed to get me a job at a trawler further south on the coast. We tried for some time to get hatchery—*settefisk*—to start a fish-farming firm, but we did not manage before 1973. Since the mid-1970s, the fish-farming industry has more or less been the main livelihood—*næring*—here. (Peder)

Peder was among the men who started the salmon farm industry, and he explained that the wide range of skills and knowledge gained from being traditional fishing people was a prerequisite for succeeding in the fish-farming industry:

> Cause most of us who succeeded with fish-farming firms were former traditional fishermen. . . . good at rigging and putting out mooring at the sea, sort out nets and such things.... I think this is the basic foundation why we succeeded with the fish-farming industry. None of us,

> except a few, had any formal education. Dad traveled with the boat all along the coast—from Bergen to Lofoten—he knew every shear and clip. None of them had any exam, coastal skipper, or something. (Peder)

Through intimate interactions with the sea, they learned to be entrepreneurs by finding various new ways to make a living from its resources, thus promoting cultural vitality (Hawkes 2001). The fish-farming industry represented a major change in life on the island in many ways.

He described this as follows:

> When people got money, there was a change—fish farming—when the salmon farm industry started. (Peder)

Although it led to new opportunities for economic sustainability, the change to the fish-farming industry was perceived as implying a change in mentality, moral values, and lifestyle:

> Everything is different. We were very self-reliant—autonomous. We had to do everything ourselves—produced everything we needed. The women were weaving—they made fabric for the boats, among other things, bedlinen, producing soap. We had large boats, we all worked together, large boathouses—*store båta, store sjøhus de va*—we worked together. (Peder)

The change from the traditional fishing embedded in intergenerational and interdependent communities included, as he saw it, the loss of environmental and practical skills among young islanders, which were necessary for self-reliance and autonomy.

Moreover, this transition implied an increased emphasis on formal education:

> Everyone has to be a professional today. You can teach young people so they get the certificate, but you do not get the certificate yourself. (Peder)

In the economic transition from a traditional fishing community to a booming fish-farming industry, tourism has increased. Although small-scale fishing remained, the transition was a major shift regarding not only livelihoods but also cultural and moral values. From being one of the poorest communities in Norway until the 1970s, today it is one of the most economically prosperous, recently ranking number four on a top 10 list of municipalities relating to income differences between families. A few households with an exceptionally huge income from the fish-farming industry have accounted for these differences.[5] The prosperous fish-farming industry has ensured *economic* sustainability by offering work to young people, and both locally born youths rooted through generations and young labor migrants have expressed the desire to stay and to make a living on the island.

Since the transition, education and learning have been formalized, institutionalized, and centralized, fragmenting time and daily lives by disconnecting children from their intergenerational communities. Children are thus removed from the positions of shared agencies and economic contributors situated within

[5] https://www.ssb.no/inntekt-og-forbruk/artikler-og-publikasjoner/disse-kommunene-har-storst-og-minst-inntektsulikhet

intergenerational communities of mutual interdependencies. The former landscapes of childhood and the literacies of the sea have thereby changed.

However, in the community of islands, there is a growing awareness of the importance of place-sensitive education and the value of local skills and knowledge derived from the past practices of small-scale fishing. We witnessed some examples of the renewal of former local practices and their inclusion in formal education from early childhood to upper secondary school. *Guri Kunna*,[6] the upper secondary school in the community, has two locally oriented programs: Blue Agriculture and Restaurant and Food Processing. The Blue Agriculture program attracts many applicants from both inside and outside the community. In 2018, 80 students were enrolled in the program, which is sponsored by the local fish-farming industry. Two elective courses are included: traditional fishing and the fish-farming industry. Students and teachers participate in the seasonal winter cod fishing in the *Lofoten Islands* 900 km north of Frøya, using a boat owned by the school. The teachers are experienced small-scale fishers who transmit their skills and practical knowledge to the students (see Chap. 11). Students who choose the fish farming stream participate in activities at local fish-farming firms. Thus, there are clear similarities to *literacies of the sea* in the past, which promote learning through the transmission of practical skills and knowledge of older generations to youth through working and interacting with the sea in intergenerational communities, thus indicating continuity and cultural sustainability by valuing the past.

However, new elements emerged, such as the fish-farming industry being included in the school. Furthermore, the two locally oriented programs combine the local knowledge of previous generations with other forms of knowledge, with the aim of being innovative and adapting to new ways of making a living based on interactions with the sea in a changed coastal context. Collaboration with different universities in Norway and countries in Asia, local industries, and the regional Blue Competence Center, which was established in 2016, is aimed at innovative knowledge production in the marine sector. In the restaurant and food processing program, traditional local recipes are included as well as new ways of using sea resources for food, such as seaweed salad. These practices indicate the ability to renew and reanimate places and thus promote cultural vitality, which Hawkes (2001) described as one out of four key pillars of sustainability: creativity, diversity, innovation, and well-being.

The students are generally pleased with the programs. They enjoy the work and practical activities, close interactions with the sea, and intergenerational learning. Moreover, they feel that they learn many useful and relevant skills, which promotes belonging and the desire to make a living in the community of islands (see Chap. 11).

[6]The school is named after a strong woman and local legend known as the "queen of ordinary poor people." Her magical abilities enable her to be in touch with supernatural and mysterious creatures at sea and on land.

6.3.6 *Kystbarnehagen: An Institutional Space for Revitalization of Literacies of the Sea?*

Located on the shore, *Sistranda Kystbarnehage* (coastal early childhood and care center [ECEC]) was established by private owners in 2007. Sixty-eight children aged 1–6 years attend the center. The children are divided into four groups that are named by species of the sea: monkfish, crab, sea urchin, and seaweed flea. These groups provide a collective identity of belonging to the sea. *Kystbarnehagen* reflects the desire to promote coastal values and a sense of belonging to the community of islands from an early age (Fig. 6.1).[5]

The aim of the school is as follows:

> We want children to experience *Frøya* as a coastal society. This implies food culture, fishing at the sea and in the lakes, life at the shore and in the sea, narratives, and stories from the past, local environment, and businesses. We explore nature to teach children to value and connect to our beautiful island. (Annual plan Årsplan 2020)

Kystbarnehagen has its own boat for bringing children far out to sea all year round, often in rough weather. Various activities, such as fishing and catching crabs, learning how to use fish equipment, cooking crabs, and making seafood, are emphasized. Furthermore, interactions with and respect for the sea and coastal nature, as well as how to behave in the boat, on the shore, at the sea, and in the lakes in various weather conditions and seasons, are promoted. *Kystbarnehagen* has a swimming pool and an indoor saltwater aquarium, which demonstrates the significance of sea and water as places to learn. In addition to traditional fishing, the staff take children to local hatcheries and farmed salmon cages – *laksemerde*r – in the sea.

At *Kystbarnehagen*, there are many similarities with the landscapes of early childhood and the literacies of the sea narrated by the first generation in this study. The educational practices are place-sensitive and anchored in repeated and continuous interactions with the sea and the coastal landscape. A seasonal cycle is followed, which is aimed at creating a sense of belonging to the sea and the island

Fig. 6.1 Exploring the sea. *Sistranda kystbarnehage*. Source: Gretha Rabben

from an early age. Furthermore, the center promotes dynamic interconnections between environmental knowledge and skills, a sense of belonging, and emotional attachment, which are derived through various activities and interactions with the sea. The use of sea resources is valued, which demands environmental skills and knowledge. The robust adaptation to marine resources, innovation, and creativity is learned through play and exploration. The sea, the boat, the sea house –*naustet* – and the shore are significant places in the landscape of early childhood and the literacies of the sea in kindergarten, as they were in the past landscapes of childhood and literacies.[7]

Despite these similarities, there are obvious differences. These practices are not anchored in intergenerational and interdependent communities of work and mutual responsibilities in a particular neighborhood, which were necessary for economic survival in the past. The practices are based on *choice* and the wish to promote particular skills, knowledge, norms, and values in children as islanders now and in the future.

Contemporary practices value the past but also point to new directions:

> We want *Kystbarnehagen* to represent a fundament for children's autonomous, responsible participation in democratic communities, contributing to an understanding of the importance of shared values and norms essential for the community. (Annual Plan Årsplan 2020)

The above quotation reveals the importance of global discourses on children as individual right claimers and citizens, as stated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, underlining the dynamics of global-local discourses and promoting values related to self-responsibility, autonomy, and participation. Interestingly, these are anchored in shared values and norms.

6.3.7 "By No Doubt, I Want to Be a Fisherman"

Adrian,[8] an islander in *Frøya* aged 14 years, said these words in an interview by the national *Fishery Newspaper* on June 18, 2022 (Knutlie 2021). Adrian had recently bought a new fishing boat, his third. He said he enjoyed fishing, and he participated weekly in an alternative learning arena at a youth school called *Naustet* (sea house). The idea of establishing *Naustet* emerged nearly 20 years ago, but because of a lack of funding, it was not realized for several years. It is now sponsored with equipment and a fishing boat by local fish-farm industries, and it is supported by the local fishing union, *Fiskar laget*. *Naustet* is led by an experienced fisher, and it is an attractive and successful learning arena, contributing to recruiting future workers in

[7] The following link describes the activities in *Kystbarnehagen:* https://www.facebook.com/sistrandakystbarnehage/videos/370780943955940/?__so__=channel_tab&__rv__=all_videos_card

[8] Adrian and his mother read and confirmed the text and gave their consent to use the photo of Adrian and his grandfather, who sadly passed away during the work for this chapter.

small-scale fishing and fish-farm firms. Ten students are enrolled annually, who are selected from many applicants. Students learn and practice fishing, catching crabs and shellfish, using a boat, and so on.

Before attending *Naustet*, Adrian had negative experiences at school:

> I have never done well in school, I struggle with writing and reading, and do not manage to concentrate. From the very first day, I felt that school was not a place for me. I have never felt I succeeded with anything. At sea, it is completely different. When I'm in the boat, I feel I can handle everything. I feel so competent and self-reliant! And I love being in the boat, fishing at sea. (Adrian)

Adrian catches a variety of fish at sea every day after school. At the age of 14, he is already an experienced fisher, learning from work and earning money by selling his catch. He manages everything in the boat, including the motor and mechanics. He has also furnished the walls in his boat, just as previous generations did in their literacies of the sea. He is also experienced in preparing fish in traditional ways, such as salting. From an early age, Adrian's main teacher was his grandfather (Fig. 6.2): "He is my hero. He has taught me everything."

Adrian's story, similar to other stories of contemporary locally born youth in the community, demonstrates that essential skills and knowledge are derived in intergenerational communities of practices in continuity with the literacies of the sea of previous generations, thereby contributing to cultural sustainability by valuing the past. Furthermore, intergenerational social sustainability is promoted by strong relationships between different generations.

The sense of freedom gained by interacting with the sea was highly valued by Adrian, similar to previous generations of small-scale fishers on the island:

> The sea is life for me. Here, I feel so free. To see the sea-eagles catch the fish just close to the boat, and the eider with the birds. I enjoy it! And I love to fish! (Adrian)

Adrian's experiences resonate with a relationship-based experiential learning approach (Jolly and Krogh 2021), in which students form relationships with the

Fig. 6.2 Adrian and his grandfather, Hans Kristian. (Photo: Karin Sørensen)

work at hand, encountering the task with their bodies, senses, and previous experiences (see Chap. 11).

6.4 Sustainability by Valuing the Landscape of Childhood and the Literacies of the Sea: Concluding Discussion

According to Creswell (2004), the transition of places includes the ability to make the past visible and viable in the present. Linking this notion to the questions posed in the introduction to this chapter, I assert that ways of being, knowing, and living, as well as the insights of earlier generations, are relevant to promoting social and cultural sustainability. A certain *cultural continuity* with ways of living, being and knowing in the past is vital, also as a resource to be innovative, and to promote *intergenerational* social sustainability. Furthermore, *the landscape of childhood and literacies of the sea*, which are anchored in memories of lived lives, represents essential cultural heritage and social collective memories as a reservoir of knowledge to critically discuss contemporary education and the place of children and young people in the community.

The priority of community thinking in order to survive, more so than individual interests, made small-scale fishing communities morally resilient and robust (Jentoft 2020b), which were significant values in the literacies of the sea in the past. Today, children and young people are inscribed in global discourses of individualization, promoting identities of unique selves and self-realization, challenging community thinking and values. Children are brought up to be self-reliant and responsible for their own selves as consumers inscribed by an ethos of individual freedom of choice regarding education, livelihood, lifestyle, and residence (Giddens 1991a, b; Gullestad 1996; Kjørholt 2004). This increasing individualization also implies that young people often feel responsible for crises and shortcomings that are rooted in wider economic and political processes of social change (Furlong and Cartmel 2007), increasing their vulnerability, which is evidenced by the growing number of young people with psychosocial problems. The increasing privileging of formal education, schooling, and human capital formation globally is not without costs, including the emphasis on individualistic urban lifestyles and careers, which sometimes drives young people to leave their rural places (Corbett 2000; Gulløv and Gulløv 2020). Thus, small-scale fishing in coastal societies has been devalued.

In the transition of the community, intergenerational collaboration and mutual interdependence due to economic necessity have been largely replaced by individual enterprises that are linked to new dependences on a global market with the aim of maximizing profit. Some research participants in the first generation expressed anxiety about the negative effects of young people earning high incomes and increasing individual consumption and interests compared with promoting moral values connected to the best interests of the community. While small coastal communities along the Norwegian coast today depend on fish-farming firms for

economic sustainability (Todal 2018), concern about the consequences for the environment has been addressed by some, such as a lack of political control of the industry (Bjørklund 2016). These are complex and contested issues related to the connection between cultural and environmental sustainability, requiring a thorough, in-depth discussion which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The hegemony of formal education based on abstract and theoretical knowledge in late modern societies and the devaluation of work and responsibilities as important sources of skills and knowledge are challenged by past *literacies of the sea*, which promote place-based knowledge and environmental skills from an early age in interdependent and intergenerational communities of work. However, as this study has demonstrated, there are interesting continuities with literacies of the sea that are anchored in traditional small-scale fishing and passed on in present educational practices on *Frøya* from early childhood to upper secondary school, indicating the promulgation of cultural and social sustainability. The further development of initiatives, such as the *Naustet* and *Blue Agriculture program*, to include more students as well as systematic assessments of these practices is welcomed.

Adrian's experiences resonate with the findings of previous research on early school leavers (Lillejord et al. 2015), which showed that positive completion rates in upper secondary schools depended on strong relationships with adults, the acquisition of skills and knowledge perceived as useful for future lives, and the desire to contribute to local communities (Lillejord et al. 2015; Sackey and Johannesen 2015). The recognition of knowledge and skills embedded in intergenerational and interdependent communities of work and intimate interactions with the sea represent a fruitful step toward the renewal of not only education but also social and cultural sustainability.

Cultural sustainability is characterized by *vitality* (Hawkes 2001). Thus, it includes the awareness of local history, ways of being, thinking, knowing, and living, which are sources of collective social memory. The immense significance of intimate and repetitive interactions with the sea and the coastal landscape is embedded in the *literacies of the sea*, following a seasonal cycle that should not be underestimated.

However, cultural sustainability presupposes *social sustainability*, which refers to social equity, social, and economic justice, engagement in society, social cohesion, and social welfare (Hawkes 2001). Today, *Frøya* is diverse and heterogeneous with regard to gender, ethnic background, and cultural and political values. The population is characterized by social and economic inequality and by marginalization and a lack of inclusion experienced by many migrants (Rye 2018; Kjørholt and Bunting 2021), which indicates a lack of *intragenerational* social sustainability, social justice, and cohesion. The silencing of cultural heritage and experiences among different groups of islanders hinders social sustainability. A politics of recognition (Taylor 1994), embracing diversity and promoting dialogue and inclusion, is an interesting approach to promoting cultural sustainability. In such an approach, conflicts of interest, unequal opportunities among different groups of people, and different interests and values need to be identified and explicitly addressed in order to build bridges of *intragenerational* and *intergenerational* dialogue.

The present position of children and young people in an age-segregated social order has significant structural limitations for the establishment of intergenerational communities of work and learning. However, the promotion of intergenerational learning and diverse practices, promoting increased dialogue – *fellesskap* – and thus joint work and learning across generations, and between different groups in the same generation, would foster increasingly robust social and cultural sustainability in coastal communities.

The awareness of literacies and learning as *social* and embedded in communities – *fellesskap* – and a sense of belonging is a starting point in applying holistic approaches to learning that is connected to building communities, characterized by commitment and joint interests among groups of people in schools and local communities. Communitarian perspectives on intergenerational justice, which emphasize *the community* as an analytical focus rather than the individual human being, comply with values and practices in the *literacies of the sea*. Community is understood as including past, current, and future generations (Pellegrini-Masini et al. 2020). However, recognizing diversity requires being open to, identifying, and acknowledging a range of different *communities of practice*, including different educational preferences, lifestyles, and visions of the future. The interrelatedness between generations, as part of a communitarian perspective, extends beyond human communities to include the natural environment, which is essential in past *literacies of the sea*.

The significance of place, identity, and learning as inscribed in and connected to materiality are deeply embedded in and shaped by a particular seascape, which is a prominent *actant* in both the past and present. *Båten*, *havet*, *naustet*, *og fisken* (the boat, the sea, the seahouse, and the fish) are key sources of learning that are valued today as in the past. The sense of freedom derived from interactions with the sea and the coastal landscape predominates over time and through generations, and it persists among current youth, despite their country of origin. This sense illuminates the close interactions and interdependencies between humans and nature, which constitute a key pillar of economic, environmental, social, and cultural sustainability.

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Chapter 7
Learning from the Coast: Youth, Family, and Local Knowledge in the Faroe Islands

Firouz Gaini

Abstract This chapter explores the shifting role and meaning of the coastline and ocean in the everyday lives and cultural identities of young people from a Faroese village. It examines and evaluates (dis)continuities in young people's attachment to the sea since the mid-twentieth century. Young Faroe Islanders, the chapter argues, continue to value local experience and knowledge associated to marine spaces as (educational) "capital" for the future, even if they decide to move away from the coast. The water has a double meaning: it gives the youth strong bonds to the coastal place and its history (past generations), but it also symbolizes a constant flux. Living at the edge of the water, in an "aquapelagic" society (Hayward, Shima: Int J Island Cult, 6(1):1–11, 2012) in the North Atlantic, young people will always look for opportunities in the coastal ecosystem and beyond – in fisheries, fish farming, shipping, tourism, etc. How much of the aquatic knowledge is acquired from formal education and how much is part of social interaction in the village community?

Keywords Youth · Knowledge · Fisheries · Intergenerational relations · Local culture · Faroe Islands

"Granddad, he is such a handyman. He knows how to fix anything," said 18-year-old Steve enthusiastically, and the youngster added: "he told me that he has been self-employed all his life; the first pay-check that he received was the state pension." The grandson, who had been busy repairing an old boat just before our chat, now laughed mildly while wiping his oil-dirty hands. Steve, who said he loved to play Lego as a child, and who at a very early age began to take an interest "in cars, engines, and machines," said that he spent a great deal of time repairing and rebuilding things in his father's garage. "They have taught me a lot," he said, referring to his creative and eccentric father and grandfathers. "They like to build things" and "to be outdoors," he also explained graciously, pondering which qualities he had "inherited" from his elder maternal and paternal relatives, who, according to the young emerging jack-of-

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all-trades, hardly ever needed the help of professionals when they were repairing and renovating at home. Steve's story, which is not unusual among his co-villagers or, for that matter, among people in present-day Faroese village communities, illustrates the persistent significance of informal learning and practical training across generations in a postindustrial North Atlantic coastal community. This chapter examines the role of local knowledge and culture in the everyday lives and local identities of young people in a village in the Faroe Islands. Drawing on young people's perspectives, intergenerational social interactions, and childhood narratives, this chapter discusses and analyzes the roles and meanings of local knowledge and learning, with a focus on the viability and sustainability of Nordic Atlantic coastal communities. The chapter begins by introducing the research field and theoretical concepts applied in this study, followed by a discussion of the methodology and geographical context. I then examine and analyze the findings from this field study: young people's entrepreneurial skills and local knowledge; their relation to fishing and the ocean; and their education and career plans.

7.1 Introduction and Theoretical Framework

The sociological and anthropological literature on small fishery-dependent (or previously fishery-dependent) coastal and island communities in the Nordic Atlantic is extensive and increasing (e.g., Corbett 2007; Gaini 2013, Hovgaard 2001; van Ginkel 2009). However, only a few studies have focused on childhood in North Atlantic coastal communities or discussed informal learning and cultural knowledge (e.g., Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006; Winther 2013). In many comparative studies, the well-documented problems of out-migration and economic recession in provincial coastal regions have been addressed from national or international policy perspectives, but it is difficult to find publications that emphasize the other side of the story, that is, narratives of people who do *not* want to move away from their native coastal community (e.g., Gulløv and Gulløv 2020; Karlsdóttir and Jungsberg 2015; Lundmark et al. 2020). In interdisciplinary childhood and youth research, the coast has rarely been discussed as a key characteristic and empowering element in local communities (e.g., Gaini 2021; van Ginkel 2007). The literature on maritime studies, especially the anthropology of fishing, such as the fishing family, typically with fathers working at sea, has indeed a coastal dimension, but the seashore's more general role and meaning in children's everyday social practices and imagination has rarely been investigated in this tradition (e.g., Biskupstø 2016; Broch 2020; Hagmark-Cooper 2012a, b; Van Ginkel 2009). As Svein Jentoft observed, "Life above water is not just an offshoot of what is happening below water. People who fish depend on their communities as much as on their fish, boats, and gear" (2020, pp. 389–390). Similarly, fisheries, said Gisli Pálsson, "are embedded in social life" (cited in Jentoft 2020, p. 390). In some cases, coastal societies do not depend on fisheries, while the shoreline and ocean (above as well as below

water) shape and define people's identities. Therefore, aquatic knowledge refers to knowledge beyond expertise in fish, whales, tides, and waves (Gaini and Sleire 2022).

The coastline represents a fluid and liminal zone that connects aquatic and terrestrial environments that are studied from what scholars have described (conceptually and methodologically) as an "amphibious" anthropological perspective (Boon et al. 2018; Pauwelussen 2017). Resonating with the aquatic turn in recent island studies discourse, Philip Hayward introduced the concepts of "aquapelago" and "aquapelagic assemblages" as an alternative to the more common term archipelago (Hayward 2012). His aim was to reexplore aquatic spaces that are essential to islanders: "habitation of land and their senses of identity and belonging" (Hayward 2012, p. 5). The aquapelago is defined as an "assemblage of marine and land spaces of a group of islands and their adjacent waters" (ibid.). Although this is an intriguing theoretical reinterpretation of island communities and part of the "archipelagic turn" in island studies, which is unsettling sea and land borders (Pugh 2018, p. 94), until now, it has not been used in research on coastal childhood. In anthropological reviews, Nordic and Nordic Atlantic coastal communities have been presented as family- and network-based local societies without stringent social hierarchies (Barnes 1954). The anthropologist John A. Barnes famously introduced the concept of "network" to sociological theory in the 1950s after having conducted extensive fieldwork in the Norwegian coastal parish of Bremnes (ibid.). Coastal fishery-dependent communities, even where major economic restructuring and processes of globalization have altered their need for fish to be caught and processed at their ports, have been commonly characterized by strong reciprocal and inconspicuous economic relationships (Hovgaard 2001, p. 263). Smallness, according to Thomas Hylland Eriksen, referring to small island communities, "entails short distances and encourages informality" (2020, p. 15).

It is important to stress that local knowledge is not in conflict with formal institutional learning (Abebe and Kjørholt 2013). Rather, it is a supplement to formal learning, which, in relation to education, career, and social life, symbolizes the future of youth in the dominant contemporary discourse on local societal development. However, as illustrated by Steve's story, not everything can be learned at school because some skills can only be achieved through first-hand practice and testing in other social learning arenas (Frydenberg 1999; Lindseth 2015). For example, referring to children in a very small and remote Danish island, Ida Wetzel Winther observed, "Here, other kinds of skills become important: how to build a cave, how to do nothing in a world full of possibilities, how to be remote in a mediatized world, how to be very close-knit" (2013, p. 121). Hence, children's interrelated skills reflect a way of life, a cultural practice, and a coping strategy in a small-scale societal setting (Bærenholdt 2007). Discussing the formation of fishers in the context of a Greenlandic coastal community, Harald Beyer Broch said, "The informal, hands-on education is required to become a successful fisherman and skipper" (2020, p. 91). He did not claim that formal schooling was unnecessary but emphasized other learning arenas that are often overlooked in academic and public debates on

sustainable schemes for education and training. Local knowledge, which is often addressed as a form of tacit knowledge, can be difficult to verbalize because "we know more than we can tell" (Polanyi 1966).

In this chapter, local knowledge is examined through youths' own narratives about what they have learned outside school and the impact of this knowledge on their lives now and in the future. On one hand, local knowledge is closely tied to anthropological presentations of local cultural knowledge and practice, focusing on meaning construction in complex social interactions (Sillitoe 1998b, p. 204). From another decolonial perspective that challenges academic knowledge, local knowledge refers to systems of "situated knowledge" in the global south (Abebe 2021, p. 3). Local knowledge, along with a range of corresponding notions in equivalent scholarly debates (e.g., indigenous, endogenous, folk, traditional knowledge, and ethnoscience), has been employed in the quest for the reactivation of knowledge systems that have been marginalized in the paradigm of Western scientific knowledge production (ibid.). Local knowledge should not be downgraded or ignored but rather "valued as education" (Kjørholt 2013, p. 252). Local or indigenous knowledge should be de-exoticized and assigned the same value as the so-called international knowledge (Akpan 2011). Local knowledge, which in many coastal communities is embedded in an intergenerational social structure, is "sustained through participation in work" (Ibid. 250) and through oral tradition and other paths leading to the acquisition of practical knowledge. It concerns, in other words, both "how to" knowledge and a "way of seeing," which resonates with a conceptual structure (Nedwan 2006, p. 6). Indeed, all knowledge is in a sense rooted in local knowledge, which is not the exclusive domain of anthropologists because since the end of the twentieth century, a significant number of environmental scholars, development specialists, entrepreneurs, and others have turned their attention to local knowledge (Nygren 1999, p. 267). The shapes of knowledge, according to Clifford Geertz (cited in Barth 2002, p. 2), are "always ineluctably local," and local knowledge arranges a "relatively organized body of thought based on immediacy of experience" (cited in Nygren 1999, p. 268). However, as Kirsten Hastrup pointed out, practical experience and theoretical rendering "are deeply implicated in one another" (Hastrup 2004, p. 466). It is, moreover, also important to keep in mind that local knowledge needs to be evaluated as "heterogeneous ways of knowing" based on a "multidimensional reality" (Nygren 1999, p. 282), and therefore as a part of a complex relationship with formal education and lived experiences (Kjørholt 2013, p. 252). The cultural knowledge and practical skills that people embody in a specific locality and that are observed in their "practical engagement with the world" (Polanyi 1966) mirror patterns of continuity and rupture in a diversified social landscape. From an anthropological viewpoint, the art of understanding local ideas and practices, according to Paul Sillitoe, is imperative for the further development work of any society (Sillitoe 1998a, b, p. 224). In an ocean-facing coastal community, local knowledge about the sea and the seafront represents an important part of the cultural identities of the people who live there.

7.2 Method and Context

This chapter is based on a Faroese ethnographic study that represents a case in the international project Valuing the Past – Sustaining the Future, which was coordinated by Professor Anne Trine Kjørholt. In 2017 and early 2018, we conducted 35 individual biographical interviews with people from three generations (youths, parents, and grandparents) belonging to 13 family groups in Gøta. All interviews took place in private family homes. Later, in 2019–2020, we conducted eight additional individual interviews, of which three were the so-called walking (or go-along) interviews with a selection of participants from the first round of interviews. The walking interviews, which combined conventional interviewing techniques with participant observations, were organized as informal talks during an unhurried walk steered by the research participant through the village, which gave us a stronger sense of the places and stories that shaped the biographical narratives of the participants (Carpiano 2009; Kusenback 2003). We also organized two focus groups that were conducted in an ancient house in Norðragøta (North Gøta), which served as a part of the cultural history museum Blásastova, during late spring 2019. We hired a professional cameraperson to film the sessions, each of which lasted approximately 100–120 min., to gain a better visual overview of the conversations. The first focus group included two female and two male teenagers from Gøta, who already had been interviewed individually in 2017, in addition to myself and my assistant. The second focus group was with seven female and male adults from North and South Gøta, who represented the parent and grandparent generations in our study. In the focus groups, the participants discussed Gøta both as place and home, their childhood memories, play, outdoor activities, family histories, and so on. Because most people in Gøta had a passionate interest in the history of their community and enjoyed the opportunity to share their thoughts with fellow villagers as well as with academic strangers, I felt privileged as a fieldworker. The participants complemented each other's discourse in discussions about various issues, solving puzzles about uncertain characters and events in the past, or adjusting and reinterpreting their own images of the past, which was an exciting and valuable exercise among these people, who felt that they shared deep roots in the place in which they belonged. Although this chapter focuses on material gathered from present-day youth in the study, intergenerational social relations and the transmission of local knowledge were an integral part of the landscape because the young people built on past generations in their projects and imagined futures.

The Faroe Islands is a self-governing administrative division of the Kingdom of Denmark outside the EU. It is an example of what island studies scholars have defined as a sub-national island jurisdiction (SNIJ) in their mapping of islands of the world (Stuart 2008). The Faroe Islands, covering 1399 square kilometers of land encircled by 274,000 square kilometers of sea (i.e., the exclusive Faroese economic zone), have no less than 1120 kilometers of shoreline, most of which are impenetrable cliffs and promontories colonized by birds. Inhabited by some 53,000 islanders, the largest population is concentrated in the capital area. The most sparsely

populated communities are located on small islands without direct road links to the capital. They are the locations of large, partially locally owned fishing and shipping companies that control an ultramodern fleet that crisscrosses the world's oceans. The Faroe Islands are indeed a maritime nation with deep aquatic roots.

Located in the North Atlantic, the Faroe Islands are intriguing. However, Gøta, a trio of adjacent villages at the bottom of a majestic inlet in the northern part of the 18-island archipelago, is among the most interesting of its local communities. At least, that is what people from Gøta, the location of my fieldwork, proudly told me. The American magazine WIRED reported that the annual music festival G! was "authentic and weird. Almost secret. Yet welcoming, friendly, and open. Like the Faroes" (gfestival.fo 2022). According to the organizers and their fellow villagers, this trendy festival, which takes place on a beach in Syðrugøta (South Gøta) during the summer, is the outcome of the entrepreneurial spirit and adventurous minds of the people who live there. What does this mean? Is it just self-centered bragging, or is it something worth investigating? I will return to this discussion later in this chapter, but the coastal and maritime nature of Gøta, which is an old settlement dating from the seventh century with an important place in the history of the Faroe Islands, is the focus of this chapter. Discussing the seacoast in the Faroe Islands could be blatantly obvious because in this small island community, no one lives more than two to three kilometers away from the sea, and there is no true hinterland. Nevertheless, the shoreline is surprisingly peripheral in many contemporary islanders' day-to-day movements and activities. Does this observation suggest that today's youngsters are alienated from the vast sea surrounding them? Are the islanders becoming landlubbers estranged from the lives of the Faroese mariners of the past? Or does the ocean continue to serve as not only as an important source of knowledge and inspiration but also as a part of the future dreams and aspirations of islanders in the North? On the narrow sandy beach of Syðrugøta, a village of some 400 inhabitants, people dance, sing, and listen to music. Some also take a dip in the sea during G!. The festival's website tries to attract new visitors with descriptions, such as "Caught between the peaks and the ocean, in a break between the cliffs skirting the coastline, Syðrugøta is set in an unrivaled natural amphitheater. . . . G! sounds as though it could be a dream. But it isn't." It is not a dream, but it inspires one's imagination in a magic place at the water's edge, betwixt, and between—neither land nor sea (Gillis 2012, p. 100).

There is much more than G! to Gøta. In addition to popular music, there are fish and football, but there is also the history of the notorious Viking chieftain Tróndur í Gøtu, and the beautiful inlet functions as a gateway to rich fishing banks and land beyond the horizon (Matras 2005). The fact that my research assistant, Mr. Kjartan Sleire, a native of the larger town of Fuglafjørður neighboring Gøta, had a large network of contacts in the local community, made my choice of study setting quite easy. Another reason was its relation to the sea: it is neither a typical fishing village nor a typical farming village, and it has managed to sustain its economy and social fabric through the strategic transformation and modernization of its maritime practices and values. My intention in this chapter is to examine and discuss this

hypothesis, drawing on material on young people's experiences, local knowledge, and everyday lives. I will also determine the meaning of the coastline in the participants' narratives about place and identity. In addition, it is important to remember that the Faroese archipelago is in the middle of a frightening ocean, with frequent violent storms that keep its islanders away from their seacoast. With the exceptions of the G! festival and the villagers, "California-esque" beach escapades during the least windy and foggy days of the short and unpredictable Faroese summer, the seashore is not suitable for relaxation and romantic water gazing (Gillis 2012, p. 156).

7.3 How to Grow Potatoes

Most young people in Gøta perceived a deep gap between their own and their grandparents' generation when they talked about the meaning and value of traditional knowledge and the lives of fishing families that, in the words of Ralph, were "dying out." There was definitely a truth in this observation, which, from the perspective of the youth in this study, did not symbolize a cultural drawback, because the young men and women in Gøta did not express feeling less "local" or less "rooted" in the community than their older co-villagers. However, the multifaceted narratives communicated by the young people who participated in this study revealed a deep intergenerational transmission of local cultural knowledge. Especially when they described sweet childhood memories in the village, the young people recognized their emotional attachment to the place. According to Gestur Hovgaard (2001, p. 32), children growing up in a fishery-dependent village, such as Gøta, "will never become a part of the 'fishing community' as their parents were," mainly because the institutionalized system, he argued, forces "them to educate themselves outside their communities." New formal educational values and priorities indeed impacted the future dreams and plans of young villagers, and altered career trajectories directed some of them away from the rather narrow labor market of their native community. My study found that most young villagers, regardless of educational choice, planned a future in, or near, their home community. Young people in the city negotiated the connection between higher education and local culture. They did not consider that continuous education represented a one-way ticket out of their familiar village environment. Children wishing to follow in the footsteps of their elders were very often encouraged to take formal training and prepare for "modern" and pleasant jobs within the fisheries sector (Broch 2005, p. 114). According to Michael Corbett, in North Atlantic coastal communities, families are aware that "their children need education, but the source of this need is ironically nested in the very forces that are conspiring to destabilize the life they know" (2005, p. 66). The ambivalent position of upper secondary and tertiary education in this explanation was especially evident in remote coastal communities facing decline and poor prospects. In Gøta, a place where "local values and dense

personal networks still seem to have great importance" (Hovgaard and Apostle 2002, p. 17), people generally considered school education a valuable investment that supported and sustained the strength and autonomy of the local community, providing access to a kind of "global knowledge" that would be intertwined with local knowledge (Jungck and Kajornsin 2003, pp. 32–33). "The only university that I have gone to is the workman's shed," said Paul, a grandfather in Gøta, who reflected on the new knowledge and academic ambitions of his grandchildren and their peers. This "university," he said, offered him "a broad knowledge of family relations, politics, and all kinds of discussions." He did not romanticize the old workman's shed, which was part of a multigenerational male world, but he looked back at his life, trying to connect it to dominant present-day learning arenas. Contemporary young people, he argued, are experts with knowledge "about certain things that are not in the local community. . .at the same time as they know much less about, well how to grow potatoes and such things." He did not claim that it was strictly necessary to know how to grow potatoes today, and in vivid focus group conversations with others of the same generation, potatoes became the focus of a heated dispute about knowledge that was relevant to the twenty-first century. "If you don't know something," said a female participant, half-jokingly referring to the role of new digital media in everyday life "then you just Google it," rather than asking someone in the community. The participants considered that Google and similar digital information systems made things move faster and easier, but they also threatened conventional intergenerational social communication and the sharing of cultural knowledge anchored in the local community.

The irony of the local culture in Gøta is that it encourages new thinking and change based on individual initiative at the same time as it underlines strong social cohesion and cultural continuity based on the honored history of the place. This ambiguity helped to explain the pragmatic viewpoints and unpretentious positions that most young people from Gøta expressed in discussions about local knowledge and cultural identity. It also resonated with the small coastal community's relation to the ocean—its flows and twirls, its capriciousness, and its intensity, which connected it to the globe. "You are a bit clever," said Jake, trying to reason the affinity between Tróndur í Gøtu, the powerful and hot-blooded Viking chieftain (c. 945–1035) from Gøta, who was rumored to have had magic power, and today's villagers, who, according to another male participant, were not "afraid of trying something new, to set things in motion." If it failed, he added smirkingly "then never mind." Regin, the talkative grandfather who brought up the topic of potatoes, said that in Gøta, and he underlined Gøta as a "different" place, someone coming up "with something crazy" was met with a nonchalant response, such as "what can I do to help you?" Most people in Gøta, he explained in the discussion, "see opportunities rather than obstacles." This positive image of the community was echoed in many of the narratives, regardless of the age group. Moreover, the G! festival was branded as the outcome of entrepreneurial and creative skills based on social support and collaboration rather than on traditional knowledge inherited from the past. This social intelligence was usually passed on from old to young, offered Steve in

response to a query about what his father (and grandfathers) had taught him: "It is maybe creativity—not only knowing how to do something, but also to invent." The participants' uplifting success stories in Gøta, especially in the domain of private enterprise engaged in the maritime sector, had boosted the villagers' trust in this image of the local culture and knowledge, which was also used to define and justify the role of the sea and aquatic knowledge in the community.

7.4 The Big Catch

Walking through the peaceful village of Syðrugøta (South Gøta) on a windy day, Julian pointed at different houses along the road while instructing me, in the style of a cheerful local tourist guide, how important Varðin, based in Syðrugøta and one of the most financially powerful and successful fishing companies in the Faroe Islands today, was for the local economy. Most of the villagers, he said, are directly or indirectly employed at Varðin. The company owned four ultramodern ships in the pelagic fish industry in the Faroe Islands. Varðin (Vardin.fo 2022) was established in 1985, when "[m]en from the village came together to build the purse seine and trawl ship Tróndur í Gøtu, named after the famous Viking in the Faroese Saga" (www.vardin.fo). Varðin's main products are Atlantic mackerel, Atlantic herring, capelin, and blue whiting. Large modern (one-family) houses are at the highest point in the village, of which several of the most stylish and exclusive belong to main Varðin shareholders and their families. "The resources in the ocean," said Harry, a humble man in the parent generation "are keeping the small community alive, so they are hugely important for the villages." Even if very few of the young people that I interviewed in Gøta had plans of becoming full-time fishers working at sea or spending time on any vessel at all, they felt that it was impossible to talk about Gøta without touching upon the maritime quality of the community. They expressed that the people have aquatic knowledge, and the place is rooted in traditional fishers' knowledge of the environment, which the villagers recognized as an advantage, even in postindustrial society (Vestergaard 1990).

In most families in Gøta, fishers have worked on local or foreign fishing vessels for generations; therefore, the everyday lives of many children and young people have been strongly influenced by the maritime world through stories, social activities, cultural symbols, and local aquatic knowledge (Pauwelussen 2017). The youths who participated in our study also tended to regard their parents as "models for moral comportment" and indicated admiration of their parents' occupations (Broch 2005, p. 101). "My granddad is sailing, my godfather is sailing, my mother's man is sailing," said Anne, who loved to watch the beautiful inlet of Gøta from her home. Like most people in Gøta, Anne felt a powerful and durable attachment to and dependence on the sea through her social and family networks, which created a sense of togetherness and even symbolic reciprocity between coastal people and oceanic resources. The traditional Faroese chain dance, Svein Jentoft (2020, p. 395) argued, epitomizes this attachment. The chain dance, which lets everyone participate, as the

chain can be extended whenever more people join in, is a suitable metaphor for "a healthy, well-integrated, and functioning community sure of itself" (ibid.). Although Jentoft's study focused on sustainable small-scale fisheries nurturance of "social responsibility and inclusion," Gøta, with its involvement in intensive large-scale fishing for the global market, has so far not discarded the characteristics of a small-scale nonhierarchical coastal community. The wealthy shareowners have not left Gøta, Varðin has not been relocated to a larger city, and people are still, from time to time, doing the chain dance. With a total catch of more than 700,000 tons, or 14 tons per capita, in 2017 (Bogadóttir 2020), the Faroe Islands, with a "strategic location among major sea-lanes" (Tyril 2006, p. 10), has a very profitable and competitive fishing industry controlled by a handful of large companies based in different regions and towns, such as Gøta, in the country. We observed that many people credited their prosperity to the Varðin corporation, emphasizing its "large quantity of quotas to secure stable delivery" and its promotion of its products on the global market (www.vardin.fo). However, their wealth is as much the reward of living in a healthy community. According to Paul Thompson (cited in Jentoft 2020, p. 390), economic and social development:

> depend as much on the situation of women, and of children, and the history of and consciousness of communities, as on matters of capital, cash, and profit." Nevertheless, I observed a sense of loss in some villagers, even if our conversations unintentionally circumvented the narratives about the negative effects of the remarkable consolidation in the blue economy (the corporate fishing industry with few actors with large quotas), which made it very hard for young people to create their own new companies engaged in the fishing industry.

Today, fishing from small boats is mainly a hobby, a pleasant activity that offers relaxation from "real" modern work life because only a limited number of people choose and manage to make a living as independent small-scale fishers. Nevertheless, the sense of freedom and independence, based on "a certain degree of control over their work time and labor" (Power 2005, p. 80), associated with traditional inshore fishing, seemed to be sustained among the villagers. "But the sea always drew the Faroese," said William Heinesen (Franceschi and Heinesen 1971, p. 10). Certainly, most present-day teenagers in Gøta were more interested in music and sports—especially football (Gøta is the home of the football team Viking)—than in fishing and boats, but the water is never far away, which Ralph pointed out when he described a pilot whale hunt: "I have to take part, we live so close to the shore that the whales almost beach themselves into our living room." What matters, on land or at sea, said Helena, reflecting on what her parents taught her in her childhood, is to be able to manage yourself and "to do my best in what I am doing." "If you are a musician or if you like football," said a young female participant, "you belong somehow to Gøta." There are two groups in Gøta, said a male participant in his forties, with a sly smile "those interested in football, and those not interested in football."

7.5 How to Walk Zigzag

Most young people linked local knowledge not only to their childhood through play and work activities with peers and parents, co-villagers, and relatives but also to the stimulating narratives of the elders in the village, who often performed the art of outstanding raconteurs with encyclopedic knowledge about people and history as far back as the time of Tróndur í Gøtu. The old schoolteachers, said Martin, "have a huge knowledge about the history and the nature; they take it very seriously in Gøta." "At school," he said, with a smile, children learned about *Tróndur í Gøtu* through singing sessions: "To *kvøða* [to sing old ballads accompanied by the Faroese chain dance] was something that we did very much at school in Gøta, almost every week, or every second week. So I know the ballads, and the story about Tróndur í Gøtu." The old ballads, which contain up to 1000 verses, were not written down or recorded until quite recently. Singing, dancing, storytelling, and story-listening are also part of children's knowledge acquisition in (oral) play involving inter- and intragenerational interactions and in activities through which the children participate in cultural reproduction as thinkers and actors (Jirata 2018, p. 53). Martin, whose grandmother was a farmer, offered that until he was about 14 years of age, every year he "participated in driving the sheep into the fold and slaughtering them." In helping his farmer grandmother, who, according to him, was a very strong and resilient person who instructed the younger family members about the old way of life through work and other practical activities, he said "You learn more about the Faroese culture, and you spend more time out in nature." Now in his late teens, Martin no longer seemed to have much interest in these activities. Ralph, the young man who joked about living very close to the beach, told me proudly that his father taught him "how to kill (long-finned pilot whales) with a stab in the spinal cord, and how to cut up and prepare it." In addition to this experience-based knowledge, 2 years ago Ralph had also acquired an official national license to kill whales, which is mandatory for all persons taking part in Faroese whale killing (a kind of dolphin drive hunting that has been practiced since the ninth century) (Kalland and Sejersen 2005). "I have never struck a whale myself," he admitted regretfully, "but I took courses in the use of spinal lance and all that." The cultural transmission of values and skills across generations and from parents to youngsters is an essential characteristic in societies of cetacean hunters (Broch 2005, pp. 91–92). Faroese whaling is the only remaining example of aboriginal whaling in Europe. The Gøta inlet is on the restricted list of certified bays into which the pilot whales can be driven.

Another old but less controversial activity that is considered an important part of the local culture is sheep farming, which takes place in all the towns and villages of the country. The Faroese sheep farming practice has changed little since the Royal Decree of Seyðabrævið (The Sheep Letter), which in 1298 defined the basic rules and principles of sheep husbandry, among other issues, in the North Atlantic archipelago. "I have very often been taking part in haymaking," said Trevor, who loved to walk in the mountains with his father. Walking in the mountains can be dangerous, especially for people who are not from the area because of gorges, crags,

and promontories that might be veiled by fog in the hilly and often slippery landscape. “My parents told me to be careful,” said Linda, “and to always watch out where you are walking when you are in the mountains.” There are also simple rules that facilitate moving in the uneven landscape: “To walk zigzag up the mountains,” says Tina: “something that you have learned since you were a small child, and you still do it because it is easier.” The children also used the spaces of the village for the purpose of play in their own way. Parents rarely interfered with their children’s play if there were older children in the group (Nuttall cited in Broch 2005, p. 106). “We played a lot at the quarry,” said Olga, the mother of a teenager, remembering her childhood. “We built cabins and such things.” I was told that they even sneaked through the fence and took sofas and chairs that people had thrown away as furniture for their cabins. Several participants in the parent generation mentioned that the quarry was a favorite secret playground and a place that they were not supposed to frequent. Children’s geographical knowledge and their skills in “reading” the local landscape were also an important part of local knowledge (Nuttall in Broch 2005, p. 104).

Life on the coast had fed the participants’ childhood memories, like the taste of salty water. Rivers, ponds, beaches, coastlines, and bays of Gøta—all were places of childhood activities of the participants. Many present-day youth had done the same things as their great-grandparents had done almost a century ago. Children fished (mainly coalfish and flounder) from boats in the bay or with a rod on the shore and in rivers, collected seaweed, caught small fish, gammarus, eels, and crabs. They played in the sand, making tunnels and roads, castles, and houses, searched for driftwood, built small rafts, and watched the surf. They helped their parents and relatives with work at home, in the fields, and at the harbor. Knitting, haymaking, gutting fish, slaughtering sheep, traditional dancing and chanting, storytelling, “reading the weather,” and many other skills and competences were part of the local knowledge transmitted from the adult generation to the children of the village. “I would like to learn how to make rolled seasoned meat [a kind of sausage based on sheep meat] and black pudding [based on sheep blood],” said Anne, a young female participant who felt that her generation undervalued some skills that used to be a natural part of the cultural upbringing in the village. “Society has changed immensely,” said Linda when she described the small (not very smart) cellular phone used by her grandmother, who did not know how to send or read an SMS message.

7.6 Making the Knot

The young participants acknowledged the need to invest in school education beyond lower secondary school to prepare for a good job and a good life. However, many of them chose a different educational path than the predominant academic one, which in many cases would have forced them to move farther away from the beautiful bay of Gøta than they wanted. Most of the young participants wanted to become other than a fisher or a professor; they preferred careers as electricians, carpenters, nurses,

sports coaches, merchants, or entrepreneurs. Others dreamed of a professional career in music or football, while they kept their options open, such as white-collar jobs in the offices of well-known fishing companies. Although Varðin is the flagship of Gøta, it does not employ many people from the village community, which also hosts facilities and factories belonging to Hidden Fjord (salmon farming) and PRG (a fillet factory), as well as smaller niche companies, such as Defined Energy and Normek. There is, of course, also the G! Festival and the new workshop of an award-winning Faroese architect with projects beyond the Faroe Islands. PRG (Fiskavirkið), the largest employer in Gøta today, which was founded as a family enterprise in 1929, produces salted cod, ling, cusk (brosme), and blue ling. The PRG website described the success of the Faroe Islands as a modern fishing nation as follows:

> During the Second World War, the islands were occupied by the British. The Faroese sailed fish to England despite the dangers, and many men were lost at sea. But the funds from this activity were used to lay the foundation of what today is one of the most modern fishing fleets in the world. (PRG 2022)

In this narrative, and many similar stories disseminated by private enterprise ambassadors of the North Atlantic blue economy, entrepreneurial skills and local knowledge are business solutions for the descendants of the Vikings that John Gillis romantically described as the "Phoenicians of the North" belonging to an "amphibious seaboard civilization" (Gillis 2012, pp. 63–64). The extreme growth of the blue economy in the Faroe Islands in the twenty-first century, which, from the viewpoint of young people in Gøta has helped to sustain a healthy local culture and economy, cannot, according to the Faroese researcher Ragnheiður Bogadóttir, "be sustained far into the future" (2020, p. 107). Nevertheless, the catch of the four most significant (pelagic) fish species, she reported "grew more than seven-fold between 1990 and 2017" (ibid. 106). Moreover, aquaculture has developed into a large industry in the Faroe Islands. Bakkafrost, the eighth largest salmon farming company in the world, is a leading business concern in the Faroese economic infrastructure. Although the Faroese blue economy and its environmental consequences are beyond the scope of this chapter, I provide a summary of the findings of the Gøta study in relation to the overarching theme of sustainable societal development. If the Faroe Islands is a miniature mirror of the globe, then it could be said that Gøta belongs to the global North. It is strategically located on the Faroese "mainland" with road connections to six (soon to be seven) islands and the capital city. It has a very strong share of the competitive and lucrative blue economy in the form of fishing quotas and vessels. It also has a strong local culture and identity, qualities that stimulate and inspire young people to take control of their own lives and extend their horizons. Young people in Gøta seemed to be very comfortable and self-assured when they talk about the future of their community, trusting that their knowledge, experience, and intergenerational social relations within and across family boundaries constitute a healthy and sustainable organization of their community. I sometimes cynically suspected them of moving the discourse on societal sustainability and responsibility to national and international arenas, hence avoiding a debate about the environmental consequences of the enormous growth of the blue economy as well as other social and economic

predicaments. However, as discussed in this chapter, the key to the sustainable future of Gøta, in both short and long terms, is probably in the local knowledge and culture. However, it needs to be unpacked, conceptualized, and politicized as a resource to be applied in institutionalized learning, training, and political decision-making. Societal development based on local and global knowledge will need to focus on Faroese youth, as expressed in the manifesto of the marine social sciences: "The future of youth and intergenerational issues in marine environments are of serious concern and require further investigation" (Bavinck and Verrips 2020, p. 122).

Steve, the teenager and handyperson who loved to use his hands, "fixing things," said "I attach myself to the men in the family—my father and my grandfathers. It is them that I look up to, and them that I resemble most by nature." Ralph said that his father taught him "how to make knots." Making a knot might sound foolish and trivial, but it is a vital skill. One cannot fish from a small boat without knowing how to make a strong knot. This activity is also often accompanied by the additional skill of unknotting, which suggests that you can start again with the same string or rope and reuse it in new tasks. The knot is also used as a rich metaphor in the work of the anthropologist Tim Ingold (2015, p. 22), who focused on the knot as used "for things to be joined" and something that is "always in the midst of things," and these things are lines that have loose ends. "What is life, indeed, if not a proliferation of loose ends!" Ingold (2013, p. 132) claimed, poetically. Using this image, he also said that our position in life and in place is fluid, in movement, something that, so to speak, fits very well the coastal and maritime perspectives of learning, knowledge, and identity. The sea and the coast continue to inspire and shape the lives of people, to facilitate the intergenerational transmission of local knowledge, and to bridge the memories of the past with the realities of the present.

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Chapter 8
Sustainability, Knowledge and Social Identity: Commonalities, Conflicts and Complexities in Coastal Communities in Tasmania, Australia

Sharon Bessell

Abstract This chapter explores the tensions between environmental protection and economic development that have long existed in small communities on the east coast of Tasmania, Australia. Using three powerful but contested concepts – sustainability, knowledge and social identity – as lenses for analysis, this chapter illuminates the ways in which social identity shapes the kinds of knowledge that are valued, which in turn is intimately connected to the ways sustainability is understood and incorporated into both everyday life and visions for the future. While deep divisions exist and are exacerbated by both economic uncertainty and environmental challenges, there is potential for a strong sense of coastal identity and belonging to a place to act as a basis for reaching common ground and imagining new possibilities and opportunities.

Keywords Sustainability · Knowledge · Identity · Tasmania · Australia

8.1 Introduction

The communities on the east coast of Tasmania, Australia, that are the focus of this chapter are intimately connected to the sea. Fishing, along with aquaculture, agriculture and logging, has been their economic and social lifeblood for almost two centuries and are deeply intertwined with some local cultures.[1] First Nations people have lived on the coast for tens of thousands of years, with rich culture woven into the natural environment. The traditional owners have never ceded their lands, despite processes of dispossession since the time of colonisation. The settler communities,

[1] Here I use 'culture' with some caution, recognising that this chapter focuses only on White cultures and does not include Aboriginal culture, which is essential to sustainability and has a history of many thousands of years.

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which are the focus of this chapter, have inhabited the coast only since the 1830s. Over recent decades, these communities have been undergoing significant economic and social transition, as traditional industries and ways of life have declined, and new opportunities and challenges have emerged.

In Tasmania, there has long been deep division between environmental protection and economic development. Advocates of environmental protection argue that sustainability depends on planetary health and the preservation of nature, which must be absolute priorities. Advocates of economic development argue that the sustainability of small communities is only feasible if both terrestrial and aquatic resources can be fully utilised. These ruptures have been exacerbated as small communities have come under the pressures associated with social and economic change.

This chapter draws on three powerful but contested concepts – sustainability, knowledge and social identity – to explore the economic and social transitions, and associated ruptures, that are taking place within coastal communities on the east coast of Tasmania. In doing so, I aim to interrogate the interaction of knowledge, ways of knowing, ways of living, and attitudes and approaches to sustainability. I argue that social identity shapes the kinds of knowledge that are valued, which in turn is intimately connected to the ways sustainability is understood and incorporated into both everyday life and visions for the future.

The chapter initially maps the key concepts of sustainability, knowledge and social identity before describing the context of the research and methodology used. The second part of the chapter draws on biographical interviews across three generations to explore the ways in which social identity shapes attitudes towards sustainability and knowledge.

8.2 Sustainability

The term sustainability is ubiquitous. It is equally slippery, with definitions often unclear or lacking in consensus. *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development* (Brundtland report 1987, pp. 15, 41) provides one of the most influential and enduring – if contested – definitions of sustainable development: the ability to meet 'the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Significantly, and in line with its mandate, the Brundtland report focused on sustainable development, rather than sustainability. In doing so, the report embraced the concept of development as involving 'a progressive transformation of economy and society', within which economic growth, technology and technical knowledge have a critical role to play. In the decades since the Brundtland report, sustainability has become more urgent (IPCC 2021). The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, adopted by world leaders in 2015, is underpinned by 17 global goals and identifies 3 pillars of sustainability: the economy, the society and the environment. These pillars are presented as integrated, indivisible and mutually reinforcing. In reality, tensions abound – often unspoken and seemingly impossible to resolve. Economic

sustainability is often perceived to be dependent on the exploitation of natural and human resources, in ways that deeply damage planetary health, and therefore undermine environmental sustainability. Conversely, environmental sustainability is often perceived as truncating economic activities that are essential to communities, thus endangering social sustainability. Social sustainability is seen to be dependent on a thriving economy – but also on preservation of the natural environment, with each pulling in different, sometimes seemingly irreconcilable, directions.

As a result of these deep tensions, discourses of sustainable development and, more broadly, sustainability are both pervasive and contested. They encompass ideas of social justice, equity and ecological sustainability (see Wright and Kurian (2010)), often alongside continued faith in economic growth and the promise of market-based solutions. Weber (2017, p. 401) has argued that despite a nod towards justice and equality, the globally dominant sustainable development agenda is founded on, and reproduces, a normative agenda characterised by market episteme. Thus, according to Weber (2017), the aim is not transformative change for positive environmental and social outcomes but the continuation of a neoliberal agenda that privileges those who hold political and economic power and seek to further entrench that power. Yet, at the heart of Weber's compelling critique are questions of who determines what positive social outcomes are and what social sustainability looks like, given the dynamic nature of societies and the complexity of social life. While measures of economic growth (as a proxy for economic sustainability) have been deeply integrated into global, national and local discourses, measures of social sustainability are more difficult to achieve. Ideas of what comprises social sustainability, and positive social outcomes, are often deeply embedded in emic knowledge and values (see Beyer Broch (2013)) but are also contested.

While sustainability and sustainable development are represented as addressing similar issues, and sometimes used interchangeably, the internal contradictions have long been noted (Lele 1991; Sneddon et al. 2006). Lele (1991, pp. 608–9) has argued that 'taken literally, sustainable development would simply mean "development that can be continued – either indefinitely or for the implicit time period of concern"'. Thus, Lele (1991, p. 609) points out that the adjective 'sustainable' can be replaced by 'successful', within a paradigm that privileges economic development. Yet, there are often tensions between successful economic development and successful social outcomes. The continuation (if not success in any deeper sense of the word) of small coastal communities often requires the pursuit of economic activities that are at odds with social values and aspirations embraced by some (but rarely all) community members. Thus, the tensions between economic and social sustainability need close analytic attention. Moreover, as the global climate emergency has unfolded, sustainable development has increasingly evoked calls for ecological sustainability that embraces both human well-being and planetary health.

Planetary health is dependent on recognising, and remaining within, the planetary boundaries that provide 'the safe operating space for humanity with respect to the Earth system and are associated with the planet's biophysical subsystems or processes' (Rockström et al. 2009, p. 472). The rise of the Anthropocene has been associated with a rise in patterns of resource use and consumption that are

unsustainable and are undermining the planetary systems that support life. Friel (2020, p. 1) has described patterns of resource use as representing the rise of a consumptagenic system that 'encourages and rewards the exploitation of natural resources, excess production, and hyperconsumerism, and results in climate change and health inequities'. In advocating for the promotion of human well-being and planetary health, Horton et al. (2014, p. 847) have called for a transformative social movement for sustainability 'at all levels of society – personal, community, national, regional, global, and planetary'. The vision they outline goes beyond the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in fundamentally challenging the globally dominant economic model that continues to be presented as the mechanism through which sustainable development will be delivered (Weber 2017).

Raworth (2017) has sought to develop a model of sustainability that incorporates both planetary and social boundaries, which aims to ensure no one falls below 'life's essentials'. These essentials are drawn from the SDGs and other international agreements and include 12 dimensions ranging from food, water, energy and housing to health and education and through to gender equality, social equity, income and work, networks, political voice and peace and justice. Raworth's work exemplifies increasing attention to models of sustainability that directly challenge the dominant neoliberal paradigm and associated consumptagenic system, while building on the global commitment to the SDGs.

The social or well-being goals of the SDGs provide targets and indicators to promote human development and social sustainability. In Australia, a methodology has been developed to assess where SDG indicators are not being met and action is needed (Allen et al. 2020). Progress towards the goals indicates social progress and potentially social sustainability. Yet progress is defined by the nature of the indicator and the methodology adopted to collect and analyse data (Allen et al. 2020, p. 538). Indicators do not necessarily reflect what is most important to specific communities, and significant gaps necessarily exist. Moreover, some aspects of sustainability that matter to particular groups, or that have broad significance, may not lend themselves to quantification through indicator-based assessment. Groups who are on the geographic, social or economic margins of society are least able to advocate for the recognition of the markers of sustainability that matter most to them in the struggle for ever more data that the SDG agenda has generated (see Fisher and Fukuda-Parr (2019)).

Cuthill's (2010, p. 365) analysis of community-level discussions around sustainability in Australia identifies 'social capital, social infrastructure, social justice and equity, and engaged governance as key factors of the social sustainability framework'. For Cuthill (2010), these four elements of social sustainability are interdependent and self-reinforcing. They are also especially difficult to quantify (Fisher and Fukuda-Parr 2019). Thus, from this perspective, the focus is less on data-driven assessment of indicators and more on genuine engagement with local communities in translating ideas that have traction in international discourse and are embedded in international policies as universal standards, to the local context (Boström et al. 2015).

While there is ongoing debate about the nature of environmental, social and economic sustainability, there is broad consensus that these are the three pillars of sustainability (Connelly 2007). Recent debates within the literature have questioned if and how *culture* fits into conceptualisations of sustainability (see Chap. 2 of this volume). A key point of exploration is whether culture should be incorporated into the social pillar of sustainability, be understood as a fourth pillar or be understood as a lens through which all other pillars are considered. Soini and Birkeland (2014, p. 215) have made the case for the latter, arguing that 'cultural sustainability moves beyond social sustainability and...there can be important issues of sustainable development that are missed without a further examination of the role of culture'. Thus, cultural sustainability may not point to the idea of sustaining (maintaining and/or continuing) particular culture(s) but understanding the relationship between culture and sustainability. This latter interpretation may be helpful as a means of analysis if culture is understood as the superstructure of society, though which meaning is ascribed and made, and values and attitudes are shaped (Schudson, 1989, p. 154). Such a definition aligns with Geertz' early (1973, p. 33) conceptualisation of culture as 'the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols and values in terms of which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgements'.

Soini and Birkeland (2014, p. 214) suggest that culture – as it relates to sustainability – can be conceptualised as wide or narrow.

> A wide understanding of culture makes culture a condition and premise for action, meaning, and communication (all humans have, share, and "do" culture). Culture refers here to the meaning content of human communities, the symbolic patterns, norms, and rules of human communities that divide humans from nature. Culture also divides humans from other humans, making it one of the most complex concepts. In a narrower sense, culture refers to civilization, to the improvement of the human, and to that which is excellent (for example, in the arts and science).

If a wide understanding of culture is adopted, sustainability depends on understanding the actions, meanings and communication that are created by culture. Just as shared actions, meanings and communication can draw people together in a common cause (Soini and Birkeland 2014, p. 215), disjuncture can result in division between and within groups, as will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. It is also important to recognise that culture is dynamic and contested, from both without and within.

8.3 Knowledge

The valuing and sharing of specific kinds of knowledge is central to the transmission of culture. For Geertz (1973), culture is a 'system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life'. While this definition may suggest a somewhat static idea of culture and its transmission, Goody (1994,

p. 250) describes culture as not only defining but reproducing and recreating world views and values, through an ongoing process of social relations and human interactions. Here the transfer of knowledge is neither unidimensional nor linear – rather knowledge has a fluidity, and there is scope for both contestation of old knowledge and creation of new. Tsing's notion of friction, which results from encounters and conversations across difference, is also a catalyst for knowledge that is co-produced through these interactions between universal or globalised ideas and the 'sticky materiality' of the local (Tsing 2004, pp. 1, 4).

Formal education systems are designed to be a primary mechanism for the transmission of knowledge – both overt and covert – to younger generations (Apple 2019). As such, formal education reflects the dominant form of knowledge and the dominant values of a society, and often reproduces patterns of social stratification and inequality (Apple 2019; Freire 1970). It is often imbued with universalist aspirations – or dreams and schemes, in Tsing's terms – that privilege individualised choices and individual achievement (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Formal education systems are typically hierarchical, tasked with transmitting the skills and knowledge deemed necessary for future workers and citizens. While rights-based language of student participation has become increasingly common around the world, including Australia, entrenched hierarchies and unidimensional transmission of knowledge remain common (Graham et al. 2018). Yet, both philosophical and practice debates influence the content and process of formal education, not only in terms of pedagogy and the position of learners but also in terms of content. Since the end of the twentieth century, ideas around sustainable development have increasingly featured in school curricula globally, alongside competing neoliberal ideas of developmentalism, profit and extraction. The United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005–2014) represented a global movement towards 'improving and reorienting education systems towards sustainable development' (Buckler and Creech 2014, p. 16). This reflects efforts towards globalising the knowledge taught through formal education systems, opening debates about the relative balance between the global, national, and local and between different types of knowledge within formal curricula.

Sillitoe (2002, p. 113) has argued for recognition of indigenous or local knowledge, which he defines as 'a unique formulation of knowledge coming from a range of sources rooted in local cultures, a dynamic and ever-changing pastiche of past 'tradition' and present invention with a view to the future'. From this perspective, 'local knowledge needs to interact with global scientific knowledge, each drawing on the other to affect sustainable adaptation to changing natural and socio-economic environments' (Bicker et al. 2019, xi). This interaction has the potential to catalyse the co-production of new forms of knowledge, through the friction generated by conversations across difference (Tsing 2004). Local knowledge is not presented as static but as dynamic and able to engage with, absorb, and contribute to new knowledge. Such approaches seek to make knowledge more relevant to local communities, in part in response to formal education that is disconnected from students' everyday experiences and priorities. They also engage in a political project, particularly in White settler societies, such as Australia, by reclaiming and

repositioning the indigenous knowledge of First Nations peoples, which has been systematically excluded from formal education systems and denigrated as irrelevant to a contemporary world (see Posey 2002).

Yet, just as the 'global' or 'scientific' knowledge that shapes the curricula of formal education is often contested, so too is local knowledge. While the case for valuing local knowledge is strong, there is a need for critical analysis of how that knowledge is identified and framed, and for understanding the nature of the friction produced. There is not necessarily local consensus *within* communities on what comprises local knowledge, and local power hierarchies often shape the construction of what knowledge is to be transmitted.

While formal education systems are central to the transmission of knowledge to younger generations in contemporary societies, the informal sharing of knowledge is essential to social maintenance and reproduction. Patterson (2014) argues that knowledge can be classified into the 'primary domains' of declarative, procedural and evaluative. Declarative knowledge (of facts and events) can be transmitted in both formal and informal settings but is the mainstay of school curricula and pedagogy. Procedural knowledge, according to Patterson (2014, p. 11), 'can rarely be explained but has to be learned through practice'. It is this form of knowledge that is very often shared across generations in informal learning settings. In the small coastal communities that will be later discussed in this chapter, fishing practices and understanding of the sea, as well as understanding and utilising the bush that characterises the landscapes of these communities, are powerful examples of procedural knowledge. Evaluative *cultural* knowledge, for Patterson (2014, p. 12), centres on the 'particularized values [that] are cognitively and sociologically similar to attitudes, except that they are shared'. Such knowledge is transmitted through both formal and informal settings and is often contested and may act to reinforce social hierarchies and patterns of exclusion and inclusion.

8.4 Social Identity

The third analytic concept scaffolding this chapter is that of social identity. A social identity approach 'assumes people pursue meaning-making...', in order to 'make sense of their environment and their place within that environment' (Platow et al. 2017). Hogg and Abrams (1988) identified two processes that occur within the formation of social identities: self-categorisation and social comparison. Self-categorisation is the process by which an individual recognises and highlights her or his similarities with others, leading to in-group identification (Stets and Burke, 2000, p. 225). Social comparison accentuates 'perceived differences between the self and out-group members' (Stets and Burke, 2000, p. 225). Importantly for Hogg and Abrams (1988), the categories into which individuals place themselves reflect the structured nature of society and are generally established in contrast to other social groups or to a counter-identity (Burke 1980 in Stets, 2006, p. 204). An individual's social identity is neither unitary nor static. As Stets and Burke (2000, p. 255) note,

'each person over the course of his or her personal history, is a member of a unique combination of social categories, therefore the set of social identities making up that person's self-concept is unique'. As will be discussed, 'coastalness' is an identity shared by the participants in this research. However, other social identities are combined to produce different interpretations of the meaning of sustainability and of the kinds of knowledge that are most valuable.

Stets (2006, pp. 203–4), in seeking to bring together identity theory and social identity theory, raises two important points. First, the meanings individuals attach to particular social identities do not operate in a vacuum but are played out within social and cultural structures, thus imbuing social identities with particular values, attitudes and behaviours. Second, individuals may hold multiple identities, based on their various roles, relationships and networks within society.

Generation is one aspect of social identity, which intersects with other social characteristics, such as gender, class, ethnicity, race and educational status, to determine social identity. Here, generation can be understood in Mannheim's (1952) terms not merely as representing 'chronological contemporaneity' but as participation in the same historical and social circumstances. Generation signifies a particular location within social structures that results in shared experiences that arise from social and cultural change (Pilcher 1994), thus contributing to one's sense of self and to shared social identity. Alongside generation, the combination of personal values, emotional attachment and belonging, and self-interest shapes the nature of social identities. Social identities then provide a useful lens to understand the complex debates around sustainability and what constitutes valued knowledge that will contribute to various (sometimes conflicting) understandings of sustainability in small coastal communities.

8.5 The Research Context

8.5.1 Tasmanian Research Sites

The fieldwork for the Australian study of the *Valuing the Past, Sustaining the Future* project took place on the east coast of Tasmania, along a 300-km stretch of coastline from Spring Bay in the south to Anderson Bay on the northeast coast. The research centred on two towns, with populations of 874 and 1449, respectively, although some participants lived outside these centres. Populations are small, and some families have lived in the area for several generations. The sea and the rich marine resources within have been central to livelihoods and identity on the east coast since British invasion in the late 1700s and subsequent White settlement.[2]

[2] Marine resources have been central to the livelihoods and culture of Aboriginal peoples on the east coast since before White invasion.

Across the state of Tasmania, agriculture, forestry and fishing combined account for around 5% of employment, a figure that has remained steady over the past decade (State Growth Profile 2020). On the east coast, however, between 11% and 13% of employment was in agriculture, forestry and fishing in 2016 (ABS 2020). Commercial wild fishing is governed by quotas and requirements around crews and vessels. Commercial salmon and abalone farming has increased in recent years, providing employment and sparking controversy due to environmental impacts.

The towns involved in this research are undergoing social and economic transition. Once-thriving fishing industries have been transformed, and employment opportunities (particularly for young men) have reduced. A historical analysis of fish stocks in Tasmania, undertaken in 2013, indicated a long-term decline (Frijlink and Lyle 2013). Concern about decreasing wild fish stocks, including scale-fish, shellfish and commercial rock lobster (crayfish), was a significant factor in the introduction of quotas, which subsequently transformed the nature of the fishing industry and, particularly, the ability for younger fishers (usually men) to be assured of secure, ongoing employment or to aspire to owning their own licences.

Employment has also declined in the timber industry, once a major source of male employment, with flow-on effects for the economies of small towns. The demise of a major woodchip mill in 2012 resulted in very high job losses, with devastating impacts on the local economy. Unemployment rates vary markedly across the east coast – ranging from 5.3% in the south to 10.2% in the north (the pre-COVID national unemployment rate was 6.9%; and the rate for Tasmania was 7%) – and have risen and fallen over time in line with the fortunes of key industries (ABS 2020). Youth unemployment is a particular challenge on the coast, where employment opportunities are limited. Between 27% and 29% of young people aged 15–19 years living on the east coast are not in education, employment or training, compared to 22% for Tasmania and 19% nationally (ABS 2020).

As in many parts of rural and regional Australia, young people in the communities in which this research took place grew up 'in a context in which migration is expected and normalised' (Easthope and Gabriel 2008). For many, the first decision around migration comes after 4 years of secondary school, at the age of 15 or 16 years. The final 2 years of secondary school have not been available in (or within commuting distance from) all small coastal communities until recently. In some communities, young people wishing to complete 6 years of secondary education need to move to the city to study, usually returning home on weekends. Those who continue to university or find employment in the city at the completion of Year 12 take the next step towards migration, as do those who seek employment outside their communities at the end of Year 10. Decisions to leave are complex and shaped not only by limited education and employment opportunities in young people's hometowns but also by the desire to experience the wider world, for adventure, and to pursue contemporary, globalised ideas of 'success', which are harder to attain in small communities. As discussed elsewhere (Bessell 2021), young people identify closely with communities and with place. Leaving is often a difficult and painful – if inevitable – process. As a result of the out-migration of young people, and the inflow of retirees, the population of the east coast and across Tasmania is ageing (see Denny

2014). Median age on the east coast is 56 years, compared to 42 years for Tasmania and 37 years for Australia (ABS 2020).

There has long been a strong environmental movement in Tasmania, which has highlighted over-exploitation of natural resources, including diminishing wild fish stocks over time, the impacts of commercial fish farming and the impacts of logging (particularly of old growth forests). The Tasmanian Greens have had an electoral presence in Tasmania since 1983 and held the balance of power in the State Parliament from 1989 to 1991 (Haward and Smith 1990; Crowley 2000) – remaining a significant political presence since. In some sections of society, there has been resistance to environmentalism, and to the Greens in particular, on the grounds that environmental restrictions on commercial activities such as fishing and logging will threaten jobs and livelihoods. As discussed below, these deep tensions have shaped ideas around sustainability and the kinds of knowledge that are valued and have both shaped and reflect social identities.

8.6 Methodology and Methods

The primary method used in the research was biographical interviews, conducted with 50 individuals (25 females and 25 males) from 16 families across 3 generations. Sixteen young people made up 'generation 3' (mid-teens–mid-20s). Sixteen participants were 'generation 2' (ranging in age from early 40s to late 50s). Eighteen people were 'generation 1' (aged over 60 years); there were two additional participants in this generation, as in two families both grandmother and grandfather elected to be interviewed. Interviews were semi-structured and drew on the methodological approach of Brannen (2013) and Brannen and Nilsen (2002, 2006), whereby biographical narratives are developed by creating spaces in which participants are able to tell their life stories in ways that are meaningful to them.[3]

Interviews were also conducted with ten individuals who had deep connections to the communities, including teachers and political and community leaders. Not all participants were directly involved in the fishing industry, but the centrality of fishing to the economy and community life of small towns for generations resulted in it having a significance for all. The research was approved by the Australian National University Human Research Ethics Committee in March 2017 (2017/157), and all interviews were carried out by the author.

[3] Pseudonyms, rather than participants' real names, are used throughout this chapter.

8.7 Sustainability, Knowledge and Identities on the Coast

The following discussion draws on experiences across three generations of families living in Tasmania's east coast to explore concepts of sustainability and knowledge and to understand how social identities shape attitudes and behaviours relating to both.[4]

8.7.1 Fishing as Identity

The communities that are at the heart of this research were traditionally fishing villages – although quota systems, diminishing fish-stocks and alternative employment opportunities (often away from the coast) have resulted in far fewer people being engaged in fishing compared to previous generations. Nevertheless, for those who were engaged in the industry, fishing was central to identity.

Reflecting Acott and Urquhart's study of fishing communities in the United Kingdom (Acott and Urquhart 2014; Urquhart and Acott 2014), fishermen in this study described coastal and islander identity as overlaid with a strong identification with the sea and with their occupation. I use the term fishermen consciously, for while women are engaged in commercial fishing, none of the women in this research described themselves as fishers. One participant (a fisherman himself) explained that his uncle had five daughters, all of whom had worked as commercial fishers, including at sea – but this was the exception rather than the norm. For the most part, and in line with Frangoudes' and Gerrard's (2019) analysis, women's roles in fisheries were both critical and generally performed on land rather than at sea. Several women who participated in the research played crucial roles in the land-based operation of family fishing businesses. Notably, knowledge of different aspects of the fishing industry was highly gendered. Women tended to have deep understanding of the business aspects of fishing, with responsibility for engaging with suppliers and buyers. Women also played an important role in monitoring the position of both schools of fish and fishing vessels – a role that, in the days before global positioning satellites and modern navigation techniques, brought considerable pressure and anxiety. Skills associated with fishing, including navigation and seamanship, while not the exclusive preserve of men, are more likely to be taught to boys by their fathers. Thus, the identities of those engaged in fishing share common elements but are heavily gendered (see also Crummy and Devine, Chap. 4, and Theodorou and Spyrou, Chap. 5, in this volume).

For participants who described themselves as fisher*men*, the idea of 'saltwater running in their blood' was common. Ray (generation 1) described his desire to be at sea as shaping his life from a young age: 'I was still very young, and then all I ever wanted to do was to go fishing. . .I used to cry my eyes out until they'd take me'. Ray

[4] I am deeply grateful to the people who shared their life stories with such generosity and honesty.

described skipping school to go fishing and successfully negotiating with the principal of his primary school to be absent from school on the Thursday before Easter, on the condition he provided fish for the principal's family for Easter Friday. Like most fishermen from generation 1 and generation 2, Ray described learning how to fish and how to 'read' the sea from his father and grandfathers. There were no formal training programmes in fishing or aquaculture during his youth, as there are today; knowledge was passed across generations and learned on the job. While some of the knowledge Ray learned was declarative, relating to facts of coastal landmarks and fish migratory patterns, most was procedural. He, like many of his contemporaries, learned by doing; and the knowledge transferred was deeply related to ways of being, values and identity (Patterson 2014). Significantly, Ray described procedural learning as encompassing a deep respect for, and love of, the sea – despite the dangers and arduous nature of the work.

Notably, only one participant from generation 3 was employed in the fishing industry, although several had learned skills of fishing and navigation from their fathers and grandfathers. As quotas made it more difficult to be self-sufficient and the industry changed and declined, young people sought alternative forms of employment. This shift impacted not only the nature of employment – and the associated sense of identity as a fisherman – but also changed the nature of the towns. Several participants from generation 1 and generation 2, who were not engaged in commercial or livelihood fishing, described how important the fishing industry had been not only to the economy of the towns in the past but also to social life and practice. Tanya described the excitement she felt as a child as the fishing boats came in. She, like many others, recalled going to the wharf to buy scallops, crayfish and scale-fish fresh from the boat; and the described nostalgically activities around the wharf as the hauls were unloaded. Several older participants expressed regret that fishing was no longer as central to the lifeblood of the community, although in one town, efforts are underway to revitalise the place of the wharf in community social life, even as its economic role has diminished.

8.7.2 Coastal and Tasmanian: Shared Narratives of Identity

A striking feature of this research is the consistency in the way research participants described their identity. When asked how they describe themselves, only one participant began his self-description with his national identity (Australian). All other participants described themselves as either being Tasmanian, from the coast, or from the east coast. Several participants described multiple identities, usually attached to their personal relationships (i.e. mother, father) and their professional status (Stets 2006). Yet, a shared identity of being a Tasmanian and as coastal was powerful and had specific meanings reflecting a sense of difference from others and attachment to place.

Lincoln (generation 3) was 17 years old at the time of the full biographical interview and in his final year of secondary school. His response to the question of

how he would describe himself is typical of the contextual meaning of coastal identity:

> [I'm from] the east coast of Tasmania...that's definitely different. We're treated different...Definitely cut off from the rest of Australia. Definitely.

Lincoln's sense of difference and being separate was shared by participants and for most provided a sense of connectedness to people, to place, and to a way of life that is uniquely coastal. Like many other participants, Lincoln also explained his identity in terms of his emotional attachment to his home and to the natural environment, with the sea and the beach central to that sense of attachment.

Ian (generation 2) described himself as Tasmanian and explained that when he was on the Mainland of Australia (where his work frequently took him for significant periods of time), others also identified him as such:

> In my business I'm known fairly well as coming from Tassie [Tasmania]. I'm not only a Tassie fisherman, we spread our fishing from Port Lincoln [in South Australia] to probably Sydney that way [approximately 2,000 km]. But, we're always referred to as the guys from Tassie.

Tess (generation 3) moved away from the coast, and away from Tasmania, when she was in her late teens, returning in her 20s. She explained that on the Mainland and overseas, she described herself as Tasmanian. Tess also shared her sense of connection with others who identified as Tasmanian, or as being from the east coast of Tasmania in particular, during the time she lived away. For Tess, it was a strong sense of connectedness to the people who shared her primary identity and to the place they shared in common that drew her back to her hometown: 'In the end, my heart brought me home'.

These three excerpts reflect a consistent narrative shared by participants of being coastal and being Tasmanian. This narrative was characterised by three common elements, reflected in the quotes above: first, the sense of being distinct and distant from others; second, knowledge that 'outsiders' recognise the uniqueness of being Tasmanian and coastal; and finally, and powerfully, a sense of attachment to nature and especially to the coast and the sea.

While the biographical interviews highlighted shared narratives of identity across generations, they also revealed points of disjuncture. Shared narratives were woven around place and community and the distinctiveness of being both coastal and Tasmanian. As will be discussed, points of tension and disjuncture emerged in discussions of how environmental, economic, social and sometimes cultural sustainability can be balanced.

8.7.3 Conflicting Identities

Social identities are complex and often multifaceted (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Stets and Burke 2000; Stets 2006). While narratives of identity revealed commonalities, conflicting social identities were also apparent. The sharpest point of rupture was

between those who considered the utilisation of natural resources as essential and desirable and those who wanted the protection of those resources. The former group, which I will refer to as the developmentalists, considered both land and sea as providing resources for social and economic sustainability. For some, utilisation of natural resources – particularly through fishing and logging – was a way of life, and one that was central, in Geertz' terms, to the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols and values that enabled them to 'define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgements'. For this group, those whom they described as 'greenies' (activist environmentalists) cared little for the economic, social or cultural sustainability of small coastal towns that have always relied on the utilisation of nature. Moreover, they argued that the exploitation of natural resources went hand in hand with respect for it and a desire to balance utilisation and protection of the environment.

The latter group, which I will refer to as environmentalists, consider sustainability of any kind to be impossible if the natural environment is not protected. This group was conscious of the extent to which economic – and consequently social – sustainability is bound up with the utilisation of the environment but felt that the current balance tilts too far towards exploitation at the cost of protection and maintenance. Moreover, this group was concerned that long-term sustainability was threatened by short-term exploitation of natural resources. Different, often seemingly irreconcilable, values underpin the views of each group. Moreover, each draws on and values different types of knowledge. Evident here, is the interplay between identity and knowledge as critical factors that shape attitudes towards sustainability.

8.7.4 Developmentalism as Sustainability and Identity

Jim (generation 2) has lived on the coast all his life. He learned to fish, hunt and build boats as a boy from his father and grandfather. He worked as a shipwright in early adulthood, when his career took a different turn, and while he remained on the coast, he no longer earned his living from the sea. Jim described his sense of place-based identity with passion. He also expressed his strong views on 'greenies':

> I'm a conservationist. Call me a greenie and I'll cut your throat with a rusty pocketknife. But a conservationist preserves, protects the environment and lives within it, we don't just lock it up, we actually look after it.

Jim's threat to 'cut your throat' reflects his personality and the colourful, descriptive language, which is especially characteristic of his generation and place, not a threat of actual violence. But it also reflects powerfully his social identity and his own positionality. Jim spoke of hunting, fishing and logging to fulfil needs and economic requirements and expressed regret that such skills are being lost to many of the younger generation. He described the value of this knowledge, which had elements of both procedural (learning by doing) and evaluative (establishing insider position) knowledge. For Jim, this knowledge is essential to local identity, and he

has passed it on to both his sons and daughters. Jim believed strongly that conserving the environment means using it and living within it. He also saw utilisation of the environment as part of an economic strategy to secure a way of life and the future of a community that he holds dear.

Ray (generation 2) also described his dissatisfaction with 'greenies'. Ray was particularly annoyed by greenies who came from other places but criticised local resource use. He described being on the Mainland and coming across two environmental activists in a shopping centre, seeking to attract passers-by to a then nationwide campaign to end logging (particularly of old growth forests) in Tasmania. Ray's explanation of the encounter is telling:

> That was like waving a red rag at a bull. They were trying to say that there was virtually not a tree standing here in the state, so many times the size of the MCG[5] was being clear felled every day and this and that. I said, "It's nothing but propaganda. You're telling people nothing but bloody lies. Go down and have a look for yourself, and furthermore, who's paying your wages? I am, because you'd be on the frigging dole, you bastard." And it's true.

Jim and Ray identify as Tasmanian and coastal, with a strong connection to their place and a sense of being entitled to make their living – and to ensure their own and their communities' economic sustainability – through the resources available to them. They identify as having worked hard all their lives and as utilising but also living in and with nature. For them, in-group identification was with others who shared the same values, particularly those who worked hard to maintain the economic and, by extension, social sustainability of themselves, their families and their communities. They accentuated the differences between themselves (and others who shared a similar social identity) and the out-group. The latter, they considered to be ideologically driven, lazy (as references to being on the dole, or unemployed, imply) and uncaring of the needs of people whose livelihoods depend on utilising natural resources. Notably, the out-group was often described not only as holding countervalues and beliefs but as coming from 'outside' – the city or the Mainland – and thus having no right to criticise local practices.

8.7.5 Environmentalism, Sustainability and Identity

In Tasmanian cities, the environmental movement and green politics are strong, as noted earlier. Environmental activism is commonplace. Amongst the participants in this research, there were a significant number who identified as supporting environmental activism and as taking part themselves. Yet, for some, the support for environmental activism felt like aligning with outsiders, and in small communities, the stakes of doing so can be high. Lynn (generation 2) described her passion for and commitment to environmental sustainability:

[5] Referring to the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG), one of Australia's largest sporting venues, which holds over 100,000 spectators and is colloquially used to denote large scale.

> I think we need to care for the environment. I think we need to be more aware of what we're doing, why we're doing it, because if we don't look after what we've got now, our children are not going to have the environment that we have.

In Lynn's view, economic sustainability and environmental sustainability are not always in harmony. She noted that when tensions occur, economic sustainability tends to win out, as local government prioritises bringing people into the area and creating jobs to stimulate the economy. As a result, she felt that unacceptable trade-offs were often made. Lynn's view was shared by others, who recognised tensions between different pillars of sustainability and felt that economic sustainability and, more significantly, particular economic interests too often won out. Notably, those who argued for greater attention to environmental sustainability did not argue against all developments or against any form of natural resource utilisation. They did argue for environmental sustainability to be given far greater consideration in local decision-making. Significantly, Lynn, like other participants with similar views, was deeply concerned for the future of her children and recognised the need to balance protection of the environment with viable employment alternatives.

While a small number of participants said they would describe themselves as 'greenies', most shied away from the term, which was generally targeted to outsiders who were perceived as disregarding local concerns (also see Crummy and Devine, this volume). This reflects Luke et al.'s (2018) study of shale gas and coal seam gas exploitation across several countries. They found that '[R]esidents often do not identify with activism as part of their social identity due to past tensions and historical relationships', even when they opposed the exploitation of natural resources in ways that might damage environmental sustainability (Luke et al. 2018, p. 528). On the east coast of Tasmania, there was division – and sometimes tension – between those who advocated the exploitation of resources with little or no constraint and those who described themselves as being concerned with the environment. Social identities were clearly formed along these lines. Yet, those who were concerned with the environment were generally cautious of being labelled as 'greenies' or as 'activists', as such labels would associate them too closely with outsiders. Rather, they generally took a careful approach to their activism and advocated balancing of the pillars of sustainability but prioritising environmental and social over economic when trade-offs were necessary.

8.8 What Knowledge Is Valued? What Knowledge Is Valuable?

A strong theme emerging from the biographical interviews is the value placed on historical connection, 'traditional' knowledge and stories of times passed. This was shared across all generations and was interconnected with participants' sense of identity as belonging. Similarly, there was value placed on intergenerational learning, and young people spoke of the importance of skills and values learned from

parents and grandparents. Many of the skills taught across generations contributed to a way of life that was considered deeply coastal and shaped views on sustainability in complex ways.

The place of knowledge transmitted through formal schooling was subject to disagreement – often in line with social identities around sustainability debates. There was some scepticism amongst several participants from generation 1 (grandparents) and generation 2 (parents) – particularly those who took a developmentalist view of sustainability – about the value of knowledge taught in schools. Some argued that too little emphasis was placed on learning traditional skills and knowledge that was once inherent in growing up on the coast. They felt school curricula privileged the kinds of knowledge that are valued in large urban centres and have little relevance for life in small towns and rural or regional areas. For those whose social identity aligned strongly with traditional, place-based, rural knowledge, skills such as hunting, fishing and the ability to be self-sufficient were valued over academic knowledge. Moreover, participants with a strongly developmentalist view considered teaching issues around environmental sustainability to be indoctrinating young people with outside, urban ideas that are misaligned with local values.

Interestingly, young people (generation 3) tended to have a nuanced view of the types of knowledge they valued. Local knowledge, often transmitted informally within their family or community, was generally considered very important. Hunting, fishing, and knowing how to be in the bush were considered important by many young people, particularly those whose families had long lived on the coast and were engaged in fishing or agriculture. While there was some difference between the kinds of knowledge boys and girls valued, those differences were not great. For example, both boys and girls spoke of the importance to them of family recipes and cooking traditions, which were often passed on by their grandmothers. Tess described her childhood as 'spending all my time following Nan and Pop around'. She went on to say 'I would help Nan prepare food...and help Pop in the workshop...I learned a lot'. Several girls spoke of their fathers (but rarely their mothers) teaching them to hunt, fish and undertake repairs on the farm or to fishing boats. Jenna described learning by being with and watching her father 'Well, I kind of taught myself to drive a boat, by watching my dad and brother...my dad pretty much taught me to fish'.

The majority of, but certainly not all, young people also considered formal education to be important. This was particularly the case amongst those who wanted to pursue tertiary studies or knew that limited local employment opportunities would force them to move away (see also Easthope and Gabriel 2008). For young people, formal qualifications matter in a way they did not for their grandparents. While informal knowledge was highly valued, formal knowledge was considered the ticket to the future. The majority of those in generation 2 understood the necessity of formal education for their children, and most had faced decisions about staying in their communities or leaving to seek education and employment themselves as young people. More than half had themselves left for a time and then returned to raise their own children in the place they considered home. Importantly, however, social identity – and particularly employment and educational background – played a significant factor in parents' views of their children's formal education. Those who

had themselves left their hometowns to pursue opportunities tended to place greater value on formal, and extended, education for their children.

Generation 3 had mixed views on the specific nature and relevance of formal education. Most valued opportunities to learn about marine science, aquaculture and coastal ecologies – knowledge that many considered central to their place-based identities. But young people who wanted to stay in their communities, and had no desire to seek employment or further education beyond, often considered school to be disconnected from their present lives and the futures they hoped for. Practical knowledge of their local environment was more likely to be valued by this group than subjects such as Math and English. What appears to be unexplored is the potential of linking local, practical learning and core subjects of the national curriculum to create a learning experience that may be considered more relevant and more highly valued by young people. There is untapped potential to explore the ways in which school systems can embrace knowledge that is, in Patterson's terms, procedural and has greater relevance in young people's lives than knowledge that is largely declarative and often appears distant from their everyday lives and futures. This may also create *constructive* friction on crucial issues of sustainability (Tsing 2004).

Interviews with teachers, however, revealed the current challenges of teaching such content in ways that are accessible and interesting to students. Teachers spoke of the increasing bureaucracy and risk management around any learning that takes place outside the classroom. One described the enthusiasm and strong learning outcomes of his students when – in the past – he took them to the beach and onto the sea to learn about marine biology: 'I loved it, teaching science on the beach, it was just magic'. He explained that he had abandoned such excursions because the paperwork required was too overwhelming, and he eventually settled for what he considered to be much diminished classroom-based explanation over hands-on experiential learning:

> You can't get kids out of school nowadays. You've got to have a ratio for anything involving water, so you're down to one adult to 12 students, and if you're going in the water, one adult to four students. How do you afford that? You just can't. The school can't afford it, so it becomes a classroom-based activity.

What knowledge is valuable – and valued – appears to be determined by social identity for all generations and by aspirations for the future amongst young people. For young people, informal learning is highly valued, but many recognise that it may not be valuable as they enter the highly competitive employment market or pursue tertiary studies.

Importantly knowledge transmission was not unidirectional – from older to younger generations. Participants across all generations spoke of sharing knowledge – of young people not only learning from parents and grandparents but of sharing new knowledge with them. This was common in regard to computer and information technology skills but also in regard to new scientific knowledge that was relevant to aquaculture and farming.

In some cases, families – across generations – described the ways in which both formal and informal knowledge were not transmitted 'down the line' from old to

young but shared across generations in ways that consciously contributed to both economic and environmental sustainabilities on a personal/family level. James and Clara (generation 1), Jay (generation 2) and Jayden and Harry (generation 3) farm the property that has been in the family for three generations. James and Clara gave autonomy to their son from a young age, encouraging him to actively learn *and* contribute to farming practice. Clara noted that her grandson now comes home from agricultural college with bright new ideas that enhanced farming practice.

Across generations within this family, knowledge is considered formal and informal, learning and teaching are by doing, and new ideas transmitted through formal education are highly valued. Significantly, the family considered the economic sustainability of their farm to be dependent on measures that protect the environment. Economic and environmental sustainabilities together were seen as contributing to social sustainability. This family was notable in the approach taken to sharing knowledge across generations, and practices of the past had been adapted and sometimes abandoned as a result of new farming and environmental management techniques. Their approach is an example of building knowledge intergenerationally and in ways that consciously value the past and sustain the future. Yet for others, some forms of new knowledge are considered a threat to both economic and social sustainabilities and challenge deeply held values and norms that have contributed to a particularised local culture. Soini and Birkeland's (2014) wide conceptualisation of culture is useful in understanding resistance to what are perceived as outside ideas about environmental sustainability and the resulting disjunctures within small coastal communities and between those communities and outsiders, particularly urban, environmental groups.

8.9 Concluding Comments

Through biographical interviews across three generations, the complexities of sustainability and the nuanced interaction of attitudes to sustainability and valued forms of knowledge are revealed. Concepts of sustainability, and related practices, have long been contested in Tasmania. In the communities of the east coast, which are grappling with the implications of social and economic transformation, that contestation is acute and is deeply intertwined with social identity and insider/outsider status. This contestation creates friction, which is sometimes destructive, and can act to prevent conversations between those who hold different attitudes and have different interests and values. Within the everyday politics and power dynamics of small communities, this can close down the possibility of diverse or dissenting voices being heard.

Mapping future pathways that can reconcile opposing views, and maintain economic and social sustainability, while ensuring that the environment is protected, will be challenging. However, Tsing's concept of constructive friction provides possibilities for bridging gaps, imagining new possibilities and achieving common ground. Moreover, the strong sense of identity and belonging to a place shared

amongst those for whom the coast is a home provides a basis from which to begin constructive dialogue. Recognising the intimate connection between social identity and how sustainability is understood and incorporated into both everyday life and people's senses of self is essential if potentially irreconcilable positions are to be transformed into a constructive friction that creates space for conversations across difference.

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Chapter 9
"I Shall Be a Fisherman": Learning from the Past, Imagining the Future: Observations from a Viable Fishing Community in North Norway

Harald Beyer Broch

Abstract In this chapter, empirical illustrations show how intergenerational communication appears as an inspirational factor and secures a vital transfer of significant cultural capital in a fishing-based small island community. The text is divided into sections where (1) the youngest children, (2) teenagers and youth, and (3) the established fishers are focused. However, this is not an age-segregated lifeworld, and we see how the youngest children learn from their elders and how cultural values of respect, relevant knowledge, and identity are negotiated and shared. It is also a purpose with this chapter to present extensive ethnographic descriptions. This is because there are very few viable fishing communities left in Norway, and even more so very few people have a realistic idea about small-scale coastal fisher's lifeworlds. Examples of how islanders think and act considering various types of sociocultural change are highlighted. It is important to remember that the community is small. Approximately, 100 residents live here and there is no industry or firms of any size.

The chapter is based on extensive anthropological participant observation fieldwork, first 12 months (2006–2007). More visits followed; the latest in March 2019 admitted participation during the winter cod fisheries.

Keywords Fishing community · Coastal small-scale fishing · Recruitment · Socialization · Sociocultural change

9.1 Prologue

Admittedly, I was nervous. Twelve years have passed since I lived for a year in the fishing community in Nordland, joining in most fishing activities as an anthropologist on vessels from 30 to 40 feet long. We fished primarily for tusk, saithe, haddock,

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ling, and halibut in the home near waters and took part in the winter cod fisheries at Malangsgrunnen (Troms) and off the Røst islands in Nordland. Last time onboard one of the local vessels was one-week fishing with nets at the continental slope off Troms for Greenland halibut (Broch 2020).

I was returning for a visit. Onboard the catamaran fast carrier bringing us from the mainland to our island destination, I sat with a small group of known islanders. We remembered some shared events and they briefed me about a few developments in the community. "Oh well, you shall soon find out by yourself and discover what is new, changed or the same" they told me.

The vessel slowed down in between the many islets before we arrived at the quay in front of the community versatile shop and the small fish plant. It is January 15 and the evening is dark, but the snow-covered pier area reflects the yellow color from the shop and plant enlightening. Insulation boxes filled with fresh fish are loaded onto the catamaran that will bring them to the mainland for further domestic and foreign distribution. A small crowd has gathered to see who are coming. Peter is there, waiting for me in the background; he told me on the cellphone that he would meet me. His four-year-old son thrones at his shoulders. Peter has two children a girl and a son both born after I left the island so long ago.

Peter drives me to the house where I shall stay and shows me about. His aunt has readied everything. The little boy comes along; the father explains that he is quite shy with strangers. He wants to sit on his father's lap. I tell him my name and ask him about his. Soft and as I barely hear it, he whispers, "say it you daddy." The father informs that he is named Sam. Five minutes later, Sam looks bashfully at me: "I shall be a fisherman" (*Æ ska bli feskar*). Peter smiles, nods, and confirms that this is true; Sam always wishes to come along fishing.

Below, we return to Sam and meet more young boys, youth, and adult fishers to learn about their role and position in the community. It is an interesting environment because it has survived as a fishing community to the present day. It has not been subjected to "forgubbing," the most common development situation of Norwegian coastal fishing locations marked by steadily increasing percentage of older fishers and an extremely poor local recruitment to the trade. During the winter cod fishery off the Røst islands in 2019, one of my companions challenged me: "What is the representability when you write about our small island community, about the way we are devoted to fishing, about how future fishing is assessed?" My answer underlined one of the reasons to engage with this ethnographic particularity. We know a lot about local fishing communities' disappearance, in Norway, the USA, Canada, Iceland, and EU countries (Jentoft 2003, 2011; Cullenberg 2007; Chambers et al. 2017), less about communities that have resisted the tidal waves of centralization, shipowner strategies and a flight to trawlers and other types of floating fish plants. This is one good reason why these men, their vessels, community, women, and children are interesting. Mothers and fathers have managed to transfer a viable fishing community from generation to generation during hundreds of years, and they are proud of it. How do they do it? This exposition presents reflections on socialization, the early years, on youth and how adults reflect on their own beginning and the introduction to commercial fishing they provided for their own sons. By the way,

although the islanders know women are slowly entering the coastal fleet of fishing vessels, they do not see that as an option for their own daughters. If some few men or women look at the question differently, their opinion has at least not this far entered the public community discourse. The purpose of the chapter is to show the role of ethnography beyond statistics and expose a color of diversity. We find a masculine ideology supported by local women, mothers, aunts, and teachers. Through the presented experience, near- and person-centered focused ethnographic illustrations expose basic values impacting community and fishing-related behaviors and attitudes. The ambition is not gender analysis but a descriptive exposition of daily intergenerational communication and interaction. In this island, community parents and grandparents of both genders are valued adaptation models for young children, who on their part signify hopes for future continued livelihood at the outermost inhabited isles.

9.2 When It All Starts

Most of us are born into a family, a wider group of relatives, and a social community. The approximately 100 resident islanders reflected in this study are generally well integrated to their local community, an assemblage labeled and internally self-ascribed as a fishing community. Shortly, this signifies a shared understanding of the importance coastal fishing plays in the residents' livelihood (Clay and Olson 2007). Surely, they are not all involved in coastal fisheries; a few young men work with oceangoing trawlers, large long-liners, and seiners. Others, women, and men are engaged in not-maritime occupations; some seven or six people migrate daily back and forth to the mainland for work. Jobs are also available for teachers at the island's school, at the local multipurpose shop, and at the fish plant where two persons were employed full-time and two part-time in 2006. By 2019, a few East European men and women had been recruited for both full- and part-time engagements here. However, all the islanders and young and older residents share the opinion that their community would not survive many more years into the future if the coastal fishing ended. Thus, they all live in a fishing community where fishing is the single most important occupation for continued habitation at this outpost toward the Norwegian Sea.

When newborn members enter the island community, they arrive in an environment where fishing and fishing-related activities are positively valued. In addition, babies signify continued viability and possible community resilience to all the islanders, in this society tracing its history back to the Viking Age. The home community consists of people who all know each other and care about what the neighbors do and even do not do. Some 200 eyes on the island watch every newcomer and every newborn baby, girl or boy. This community can be characterized by what Tönnies (1957) framed as a "Gemeinschaft" society as opposed to "Gesellschaft" societies. Tönnies chose the terms to distinguish between intimate social relationships of small-scale communities as opposed to the superficial nature

of human encounters in the large cities where social relationships are more restricted to single-purpose transactions. When proposing that the island community in focus represents a "Gemeinschaft" quality, this does not imply old-fashioned backwardness at the current time (2020s); it is a thoroughly modern community (Angerbrandt et al. 2011). More social scientists have argued that in communities where children and youth are encouraged to enter primary food harvest regimes such as agriculture or small-scale fishing, living models of successful farmers or fishers represent, if not a must, surely an encouragement to enter those professions. Encouragement from parents and nearby living grandparents strengthens the impact (see, for instance, Elder and Conger (2000)). In communities where older and younger residents fish together, the novices learn by copying and practice. Friends compete but also share committed experiences and not the least get recognition from younger, same age, and older islanders of both genders. In this type of dense communities, peer influence represents a powerful impact. Here, boys and girls are not only classmates and age mates; they are also cousins, brothers, sisters, and friends who explicitly influence the aspirations, attitudes, and actions of each other (Elder and Conger 2000; Donkersloot 2007). The formative years evolve around community, commitment, caretaking, company, and competition.

Peter's mother and father both remembered him as the boy who always trailed his fisher father and grandfather. He always insisted that he would follow in the steps of his male fishing relatives. His relatives including an older brother who liked fishing but chose another occupation were all sure Peter was bent for fishing. One of his elementary school teachers told me in 2006 that she always knew this boy would go into fishery. "Everyone in the community could see that, we all knew it," she asserted. Thus, applying minimal labeling theory, Peter not only grew up hoping to make fishing his profession; wherever he went, friends, relatives, women, or men in the community and even his teachers predicted that outcome. Some would say fishing was his destiny, as fishing likewise became the destiny of more of his friends on the island. If you are a man and want to live here, there are few alternatives besides working on the mainland. Commercial fishing has, however, helped quite a few to settle down and make a sound living from available marine resources.

Sam was too shy to tell me his name, but he braved to inform me that he was heading for a fishers' life. It was easy to observe that his father, father's father, and father's mother all approved of the tiny boy's determination. He wished to stay within the family tradition, and after all, there is no greater compliment than imitation. I am not saying that Sam is deemed to become a fisher, but he has a good opportunity to gather the cultural capital needed if he stays with the desire.

In mid-January 2019, skipper Peter, his crew Ron, and I return the 48-feet-long vessel to the shore after visiting six chains all together approximately 150 cod nets. We left in the dark at 6 o'clock in the morning; when we approach the local harbor at 3:30, it is once again pitch dark. Peter and Ron are not impressed by the catch, but home fishing is great, allowing for plenty quality time with the family. Today, the attempt was for mixed species, and a good number of fine saithe, a few cod, more ling, a few haddock, red fish, tusk, pollack, and two Norwegian lobsters besides a host of worthless ratfish were picked out of the nets. Overall, approximately

700 kilos were unloaded at the fish plant. The catch carries the costs of the fishing efforts, not much more.

Sam is waiting in the dark when the vessel is moored in front of his home. The boy runs through the fluffy snow toward his father.

Daddy, daddy did you bring me some fishhooks?
No, I forgot it.
But – but you promised.

Sam's mother stands by; she does not offer a word and does not show what she thinks.

Sorry, I forgot. Listen, I promise that if the weather is suitable, we may go fishing during the weekend. I shall bring good hooks and plenty of bait, we shall go out on the sea. That is for sure.

Sam still looks disappointed, but he does not say anymore.

Come here, I shall make some filets for Harald, come and have a look.

The boy drags along; his sister and mother are nearby but keep a distance.

"Look here" Peter tells his son. He holds some fish refusals in his hands. "Shall we give this to the otter?" Sam nods, he looks quite pleased by now.

Peter informs me that he has lately started to deposit some fish guts and scraps not far from the house. Then the whole little family stays inside by the window and watch the otters. Parents and children find it cool to watch the lively animals coming to eat and when finished bringing the rest to their den. Some fine take away arrangement!

The winter cod fisheries are coming to an end-March 2019. Peter and Ron fish off Røst the outermost islands outside Vestfjorden where the Lofoten island chain ends. This is my third time with Peter during this cod fishery, and the final day has arrived. The species quota was filled before sunset. We bring inn all nets.

During the weeks of this fishery, Peter cellphoned home everyday. In the beginning, it was unpleasant because the children wept when they heard his voice. Sam always cried that he wanted to be there, on the vessel, to see all the fish. After some days, it eased; Peter could speak with his daughter and son without anybody crying. The point is that even the youngest children of modern fishers get involved, they hear the father's voice, get to talk with him, and grasp news from the sea. Distances are not like they were in the olden days.

We are soon homebound, and Sam has asked for a gift from Røst. He wants a large cod – *skrei* – from the Røst Ocean. Peter holds up a beauty in front of me. "Do you think this will do?" Yes, I believe that cod is the right size, perhaps 20 kilos. However, Sophie, Sam's little sister, should also have her fish as a return gift. Her father selects one, nicely colored and remarkably beautifully patterned but much smaller. Boys and girls, gender as much as age difference? I wonder.

"We are not running on economy speed now, I promised to be home before Sophie and Sam go to bed." From the wheelhouse, we spot our destination, a small assemble of islets and islands in the horizon. It is getting darker, but we shall make

it. Peter picks up the cellphone and tells his wife that we are close, in an hour, and we are home.

It starts to dusk, the skipper turns on the vessel's search beam to announce our return, they will see the light inside the house, he tells. Minutes before we land and Ron secures the moorings, Peter lets the skips' horn sound bravely – here we come – daddy comes home. A mother and her two tiny children board the vessel. I ask Sam if he is the one named Sam. This time he nods and utters a low tuned yes. Suddenly, he smiles and points at his sister and tells me with a clear firm voice: "She is two years old." When he discovers the large cod daddy brought him, he is delighted. The fish is so big. He touches it, he tries to lift it, but no, he cannot even move the beast. Sophie looks at her fish, fingers its skin, but soon loses interest in it. "What shall we do with the large fish?" asks Peter. "Eat it," Sam happily responds. The mother picks up Sophie and holds the girl in her arms. "The time for longing has passed" she speaks out loudly, and the four of them leave the quay, walk together, and enter their freshly painted white house. The phrase can be read as an icon. Children and wives usually meet their fisher fathers and husbands at the quayside when they return from extended fishing expeditions. The women habitually ask about the voyage and fishing and say they are happy and everything is well. Uttering words about longing diverts the focus away from the male protagonists to the subjects at home. For a woman to mention longing, perhaps fright in public is a culturally non-appropriate topic. A fishers' wife from another island community further south told that she had to use all her psychic strength to hide her anxiety from fellow islanders when her husband was long gone (Kalland et al. 2005, p. 100). Neither did the wife and mother sited above adhere to local standards of homecoming greetings nor was she brought up in a fishing environment. She did, however, present a sociocultural staged message for her young children. As Solveig and Penelope longed for Per Gynt and Odyssey while they were traveling about, the two young children learn that on their home island, women are routinely waiting for the homecoming of fisher relatives. Sophie may be longing for the men in her life; Sam learns that he shall become a focus for longing. Dear ones shall await at home when he ventures the seas or to faraway places. The mother's prediction is valid to the extent her children grow up to continue their island's fishing community traditions. Fishing provides visible absences.

9.3 Teenagers and Youth

One of the teachers at the elementary island school stressed the aim to implant the children with pride of their community. This teacher was of the opinion that even young students should be taught respect for the labor their ancestors, women and men, had invested to make a livelihood on small island outposts at the fringe of the Norwegian Sea. Fishing had always been the foundation of their community. The schoolchildren's own existence was prepared by endless generations of fisher families who had toiled on land and at sea. Fishing based on skills and courage

can be a dangerous occupation. In the old days, more often than now, it happened that some men never returned from the sea (Fulsås 2003). The teacher used to tell the students that they should respect the braves that were now fishing from their community. This teacher emphasized that all boys were not born to become fishers, there were always alternatives, and the school should point out some of them. Yet all the girls and boys were made to understand that if no boys chose to become fishers and fishing ceased, it would also mean the end of their community, the school, the shop, and the fish plant – everything and all would be moved to the mainland.

Most fishers do not like to bring their youngest sons along during work at sea because it is necessary to keep an eye on them most of the time. Some, however, arrange shorter outings with their fishing vessel to give five-, six-, and seven-year-old boys a taste of the trade. More fathers than Peter claimed they had bought a small boat powered by an outboard engine to make fishing easy and more fun for their children, girls and boys.

During fieldwork in 2006–2007, three boys between 14 and 17 years old were fishing from their 25-feet wooden-hulled vessels. These were old boats almost ready for condemnation. The mother of one of the youngsters became frightened when the wind force grew above some 7–10 m/s and her son was out fishing from his tiny craft. None of the boys was allowed to venture far from the coastline, and they were watched from more windows, with binoculars. Whoever had the right view would now and then make a survey (the Gemeinschaft spirit); everyone knows that the sea gives and takes.

The local church is packed. It is an early sunny summer morning, and the yearly Protestant confirmation ceremony is on. Among the novices is Stein, one of the youngest fisher recruits on the island. After the family supper with halibut as the major dish, most all residents are invited for coffee at the community center. The selection of cakes is outstanding, all home baked; nothing else would do. When Stein is out fishing in his 25-feet-long vessel, his mother is nervous when she thinks the weather is too rough. Despite that unease, she has decorated the top of an enormous three-layered cream cake with a marzipan image of the boys' fishing vessel. From his mother and father, Stein receives a small map machine to install onboard his craft. Thus, members of his family, more relatives, and community members symbolically legitimate and confirm the boys' decision to become a professional fisher. Nine years later, I met Stein in Røst at the winter cod fishery now onboard his own 31 feet, well-equipped net vessel.

In 2007, the three youngest novices on the island fished on a so-called student's summer quota that gave each of them the right to sell their catches at fish plants. Almost whenever the weather allowed, the boys went fishing. They learned the bottom topography and good fishing locations assisted by simple, cheap data technology, experiences, and remembrance. All three applied a hand turned jigging wheel, and their catch consisted primarily of cod, saithe, haddock, and most exiting, but rarely a good-sized halibut (15 kilos and heavier). A fourth youth, Trym, a grade school (situated on the mainland) student of fishing and fish farming, had practiced education once every week, with a fisher from the island on his 35-feet vessel. During the summer school vacation period, Trym could borrow that vessel. Like

slightly junior age-mates, he applied hand jigging for cod but also managed motor jigging when schools of saithe gathered along rocky shallows near the home islands. In the "Gemeinschaft"– society people care: The catches the boys bring inn, how much, which species, and even the value of day's or night's effort are soon known by most residents. After a good endeavor, the youth receive due credit, sometimes as direct praise and other times more indirectly. The novices know their catches are a topic of many conversations. Unfortunately, bad fishing luck is also a theme when young and older islanders meet. When someone returns empty-handed to shore, the questions are many. It may be comforting to know and hear significant others say that skit happens to everyone, fish will return, and luck will restore. Some boys apparently never possess the needed luck. Such a fate also becomes a topic for gossip, woven into an ascribed identity component of the unfortunate. Even young girls and boys learn, what all know, that commercial fishing is not suited for all. Not every boy develops into good skipper although he may become excellent crewmember. And of course, some find out that fishing and an ocean life are not for them.

In July 2007, Ola, 17 years old, is fishing during the summer vacation. This night he made a particularly good catch, 208 kilos of cod, 15 kilos of saithe, and 10 kilos of mixed species (tusk and pollack). He says he just loves to jig and he is concerned about his recognized skill as a jigger. He presents himself self-confidently and yet apparently humble when he underlines that he is just a novice and pure amateur when he narrates how well he fishes. At sea, he calls up his companion fishers who also try out the fish-bite and informs them about the value of the catch – this far. Among the island's fishing peers, competitiveness and cooperation coexist. Generally viewed, also in cross-cultural comparison according to Schlegel and Barry (1991, pp. 82–83), cooperation and competition are likely to rise and fall together within peer groups. The way I interpret the fisher's communication, and especially the younger ones, competition is always on. Fishing is a competitive activity. How, where, and when you talk about the results is, however, a different matter and highly contextualized. Likewise, various forms of cooperation are sometimes part of an ongoing game. I give you some useful information, but not all I believe is relevant. When serious cooperation is needed, when there are problems with essential equipment or the vessel, it is no playing. The time is there for unconditional cooperation to solve the difficulty and to save the day also for the unfortunates.

It is early morning. I am talking with Ola. He just arrived at the fish plant to deliver his catch half an hour after us. We also met at sea some hours before when I was fishing with Trym. Ola tells me that he firmly believes that fishing, and especially jigging, has to do with how one moves the hand. Otherwise, "most has to do with experience," he says that his father always tells him. Ola also says that Peter's father once told him that it could be devastating for an upcoming fisher to compare himself with companion fishers too often. His own father, however, claims that it is only by comparison, one finds the energy for improvement.

> I just hated it the other day. You were bringing in cod after cod, and big ones. I had my vessel almost along the side of Trym and you. I did not feel a nibble, no fish, nothing. That was when I moved, tried to locate fish somewhere else. Some nights it is no fun.

This is also how fishing is learned.

The time is ten o'clock, Sunday June 30, 2007. Trym and I take off with "Seabreeze" the vessel Trym borrow from his teacher (see above). Tonight, we are the first at our chosen location. It is semidark, not like the bright midnight summer pleasure of May and June. The rain drizzles and the sea is calm. Though it does not look too good, there is little fish to detect on the echo sounder. Well, it is night; the fish should swim higher up than when the sun shines bright. We start to catch some saithe when our jigging machines are adjusted to fish at a shallower level. Trym contacts Ronald who is also fishing this night; he is in his 40s, an experienced fisher from the community. Ronald confirms that we must fish in the upper levels not near the bottom. We observe that Niels, 20 years old, has also arrived at the location. He does not come close and obviously thinks he is as smart as Trym when it comes to locate fish. Finally, around 3 o'clock in the morning, he summons Trym and tells how he is doing. Right now, he pulls in one and two saithe at the time, but generally, "fishing has been slack," Niels informs us. The message brings Trym to life: "Wow we are crushing him, this is good." The wind is gathering strength and we have a short-lived strong breeze. With the decreasing wind, also the fish stop to bite, and Trym loses all interest in the fishing. He turns up the volume on the radio that usually plays pop music when he is skippering the vessel. Then around seven o'clock, we again spot Ronald approaching us. Trym trusts that the "old man" shall find the fish. And he does, do not mind that Trym maneuvers the vessel as close as possible without risking touching Ronald's hull. We observe that Ronald is doing well, but we do not connect. "What am I doing wrong," Trym asks on the phone. "Move just south of me and try near the bottom." Fishing is good, but it does not last long. No more fish. Trym stops fishing and grabs his cellphone and disappears into another space. He does not notice when Ronald signals that he should let the jigging machines run again. I bring my skipper back to the here and now. Once more situated near by Ronald, we make a good catch. "I think we have enough, let's go home," Trym orders. We gut the last fish while the vessel runs on the autopilot. When weighed, the catch is 825 kilos of saithe including four redfish. Ola has also arrived with a fine catch; his vessel moored right in front of us. Trym's teacher has come to the harbor and inspects the result. He tells Trym and me that we have done well. A good catch of well-gutted fish makes good quality. He also makes sure his vessel is flushed clean after the night's work. Ola's father joins in and asks Trym who is really in charge during the fishing. He does not wait for an answer, looks at his son's fish, and shakes his head slowly, corner of the lips down pointed. "When **you** get that much, I wonder how much I would have pulled in." Some fathers compete with their sons the whole life through whereas most are thoroughly supportive.

"We leave for the rocky shallows just north of the islands, are you ready in half an hour?" Trym is on the phone; it is Monday July 9 and I just ate supper. "Seabreeze" leaves the harbor some minutes past 6 o'clock; when I jumped onboard, I suddenly understood why this early departure. Tonight, Trym brings his girlfriend Maria a stout, cheery, and likable daughter of a fisher and minke whaler along. She is living on the mainland, also a grad school student attending classes in fishing and

fish farming. Trym never informed me that she was coming but told me previously he was only allowed to skipper "Sea-breeze" when I participated as crew.

It is a perfect evening. The sea is calm, almost oily, no wind. The three of us are seated in the wheelhouse, watching the map machine and the echo sounder. Trym asks me repeatedly where we should go and where we should try. I tell him that it is his decision; he is the boss.

We get some cod, not bad really. The young skipper is restless and plays his preferred radio music loud; he steps in and out of the steer house. Ola has moved his vessel alongside us and noticed we got some good-sized cod. Maria and Trym share one jigging line and get some small cod and a baby ling. Ola moves to some other locations further north. Trym is bored; Maria grabs the line and wants to fish. We have just passed the midnight hour. "If we had more, I would have returned to shore." Trym pours himself a jug of coffee and brings "Sea-breeze" further north. This time we close in on Ola and start fishing but no luck. Maria and Trym go down to the mess and tell me to fish if I like.

We secure "Sea-breeze" right in front of the fish plant at half past five in the morning. Trym looks at the scales that show 265 kilos. He is surprised and did not think we had that much. This was indeed a different trip.

Apparently, the setting and context of the night reveal more contradictions. If the purpose of Maria's visit to the island and fishing in the night foremost was romantic, the anthropologist surely was a nuisance. During the first days after this little expedition, both young and elder islanders confronted the anthropologist with humorous statements.

> "Lucky Trym, you fish for him, and he has a good time at sea." "You know women on vessels give poor luck, they steal the boys' attention from fishing. If you had not fished, Trym would have returned emptyhanded to shore"; "Ola observed "Sea-breeze" during most of the night and you were the only one who made a substantial catch."

Finally, Peter commented on the night's fishing; he was just a few years older than Trym and Ola. "Trym likes to follow others to find fish. Does not trust himself. Remember however, that neither he nor Ola are professional fishers yet, they shall improve."

If the purpose of the night at sea was to earn money, the boy and girl appeared overtly distracted from their goal. Interestingly, the fisher's daughter is less than the young fisher to be. Maria was the one who several times expressed a pronounced wish for fishing and continued fishing. She had stamina and showed interest in the trade. Yet Trym was technically a better fisher, for instance, more experienced when it came to hook the fish onboard. He expressed that he was proud of his sweetheart: "neither is she afraid of grabbing the fish with her hands nor troubled by fish slime. If Maria gets the opportunity to be a vessel crew, she shall surely become useful and one pleasant companion during fishing." Here Trym is not like most of his buddies and older men on the island. Generally, they agree that women have no place onboard any fishing vessel, except perhaps to make the cabin cozy, and volunteer a few gazes and comments of admiration. Trawlers and other large fishing vessels are different, more like factories where women are useful on the production line. Trym,

however, appears to detect the possibility of a professional assistant and mate at sea in Maria, also on board 30–35-feet vessels. Maria proved that when a woman wishes to or has an urge to professional fishing, she is allowed onboard, not ridiculed but appreciated when demonstrating willpower and skills.

9.4 How We Teach and Taught Our Boys to Become Fishers

Seven experienced fishers from the island participate in the winter cod fishery from Røst, March 2019. Back in the harbor, the days' catch of cod had been delivered when Odin an experienced fisher from the home island enters the steer-house from the wharf. I am reading a feature story in *Fiskeribladet* (*The Fishery newspaper*) about a young girl who plans and hopes to become a fisher (Lindbæk 2019, pp. 4–5). Odin looks at me, glimpses at the paper, and asks: "How old did you say she was?" "Fourteen years old," I answer. "Oh well, then we may anticipate and be 88% certain that she never enters into the fisheries. The trade is thoroughly talked down (nedsnakket), fishers have no recognized social position, and we are looked down upon." "No, why do you say that?" Peter interrupts Odin. "We earn good money and I have never ever experienced negative gossip or what you call belittling comments or scorn because I am a fisher. What some people might say behind my back or among themselves, I really don't care." Odin grumbles: "well that's your opinion, and certainly the reputation of fishers and their families was even worse before."

It is not a disputed second-rate social standing ascribed to commercial fishing that prohibits or refrains contemporary boys and girls from choosing fishing as their occupation. A far more serious reason operates all along the coast. "The costs of entry to fishing are sky-high. The amount to buy, a 31- or 35-feet long vessel, even a used one, is out of reach to almost all young men or women. Further, the quotas needed to engage in an economically sustainable fishery are prized ridiculously high," Peter insists. In this, Odin fully agrees. They also agree that it is impossible to enter the fisheries without substantial economic help from parents or relatives. The sale and purchase of coastal fish quotas attached to even shorter than 35-feet-long vessels may well ruin the future of many coastal fishing communities (Brox 2016; Jentoft 2003; Chambers et al. 2017).

It was thought-provoking that a newspaper article picturing a teenaged girl hoping to make fishing her livelihood aroused comments about feelings of fishing as a stigmatized profession. Peter was of a different opinion; if the trade was tainted in the old days, according to his experiences, the situation had changed. However, they agreed that fishing as a profession, at least on coastal vessels, is not suitable for women. The work is too heavy, and women need to be with their children during long periods of their early adulthood. Indeed, few women are full-time coastal fishers along the North Norwegian coast. According to marine biologist, Røed commercial fishing is perhaps the most gender-segregated labor market in Norway (women are

however active participants in the fish processing industry) where just some 3% of the workforce are women (Røed 2020), and the situation has changed little since the 1990s (Neis et al. 2013). Women are so rare in this trade that their presence has triggered sporadic newspaper interviews and commentaries. Many of these young fisherwomen say that they meet significant opposition from male colleagues. A 19-year-old Oda Sofie says that it is almost impossible to enter the trade, and if you do, you are neither treated seriously nor with respect. She knows no other women fishers (Mølstre and Ugland 2019). Sandra began fishing when she was 25; now she is skipper and owns her own *shark*-type vessel. Her experiences confirm what Oda reported. Even to buy a used vessel was difficult when sellers understood that **She** was not a **He**. Sandra is provoked by male attitudes about women as fishers and equally aggravated by the widespread opinion that single mothers should stay away from commercial fishing. Then she hurries to tell that her 13-year-old daughter thinks she too may choose to be a fisher (Pedersen 2018). More young women express an experienced resistance and lack of recognition of their maritime efforts and urge from many fishers. Thus, Sisilie, a single mother from Andenes in North Norway with three young children, tells us that she has chosen small-scale coastal fishing for a living, because it is well paid, and it is a fisher she wants to be. She is skipper on her own 33-feet vessel. It is a tough work, but she makes it go round. She learned fishing from her father who let her come along to sea in her formative years.

> Often people ask me where my children are, not about how much fish I have caught. There are lots of people around who mean mothers are irresponsible when they choose fishing for a trade, women and particularly mothers should find normal, steady jobs on shore. (Nilsen 2020, pp. 4–5)

Fishing women foremost ascribe this stigma to gender, not the nature of work. Yet it is interesting to learn that most commercial fishing women tell us they have learned and been taught fishing and vessel management skills from their fathers. Further young women who aspire to skipper their own fishing vessels report many of the same obstacles as young men do, that is, difficulties to raise money to buy a vessel and necessary fish quotas and this despite the expressed political ambitions to get more women into the national fisheries![1]

What are the options for girls and boys living on the coast who wish to devote their time and energy to commercial coastal, small-scale fishing?

Odin reflects that it was probably because his first child was a boy that he now has two sons engaged in the commercial fisheries. It was because the firstborn was a boy that he gave him the tiny vessel from which he learned fishing. It was perhaps because of that incidence the younger son soon admired his older fishing brother. Accordingly, the youngest had to have a similar vessel when coming of age.

[1] It is fully legitimate to analyze both the experiences and attitudes these fisher women report and everyday speech activities and practices at the community in focus through a feminist lens as suppression strategies of women (see Donkersloot 2012; Neis et al. 2013).

> I believe they would have never become fishers if they had not been given those tiny vessels. If our daughter were the eldest among siblings, I doubt her brothers had chosen fishing for a living.

Here Odin seems to pay no attention to the fact that he is an adult fisher role model. Further, Odin's brother is also a skilled fisher and their father too lived from fishing. The men around the table in the galley all agree, not one of them had become a fisher on their own vessels where it not because of parental help, influence, and inspiration from more relatives and community peers. They felt they could have chosen differently. No pressure, they had, however, fulfilled the dreams of their childhoods. None of them had ever thought of looking into the possibility to introduce a daughter into serious fishing activities. The words of Stig Atle a fifth-generation fisher from a neighboring island are representative. He emphasizes the importance of growing up in a fishing environment and of having access to a craft. To him, there was never an alternative to choose a different trade. After graduation from elementary school, he went straight onboard the family vessel. "And that is where I intend to stay" (Mæhlum og Hansen 2017, p. 19).

9.5 Conclusions

The winter cod fishery of 2019 was completed when I visited the parents of one of my former young fishing teachers. This father, also a competent fisher, looks at me and knows I am familiar with his son. "He (the son) has become a skilled fisher, have to admit that I am quite proud of him. He has graduated now, there is no more I can teach him." The mother smiles, "many years have passed since he passed you as a gillnet fisher." "Yes dear, that is true."

What Ola told me when we met in Røst 2019 was important and signals what may come. He had his own 35-feet vessel; he plans to buy a larger one together with his younger brother who is also a successful fisher today. "Harald, do you remember how we fished, were jigging for cod in 2006 and 2007 just off the island?"; he asks me and continues:

> That is not possible anymore. No more cod, not worthwhile to summer jig. During the last years, six or seven perhaps, there has been tourist fishers on the shallows every day, every night from late May through August. They are coming with fast boats from fishing camps on the mainland, it is not worthwhile to go to those shallows anymore. I feel sorry for the upcoming generation of fisher novices, they do not have the possibility we had to learn, to get experience.

Twelve years ago, none of the islanders seriously believed that tourists could have a significant negative impact on their home fisheries. Sometimes a slight frustration was aired about tourists searching out a particularly good halibut location. That was unfortunate, but good locations were bountiful. No one imagined then that tourists could be favored over commercial small-scale fishers. Now, and not only in the USA, commercial fishing has been banned and restricted from some locations, so

recreational fishers as part of international tourism will have enough to catch (Hamada and Wilk 2019, p. 110). International tourist fishing also along the Norwegian coast is out of control (Rostad and Nordvåg 2019) and may well make the entry into the coastal fisheries even more difficult for coastal youth than it already is. Marine angling tourists seldom share values held by the coastal fishers regarding fish as a resource. To the tourists, fish is part of the experience they buy, and what local community members say, mean, and feel generates no consequences for them (Solstrand 2015).

In this chapter, I have shown how becoming a fisherman (woman) in small-scale fishing communities is far more than a craft. Commercial fishing is a lifestyle, achieved in social communication and dialog between members of different age groups where wisdom and performances are taught, learned, and shared. It is the Gemeinschaft character of these small local communities that has contributed to their long-lived continuation and vitality.

The absence of women who participate in commercial fishing from the community is understood as part of local tradition. The women I got to know said they were contented and happy that they did not have to participate at sea. "Not being a fisher is at the core of what it is to be a woman in a fishing community" (Yodanis 2000, p. 278). Remember, however, when Maria who had chosen fish farming and fishing as her high school specialization expressed a longing for the sea and fishing, Trym welcomed her as crewmember. He praised her skills and other community members kept surveillance to see how she made out; it would be her decision whatever!

The most serious threat to this type of coastal community adaptation to rough marine environments is not a lack of marine resources but political decisions. One theme is fish against energy, that is, oil wells and wind turbines. Further priorities of resource distribution among marine harvesters are issues of fast economic profit against ecologically sustainable communities, even species interaction. Then perhaps the immanent demands for population centralization, of schools, hospitals, and more infrastructural necessities, may soon wipe out the last small-scale communities in the peripheries also of Norway. The purpose of this chapter was, as demonstrated, to use empirical ethnographic insights to shed some light on intergenerational communication and cultural and adaptational continuation in a modern North Norwegian Gemeinschaft community.

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Chapter 10
The Sea Lost and Found: Changes and Interdependencies in a Coastal Community in Denmark

Eva Gulløv and John Gulløv

Abstract From an anthropological perspective, this chapter addresses the relation between formal education and the challenge of social viability in provincial communities. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the municipality of Tønder, a coastal area in the south-western part of Denmark, we focus on how parents and young people look at and value local possibilities and the options presented by the education system. Drawing on the work of sociologist Norbert Elias, the main argument is that prospects for the future and patterns of mobility relate to the ways people connect and are integrated in social networks locally and elsewhere. The chapter points at the need to explore the changing character of social interdependencies in order to understand people's choices and preferences and yet also to understand the forces that on a more general level work to undermine the social cohesion of small coastal communities. By the end of the chapter, we argue that such an analysis is, furthermore, a prerequisite for the development of more socially and economically viable local life, as this depends on new forms of social obligations and commitments.

Keywords Formal education · Patterns of mobility · Changing interdependencies · Local community · Norbert Elias · Social viability

Opening Vignette

There is a lively atmosphere inside the kindergarten as the children are about to leave for a trip to the Wadden Sea some 15 km away from the town of Tønder. The kindergarten has borrowed two minibuses for the excursion. The anthropologist asks one of the pedagogues, Jasmin, if she may join and is welcomed. Soon we drive over the flat marshland.

The views are wide. Large flocks of migrating birds mark the spring. A few scattered farmhouses and herds of grazing sheep fill the landscape, and we cross countless drainage canals and pumping stations which tirelessly work to keep the

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grazing areas free of water. The sea is hidden behind a giant dike that protects the dammed hinterland from overflooding, and we must drive further up north to access the coast. The beach is sandy, but the seabed is muddy and not particularly well suited for bathing. However, bathing was never the idea behind the trip.

The children are asked to collect feathers, stones and, if possible, crabs. Equipped with shovels and buckets, the children start to collect whatever they find. Soon, some begin to 'cook' together by mixing sand and seashells, while others search for fish in the shallow water. When a crab shows up, a group of children carefully place it on a bed of grass and feed it with flowers. After a few hours, the children are wet and hungry, and the pedagogues decide to return to the kindergarten. The children are asked to bring the collected stones and feathers with them, as these, as Jasmin explains to the anthropologist, are perfect for the school preparation sessions they have each morning. 'We can use the stones when we work with numbers, and we can use the feathers on posters and show the parents how we work .... There is a lot of learning-potential in the stuff children find themselves'.

10.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the relation between formal education and the challenge of social viability in provincial communities. The empirical outset is the municipality of Tønder, a coastal area furthest to the south-west in Denmark delimited to the south by the Danish/German border and to the west by the Wadden Sea. The point of departure is a surprise by the lack of attention to the sea that we found among local people. The irony of a coastal society without an interest in the sea calls for a closer look, not least because the sea historically has played an important role for local people for fishing, fertilising the marshlands and transporting goods and people. So, what may explain this lack of interest in the sea? The general obliviousness to the sea made us wonder why many people in small coastal areas often seem more focused on pursuing their dreams in distant places rather than locally. We therefore decided to explore how people see their local opportunities, how they compare them to those available in other places and what their commitments and social dependencies mean for their orientations, values and choices.

The analysis of these research questions is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted over 3½ months, from late March to mid-July 2016, with follow-up visits in 2017, 2018 and 2019. Based in the main town, Tønder (approx. 7500 inhabitants), we participated as much as possible in everyday public life and made systematic observations at institutions for children and young people in Tønder and in a nearby village. We did formal interviews with 12 parents, 28 professionals (teachers, managers and counsellors at kindergartens, schools, high schools and the various education programmes) and 55 children and young people about their perspectives on individual options, on formal and informal education and on the situation of the local community now and in the future (Gulløv and Gulløv 2020a, b). The interviews

revealed an articulated ambivalence. On the one hand, we witnessed a strong attachment to local life, the nature and landscape and the close relations to other residents (although some young people also found local life boring and too well known). On the other hand, most people had worries about the area's future and in particular the opportunities for young people to make a living. Even well-established and locally engaged parents who had good local jobs voiced such doubts. While many emphasised the support they had received from their social network to establish themselves, they were rarely confident that such networks could secure their children's future. Instead, they turned to education as a more reliable path, notwithstanding the fact that this would probably make their children migrate and thereby contribute to further destabilisation of the local life they themselves prised highly.

On the following pages, we will focus on this ambivalence and discuss how it relates to broader demographic dynamics and symbolic values. When parents and professionals consistently praise formal education at higher levels as the best strategy to ensure their children's future, it not only influences the decisions of young people but also devalues precisely those forms of symbolic capital that hitherto have been associated with local life modes, places and people. The message is that leaving to get an education is the most rational and safest choice in life, but implicitly this also communicates that urban centres and associated lifestyles are more interesting, important and prestigious than the local. Though the strong appeal does not mean that all young people leave to get an education, it does set up a symbolic rivalry between local and urban value systems where certified skills and the willingness to leave rank higher than local attachment and expertise.

In this way, people's choices and preferences are affected by but also contribute to the destabilising processes that take place in small-scale provincial communities. To understand these dynamics, we will draw on theoretical points raised by German sociologist Norbert Elias and argue that local life, prospects for the future and patterns of mobility relate to the kind of bonds people have to each other and to the ways they are integrated in and dependent on other places and authority structures. Our argument is that by exploring the nature of the social interdependencies that influence peoples orientations and choices, we can understand the forces that currently work to destabilise small coastal communities and yet also develop new perspectives on how local life can become more socially and economically viable.

We will open our analysis with a presentation of the theoretical inspirations behind the analysis. The Elisian perspective emphasises the need for a relational approach and to see contemporary tendencies in light of longer social processes. Accordingly, we will outline the shifts in the power balances in Tønder over the last 100 years, not least what has caused the strong orientation towards formal education elsewhere and the current disinterest in the sea. This frames the following analysis of the ambivalence between local opportunities and geographic mobility that we find among parents and young people. In particular, we look into the paradox that although they are aware that the pathway set by formal education might erode the viability of the local place, they find it hard to choose differently. By the end of the

chapter, we will discuss the social and economic viability of provincial communities and the significance of functional and binding connections between people, places and activities – and in this context, what role the sea can play, once again.

10.2 A Relational Approach to Communities

In the foreword to the anthology 'The Sociology of Community' (Elias 1974), Norbert Elias theorises on the concept of community. He criticises a long-term tendency to treat the notion in dichotomous terms – urban/folk, modern/traditional, and changeable/static or with reference to Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) gesellschaft/gemeinschaft. The romantic undertones of this polarity not only mix structure and ideals but also overlook the processes, interrelations and power dynamics which form any community. As he states, the proximity of households does not constitute a community. It depends on the way people relate to each other, that is, if the place-based relations are of another kind than family, neighbourhood or work relations (Elias 1974). In short, it is necessary to investigate the specific kinds of human bonding (or in his terms 'human figurations') that link people to each other in a particular place and look into the changes that have occurred over time to see if it makes sense to speak of a community.

Though these points date back nearly 50 years, they are no less relevant today. As pointed out by Graham Crow and Maggie Laidlow (2019), Elias's extended theory of community offers a sophisticated analysis where local involvement is seen partly as an enduring legacy of past social figurations, partly as the outcome of continuing interdependencies. As Elias critically states, 'Confronted with the difficulties of a highly mobile and quickly changing world one is apt to seek refuge in the image of a social order which never changes and project it into a past that never was' (Elias 1994, p. 158). Instead, he argues for a processual analysis, exploring the ever-changing social figurations that form people's attachments and investments in activities, places and human relations.

With his pronounced criticism of a polarised and value-loaded approach to community studies and his strong emphasis on exploring sets of relations and chains of interdependencies, Elias' thinking is in line with more contemporary scholars in the social sciences and humanities who have argued for a more relational rethinking of the concepts of time, space and place (e.g. Lefebvre (1991), Massey (2005), Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014)). Often labelled the spatial turn, such researchers insist that any place comprises sets of relations, human as well as non-human, transcending the territorial locations (Larsen and Beech 2014). From this perspective, it is not possible to operate with a simple dichotomous notion of global and local. The global is implicated in the local and vice versa (Massey 2009). People make connections and engage in interpretations of discourses and activities; they take initiatives at a local level and engage with people and institutions elsewhere.

This means that communities should not be regarded as fixed and bounded entities threatened by external global or national forces. They should rather be regarded as enacted sites inscribed with meaning as people relate to one another. Following such a relational ontology, communities come to exist through the practices and exchanges that people engage in; or in the words of anthropologist Annet Pauwelussen, they can be described as 'performative networks' where people engage with other human beings as well as 'with the material components that make human relationality possible' (2016, p. 6). As she underlines, 'this also means that the spatial scale of community is an effect of association, not a delineation of it. A community-as-network associates various elements or 'actors' that relate to, but are not confined to, places. Resisting the assumption of community boundaries beforehand clears the way for exploring how, where and when community-as-network is performed' (ibid.). The methodological implication is to get close to the way people relate to and depend on other people, institutions, places and material conditions and try to understand the ways they connect and feel socially obliged, committed and affiliated – or not. Furthermore, as Elias keeps stressing: We cannot understand the actions, meaning or feelings of individuals without considering the social webs of dependencies they are situated in (Elias 1978). And as these keep changing, due to integrational processes and shifts in power dynamics, it is necessary not only to map contemporary connections but also outline how they have changed over time to understand the values underlying individual orientations, motives and choices.

It is well documented that provincial communities have been part of long-term integration processes in regions and states during the last century. Globally, this is seen in the ways national states have established political, educational and bureaucratic structures encompassing the most peripheral areas, and it is seen in the general expansion of infrastructure, communication and market systems connecting small localities with the rest of the world. These processes have led to change in local social configurations as people connect more directly to other people and places but have also led to a systematic disintegration of local structures. The gradual transfer of decision power to higher levels of the organisational structure of society has challenged and even eroded former forms of status, livelihood and identity. Such changes have given rise to new kinds of orientations, commitments and interdependencies but have also altered power balances uniting some, splitting others (Elias 1974, p. xxxii). Or put differently: With great regularity, the last century has witnessed the reduction of relative autonomy at local levels and consequently a de-functionalisation of many low-level activities, tasks and positions. This has severely altered people's orientations, values and local commitments as well as individual power resources and status. New cleavages have opened between those who have lost and those who have gained from the changes and left some to lament the loss of local options, pride and identity while others celebrate the new possibilities (cf. Elias 1974). In these processes, the local social networks have lost strength and volume, and so has the trust in their ability to boost current life modes and jobs. And as trust has faded, so have people's sense of social obligation and commitment.

10.3 Changing Interdependencies

Such changes can also be found in Tønder. Over the last 100 years, the area has faced fundamental changes in administration, trade, life forms and social living with consequences for local economy as well as for individual orientations and perception of place. Placed as it is next to the border to Germany, the region of Tønder has had a turbulent history and was under German rule for a period of 56 years up until 1920, which had implications for the social configuration in the first half of the twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the region and in particular the town of Tønder were quite well off, not least due to trade especially cattle trade, small-scale industries and tourists passing by to holiday resorts on the small islands off the German coast. Also, the draining of the marsh made Tønder a central trading town, and its geographical position by the sea presented good opportunities for shipping goods and people to coastal towns in Denmark, Germany, Norway, the Netherlands and England (Trap Danmark 2021). This changed during the first half of the twentieth century, not least due to the complicated political relation to Germany during and after World Wars I and II and a gradual decrease in activities related to the sea. As a result of natural coastal changes in the Wadden Sea and shifting social power balances disfavouring Tønder, big harbours were built further north. After losing its economic importance, the coastline off Tønder slowly sanded up, and due to failure to find investors to expand and ensure sailability, local harbours became useless for the cargo ships and ferries that had hitherto docked there (The Danish National Archives online). Since World War II, there have been almost no commercial activities related to the sea. The construction of levees and roads favoured farming and connections over land. The infrastructure changed and enabled people to commute to jobs in faraway towns which, for various reasons, had become more important administrative, educational or commercial centres. Since also agricultural production changed in scale, mode and efficiency, many people had to look for jobs elsewhere with the consequence that the typical life modes changed in favour of more far-reaching connections and engagements. In 2007, six municipalities were merged into the municipality of Tønder as part of a major national reform of administrative structures (which reduced the total number of Danish municipalities from 250 to 98). Though this strengthened the position of Tønder town at the expense of other towns in the area, the process also involved additional centralisation of services, state institutions, influence and capital in the national centres. The state administration was organised in the four main cities and jurisdiction, police and educational institutions were to a large extent gathered in the biggest regional towns, bypassing Tønder (Fig. 10.1).

Due to these measures, the municipality of Tønder has faced a significant decline in trade, economy and jobs as well as a reduced local political and administrative autonomy. Small towns and villages are now suffering from falling house prices, closed shops and enterprises, decaying buildings and lower average income levels by comparison with national standards. Thus, jobs have disappeared and with them reasons to settle here. Out-migration has become the norm except for those outside

Fig. 10.1 Path to the sea

the labour market (elderly and unemployed) (Kontur 2019). As almost all kinds of higher education have been centralised in the major cities, especially young people move away after high school – and many of them do not return. In the period from 2010 to 2020, the number of inhabitants in Tønder dropped from approximately 42,000 to 37,000 (Toender population projection 2020).

All the processes of national integration involve long chains of dependency with consequences for local bonds of interdependency. As people gradually got options and possibilities elsewhere, the local social structure changed, hierarchies dissolved and social cohesion lost its grip on people's lives. This is, perhaps, most apparent in the ways the national system of education has affected the local social structure.

From biographies in local archives and accounts from older informants, we understand how Tønder in the middle of the last century was far more hierarchal and segmented than today. Tønder town, for instance, was divided into areas for workers and the bourgeoisie, Germans and Danes and so were schools, churches and clubs, bathing places and shops, constituting a complicated social puzzle. This pattern changed because of a general informalisation of social relations, the process of integration in wider society and the increased significance of education. The privileged exclusiveness of the local elite (big landowners, tradesmen, businesspeople and officials) gradually dissolved from the 1970s onwards. As more people became part of wider exchange relations outside the area, they became less dependent on the local specialists, employers and resource providers. To counterbalance this loss and ensure their privileged position, the local bourgeoisie invested in education. Their children moved to the main cities, and though this might have been rewarding for the individual, it was at the expense of the local position of the families. As those who did well in the cities never returned, the local elite gradually lost their position in the area; their power as a collective stratum eroded. The houses were sold, other people moved in and social hierarchies generally evened out. As the education strategy of the bourgeoisie proved successful, but also due to the general increase in prosperity, the expansion of the education system and the loss of local jobs and opportunities, people from other social layers followed the same path. The effect was – and continues to be – that more and more young people seek education

and subsequently work in the larger cities. Today, education has become the established and worthy path to status and income, and formal certification is a prerequisite for a properly paid job. Today, two-thirds of all young people in Tønder leave the area.

10.4 Local Opportunities

The development has not only altered the demographic balances but also reduced the vitality and density of local bonding. The interrelations between inhabitants become fewer when strong group-based and work-related chains of dependencies are replaced by separate and uncoordinated individual connections to people, institutions and activities outside the area. The decline in vital obligations means that people feel less obliged to commit themselves beyond the sphere of recreational matters. This can be seen when people hire craftsmen from Germany and Poland rather than their neighbours to do a job. Or when individual families commute for faraway jobs or cross the border to do their shopping instead of using the local – more expensive – shops. We also infer a sense of detachment when parents explain that they – despite the expenses – want their children to spend a year at a boarding school elsewhere by the end of secondary school in order to widen their social horizon and prepare them for a life without relatives close by. The social grip on people has gradually loosened, a fact that has made it possible – but also necessary – for them to secure themselves financially and socially without relying on a fixed localised social structure.

The enhanced role of formal education, the centralisation of political, administrative and educational institutions in the main cities and the new modes of production and transportation have indisputably had a huge impact. However, changes in local choices and practices cannot be reduced to influences coming from the outside. Local people have contributed to change whenever they found it morally right or personally profitable. They have invested in formal education or local business affairs if considered advantageous, and when appropriate, they have given priority to connections and alliances with people and institutions elsewhere. By such pragmatic choices, they eventually have come to strengthen some chains of dependencies while neglecting and weakening others. Over time, some connections have become self-evident, as is the case with the education system, while others have vanished, as is the case with all the interdependencies linked to fishing, shipping and port work.

As mentioned, the increasing integration into wider society has weakened people's commitment to and interests in keeping up the binding obligations of local life with the effect that the importance and density of local networks are reduced. What this means is that the strong mutual and overlapping interdependencies between local residents covering, for example, economic, religious and political aspects of life have gradually been transformed into low-density networks where more and more people use their networks only for social and recreational reasons.

However, in our ethnographic material, we also see examples of people who have profited from the opportunities that result from the new, less rigid social structure, for instance, Kasper, who grew up in Tønder but shortly after school enrolled in a short military training programme in a city up north. As he and his wife disliked being there and wanted to be close to the grandparents of their two children, they decided to return to Tønder. By drawing on his and his mother's network, he quickly found a job as a real estate agent. After some years, he accepted an offer to be the manager of a local bank. When asked how he could get such jobs without formal education, he explains that the board members knew him and had confidence in his abilities to carry out the duties and that his insight into local affairs would help him to assess whether people's projects are realistic. Also, Annette explains how she has managed to build up a quite successful pedagogical consultancy firm. Her experience as a nursery assistant became relevant when the local municipality could not find a formally qualified person to be in charge of a programme aimed at misbehaving youngsters and families in trouble. As a friend of hers who was working in the municipality's section for children and families knew that she had the skills albeit not the formal training, she was hired on probation. After some years, she was promoted to head of the section and later again started this firm, drawing on her experiences and many contacts.

These are only two of several examples which illustrate how social networks function as a kind of local capital that can be converted into jobs and opportunities. Another example is the opening of a new private school in the area. The two young female school directors explain how they managed to open the school even though neither of them had any training in entrepreneurship or any leadership experience, as they had only recently returned to their home town after finishing their studies at a teacher training college. To rent buildings, refurbish the premises and get them ready in time, they had to borrow a substantial sum from the bank. This was only possible, they explained, as they knew who to ask for legal and financial assistance and because they were known and entrusted in town, parents had registered more than 70 children before the school even opened. As one of them explained, 'After all, people here are accustomed to doing business the old way – to exchange a pig for a cow, you know...'. At the time of the interview, 3 years later, 80 children were enrolled in the school and 50 were on the waiting list.

Contrary to the general drift towards out-migration to larger cities and a less obliging social grid, these stories are indications of entrepreneurship and local resources often overlooked in studies of the decline of minor provincial areas. Thus, changed social interdependencies have not only removed jobs and obligations but have also left positions vacant and given room for less rigid rules for social life. However, to take advantage of this requires substantial knowledge of local conditions (people, activities, resources) as well as a strong network, a local capital. For those who know how to convert this neglected capital into more recognisable forms such as jobs, money, housing or business, there are clearly plenty of opportunities in a place like Tønder, often more than in the big cities where the job market is more regulated and competitive.

10.5 Ambivalent Perspectives

The value of the social environment was a recurrent theme in conversations with people of all ages. In the interviews we had with parents of young children, they particularly emphasised that here children can 'move around freely' in a 'safe' environment, and 'I really like that all the neighbours know them. I am not worried about my 4-year-old daughter running around, but I probably would have been in Esbjerg'[1] (Nina, mother of two). The significance of the local social network was mentioned as a main reason behind people's decision to settle here rather than elsewhere, in particular the closeness of relatives who could help them look after the children and with practical work.

Despite their busy lives with young children, housework and jobs, most of the parents were also engaged in a range of local activities and associations such as sports clubs and boards of day cares and schools, or they participated as volunteers in church work, markets and festivals or events in the town hall. This was the case for Christian, who lived in a village not far from the town of Tønder with his wife and five children, the eldest being seven. Although he had a full-time job as a carpenter, he was a member of the boards of the local kindergarten and school; he was also the coach of the children's football team and involved in the local civic centre. He explained that it helped him 'to know who your children are with' and to 'be part of but also form the small community you live in', though he also stressed that his involvement was only possible with the help of his parents and sister living nearby.

Also, Lars, a father of two and manager at a local supermarket, stressed the importance of supporting and investing in local activities:

> Sports clubs do not come from nothing. They exist because people want them. And I feel that there is great willingness to do so [support them]. We know very well that we get nothing for free here in Tønder. Almost everything depends on volunteers. (. . .) After all, it is shoulders like ours that it all depends on. It is our generation. We are very aware of this. (. . .) And I also think that our children should feel our commitment.

Almost all parents we spoke to during our fieldwork found it important to support local activities and consolidate local relations – both in the interest of the community and for their own good. As mentioned, some had used their contacts to get a job or a place to live – an indication of how a strong local network is a form of social capital that can be drawn upon when needed. Yet informants were also aware that this capital only counts as long as people stay. As Christian said at an event he and the other members of the kindergarten board had arranged for the whole village:

> I am of course concerned that people will move. I really hope to make it attractive to stay or for new people to move here. Life here depends on people seeing that it is a nice place where we care about each other.

When asked about the local prospects for their children, the answers were generally hesitant. As Christina says, 'There isn't much to do here'. She herself

[1] The fifth biggest city in Denmark with 72,000 inhabitants, situated 80 km northwest of Tønder.

had a degree in nutrition and had a long commute everyday for a job 'where I can use my education'. Also, Sara, reflecting on the options for her children in the future, stated:

> It is really important that you get an education. After all, they have to be able to look after themselves – that is, to provide for themselves.

Although Sara had found a local job through her connections, she feared the same would not be possible for the next generation:

> I don't think there is a chance that my children will stay here. I don't think so.

Simone, a young mother with two girls, never needed her short formal education as she found a local job through one of her mother's acquaintances. Nevertheless, she was convinced that her daughters would have to move:

> This is what it's like when you choose to settle here. After all, you need to have an education.

Despite Sara's and Simone's personal experiences with their social network and informal qualifications being more helpful than their formal qualifications, they had little faith that this network can guarantee the future of their children. Likewise, Sten, who was highly engaged in village life, emphasised that his four children needed to have a solid education so they could provide for themselves. He did not even want them to go to the nearest school:

> If you walk around in a too small environment, everybody can tell each other that what we do is good enough. (...) It is really important that they learn what is needed, because they have to have an education. And you cannot achieve that only by knowing a lot of people around here.

Parents seem to adopt a double strategy when it comes to their children: On the one hand, they are eager to see them integrated in the local community. On the other hand, they tell them that they have to move away to get a formal education at a higher level. They invest time and resources in maintaining a viable and vigorous local community and build up strong social networks but see formal education as the best way to ensure that their children will get a good life. Such double strategies are not only a way to adapt to changes on the labour market but also a way to manage the inherent instability and unpredictability of local social networks.

Many of the local children and young people face the same dilemma around the end of school. For instance, 14-year-old Albert considered a formal education in engineering. His father had a job that took him to different parts of the country, and Albert was aware of the possibilities that come with leaving.

As he reflected on his own future possibilities, he said:

> It seems that if you have specific plans for a career, you need to leave. Otherwise, if you want to stay you need to adapt to whatever available options you have – you can't be picky about what you will do.

In short, despite both adults' and young people's overall satisfaction with local life, they find it difficult to envision a future for the next generation. Instead of relying on whatever opportunities that may arise, the general perception is that the safe path goes through the formal education system (Gulløv and Gulløv 2020a, b).

10.6 Detachment from the Local

So far, we have demonstrated how the changes in Tønder relate to historical processes and shifts in economic and social balances and argued that the current neglect of the sea and the out-migration of young people relates to changes in social relations. In line with this, we also want to emphasise independency as an important aspect in the processes that have brought people to change their values and orientations away from a confined place-based community towards wider society. In his book *The Society of Individuals*, Elias (1991) describes a general shift in what he calls the 'I-we' balance over the last centuries in the Western European societies he studies. He argues that a greater emphasis on the I-identity of the individual gradually has caused feelings of detachment from traditional groupings. The processes described above illustrate this. The general integration involves a process of detachment from places, groups and obligations and greater focus on qualification and resources supporting individual options. The encompassing education system incarnates this rationale. In fact, the whole raison d'être of modern education is to strengthen individual skills and provide means for social mobility, that is, to push the 'I-we' balance in favour of the flexibility and independence of the individual.

We find indicators of this detachment throughout our empirical material, in particular when we ask questions concerning educational possibilities. 13-year-old Michael, for instance, does not think there will be anything for him to do in Tønder:

> Well, I think it's nice to live here, but of course I'm going to Copenhagen when I become an adult, and I'm also going to study at the university. But right now I think it's okay, ...it's nice to live in Tønder because everybody knows each other.

He continuous explaining that he wants to

> become a lawyer. . . . And I would love to be great at it. So, to make a lot of money and be one of the best and not just have some small shop selling clothes down the pedestrian street in Tønder or be a lawyer in Tønder for that matter.

Also Michael's friend Mikkel expresses his ambition to leave and underlines that his parents also expect him to do so:

> So, I'm 100% sure that my parents want me somewhere else in Denmark, because they have also told me that I should go out and experience something new, um, instead of just staying in Tønder.

The boys are highly aware of the individual possibilities that exams can open up for them, and they share the dream of urban ways of life and success. Such symbolic declarations of wishful I-identity work to distance them from more we-oriented comrades who are not as focused on educational benefits or do not plan to leave the well-known family-oriented modes of life they have grown up with.

As indicated, formal education is one of the prime means whereby rural districts and small-scale localities have become integrated in much more complex and differentiated national and international structures. In Denmark, this process has accelerated over the last 40 years due to an acute awareness of competition in the globalised world. In the beginning of this century, the aim of shifting governments

has been that at least 60% of a youth cohort apply for higher education. The authorities in Tønder also emphasise the importance of this. In an attempt to avoid the stigma of having a population less educated than the national average, the local administration has intensified efforts to make day cares, schools and youth education improve children's formal skills and inclination to follow the educational pathway. The endeavour to ensure that as many as possible get a formal education seems to completely overrule the concern that more people will leave or any visions of a more locally oriented curriculum. On the contrary, local education policy to a large extent mirrors the national framework and merely supports the teaching of impersonal and partly abstract knowledge detached from the specific place.

In his research on the roles of schools in Nova Scotia, Canada, Michael Corbett finds a parallel attempt by the local schools to de facto teach children to leave the area (Corbett 2007). Corbett's analysis shows how the education system institutionalises a system of prestige that tells children that it is more honourable to leave to get an education elsewhere and indirectly that there is more symbolic capital associated with life in the cities than in the rural districts. In our study, we find this 'learning to leave' logic in utterances such as Michael's cited above, though we also noticed that it runs through the sequence of institutions that children have to attend during their upbringing, from the kindergarten's focus on school preparation to youth educations' efforts to encourage as many as possible to pursue higher education. Each link in the chain is assessed on its ability to move children on to the next level; a logic that has consolidated formal education as a system with its own kind of knowledge, detached from place-specific experiences and personal bonds. However, the status and influence of this system inadvertently devalues the importance of more place-sensitive skills and competencies and the willingness to stay. There is a systematic disregard of local experiences, options and resources, and thus no effort to help more locally oriented children to establish themselves or succeed on local terms. The school does not have the mandate to increase children's local awareness or to be concerned with local needs. Rather, the school seeks to guarantee that children can master place-independent and convertible forms of knowledge that help them to continue the educational path and specialise in what they want (Corbett and Forsay 2017; Gulløv and Gulløv 2020a, b).

This is the background for the educational inclinations that Jasmin and her colleagues demonstrate in the opening vignette. The visit to the sea is not a way to enhance children's local awareness of the sea and its possibilities as much as an educational strategy to engage them in school activities. The educational effort aims at teaching children the abstract knowledge of counting, colours and letters needed and acknowledged in school, not at turning their attention towards place-specific knowledge about local resources or local modes of being.

The systematic efforts to promote formal education with universal qualities suggest a gradual weakening of the view on local forms of capital. As children grow up, they become more and more aware of the asymmetry between value systems, and though they react in various ways, they are all affected by the power of recognition and support associated with the mastering of the dominant forms of institutionalised knowledge. With reference to Pierre Bourdieu, Michael Corbett

describes this as a shift in children's orientation from the 'market of family' to the 'market of education' (Corbett 2014, p. 455). Or one could add a shift in the 'I-we' balance from a transgenerational place-based orientation to a peer-organised and institutionalised engagement which implicitly comes to involve a detachment from the local context.

10.7 Social Viability: Present and Future Perspectives

As argued above, the dilemmas and difficulties of small provincial and coastal communities are inseparable from the pervasive changes in the chains of interdependencies that define people's orientations and preferences. Today, all people are dependent on national jurisdiction, production, education, jobs and economy and subsequently integrated in long and impersonal chains of interdependence that transgress the geographical locality. Local interactions are reduced as people become less dependent on each other, a fact that explains the general uncertainty people feel about their children's future as local residents. The tendency towards detachment is further increased by systematic efforts to get young people to identify with their narrow age group and to obtain an education in the big cities, a fact that decreases young people's need for and commitment to take part in binding local and intergenerational social exchange relations.

The integration into larger society is a premise for small rural places and must be the starting point for any attempt to regenerate a viable local community. However, rather than looking to the past and trying to reinvent traditional forms of work, it is necessary to look for ways to support and develop new and attractive forms of place-based interdependencies among the people who live in the area. In the case of Tønder, there is hardly such a thing as traditional knowledge, as history has seen constant changes in production, economy and social life and it is difficult to identify any core of local knowledge. Neither agriculture nor trade nor work related to the sea has had a stable form. Rather, it seems that the most pervasive feature throughout history is people's impressive ability to transform living conditions and forms of production and to establish complementary chains of dependence to people and places inside as well as outside the area. And this is perhaps the lesson to be learned from the past: it is necessary to look for the potentials in people's willingness and ability to establish and engage in new exchange relations – a willingness closely related to the feelings of local attachment that people generally expressed in our interviews.

As indicated in some of the examples above, there seem to be important resources in local and intergenerational networks, as these can help people to realise plans or to establish themselves on the job and house market. However, this kind of local capital is not acknowledged as a vital resource, neither by individuals nor by authorities. This may be because it is hard to register and define and therefore difficult to support and develop. Nevertheless, local capital is a resource that might be used to strengthen the functional and binding connections among local residents and to reinforce the cross-generational bonds and the viability of the community. And to this

end, reforms of local children's institutions can help. Rather than a univocal promotion of narrow age group identification and predefined and general qualifications, the education system could also address the needs of small-scale communities to outweigh the geographical imbalances caused by the strong process of urbanisation.

To open that discussion, we suggest that local schools and youth education institutions make their curriculums more sensitive to local needs for cooperative skills and knowledge. That is to develop a 'place-sensitive curriculum' that addresses existing kinds of knowledge and tacit experiences in relation to entrepreneurship, work processes, exchange relations and forms of collaboration. Such knowledge represents a potential to be developed rather than something to compensate for. Thus, we suggest that making formal education more place-sensitive can help local people to attain a viable future and to envision how to organise themselves around future opportunities.

And here we come back to the sea. While the sea has been almost neglected and forgotten over the last generations, it does not mean that it cannot play a future role in building a viable coastal society – only that this viability will not be based on traditional place-based knowledge. To that end, a renewed cultural perception of the sea as natural heritage in need of protection and attention presents itself as an opportunity not least because the unique character of the sea and coast can help Tønder stand out from other places. So awareness of the sea might add to the feeling of a local distinctiveness that can boost local pride and commitment and thereby be the starting point for the development of new chains of interdependency among locals as well as to people and places elsewhere.

This opportunity has become even more pertinent after UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in 2016 listed the Wadden Sea[2] as a World Heritage Site. This has triggered a national interest in the coastal areas and was followed by external investments in activities that could promote the new status of the sea and coast. Two private funds financed a project to underline the new status of the area and acquired two central and historical houses in Højer, the decaying port town of Tønder, to establish a food and visitor centre that could introduce and guide tourists to the rich nature of the sea and coastal areas. Furthermore, they set up a fund of DKK 56 million to restore old houses and support local activities to preserve the cultural heritage of the old port. Activities and funding on such a scale open up for local development and change, but while the new funds seek to improve the historical environments, it is still up to local individuals to find ways to turn these new opportunities into viable aspects of contemporary life. Whether this will succeed depends on whether the initiatives become part of binding social networks where people's activities support and depend on each other, or they become part of long-distance, depersonalised chains of independencies that further reduce local social density.

[2]The Wadden Sea refers to the sea along the coastline from the Netherlands to the south-west of Denmark. It is an extremely fertile area where the tide is the basis for a rich wildlife and where the forces of the sea and wind constantly transform the coastline.

It is still to be seen whether this development will add to or subtract from the social density and give the sea a more central role in the collective awareness, but it can provide a hope for the future as it indicates how new interdependencies can evolve. It represents a chance to develop new interests, jobs and forms of interdependencies that put people in Tønder in a central position rather than on the margins of a centralised political and economic national order. To this end, it might be a good start to take kindergarten children to the beach with the educational intention to teach them about the nature and resources in the area and perhaps see in their collective activities the first hints of what may develop into a revitalised and more interdependent local community.

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Chapter 11
Blue Education: Exploring Case Studies of Place-Based and Intergenerational Learning on Norwegian Islands

Tobias Johansson, Anne Trine Kjørholt, and Erling Krogh

Abstract Integrated with maritime labour, cross-generational education has always been a part of coastal living. Drawing on data compiled from three case studies conducted along the mid- and northern Norwegian coasts, this chapter describes how knowledge and skills related to the sea transfers generationally through informal learning practices as much as through formal education. We present examples of educational practices characterised by intergenerational place- and activity-based forms of learning and highlight how these may promote social and ecological sustainability in coastal communities. Furthermore, inspired by Andersson (2019), we use the concept of the maritime pedagogue as a position occupied by elderly fishers in intergenerational and locally oriented pedagogical activities. We argue that the maritime pedagogue holds the potential to generate an intergenerational contact zone that goes beyond kinship structures. In this intergenerational contact zone, mutually beneficial intergenerational learning can be facilitated to encompass maritime skills, local knowledge and the development of intergenerational relationships.

Keywords Intergenerational education · Intergenerational learning · Coastal education

11.1 Introduction

We begin this chapter by introducing Linda, a young girl living on an island in mid-Norway, far out in the Norwegian Sea. Linda attends the upper secondary school on the island, enrolled in a programme aimed at educating fishers and fish farmers. When we first meet her, we immediately notice a striking tattoo on her arm

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which display an anchor between a heart and a cross, symbolising faith, love and hope. In response to our question regarding whether the tattoo was new, she laughs and replies:

> No, it is very old. It is Faith, Hope and Love, you know. It didn't turn out so well. I would really like to remove those two and just keep the anchor, but. . . . We will see. I will definitely keep the anchor. I feel. . .in a way it symbolises what I am passionate about: fishing, the boat, the sea. The nature around here at the island. . . . Well. . .the sea. I just love it!

Linda's reflections reveal the interconnectedness between choice of education, future profession and place. After living for several years in a town, Linda has chosen to return to the island where she grew up. Like her forefathers, she wants to be a fisher far out in the sea, fishing from a boat. She expressed great pride in her choice of profession. As she saw it, she was contributing to carrying on the local fishing traditions of previous generations on the island.

As elaborated and discussed in Chap. 2 this volume, education is considered key in ensuring sustainable economies worldwide, necessary for individuals to succeed in the labour market, and a tool for promoting quality of life (St. meld Nr. 25 (2013–2014) 2014; UNESCO 2015). From a historical perspective, education in coastal Norway was to a high degree derived through activities connected to intergenerational kinship relations (Paulgaard 2000; Edvardsen 2004; Hetland 1984; Solberg 1994; Schrumpf 2007). Children learned through work as part of the social and economic reproduction of the wider family and community (Theodorou and Spyrou, Chap. 5; Crummy and Devine, Chap. 4; Schrumpf, Chap. 3; Kjørholt, Chap. 6; Broch, Chap. 9 in this volume).

The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the critical discussion of contemporary education in coastal communities by linking perspectives on practices in intergenerational- and local-oriented learning and addressing questions about sustainable coastal communities. With a few exceptions (Gundersen and Slettebø 2016; Strande 2007; Hagestad and Uhlenberg 2005), there is a lack of research on the theory and practice of intergenerational learning in formal education in Norway. Specifically, we present three different case studies of locally oriented educational activities on Norwegian islands, all initiated in the period from 1995 to 2015. *Guri Kunna* Upper Secondary School, which Linda attends, was the setting of one case study. The experiences of the teachers and students involved in the programmes were analysed, based on data collected in fieldwork and interviews. The research questions were as follows: How is locally oriented and intergenerational learning conceptualised and practiced in the educational programmes in the Norwegian island communities? What educational practices related to the concept of place and intergeneration are expressed as valued by the students and teachers?

In the following sections, we provide a discussion of theoretical perspectives and the methodology used in our research. We then present the three case studies, followed by an in-depth discussion of our findings in relation to the theoretical perspectives discussed in the following section.

11.2 Theoretical Perspectives – The Coast as a Site for Place- and Activity-Based Forms of Learning

The three cases shared characteristics related to situations in which learning took place. Firstly, the teachers initiated situations for learning outside standardised educational facilities, locating them in a coastal setting and relating them to enterprises that were relevant to place, local culture and business. Secondly, the learning process was connected to these enterprises through the students' participation in activities related to the coast. Thirdly, tasks in organising situations for learning were given to local professional fishers, teachers and entrepreneurs, who had insights based on their experiences in these practices. These characteristics constituted a framework of learning that facilitated intergenerational and locally oriented education. We chose to call this a specific conceptualisation of place- and activity-based forms of learning. While place-based learning often draws attention to the importance of the physical, social and cultural features of place (Gruenewald 2008; Smith 2007; Orr 2005; Theobald 1997), activity-based learning occurs through participation in contextualised learning activities. Integrated into a certain context, these approaches might supplement each other and provide a unified, yet distinct understanding of intergenerational learning in the three coastal cases.

Our conceptualisation of place- and activity-based learning is based on the phenomenological perspective of Merleau-Ponty (1945/2012) and Grendstad (2007), involving interactions between the body, emotions, reason and senses, which embody experience. Krogh (2017) elaborates on the importance of sensual experiences: sight provides overview and participation, and sounds bring humans into contact with the rhythm of a place; smell generates associations, evokes emotions and activates memories and previous experiences; and tactile experiences organise choices of actions. Such sense impressions and emotional experiences also motivate pupils' learning (Shapiro 1998) and resonate with a relationship-based experiential learning approach (Jolly and Krogh 2021), in which students form relationships with the activities at hand, encountering the task with their bodies, senses and previous experiences. Participation in seemingly simple place-based tasks can foster intrinsic motivation (Barane et al. 2018; Ryan and Deci 2017), thus generating satisfaction through feelings of competence, autonomy and relatedness (Antonovsky 1987). In the three cases examined in the present research, the coastal landscape and its practices provided a spatial framework for place- and activity-based learning that offered opportunities to involve all senses. Emotional responses to sensual encounters might not always be pleasant. However, in the Deweyan understanding, it is experiential learning that takes centre stage in the interaction between the individuals and what constitutes their environment (Dewey 2008/1938; Ord and Leather 2011).

11.2.1 Intergenerational Dimension of Place- and Activity-Based Forms of Learning

In all three cases, experienced, often elderly professionals who were connected to the places and local coastal communities supervised inexperienced, younger students through activities for learning, in our cases fishing. This distinguishing feature relates to intergenerational learning, an additional dimension of our place- and activity-based form. Interconnected with the concept of generation, the concept of intergenerational learning has gained little consensus in social science, especially regarding non-kinship relations (e.g. Biggs 2007; Vincent 2005; Edmunds and Turner 2002; Gilleard and Higgs 2005; Pilcher 1994; Purhonen 2016; Vanderbeck 2007, 2019; Schmidt-Hertha 2014). Our analysis was based on Rogoff's concept of intergenerational learning as a transmission through participation in cultural practices (2001, 2003). Building on the Vygotskian theory of the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky 1978), in which the learning process of the child is considered enhanced through social interaction rather than solitude, Rogoff proposes that intergenerational learning takes place through children's actions as they observe, imitate and participate in kinship and community activities. Through participation, children acquire a repertoire of practices (Gutierrez and Rogoff 2003) that is informed by the knowledge of previous generations and yet is modified by the needs and context of the participant.

Research has pointed to the potential benefits of introducing intergenerational learning in formal schooling. Introducing elderly as non-professional participants in schools has been a strategy for establishing elements of informal education, generating social capital (Boström 2002, 2003, 2014), improving student's academic skills (Sánches and Kaplan 2014; Kaplan 2002) and increasing well-being and social inclusion (Cartmel et al. 2018; George et al. 2011; Whitehouse et al. 2020; Buffel et al. 2014).

To explicitly apply intergenerational learning to the context of formal education and non-familial relations and to make salient intergenerational dimensions in our place- and activity-based form of learning, we will draw on the concept of *Intergenerational Contact Zones* by Kaplan et al. (2020) referring to places or objects that have the potential to generate interaction between generations. The concept of intergenerational contact zones was introduced by Thang (2015), building on Pratt's 'contact zone' (1991 p. 34; 2008, p. 18) in relation to contested space. Pratt's concept of the contact zone was also deployed by Bendrup (2008), who added the intergenerational element in referring to the Rapanui Island Festival as an intergenerational contact zone. On a conceptual level, intergenerational contact zone operates in a space that is equivalent to intergenerational shared sites (Melville and Hatton-Yeo 2015; Kaplan and Kuehne, 2001). For the purpose of this chapter, intergenerational contact zones will also be related to the conceptualisation of intergeneration as an integrated element in place-responsive education (Mannion 2012, 2015, 2018; Mannion and Adey 2011).

11.2.2 The Maritime Pedagogue

Andersson's (2019) concepts *the maritime pedagogic* (p. 85), *maritime hospitality* (p. 137) and *the maritime pedagogue* (p. 136) highlight how contemporary fishers on the west coast of Sweden communicate knowledge about traditional fishing to tourists. Transferring Andersson's concept from the context of commercial coastal tourism to education, we use the concept of the maritime pedagogue to describe and explore a position in which elderly fishers engage in activities related to formal education. Our conceptualisation of the maritime pedagogue accentuates a distinct maritime setting that enables students to engage with locally established experts. In interactions between the maritime pedagogue and the students, the place- and activity-based form of learning constitutes a central component.

In a lifetime of maritime experience, the maritime pedagogue may have acquired a repertoire of context-specific cultural practices that is mediated through processes of learning that engage the students' senses, emotions, bodies and minds. The position of maritime pedagogue would enable elderly fishers, who often lack formal pedagogical training and certification, to participate as educators within the boundaries of formal education.

11.3 Methodological Framework

To explore intergenerational and locally oriented educational practices in a real-life context, we chose a multiple case study design (Yin 2009; Feigin et al. 1991) as the methodological framework for our research. In contrast to a full case study, we did not aim to determine a chain of evidence (Yin 2009). Instead, we highlighted specific situations, drawing on analogies between practices found in the three cases (Table 11.1).

11.3.1 Case 1: 'Out on the Sea, Into the Farmyard'

The smallest case study, third in chronological order, consisted of field observations and conversations conducted at four different sites in 2019 on the islands of Grytøya, Andøjra and Rolla in the northern Norwegian county of Troms. The case sites were two farms related to the County Governor initiative *Inn på tunet*: Ibestad Elementary School and Kleiva Fish Farming Visitor and Education Centre. The first case was related to an umbrella project initiated by the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). Connected to sustainable agricultural production, the vision was to create learning arenas outside school buildings, which aimed at facilitating committed and continuous interactions with natural surroundings and promoting an experience of connectedness (Jolly et al. 2004). Alternative learning arenas connected to practical

Table 11.1 Method and case site summary

Case	1: 'Out on the sea, into the farmyard'	2: 'From the town to the sea'	3: 'Education, blue agriculture and local food production'
Year	2019	2016–2018	2019
Location	Andøjra and Rolla, small islands of Grytøya, Northern Norway	Mausund, an old fishing village at a small island, Frøya, mid-Norway	Frøya, community of islands, mid-Norway
Sites of investigation	Ibestad Elementary School Kleiva Fish Farming Education Centre Trollstein and Frydenlund School farms	Mausund Field Station Mausund Port Fringe islands and islets Small fishing vessels	Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School
Method	Non-participant observation	Participant observation	Semi-structured interviews
Sample size	Mixed samples based on class visits	20 students, 3 teachers (2016) 8 students, 2 teachers (2018)	n = 16 11 students 5 teachers

work and subsistence served as a key basis of education for sustainable development (Lehrmann 2020). The AUN group received support from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education and Research to develop a national project entitled 'Living School' (1995–2000) in collaboration with local school authorities and teachers. Eight farms cooperated with eight local primary schools using farming activities as learning arenas for the pupils. The selected schools revitalised their school environments, mainly through the development of school gardens (Hugo 2000; Parow 2000; Jolly and Leisner 2000). Through the project, the participating schools and farms attended courses on how to use the farms as learning arenas.

In Troms, a county with a long coastline in the northern part of Norway, the courses included fishery and agriculture. In 2006, Ibestad Skole, a combined primary and secondary school on the island of Rolla, developed a four-week project, Out on the Sea, for Form III secondary school pupils. The class size varied from 5 to 20 pupils. In 2019, we met the teacher/tutor and two Form III pupils, who presented their experiences in participating in the project. The pupils confirmed that a minority of school pupils had had experience in the fishery before attending Out on the Sea. In addition to working 'hands-on' with fishers on the ocean, the pupils visited places around the island related to local history and folklore, and they spent moments of just watching the sunset from the deck of the boat. At the end of the project, parents and grandparents, teachers, fishers and representatives of other industries were invited to a feast where they presented their experiences and cooked a meal from fish that they had caught.

11.3.2 Case 2: 'From the Town to the Sea': Travelling to Explore 'the Local' in a Small Fishing Community

In the second case study (the first in chronological order), the data collection started with one week of fieldwork in August 2016, which was followed up in the fall of 2018. In 2016, we followed 20 second grade students and 3 teachers. In 2018, we followed eight students and two teachers from *Byåsen videregående skole*, an upper secondary urban school, during a three-day excursion to the fishing village Mausund, a small mid-Norwegian island located far out in the Norwegian Sea. Mausund continues to face depopulation; however, it still is one of a few fishing communities, *fiskevær*, that are still active in Norway south of the Lofoten Islands in Northern Norway. In 2016, in the initial phase, we held several meetings with the teachers. Participatory observations and field conversations were conducted at several locations: in homes, in and around a field station for maritime research, at the docks, onboard a small fishing vessel, on a fish farming rig and on a small island.

The Byåsen-Mausund project began in 2012 when the Byåsen Upper Secondary School initiated a school development project based on excursions to Mausund. The excursions were initially anchored in the Norwegian national educational reform *Kunnskapsløftet* (2006), which aimed to establish a meaningful learning arena for students through engaging in close dialogue with small fishing communities, local businesses and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). In 2012, the first excursions to Mausund were conducted with students in the research programme. The main focus of the excursions was initially on maritime natural science, particularly surveying the levels of heavy metals in cod, halibut and edible crab. The students' task was to collect water, fish and crab samples and prepare them at the newly established Mausund Field Station for subsequent analysis at NTNU. Situated on the fringe of the archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean, the Mausund Field Station is a unique facility for maritime education and research. Marine plastic pollution has become one of its focal areas, and the station organises teams of coastal renovators who sweep the archipelago for plastic litter, which causes substantial damage to the environment and the fish stock.

Since the excursions started in 2012, the students have been involved in various activities, such as monitoring the quality of water, fish and crab. New teachers and local partners have become involved in the project, and some have contributed new perspectives and activities related to local businesses, culture and the environment. Since 2013, the Media and Communication programme has been part of the project, initially documenting research activities and later interviewing locals and elders on the islands of Mausund, Sula and Bogøyvær to gain information about island life and culture. This activity resulted in a long-running exhibition in 2015 at the NTNU Museum of Science, which included photos, texts and videos about coastal life and culture on the island of Mausund and which was described by locals as giving them a sense of pride and 'being seen'. In 2017, the problem of coastal maritime plastic pollution was recognised, and in 2018, visits to a local fish farming rig became part of the programme. Initially, the project was intended solely for the benefit of

students, but after repeated visits, the project has evolved to integrate the goal of drawing attention to issues related to the sustainable development of the island community. The island of Mausund is now used as a platform for different pedagogical activities. The project, which is ongoing, has developed into a reciprocal exchange between the local community and Byåsen Upper Secondary School.

11.3.3 Case 3: Education, Blue Agriculture and Local Food Production

In 2019, for the third case study, data were collected by the first and second authors at the Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School on the mid-Norwegian island of Frøya. The participants included 11 students (6 males, 5 females) and 4 teachers (2 males, 2 females) who were attending the school's Blue Agriculture and Restaurant and food processing programme.[1]

Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School (170 students) is located at the centre of the island of Frøya in the Norwegian Sea. Traditional fishing has been the livelihood on the island for several generations. Fish farming has been conducted by the most recent generation, which has generated both economic prosperity and the repopulation of the island (Rye 2018). Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School is situated next to the Frøya Blue Competence Centre, which opened in 2016 with the aim of turning Frøya into a regional centre of innovation and knowledge production for the marine industry. This enterprise has involved the Guri Kunna Upper Secondary Blue Agricultural Programme, local businesses, the National Institute for Marine Research, the Norwegian Veterinary Institute, the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and the SINTEF Research Institute (Sivertsen 2017). The Blue Agricultural Programme (80 students) at Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School is well established on Frøya. Dating back to 1947, it constituted the foundation of what would become Guri Kunna Secondary School and has had continuous contact with the local fishing industry. Through contracts and sponsorships, the fish farming industry has proffered facilities, scholarships and support for school trips (Sivertsen 2017). Supplementary funding and concession rights provided by the fish farming industry have generated an additional yearly income of $1,000,000–$2,000,000, which has provided for the purchase of fishing boats, employment of a skipper and a high teacher-student ratio in maritime courses. At the beginning of their second year, students in the Blue Agricultural Programme choose either 'fish and catch' or fish farming. They spend four days a week on theoretical study in the classroom and one day a week on work placement.

We conducted semi-structured interviews that focused on the participants' experiences in intergenerational and locally oriented practices, their choices of educational trajectories and their expectations for the future. These interviews were

[1] In this chapter, our primary focus is on the Blue Agricultural Program.

supplemented by additional interviews that were conducted by phone with the head of the department that offered the Blue Agriculture Programme, which resulted in a total of 16 participants. As recommended by Yin (2009), to describe the context yet not identify participants, the cases were disclosed, but individual participants were anonymised. In the third case study, the interviews were recorded by the first and second authors and then transcribed and coded by the first author, who used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo (QSR International). Descriptive coding and value coding (Saldaña 2013) were used, first to sort and label data and then to include the participants' values and attitudes to their choice of education, intergenerational relations, coastal living and labour. As suggested by Yin (2009) and Vaughan (1992), key informants were invited to review and comment on draughts of the case reports. The results presented in this chapter were based primarily on data collected in the three case studies, supplemented by an analysis of educational materials provided by the students and teachers.

11.4 Valuing Blue Agriculture: Students' Experiences

Using the body, interfamilial intergenerational relations, closeness to nature and mustering grit were the key themes that emerged from our analysis of data collected from students and teachers in the Blue Agriculture Programme at Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School. In various forms, we found that these themes intersected with our conceptualisation of place- and activity-based learning.

At få brukt sej, using the body, was recurrently mentioned as appreciated by the students, who connected it with notions of freedom and being close to nature. Bodily practices that were experienced as meaningful were often related to variation, expressed differently depending on choices made between an education in traditional fishing and in fish farming. According to the narratives of students studying traditional fishing, their experiences included close and physical encounters with the fish: pulling, unhooking, clubbing, gutting and filleting them, manually handling them and sometimes avoiding being bitten.

Linda's narrative revealed that her choice of an education connected to fishing, rather than fish farming, was in alignment with what she felt was right, and it reflected a sense of pride in carrying on the island's fishing tradition. Relating to childhood memories of working on the boat with her father, she continued to express positive feelings about her educational work at sea:

> Its net fishing that we do, cod, I think it is fantastic. Waking up at five in the morning and all the boats crossing the inlet, and. . . . yes, it is very nice. It is heavy work, but it is very nice. I like that kind of work.

Although she described her educational work as demanding and heavy, requiring long work hours, Linda expressed her appreciation that the educational activities were aligned with her values. For Linda, patrolling the fish farming rig was monotonous, whereas being at sea onboard a fishing boat was an experience of freedom,

and she valued her close encounters with nature. In contrast, Simon, a student in the fish farming programme, described traditional fishing as repetitive: 'It's like on the fishing boat that we use, it's just pulling fishing nets all the time. Pulling net and pulling net'. Anna expressed a similar view in explaining why she had chosen to study fish farming:

A: I just think it is more in it. . . . When we were on the school boat we worked six weeks just pulling crayfish traps. . .dead boring compared to being out three weeks on the sea working the Salomon.
I: Fish farming provides more variation?
A: Sometimes there is a lot to do, other times not. But then, there is always the fish. And we feed them, clean and maintain the equipment, and then there is the slaughter. . .new tasks all the time.

Anna described work on the fish farming rig as diverse and thrilling; she enjoyed travelling on high-speed boats in the wild sea and performing numerous tasks. Many students studying fish farming did not refer to activities that involved manually handling the fish, but they commented on the variety of actions required to manage the technology necessary for running the fish farming rig: driving fast boats in harsh weather, repairing nets, operating machines for fish feed and equipment for louse disinfection and driving a forklift. These experiences resonated with place- and activity-based forms of learning as a transactional process between the learner and the surrounding environment.

11.5 Mustering the Grit and Generational Linage as an Educational Asset

From a family of generations of small-scale fishers, Mats planned to settle on Mausund as a professional fisher. Performing hard work at the request of an elderly supervising skipper was accepted as necessary for refining the skills needed for future work at sea. He described his work placement experience onboard a fishing vessel and referred to an episode when he was catching monkfish:

M: I was positioned on deck. Although I knew how to do it, I could not work fast because it was new to me. Sometimes the skipper had to come out and help me, then we did it together. Then. . . . you are to remove the line from the jaws. There are a lot of teeth there where the line gets stuck, and then there are spikes, so I had to watch out where to grab it. Some use their hand and some use a small hook. My skipper used a hook. I liked that, it gives you some distance between your hand and the jaw, feels much safer, should it try to bite, and it might jump.
I: Were you bitten?
M: So the skipper, he tossed a monkfish to me, I fail to catch it and it bit my arm, here. . .but it did not manage to bite through the cold suit.
I: Are they strong?
M: They are not so strong, but their teeth go inwards. It´s pretty difficult then. You have to use both hands and just kill it. Still, that is the thing, it might bite.
I: You mentioned the high tempo. . .?

M: Yes, that's ok, you learn faster then, you have to. I am not there to relax; I am there to learn as much as I can. [...] Well.... when you are on work placement, and during the final week you start to get the hang of it, and then..., when you start to get used to it, it becomes a problem spending so much time in the classroom... then, you don´t get used to it. It is important when you are out on sea. You have to get used to it...; otherwise, it gets heavy.

Mats' expression of his appreciation of an older skipper that had given him a work placement on his fishing vessel and offered him challenging work was followed by his statement that he did not value theoretical classroom studies, which he described as taking time from important practical learning at sea. Mats' impatience to leave the classroom for the boat reflected his realistic appreciation gained from previous generations of what it means to work as a fisher (c.f. Paulgaard 2000, pp. 207–209). His responses indicated an awareness of that in order for him to succeed previous family generations on Mausund and become a fisher, he had to spend time at sea, repeating naval labour practices and learning from experienced fishers (c.f. Broch 2020). Kristiansen (1985) referred to this insight by young men from families of fishers in fishing villages around the island of Frøya as 'consistency of socialisation' (p. 131, author's translation). In drawing the reader's attention to Mats, we would like to illustrate how learning through bodily experience, even when it was difficult, was considered valuable and how it links to local generational lineages and place- and activity-based forms of learning.

Narratives of intergenerational learning through kinship relations and practices emerged as a recurring theme in the student interviews. In memories of partaking in leisure fishing trips with male members of older generations, as well as learning how to prepare seafood from older female relatives, the students related to fishing as part of their experience of coastal living. Students in both the fishing and fish farming programmes referred to this as something that ran in their family. These students sometimes mentioned that school education in maritime subjects and work placements were less challenging compared with students who did not have similar family backgrounds. According to teachers and the head of the department and the Blue Agricultural Programme at Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School, students from families with generations of professional fishers often expressed an identity that was characterised by fishing, which gave them an advantage in gaining knowledge and skills during their secondary school education. These students were predicted by teachers and work placement supervisors to do well during their school years, and they were often perceived as able fishers during their first year of school. If teachers and work placement staff deemed that students possessed grit, *ståpåvilje*, by showing endurance in work and not withdrawing from tasks, they would have plenty of job offers from which to choose. In these cases, academic achievement was of less importance. Consequently, both students and teachers expressed that students who did not participate or do their part onboard would create a bad atmosphere, and they would find it difficult to get maritime work in the vicinity of the school.

In our analysis of the data collected in interviews at the Blue Agricultural Programme, local experience and maritime knowledge transferred through intergenerational relations before entering vocational secondary school emerged as

a substantial asset for children and youth. This finding corresponds with Gutierrez and Rogoff's (2003) notion, repertoires of cultural practices, which enable individuals to participate in cultural practices that are relevant to them and their community. Place- and activity-based forms of learning occupy a salient position in this process. Kristiansen (1985) underlines that work and endurance have been seen as moral imperatives in the context of the islands around Frøya. In the Blue Agriculture Programme at Guri Kunna Upper Secondary School, these values seem to have been adapted by new generations.

11.6 Out on the Ocean: Into Intergenerational Learning

During the Byåsen Upper Secondary School's excursion to the fishing village on Mausund to gather fish and water samples, a local fisher, now retired, accompanies and supervises the students. From the age of nine years until he signed on a boat, he hooked bait on a fishing line at the Mausund *egnerbua* after school in the company of other male children, adults and the elderly. His knowledge of the local surroundings and habitats of different specimens of fish, how to use the equipment and how to catch fish has been crucial to the Byåsen-Mausund project. The following excerpt from a field note describes a scene on a fishing vessel, where the elderly fisher and five students set out to retrieve water samples. The scene illustrates our findings of context-specific place- and activity-based forms of learning:

> The fisher points out the location for different species, corrects stances, and gives short instructions to the students about when to pull and when to club the catch. The students observe the fish bleeding out on deck: "Are they dead?"; "What kind of fish is that?" In addition to being a guide, the fisher now takes on the role of a teacher. Three male students receive instructions and are asked to take turns pulling in the line. The rest of the group watches as hooks emerge, a couple of them with catch. Hauling in fish and crab for about an hour, the students display signs of fatigue, unused to the work. The elderly fisher grabs the line to show how to pull steady and unhook the fish. Using a board with a nail to bleed out the fish, *bløgge*, he throws it on the deck. Some of the students express fascination, some disgust while watching what for most of them marks their first time seeing fish transform to a catch. "How long do they live on deck?" one student asks, studying a monkfish twitching on deck. When the water and fish samples were collected, the party returned to the field station. When a larger fishing vessel brings in a four-foot shark to be used as an additional sample, the students gather around to watch the cadaver. Some of the students touches it, displaying various reactions of awe and hesitation, and then eagerness to commence the dissection. The afternoon and late evening were spent examining and analysing the samples of microplastic. (Field notes from Byåsen secondary school excursion to the fishing village on Mausund, August 2018)

The managing director of the Mausund Field Station, a man in late middle age who was previously a sea captain, introduces a second group of students to the marine plastic pollution issue troubling the Mausund archipelago. The students are first offered a theoretical introduction to the marine plastic problem on Mausund (Fig. 11.1). They set out with their teachers and a member of the staff to the fringe islands to collect samples of soil, which led to the following observation:

Fig. 11.1 Students and fisherman collecting water and fish samples outside Mausund in August 2018. (Source: Tobias Johansson)

> Cruising at high speed between the islands, the students dressed in cold suits, hands within reach of the sea surface, the coastal milieu is accessible to all five senses. The students and field station staff swoop the islands, collecting plastic rubbish and digging for samples of soil riddled with plastic tightropes and litter. This first encounter with marine plastic pollution elicits emotional reactions. Unearthing a piece of blue plastic rope sticking out of the earth reveals a subterranean maze of tightropes and plastic litter entangled in the earth a few metres from the shoreline. Three of the students express surprise and dismay: "Look at all this plastic!", "How disgusting!". Frustration surfaces when a student realises that attempts to free the soil from the ropes are futile. Looking out over the shore and over to the neighbouring island where the distance still hides the plastic litter from sight, a student asks the staff member with shards of despair in her voice, "Is it like this on all the islands?" (Field notes from Byåsen secondary school excursion to the fishing village on Mausund, August 2018)

The students' experiences of watching the fish surface and bleeding out on deck, facing the effects of maritime plastic pollution first-hand, finding microplastic in the dissected fish and wrestling metres of entangled fishing rope from the island shores contrasted the theoretical knowledge given in the lecture a few hour hours earlier. The experience might not be described as pleasant or intellectual as it consisted of the practical activities of finding, digging, collecting and categorising plastic. Related to place- and activity-based learning, these activities exposed the students to situations that triggered a wide range of emotions: astonishment, outrage and frustration. Coastal environmental sustainability framed the purpose of the activity, engendering the perception of an authenticity connected to the immanent needs of the place. The activity also raised questions about intergenerational relationships and solidarity.

11.7 The Maritime Pedagogue

Our conceptualisation of the maritime pedagogue refers to a position in which elderly fishers engage in activities related to formal education, with the coast as a pedagogical arena. In the three cases presented in this chapter, the position of the maritime pedagogue was the most prominent in the second case study, in which the elderly fisher and the field station director were involved in the Byåsen Upper Secondary excursion to the fishing village on Mausund. Features of the maritime pedagogue also emerged in the first case study in the elderly fishers involved in the Ibestad Elementary School projects, 'Out to the Sea' and 'Out on the Ocean'. In the third case study, the maritime pedagogue was the elderly skipper who supervised Mats during his work placement on a fishing boat. In all three case studies, the elderly fisher supplemented the teacher's knowledge and the nationally established school curriculum with local, experienced-based maritime knowledge. In our conceptualisation of place- and activity-based forms of learning, the students, the elderly fisher and the local environment interacted through participating in activities grounded in cultural practices. We argue that the maritime pedagogue holds the potential to generate an intergenerational contact zone that goes beyond kinship structures. In this intergenerational contact zone, mutually beneficial intergenerational learning can be facilitated to encompass maritime skills, local knowledge and the development of intergenerational relationships. Through place- and activity-based forms of learning, the maritime pedagogue emerged as a practitioner connecting separate generation-specific zones. To the degree that education in late modern societies bears the characteristics of Bauman's (2000) 'liquid modernity' based on individual choice and disconnection from tradition, such an intermediary position is needed.

The findings of our study highlights the maritime pedagogue as a contemporary aspect of coastal education in Norway and a concept that is very much embedded in a specific environmental context. A position created by social, economic and demographic forces; the maritime pedagogue connects aspects of the past, the present and the future of the coast, operating in the tension that exists between local and scientific knowledge in the contemporary Norwegian fishing industry (Harrison et al. 2018). Furthermore, in the position of the maritime pedagogue, the elderly fisher displays competence and vigour, thus breaking away from ageist stereotypes of physical frailty and inactivity (Hagestad and Uhlenberg 2005, 2006; Uhlenberg 2000), enabling intergenerational role modelling of older generations mastering the material world. In the case of Byåsen Upper Secondary School, through the position of the maritime pedagogue, the elderly fisher interacted with urban youth. This represented an intersection of generational memberships and different localities which is not common in formal education. To provide authentic learning arenas for their students, the Byåsen Upper Secondary School ventured from the town to the sea, out to the fringe islands and the fishing village of Mausund. Embedded in this environment, the maritime pedagogue constituted an important component of their endeavours to explore the local coastal environment.

11.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has considered how intergenerational learning outside family structures and within formal education can be facilitated through place- and activity-based forms of learning. Students' choice of education and their continuing engagement are complex issues; however, students who are engaged are more likely to learn, stay and complete their education than students who are disengaged (Rumberger 2011; Markussen 2016). In three case studies on islands along the mid- and northern Norwegian coasts, we identified that student engagement was related to cross-generational practices, work and experiences of coastal nature. These findings imply that family background and local identity influence students' work prospects. In addition, the different sites of the three case studies offered different perspectives on forms of learning that went beyond purely cognitive skills to connect with practices within both formal education and the coastal environment.

The multiple case study design enabled us to identify examples of the maritime pedagogue. Our findings indicate that the maritime pedagogue is a key actor in realising a context-specific intergenerational contact zone in coastal communities. Our findings also revealed that intergenerational learning is supported and enhanced by place- and activity-based forms of learning in such contexts. Further empirical research is needed to explore the concept of the maritime pedagogue in recurrent pedagogical activities in purposely designed intergenerational contact zones.

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Chapter 12
Becoming Coastal in a Minor Key

Stuart C. Aitken

Abstract In this closing essay, a circumspect and philosophical position is taken and aligned with the generational knowledge and the generation of knowledge that encompasses the chapters in the book. The focus is on the well-being of coastal children and young people and the health of the planet in general. Taking the position that islands and coasts are the most recognized problematics of the Anthropocene, the essay beings together the insight from the book's chapters on young people's pasts, present and futures to argue for the possible of an ethics of sustainability.

> Because so much more than wind carries so many of us away from our islands. Because we are made to consider our oceans as walls. Because we fumble the jar lid of tongues we've made to bury. Because our sails have been burned. Because our grandmothers have been raped and worse. Because the bones of our beloved are being paved over and over with layers of poison and dollars that bear faces not our own. "A Love Letter to the Chamoru People in the Twenty-first Century" *Inside Me an Island* (Taitano 2018, p. 15)

The works in this book attend to generational knowledge and the generation of knowledge with an intent to push the possibility of sustainable lives for young people. The chapters encapsulate and circumvolute island and coastal places, and I want to argue in this closing essay that the very roiling, twisting, and moving entanglements of sea and land portend a larger moment for young people that defines and travels with hope toward a radical resolution of problems associated with the Anthropocene. The foregoing chapters are circumspect, and perhaps also shrouded in the pathos Lehau Taitano articulates in the epigram as she sits on the California shoreline and longs for connection to the Chammorro indigenous peoples. Like Taitano's love letter to a politically divided region and relatively unknown people living on an island chain between the US territories of Guam and the Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands in Micronesia, the authors in this book wax lyrically about what used to be on the coast and offer hope for the here and now. I want to

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springboard from the preceding chapter accounts to argue that with the lives of young islanders and coastal dwellers, we have an increasingly poignant context of multiple global crises. I argue with Jonathan Pugh and David Chandler (2021, p. ix) that islands and coasts have become one of the most recognized forms of the Anthropocene, with "... global warming, rising sea levels, the fallouts of nuclear proliferation, ongoing colonialisms, changing ecologies and evolutionary pathways, disruptive weather patterns, intensified hurricanes and cyclones, and much more besides."

Islands and coastal entanglements with peoples and purposes are convoluted; each chapter in the book exemplifies this complexity through descriptions of loses, gains, uncertainty, belonging, learning, and the movement of young people. With these perturbations resides the possibility of young people becoming something different, something other and, with hopeful hearts, perhaps engaging with their worlds to create something more sustainable. I argue that it is a hope rekindled by moving toward what Rosi Braidotti (2013) calls a sustainable ethics. These ethics are locatable and prescribe living life to the full in ways denied by the excesses of modernity, patriarchy, development, colonialism, and capitalism. Those excesses show up as political tensions, economic inequalities and restructurings, cultural homogenizations, environmental pressures, and global climate crises. Coasts and islands are important for young people and adults alike then, not just as homes and lived places but as larger ways of knowing and contexts of thought. They are an important part of being and becoming, of activism, research, economies, cultures, policymaking, poetry, and art. Coasts and islands are generative and productive forces of new ways of being (ontology), knowing (epistemology), and becoming (transformations) in the broader Anthropocene. This book is one of the first to focus on coastal youth and elders from a broad interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary perspective. What it does well is bring together research on children, youth, and families as individual subjects as well as on the dynamics between them, their schools, communities, spaces, shores, coasts, seas, and other environmental factors at various scales to highlight the importance of creating a nexus of potential. With this essay, I embrace the wisdom of the work in the chapters that proceed and offer hope for enlarged capacities and potential, and evoking Taitano, perhaps I can offer a love letter to young coastal cultures.

I want to theoretically and philosophically touch upon the relations between Western Continental philosophies from the Enlightenment onward and their relations to manifest destiny, individuation, colonialism, and, on the Continental margins, the movements and coordination of coasts, islands, and young people. These are heady connections whose complexities go well beyond the purview of this brief chapter. In short, to embrace Continental notions of modernity is to suggest that there really is a human/nature divide, that there really is a thing called development, that science and technology really are panaceas for our environmental ills, and that social and spatial justice are alleviated through neoliberal policies and actions. These are all unjust solutions to the intractable problems of the Anthropocene. Why unjust? Because from Continental perspectives, how we think about various peoples, like islanders, plays no significant part in the generation and production of a form of

universalist thinking that brought us colonialism, globalization, individuation, inequality, and environmental degradation. Islands and coasts, to Continental thinking, are at their best springboards and jumping off points, and at their worst they are merely empty stages or blank spaces for the development of contemporary ways of knowing. Rather than embracing Continental thinking, this closing chapter and many of the preceding chapters in this book assume that the human/nature connections and social contracts of the Enlightenment and modernity have collapsed and that the Anthropocene needs to be characterized as a new problematic focused on more-than-human relational entanglements. This way of thinking emanates from the margins – perhaps from young people and from the coast – and is characterized by a generation of voices and songs in a minor key. I embrace the notion of minor theory from Cindi Katz's (1996, 2017) reading of Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) description of Kafka's work as a minor literature, and I elaborate the relations between minor theory and "becoming coastal" as a way to synthesize the theoretical impact of the chapters in this book. As I will attempt to elaborate in what follows, this minor theory resonates with and reworks major registers, and by so doing, each becomes other and is transformed. To presage my conclusions, in toto the books' chapters highlight the importance of working and thinking with young people, coasts, and islands in a relational, collaged, and entangled way that moves beyond the colonial, adultist, rational, universalist, humanistic, and individuated Continental thinking that permeated the twentieth century and continues problematically in the face of today's Anthropocene relations and patchworks. As entanglements and continuities, coasts and islands "take flight on a line of escape and joyfully become a stranger" (Deleuze and Guattari 1986, p. xx) within the major register of Continental thinking.

12.1 Living at the Edge of the World

I begin with a cinematic story about living at the edge of the world. Mirroring many of the stories in this book, Michael Powell directs his 1937 film (reworked and presented on a Blu-ray DVD by Martin Scorsese in 2006), *The Edge of the World*, with an urgency and a tension that belies the seemingly easy pace of the island dwellers that it portrays. Filmed on the island of Foula and loosely based on the real-life evacuation of Outer Hebridean island of St. Kilda in 1930, Powell's story is about the edges of modernity and the changing way of life for people who are isolated from the modern world and mostly dependent upon their local community, their religion, and (their) nature. A thinly veiled subtext speaks to empire and English control of a Celtic oceanic world. The passing of a kailyard lifestyle is bemoaned throughout the film. Kailyard is a Scottish term for a cabbage-patch, and the idea resonates to the way Harald Broch (Chap. 9) evokes Tönnies' notion of gemeinschaft to describe a northern Norwegian fishing community on the island of Røst, in Nordland, as a place where people ". . . know each other and care about what the neighbors do, and even do not do." In *The Edge of the World*, the closeness of the community is shadowed by the toll it takes on the life of two of the film's main

protagonists, who meet tragic ends ("gone over") on the 2000-ft cliffs that edge the northern rim of the island. These cliffs are an important more-than-human character in the film and bear a keen resemblance, both in material and affective ways, to those of the Faroes Islands described by Firouz Gaini in Chap. 7. For Gaini, the Faroese cliffs (and their dangers) are omnipresent in the lives of his young islanders living in the town of Gøta. Nature and its powerful ways are respected. Powell constructs nostalgia for a past gemeinschaft life that is slow, and his notion of a kailyard is poetically framed by the island's windswept fields and rolling meadows. Gaini constructs a Faroese community that has vestiges of gemeinschaft but also is thoroughly modern and connected to a global ecumene. For those living in Gøta and for Broch's Røst islanders, as well as for those who remain on Powell's fictional island, there is a respect for ancestral duty and generational tradition. Change is nonetheless inexorable: for fisherfolk in Gøta, there is a reorientation to global networks of capital and a push to compete with modern fish factory systems. For the Troms islanders, there is dismay for the decline in cod fishing, and now some are favoring the tourist industry over commercial fishing. For Powell's community, the crops are poor, the peat is running low, the price for their wool is decreasing, few babies are born, and modern trawlers from the mainland come out and fish their waters, forcing the islanders to take their small *fourareen* fishing boats out further into more dangerous waters.

The Edge of the World's narrative arc curves around the islanders' decision about whether to remain on the island, which initially shows up with two young men who take opposite sides, arguing for the hearts and souls of their neighbors. In an interesting sub-text, each of the men's fathers, respectively, disagrees with them, creating tension not just between the boyhood friends but also between the generations. In addition, gender power relations show up as a central theme in the form of the twin sister of one of the young men, who is torn between the differing worldviews of her dad, her brother, and her lover (the other young man). As one of the younger women on the island (and capable of having children), the faction to whom she ultimately lends her voice gains power. There is an important spiritual side to Powell's narrative in the form of a myth attached to the appearance through the mist of the mountains of mainland Scotland, which heralds tragedy. The genius *loci* of the mainland shows up three times in the movie, anticipating the two deaths and the ultimate evacuation.

The break point of the film comes with the pregnancy of the young unwed woman (a risky topic for a 1930s' film). Her lover is now on the mainland, ostracized after the death of his rival in a competition to climb the cliffs to ascertain whose perspective about whither to leave the island is more valid. Powell does not portray this seemingly heroic race sympathetically: through facial close-ups, the island men encourage the antiquated contest while the women's faces are either stoic, fearful, or scathing. These are not professional actors, but the faces of the men and women of Foula handsomely are captured by Powell.

Later, the expectant mother tries to contact her lover by throwing a message into the ocean for retrieval by the passing fish boats, but the tides bring it back to the island and her father discovers it and learns of the pregnancy. The baby is born, and

as the islanders celebrate, the community engagement wins over the girl's father, and the young mother grieves the loss of her lover, and the Scottish mainland appears in the mist. Broch notes that for his remote Norwegian islanders, "babies signify viability and possible community resilience to all the islanders" (Chap. 9). In the fictional story of *The Edge of the World*, the baby develops a severe case of croup, but the islanders no longer possess traditional healing knowledge. Messages thrown into the outgoing tide ask for help from the mainland. By this means, the forlorn lover learns what is going on and returns to take the mother and child to a doctor on the mainland. The movie ends with the death of the young women's father as he goes onto the cliffs in search of a guillemot egg, for which someone on the mainland is offering £5. The irony here is that he dies for want of a money – pound sterling, the currency of empire – something the mainland requires but for which the island has little use. Urged by the island's Laird who visits "his crofters," the islanders evacuate. The film ends not with the happy reunion of the young mother and father but with a shot of the father's gravestone on the cliff with the inscription "gone over," symbolizing the father's death, and the islanders were gone over to the mainland. Another irony is that the movie's two tragic deaths are neither heroic nor emancipatory. Both deaths connect senselessly to patriarchal or capitalist worldviews.

The flashback upon which the movie unfurls is from the perspective of the forlorn young father on a return visit to the island now devoid of people. There is no suggestion of a happy reunion between the two lovers nor that the evacuation was a good thing for the islanders. With the chaos that goes on in, through and around it, the island stands tall and defiant, beautifully shot but nonetheless connected to the waves continually crashing upon it and the islanders scrambling on its cliffs. As such, the island is a central character of the film with an affective connection to the islanders.

As I elaborate elsewhere (Aitken 2006, pp. 493–5), affection, according to Deleuze (1986, p. 65), "surges in the center of indetermination" between the perceptive and the active, occupying it "without filling it in or filling it up." In cinema, affection re-establishes the relation between "received movements" as our perception as viewers move from the objective to the subjective. "It is not surprising," Deleuze (1986, p. 66) goes on to note: "that, in the image that we are, it is in the face, with its relative immobility and its receptive organs, which brings to light these movements of expression while they remain most frequently buried in the rest of the body." Powell's camera dwells copiously on the faces of the islanders, counterpoised with the changing faces of the island: rain, wind, huddled sheep, dramatic cliffs, windswept grasses, crashing waves, and angry sea. In cinema, Deleuze argues that most often, it is the face or its equivalent that gathers and expresses affect in complex, elusive ways. Close-ups make the face of the pure building block of affect, what Deleuze (1986, p. 103) calls its *hylé*, from the Greek word meaning "matter" or "content." Deleuze (1986, p. 108) goes on to argue that although "the close-up extracts the face (or its equivalent) from all spatio-temporal co-ordinates, it can carry with it its own space-time – a scrap of sky, countryside or background . . . the affect obtains a space for itself in this way." Dialogue and drama are not nearly as

compelling and affective as are the faces of the island and the islanders. Indeed, critics of the film bemoan the film's somewhat hackneyed lines delivered by the actors/islanders in a stilted way that is often unconvincing. Made only a few years after the transition from silent to talking films, which took place through the early 1930s, *The Edge of the World* is clearly indebted to the visual craft and facial staging of silent movies. This staging is an important part of narrative. The Great Russian silent movie director, Sergie Eisenstein (1983), noted that facial close-ups are not simply one type of image among many; they give an affective reading on the whole film.

From this, I am compelled to ask how affect works in *The Edge of the World* and what I may take from its cinematic experience that relates to the contents of this book? If saving the islanders from the island is part of the experience, then as well as asking how they are saved, I am further compelled to ask from what? If the assumption is that redemption is viewed as a struggle perpetrated by the film's affect, then is it valid to assume that, by extension, we as the audience are in some ways embroiled in the drama and its lessons resonate with the chapters in this book? If this is so, what precisely is the affective mechanism that engages? What is its lasting and actual effect? These are heady questions that I intend to spend most of this essay tiptoeing around. To delve into their depths assumes, I think, an unhealthy penchant for universality when what I really want to talk about is difference. Issues of difference arise with Deleuze's theorizing about affect and becoming other, which I engage later in the essay as part of my understanding of minor theory and sustainable ethics. I want to use these points about affect as a springboard to the section that follows, where I highlight more thoroughly connection between and through the preceding chapters in the book and what they tell us about becoming coastal in a minor key.

12.2 Learning the More-Than-Human Sea

Aoife Crummy and Dympna Devine (Chap. 4) describe one of their Irish participant's connections to the sea: the fisher notes that his relation to the sea changes and transforms throughout his life but it remains nonetheless in every fiber of his being. In this sense, the ocean and the coast are not only integral actors in the lives and stories we have read about in the preceding chapters; they are also an integral part of being and becoming. In Chap. 5, Cypriots describes an oceanic sense of place and belonging. The authors, Theodorou and Spyrou, characterize fisher identity in Cyprus as a "way of life," reflecting a "constitutive element of one's being rather than merely a profession." They point out that there is an intimate relation among coastal people, the environment, and natural resources, which prescribes ecological knowledge as local knowledge. And by so doing, the entanglement of ecological knowledge, social identity, and attachment to place moves in from the ocean and complicates global sensibilities. Kjørholt (Chap. 6) notes that the sea and the wild island landscapes of Northern Norway are actants, part and parcel of people's

identities. Similarly, Gaini describes a strong sense of coastal connection for Faroese islanders living in Gøta but also a keen sense of progressive connections to farming and, importantly, to a global economy through modern fishing practices. The latter point is exemplified by Gøta's international summer festival, or the G! festival, which is advertised as betwixt towering cliffs and raging ocean. Gøta is a village of the Global North, Gaini's participants contend, for it is highly connected to a competitive and lucrative blue economy. The storied lives of his participants suggest that they are also connected to the land, the coast, and the sea. In her discussion of eastern Tasmanian community life, Sharon Bessell (Chap. 8) talks of "coastalness" as a personality characteristic, but unlike that of the Faroese, there is less connection for her participants to a hopeful global future. This is true also of Broch's beautifully storied ethnographies of the fisherfolk in and around Nordland. The point I want to make here is that there are identifying factors of the more-than-human-sea that resonate with being and belonging in the face of a late capitalism with its penchant for detachment. Broch reveals tensions between local commercial fishing and disconnected tourist fishing. Eva and John Gulløv (Chap. 10) note that knowledge "detached from place specific experiences and personal bonds" is very much a part of modernity and that often there is a lack of attention to the sea by local coastal dwellers who aspire to living in distant places, but they also note the importance of local actors who connect to coasts in Denmark.

Clearly, the sea as a material more-than-human entanglement is a complex part of the coastal chimera and its material manifestations. As storms surge, seas rise, fish stocks deplete, and other consequences of our anthropogenic moment mount, these communities and the young people who live in and near them are very much a barometric measure of ill effects (Aitken 2017). To the degree that these communities look inland (for jobs and belonging), or to continental thinking (for science and capitalism to find a solution), and technology (dykes, storm walls, fish farming), there is an insensitivity to more-than-human relational aspects of oceans and the local productivities that suggest a fruitful set of adaptive capacities. Such a perspective suggests the potential of contemporary coastal living that is not about nostalgia and mythic pastimes, not about an easy and simple lifestyle, and it is not necessarily about something more sustaining, but it may be. The chapters in this book elaborate the nuances of this potential.

Crummy and Devine (Chap. 4) suggest that there is a "symbolic permanency of water" that suggests the ocean will weather all changes. They go on to note that the important part of this permanency is not that the ocean does not change but that it resides as a reified part of people with links to the coast. This relational connection is lost to an individualized inward looking, Continental way of thinking that prioritizes neoliberal progress and development. To take one example, the Gulløvs (Chap. 10) note that a combination of natural coastal changes in the Wadden Sea and shifting social power imbalances disfavors the fishing village of Tøndor (their study site) for large harbors in Northern Denmark. At one level, it may be argued that the decline of Tøndor as a fishing community is explained by the cycles of capitalism described by Doreen Massey (1993) as "power geometries," but Massey is also sensitive to the vicissitudes of nature and would no doubt argue that the Wadden Sea is part of a

"natural world that will not stay still" (Massey 2005, p. 131) and oceanic histories and geographies are not passive stages for human players but active participants in local lifeworlds:

> . . . what is special about place is not some romance of a pre-given collective identity or of the eternity of the hills [and oceans]. Rather, what is special about place is precisely that throwntogetherness, the unavoidable challenge of the here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation that must take place between both human and nonhuman. (Massey 2005, p. 140)

Becoming coastal is about embracing this thrown togetherness and recognizing the challenge and negotiation of the Anthropocene here and now. This is not an easy task. The Gulløvs provide an important account of neglected capital and rich opportunities in places like Tøndor but note also that to take advantage of this, ". . . requires a substantial knowledge of local conditions (people, activities, resources), as well as a strong network and local capital." They argue along with several others of the book's authors, including, in particular, Kjørholt and Bessell (Chap. 2), that modern education systems are problematically detached from the place-specific experiences and may go so far as to teach children to leave local coastal areas. This is sometimes offered as an only choice, but the leaving is more about the constructed modern flexibility/mobility of young people than it is about their right to stay put (Curti et al. 2013).

Becoming ocean is precarious. Not only does it require substantial knowledge, but as Theodorou and Spyrou note (Chap. 5) in their discussion of new fisherfolk in Psari, making mistakes can be costly. The job is difficult and can be done only through local generational tutelage and attachments. In an excerpt from an ethnopoetic study of masculinity, a young Tuna fisher*man* had this to say about his work (Aitken 2014, p. 269):

> A lot of it had to do with making my dad proud
> I worked my butt off
> I didn't want anyone on the boat to say
> Oh, it's that guy's son, he can't pull his weight
> I would sometimes do extra
> slice cable learning knots stacking tagging fixing nets
> and a lot of times I helped my dad if there was nothing to do
> down there
> engines break down a lot.

Fish and farm works are not for everybody, and formal education sometimes suggests that not only is it hard but it is anachronistic and does not provide an appropriate living. No doubt it is hard, but the stories in this book show that it is also joyful and fulfilling to the degree that a living is enabled by the systemic fragility of late capitalism. From the latter, livelihoods are achieved through individual agency, participation in the global economy, and flexibility in terms of changing careers and moving for them multiple times. Katharyne Mitchell (2003, 2006, 2017) tracks educational changes in the North America and Europe through policies that move away from locally based singular careers toward a focus on the globally aware

student who is flexible enough to compete in the evolving neoliberal global marketplace. She notes that

> there has been a subtle but intensifying move away from person-centered education for all, or the creation of the tolerant, 'multicultural self,' towards a more individuated, mobile and highly tracked, skills-based education, or the creation of the strategic cosmopolitanism. (Mitchell 2003, p. 387)

Is it any coincidence that formal education positions young people as economically flexible, monadic social actors? Theodorou and Spyrou's (Chap. 5) focus groups reveal that this larger discourse is why many young people are not following their fathers and grandfathers. Is it possible to formalize local and generational knowledge when the focus on individuation and capability is about objective distancing and flexibility for a changing global economy? Theodorou and Spyrou quote a participant from Psari who argues that local knowledge is "ingrained . . . being immersed in fishing activities." The systemic fragility of capitalism mandates an existential distancing from this kind of local connection. Immersion, then, is not something that formal education in the service of capitalism encourages. Bessell (Chap. 8) notes that her Tasmanian participants felt that school curricula privileged the kinds of knowledge valued in large urban centers and has little relevance to those living in small coastal communities and that school was ". . . disconnected from their present lives and the futures they hoped for . . . ." A teacher Bessell interviewed alluded to safety, litigation, and bureaucracy in formal education by noting that the paperwork for coastal and sea excursions with students was overwhelming. Max Weber's (1905) iron cage of capitalism foments in a bureaucratic system that constrains and dehumanizes as it rationalizes. But coastalness, nonetheless, Bessell goes on to argue, is still about feeling connected to the sea and a sense of belonging that is fittingly, honorably, and ethically sustainable. Getting to that fit, honor and ethics is hard work.

I will return to ethical sustainability in a moment, but for now, I want to underscore the hopefulness described earlier for Gøta and argue that it is not just exemplified by Gaini's participants connecting to a so-called blue global economy. Let me consider this further from an educational perspective and an example that is in sharp contrast to Bessell's teacher who foregoes marine fieldtrips because of bureaucratic pressure. Johansson, Kjørholt, and Krogh (Chap. 11) push the notion of place-based intergenerational learning with a study of three communities in the mid- and northern Norwegian coastal area. They make an argument for the integration of informal local learning practices with formal education, with the former being most beneficial to the social and ecological sustainability of coastal communities. They evoke the notion of a "maritime pedagogue" whereby fisherfolk with established expertise engage with students in a distinct maritime setting, a central component of which is place- and activity-based learning. Johansson and his colleagues argue with many of the authors in this book that generational knowledge is embedded informally in the elder fisherfolk: specifically, the ocean – its ways, worries, and weathers – are part of them, and a maritime pedagogue enables learning through students' senses, emotions, bodies, and minds rather than through abstracted formal

educational practices. The embodied maritime of the fisherfolk enables students' becoming ocean. In the three Norwegian communities, male and female students engaged equally in maritime assemblages that included traditional fishing (pulling, clubbing, gutting, filleting), blue agriculture (which takes an ecologically sensitive perspective to fish farming), plastic pollution (its intensity and ubiquity), and intergenerational practices (elder fisherfolk as active and engaged). Johannsson and colleagues note tensions between tradition and modernity and local and scientific knowledge that suggest a minor key transformation that benefits the major(ity) in becoming ocean.

12.3 Gendered Seamanship

Gender relations underpin another set of themes that revolve around systematic fragility. Many of the chapters, and particularly from Crummy and Devine's, Kjørholt's, and Schrumpf's work, raise important concerns about coastal women and children. Crummy and Devine note that neoliberal privatization policies are often gender and generationally blind in their failure to recognize the role of women, children, and elders in fisheries. Gibson-Graham (1996, 2006) develop an important critique of modernist rhetoric – along the spectrum from capitalism to Marxism and their associated teleologies – that misses the key roles played by women and children in not only reproduction but also so-called productive activities. Tied to this is the importance of local sustainability, and Crummy and Devine point out significantly the marginalization of men (a gender periphery of another kind) when small-scale fishing is subordinated to fish factories and fish farming.

Several chapters (e.g., Chaps. 3, 4, 6, and 10) highlight the transferal of practical and tacit male knowledge informally on a patrilineal basis. Ellen Schrumpf's study of changes in the Norwegian coastal town of Porsgrunn through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries makes clear that most people shared what might be described as a strict masculinist hierarchical ideology, which benefitted a maritime way of life that afforded important local/global connections. Men, women, children, and elders engaged and embraced the masculinist ideology and perhaps subverted it with minor songs as whole families joined the fisher-fathers in journeys to distant places for long periods of time. The strict adherence to masculinist hierarchical disciplines was not only indelibly linked to nineteenth-century merchant shipping and fishing practices; it was recognized as a code that maintained a safe and secure environment aboard ship (cf. Aitken and Jennings 2004). What is suggested with Schrumpf's historical narrative of place transformation is that something important and collective was lost when women and children were removed from productive activities (which were left to the men) and sequestered in the reproductive sites of home and school. Modern development and neoliberal policies changed life to something more segregated, individuated, and sterile. Perhaps one aspect of this loss was attachment to affective complexities that did not necessarily reify gender identities.

This is clarified by a contemporary example. Johansson and his colleagues begin Chap. 11 by describing an anchor/heart/cross tattoo on the arm of a young girl symbolizing faith, love, and hope. Her passions revolve around fishing, boats and the sea, and the nature that circumscribes the remote island where she lives. The young woman is indebted to generational knowledge passed down to her through teachers, community elders, and place-based kinship and community activities. Similarly, Broch (Chap. 9) contends that to the extent, "... masculinist ideology is supported by local women, mothers, aunts and teaches," and then it continuous pervasively in coastal communities. An anchor representing faith, love, and hope tattooed on the arm of a young woman may well suggest singing masculinist songs in a minor key. Johansson's example is further reinforced by Anne Trine Kjørholt (Chap. 6), who finds that an increasing number of young women are getting involved with fishing in Northern Norwegian counties over the last decade.

Minor literature, remind Deleuze and Guattari (1986, p. 16), does not come from minor language but from minority constructs within a major language. The girl's anchor tattoo, from a major language, on her arm deterritorializes that language so that it is no longer hegemonic masculinity. Kjørholt finds that young women join from a minor key male-dominated fishing. Deleuze and Guattari (1986, p. 17) go on to inform us that everything in minor literatures is political. Feminists remind us that the personal and the body are political, but Deleuze and Guattari's account of politics connects the individual and the particular (i.e., local) with what they call "the social milieu." Minor theory works because it, to use Deleuze and Guattari's term, emanates from "cramped spaces" where forces and constraints are felt directly. The coast may be thought of as an idea that is cramped between land and sea. It is an indicator of movement and differentiation, without this difference being understood as an opposition to what existed before (Barry 2017). In this way, minor coastal theory – in subtle and not so subtle registers – surges in and out from major continental theory to suggest a different way of thinking about sustainability.

12.4 Sustainability, Sustainable Development, and Sustainable Ethics

Bessell and Kjørholt (Chap. 2) introduce sustainability and sustainable development as an important focus and conceptual anchor of the book. They describe sustainability as a fuzzy concept, and I want to offer that as such it has become a floating signifier to which politicians from the left and right ascribe meaning. The term loses its energy to a political vacuum. Favoring the early and uncompromising definitions proffered by the Brundtland Report (1987), Bessell and Kjørholt argue for a focus on development that is sustainable in meeting the needs of the present without compromising the future, which seems reasonable given the book's other main theme of intergenerational knowledge. Later Bessell (Chap. 8) connects the notion of sustainability with local knowledge and social identity, but the focus of Chaps. 2

and 6 is on social and cultural sustainability. I want to add to that mix the idea of sustainable ethics.

The Brundtland Report eschews an ethics of possibility through a developmental focus on social, environmental, and economic sustainability. Bessell and Kjørholt rightly criticize the report for not recognizing the tensions that may subvert developmental possibilities, and they make clear that there are "forms of cultural practice that may undermine sustainable development and/or create hierarchies that are counter to the maintenance of sustainable, peaceful and inclusive. . ." future societies. I think it is important to challenge the connection between sustainable development and "future making" of this kind. Tim Bunnell and his colleagues (2018, p. 35) use Arjun Appadurai's call for an ethics of possibility to argue that "it is the prospect of elsewhere—and of being elsewhere—that nurtures imaginings of aspirational futures and spurs efforts to realize them." Rather than an ethics of possibility, I want to argue for what Braidotti's (2013) sustainable ethics, which are based on what I consider to be a more concrete and locatable feminist politics right here and right now. Braidotti takes as her starting point a post-humanist perspective as an alternative to the liberal ethics of Continental thinking, which leaves children and families alone and impotent on the margins of world that is not of their making. Her second theoretical engagement moves sustainability forward with the idea of capacity building as opposed to better futures (cf. Bunnell et al. 2018). Her form of sustainability is not about "too many people using up too much stuff" (Maskit 2009, p. 129), curbing growth economics (Rees 2001) or meeting the needs of the present without compromising the future (Brundtland Report 1987), but rather it is about ethics that espouse the virtue of living to a fuller potential right here and right now through locatable politics. Sustainable development, in this sense, is not about better futures but about creating potentials and capacities to live better.

12.5 The Ethics of Becoming Coastal

In articulating the tensions and ruptures in coastal communities on the east coast of Tasmania, Bessell's focus is on the interaction of ways of knowing and way of living, which approaches what Braidotti means by a sustainable ethics that is about creating potentials and capacities to live better right here and right now while focusing on planetary health and the excesses of the Anthropocene. Cypriots feel morally connected to the coastal cultural landscape although they no longer opt for fishing as a profession because fish stocks are down hugely. Living life full right here and right now is also about raising capacities, like the 16-year-old Cypriot who is learning to love nature when on a sea inlet with friends. For him, it is like a love affair (Chap. 5). It is also about refocusing education in real problems and in local communities of practice, where the coastal is seen as "a site of knowing" and the sea as an educator (Kjørholt, Chap. 6).

Coastal and island life is often portrayed as wild and rustic, and the entanglements of becoming ocean change them and their place in the world. Modern thinking casts

coastal life into a mythic bygone era, but there is an ethical issue here that needs exploring. In an essay on imagining California as Arcadia – that is, wild, rural and rustic – Denis Cosgrove (2008, p. 70) argues that mythic engagement cannot be dismissed because it

> . . . addresses the insistent question of the place that humans occupy, should occupy and, in reverie, perhaps did occupy in nature. But with this single, simple toponym lies a complex geography of memory and desire, and a landscape that, once we map its poetic contours, reveals itself as the habitation of more troubling ghosts than we might initially expect.

Inasmuch as the chapters in this book suggest that a so-called modern era entails a rupture from traditional practices, they also problematize nostalgia for the past. To the extent that these reminiscences reference nature, they incorporate children, since Western Enlightenment often characterizes children with the same wildness and innocence that is believed to exist in oceans. Children are closer to nature, suspect Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau to Theroux, because they are younger and less socialized. The evolution of these attitudes has a long and convoluted history that is geographically and culturally prescribed and beyond the scope of this essay. The ethics of becoming coastal is about the ethical relations between islands and people and nature and society co-created along with the relations between children and adults, and these relations are complexly embedded in local geographies in constant flux.

The idea of children as wild, unruly, and unsocialized probably comes from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritanical socialization practices such as "not sparing the rod to save the child." In a developing US agricultural society, the indefatigable Cotton Mather wrote a number of influential pamphlets on socializing the evil out of children. In *The Duties of Parents to Their Children* (1701), for example, he decries ". . . a corrupt nature in thy children, which is a fountain of all wickedness and confusion." The wild, undomesticated will of children is to be broken in the same manner that Mather domesticated feral corn to produce a more certain yield. Ellen Schrumpf (Chap. 3) translates this Weberian protestant ethic to a maritime context, where a strict maritime masculine hierarchy broke down: "the boundaries between work, leisure time and privacy," where "girls and boys [became] diligent and industrious and thus, they would later obtain salvation." But there is a complex twist to this. As I noted earlier, Schrumpf's historical study of the Norwegian town of Porsgrunn shows that whole families often joined nineteenth-century sea trips, some of which lasted years. She notes the permeable connection between the local and the global on these extended voyages and the ways that Porsgrunn became a globally interconnected community. By the end of the nineteenth century, Schrumpf notes that the strictures of formal education and a growing systemic fragility removed children and mothers from these voyages, and boys and girls began to turn toward working onshore. Spatial segregation by gender and age was ostensibly in the name of safety from dangerous working conditions, but it also created a male-dominated workplace and female domesticity in home places. At the same time, formal education is about turning to large urban centers for employment and the creation of a flexible labor force that is willing to move.

I stand with Lehua Taitano on the California shoreline looking west. As I do, so I remember Cosgrove's (2008, pp. 101, 113) two important caveats of Western Continental thinking that relate to children, nature, mobility, and ideology: (i) "California and the West Coast are where the American Landscape, read from the perspective of Europe, must end. Beyond is no longer the West: it is the Far East," and (ii) "Western wilderness was not merely the theatre of American empire: it had become the gene-bank of America's national childhood—wild, innocent and free. In its preservation lay the preservation of the nations' youthful loins" and the continued conflation of children/innocence/natural/wild. Jean Baudrillard (1988, p. 10) famously quips that on the Californian coast, Western Continental thinking has ". . . invented an ephemeral form so close to [a] vanishing point." This form, he argues, is ". . .a seismic form: a fractal, interstitial culture, born of a rift with the Old World, a tactile, fragile, mobile, superficial culture." The Western World ends on a Pacific shore devoid of all signification. Baudrillard lauds this seismic superficiality, suggesting that it has about a modern primitivism, which contrives a truly fictional space that looks a lot like something of the dawning of the universe (1988, pp. 23, 99). I am cautious of Baudrillard's postmodern sensibilities and find some solace in Deleuze and Guattari's more politicized account. In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988, p. 19), Deleuze and Guattari see the Californian coast as a rhizomic, shifting, and displaced space without ancestry. On the rim where the American frontier meets the Pacific, they argue, capitalist schizophrenics comes full circle to the extent that everything contrives the whole map:

> . . . directions in America are different: the search for arborescence and the return to the Old World occur in the East. But there is the rhizomatic West, with its Indians without ancestry, its ever-receding limit, its shifting and displaced frontiers. There is a whole American 'map' in the West where even the trees form rhizomes. America reversed the directions: it put its Orient in the West, as if it were precisely in America that the earth came full circle; its West is the edge of the East.

Deleuze and Guattari's "mapping" is complicated and disruptive, but it is also about assemblages of oceans, waves, cliffs, people, policies, children, fish, and sand all becoming other. It is a mapping that tasks the becomings of children and nature at the rim of our world. At these margins, young people become coastal and the coast becomes global. Brian Massumi (1992, p. 77) pinpoints Deleuze and Guattari's disruptions as they relate to young people:

> Children grow up in the image of their parents. And so the world turns. The body is led as on a leash from one threshold to another. A respectable person with respectable satisfactions is born. Praise the Lord! It's a human. Everything is now I-to-I in civilized connections. Problem is, some eyes are higher than others.

The eyes and stature of children are lower than that of adults. With this scenario, the future/past/spatial/affect loses the potential of the virtual: it does not open up new possibilities of becoming other but eternally returns to the same. There is no continual creation of difference, of human/nonhuman, and of child/adult/cliff/shore. Rather, the rim upon which young people and nature teeter is by no means clear-cut because it is written as a minor theory where there are no innocents nor are

there conclusive endings. In *The Edge of the World*, the crofters do not return to occupy the island, the two lovers are not reunited, and an adult protagonist plunges over the cliff edge for £5.

Moving beyond Baudrillard, and pushing Deleuze's and Guattari's project, Braidotti's post-humanist perspective understands us as all-too-human and as more than our corporeal selves, and it questions what precisely we can and should have power over. Viewing children and coasts as ethical and relational doings requires an understanding of their agencies and capacities in spaces of experience, experimentation, and power: these spaces include the family, household, ocean, technology, social media, school, field, education, crime, criminality, health, medicine, play, consumer culture, political economies of labor, rights, and political participation. Rights and everyday politics in a post-global (and everywhere local) world are corporeal and technological, fluid, negotiable, and relational, and they are tied to the ways that young people (and their relations with other people and things) create, co-create, and recreate spaces of experience.

12.6 Spinosa Lived on the Coast

Look at population density on any world map using any conventional cartographic projection, and it becomes clear that most of us live near or on the coast or a large body of water. This essay argues for becoming coastal because although most of us live there, few of us are actually there. By this, I mean that we are mostly ensconced in a labored way of thinking that is supposedly enlightened, distinctively modern, and definitely continental. My focus in conclusion is on more-than-human postchild oceanic relationalities emanating from concerns over centuries of Continental child-centered thinking, which started with Enlightenment thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) and converged with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989) on universal child rights, liberal ethics, and the acutely polemical "best interests of the child." Throughout this chapter, with Braidotti (2006, 2013), I push the more-than-human postchild perspective as an alternative to liberal ethics, which leave children alone, impotent, and on the edge of the world. Braidotti (2013) argues for a post-human and post-anthropocentric ethics, which focus on what she calls the missing people because with Enlightenment, a certain person was put forward as human (e.g., the Vitruvian man), and this person was not a child or a woman or an islander. Braidotti's neo-materialist philosophy of immanence posits all matter as one, as intelligent and as self-organizing.

The 17th century philosopher Baruch Spinoza lived most of his life on or close to the Dutch coast. Braidotti's sustainable ethics comes from Spinoza's monistic, relational understanding of God, the universe, and us. God, according to Spinoza, is the natural world and everything in it, including us, in a multiplicity of interdependencies. Given this interdependency, Spinoza's ethics pushes against the notion of a Cartesian, mind/body split that led to the host of other problematic dualisms and *conflations*: men/women, adult/child, society/nature, tame/wild, and continent/coast.

The mind and the body are the same thing, Spinoza argues; they are just thought of in two different ways. Perhaps most importantly, for the relational ethics, I am trying to elaborate for young people, Spinoza argues that the mind/body cannot know its own thoughts/feelings better than it knows the ways in which its body is acted upon by other bodies and materialities. Further countering the mind/body split is the idea that we learn through and with our bodies, which Karen Barad (2015) characterizes as part of our "intra-actions" as an entanglement of matter and meaning: a thing in relation to and influencing other things. Through intra-action, Spinozan thinkers like Barad and Braidotti argue that all things strive to persevere and continue. Spinoza calls this striving *conatus*. It articulates and opens the possibilities in *potentia*, which revolves around the idea of living life to the full. *Conatus* and *potentia* are the basis of sustainable ethics, and it is through postchild thinking that we get there.

Becoming coastal is our historical, geographic condition; *conatus* and *potentia* are embedded materially and locally and call for the end of Continental thinking. Becoming coastal speaks in a minor way to the major register of the Enlightenment and Continental thinking; this minor theory is multilayered, nomadic, and relational to human and nonhuman agents and is technologically mediated. An adequate technology finds form in a body/mind/thing map. This cartography is materially embedded, theoretically driven, and ethically progressive. Vital materialist neo-humanism suggests a way forward toward this cartography as an ethics of sustainability that replaces the liberal moral philosophy that created the Anthropocene. To get to that place, I find a suitable strategy in a feminist politics of location, which screams a minor song. The distinct post-humanist character of the body/mind/thing map hinges on Spinoza's monist notion of differentiation, which posits difference through immanence rather than identity (Deleuze 2001). The idea of young people as "beings" propagated by the UNCRC (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and many aspects of the new sociology of childhood assume substance, monadism, and political identity, which makes it a specific and passive object and a static and definable subject of rights. Alternatively, a locatable feminist politics moves from a "freedom from" into action, doing and a "freedom to," as Grosz (2011) points out, and it also, she goes on to offer, moves us toward a radical rewriting of the singularities of modernity as a major register, which cannot be achieved by negating the past but rather by transforming it through minor theory.

What I have done with this last chapter is try to think through the ideas in the preceding chapters in ways that help us understand what they mean for a hopeful and sustainable becoming coastal in a minor key. The synergies in this book address the critical questions that I posed earlier, but it cannot end there. Is it possible in closing to ponder some Spinosan questions from the preceding chapters? What does the coastal world do for children and young people; what are its effects and affectations? What do children do through their entanglements with elders and with oceans? How do affects show up in the commonplaces of bodies and in their movements through and with other bodies, populations, environments, and institutions? What are the rhythms and temporalities of becoming coastal? Where do they reside and how do they move? What is abusive and what is loving? Where is the joy? What is a loss and what is a gain? For whom? When? Where? These question raise a heady agenda that

this book begins to broach, and we need more. The key to minor thinking is to remain open and attuned to the possibilities, to not foreclose upon the political and the hopeful, and to know that the possibilities opening up are not always good ones, but they may be. We cannot promise children and young people a better, less precarious future with any certainty, but we can open it up to good and hopeful possibilities. To hide behind what worked in the past (the model that predicts well or the theory that unravels environmental injustice precisely) is to create frames that foreclose upon the political. Continental thinking has taught that spatial frames and representations are not good places within which to be stuck. To be stuck in this way is to lose *potentia* and to subvert *conatus*. The future and the past come together in the perpetually unfolding present right here in this place, right now. This is the cornerstone of becoming coastal, a locatable feminist politics, and the beginnings of a sustainable ethics. *Conatus* and *potentia* are emergent; they take place; they are about love, intimacy, and child's hope; and they have a locatable politics on the coast for there, after all, is where most of us live.

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