



REPUTATION AS CURRENCY

An exploration of how reputation is used as a currency amongst
Grimsby Fishermen.



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I would like to dedicate this work to the Fishermen who are unknown and under-appreciated in what they accomplish. To those who lost their lives providing for Grimsby and the UK and to whom the sea is within their blood.

Provehito in Altum.

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Abstract:

The aim of this piece is to explore how reputational currency impacts the socio-economic roles of Fishermen based in Grimsby, UK. It will provide a fresh perspective within the field of economic anthropology, specifically exchange and value theory. Using information gained from in-depth interviews with an ex-fisherman and participants of a questionnaire, I show how reputation can be understood as currency, used in various transactions and how reputation is entangled within the meshworks of society. Key concepts discussed include strength of ties, reputation through generations, the gift, 'three-day-millionaire' and its relation to potlach and the importance of networks and the socio-economic structure they create.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation explores reputation through the perspective of currency in the context of Fishermen in the town of Grimsby, UK.

Reputation and its consequences are an important, yet understudied topic within anthropology. The two key ethnographies studied in this research (discussed further along in this section) which explicitly deal with reputation are focused outside of the United Kingdom, and whilst beneficial, their ideas, beliefs and cultural practices cannot be assumed to sit simply over my ethnography like a glove. In addition, there are very few ethnographies whose main focus is the commercial fishing industry and at the moment of writing, no ethnographies of Grimsby Fishermen. Information about Grimsby Fishermen is either contained in an historical context or an autobiographical one. Hence, my research aims to fill the gaps of both fishing ethnographies (in the United Kingdom and within Grimsby) and modern (after 2010) discussions regarding reputation and its place within academia. Therefore, the research aims of this piece are:

- To explore the impact of reputation on the socio-economic roles of Fishermen.
- To discuss if reputation can alter perceptions of individuals/groups in a society.
- To explore if reputation can contribute to anthropological understanding of groups within societies.

'yer name and your reputation preceded yer...' (Mr T. Fisherman, 2017)

This quote from my participant Mr T., the main focus of my ethnography, opens up this piece effectively; it frames the exploration and discussion to come. In the last few decades there has been a surge in interest in ethnographies of home, that is anthropological work undertaken where the anthropologists themselves are situated. This ethnography therefore takes place in the context of my home town of Grimsby. The topic of reputation is important because I believe it allows for a

clearer understanding of complex, mixed relationships within different groups within societies.

Historical Context:

By providing historical context I will show the link between Grimsby and Denmark and how this is important for my discussion. There are very few written historical sources of Grimsby's history and its fishing industry history. One comprehensive book, *Great Grimsby: A History of the World Renowned Fishing Port* by G. J Crossland and C. E. Turner, published in 2015, was the only dedicated piece of information I could find regarding Grimsby; supplemented by another book *Memories of the Lincolnshire Fishing Industry* by B. Bale, which discusses other towns as well as Grimsby.

Grimsby used to have the reputation 'as the premier fishing port in the world' (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 5). Fishing was the town's main economic income (Crossland and Turner, 2015) for many years until there was a serious decline due to the United Kingdom losing the Cod Wars (ibid). Grimsby has long standing connections with Denmark with the town being founded by a Danish fisherman named Grim, who reportedly saved an infant Prince Havelock and raised him as his own, unaware of his heritage. When Havelock later discovered he was a Prince he rewarded Grim by allowing him to found a town in England where he could settle. 'Grimsby is believed to translate as 'Grim's town'. The affix 'by' is the usual terminology for a Danish settlement, whilst the word 'Grim' is a common Danish name (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 5). Whilst there may be many conflicts regarding the details surrounding Grimsby's origins, be they myth or legend, it is clear that as Crossland and Turner state, 'a great sense of connection has existed with this Danish fisherman' (2015: 7).

Fishing in Grimsby can be noted as early as the 1300's 'By the 1300's the handling of fish... had become an established trade, with records showing that inhabitants of Grimsby and surrounding areas were dealing in this profitable commodity' (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 8). Boats from Grimsby have been travelling to other countries since the 15th century with references noting that some boats had got as far as Iceland (in the days when seafaring was much more difficult) (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 9). In November 1801 after years of problems with the river Haven

silting and work being undertaken to solve this with little to no avail a new dock was opened (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 13). In the year 1848, new railway lines were constructed and opened allowing for connections between Grimsby and Sheffield along with links later in the year to Manchester and London, some of which still exist today (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 17). These railway links allowed for increased communication and faster exports, which began the economic expansion of the town and a slow increase in its national standing. Due to the increase of trading from the current docks a new dock was commissioned and in 1854; Her Majesty, Queen Victoria officially opened the dock. At this occasion, the directors of the Grimsby Dock Company formally requested that the new dock be called the Royal Dock, which was acknowledged, and the name has held for the past 150 years (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 16). In 1900 another large dock was opened and included superior facilities for transporting and storing fish (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 41). Therefore, as the docks expanded so did the industry leading to an economic boom and the eventual reputation as a world-class fishing port (Crossland and Turner, 2015: 5).

Theoretical Perspectives:

There are several key pieces of literature that I will be using to explore my arguments in more detail. These are 'Gifts and Poisons' by F. G Bailey (in *Gifts and Poisons: The Politics of Reputation* by F.G. Bailey) and *Crab Antics: A Caribbean Case Study of the Conflict Between Reputation and Respectability* by Peter J. Wilson. These two ethnographic pieces explicitly deal with reputation. The paper written by Bailey documents his own ethnographic experience with- in the town of Valloire in the French Alps (1971). His research focuses upon the small politics and cumulative themes of power, exchange and social interactions (Bailey, 1971: 2); he chooses to explore these topics to show that academic discussion regarding politics and their applied principles should not only be applied to large political entities such as town councils or local forms of government, but also to 'small people' (Bailey, 1971: 3). *Crab Antics* is a study undertaken in Providencia, in the Caribbean (1973). Wilson's piece focuses on creating a detailed study of the social system of the island (one that does not solely focus upon household and family) and provides a critique of other Caribbean studies undertaken by anthropologists (1973: 1-2). Wilson discusses the identification and interrelationship of *reputation* and *respectability*,

which he argues are two key principles of social structure within his study (ibid). I will also use another book which is primarily psychology based called *Reputation: A Network Interpretation* by Kenneth H. Craik which discusses different angles in which reputation can be explored and understood. This piece discusses how information about people flows through multiple network paths over a person's lifetime. Whilst a vast majority of the book is understood and discussed through a psychological lens, there are aspects which are interdisciplinary which, I feel, helps to create stronger, more well-rounded context for the academic discussion overall. Furthermore, I will draw upon *The Gift* by Marcel Mauss, *The Strength of Weak Ties* by Mark S. Granovetter and other literature. Each of these pieces is relevant for my work as they supplement theoretical aspects to my discussion and arguments.

To start I will discuss the concept of reputation as widely as possible including the verified dictionary definition and my own understanding of the word; then I will also clarify my use of the term currency. Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines reputation as being, 'a) overall quality or character as seen or judged by people in general, b) recognition by other people of some characteristic or ability' (2018a). Whilst the definition of reputation may appear simple, I argue, it is not. The nuances and subtle impact of reputation with many different societies can create deep impacts and shape people's lives, as shown Bailey (1971) and Wilson (1973). Bailey remarks that reputation exists under the title of *small politics* (1971: 2-3); he says that reputation is part of everyday lives (ibid), that 'it is a matter of knowing how to live in society, how to manage social space... how to preserve one's individuality and identity and self-respect while at the same time serving the interests of the community to which one belongs' (1971: 3). My comprehension of reputation can be understood as a thread which forms a small but significant piece of the structure in which society and culture is woven. Reputation is contextual (Carpenter and Krause, 2012: 31) and so a basic understanding of such allows for reputation to be explored in varying groups, situations and societies etc. As aforementioned, I feel that reputation is something that within the academia of anthropology has not been prominently discussed. In this piece, the term 'currency' will be used in the simplest sense as an exchanging of words. I will be substituting money (Coins, banknotes, electronic cards) for reputation; in the notion that it can be used as a

medium of exchange. This concept will hopefully provide a deeper insight within political anthropological theory; to whether reputation can contribute somewhat universally to anthropological understanding of groups within society as stated within my initial aims.

Chapter 2: Methodology

For my ethnography I chose to have a small pool of participants with the data collaborated with local historical sources. My first participant – Mr T – is an ex-fisherman who was trained as a fisherman from a youthful age, going to a specialised school and following in male generational footsteps. In my initial interviews I was completely unaware of the topic I would choose to write about, so I asked him to speak from the earliest time he could remember and go forward in time.

The interviews I complete with Mr T were recorded (with permission from the participant) (Bernard, 2006: 215) and notes taken. As aforementioned, I did not have a solid topic in mind, so I chose to use unstructured interviews which consist of no set wording or timings (Kane, 1985: 64). Unstructured interviews allow for my participant's lived experience to be explored and discussed (Bernard, 2006: 213). I explained to my participant that I wanted to know what he thought and his opinions; I was sure to emphasise that he could mention anything he felt important and that no topic was restricted. I also made sure that my intentions were clear and open (Bernard, 2006: 215). As part of this research I adhered to the 'Association of Social Anthropologists' ethical guidelines to ensure that my research was fair practice and did not place those involved under duress and to also ensure that my participant (and to a small extent myself) were not exploited. I had a total of three interviews roughly four hours long each. The aim of my interviews was to provide an emic viewpoint, 'how the group members see things, not how you think they should be' (Kane, 1985: 66); shaping my understanding from the knowledge of my participant. Whilst in the second and third interviews I used questions to delve deeper into certain topic areas (these were areas mentioned within the first interview), I was aware that I should not phrase questions to push my own viewpoint. Judith Okely notes that 'a holistic and open approach to recording gives the stream of events, anecdotes, dialogue, the commonplace as well as the bizarre.' (1983: 47); this can be heard in my recordings as the personality of Mr T and his wife comes through in their conversations with and each other.

This ethnography takes place within my home town of Grimsby so therefore I needed to be careful not to show any bias towards singular ideas or viewpoints; this

was slightly difficult for me, but I feel I succeeded. Kane notes in *Doing your own Research* that when ethnography is completed by 'Western' anthropologists there is a habit of slipping into 'Western techniques of small talk' (1985: 68) which may affect the current path of discussion or expand further upon points. 'Small talk' has also been noted to fill the silence in which another may use for thinking (Bernard, 2006: 218). During the interviews I employed the techniques of the *silent probe* and the *tell-me-more* probe (Bernard, 2006: 218-19). The silent probe is used to allow for the participant to gather thoughts and prepare to speak; these pauses can be seen in my transcriptions (Appendix 1). The tell-me-more probe is the use of questions to illicit deeper responses (ibid) from my participant, however, I used these very lightly as not to cause my participant to feel uncomfortable. Examples of these are *Did everyone go through the same thing?* and *Is reputation quite important then?*

The interviews with Mr T took place in the lounge of his home, but whilst this location was ideal for my participant it posed several problems for me. Firstly, the television would be turned on (but on a very low or muted volume), and although this was not a problem from my participant, for myself with ADHD (Attention Hyper Deficit Disorder) I found myself struggling to concentrate on the interview and I was grateful I was able to record the audio. Secondly, his wife would occasionally be in the room and at one point had a full phone conversation for about twenty minutes. I felt unable to say anything as, being a guest in their home, it seemed disrespectful. Due to these distractions, I found myself losing track of the conversation and this frustrated me; however, I am grateful that I was able to record the interviews. I am unsure if these distracted my interviewee, however, I am certain he may have noticed me becoming distracted, hence taking breaks within the interview.

Initially I felt that I could conduct this dissertation using only one participant, but I found myself struggling to comfortably write about this topic with only one perspective. Therefore, due to a lack of interviewees I chose to formulate a questionnaire in which to gain more information. I personally feel that they do not offer a true insight into a participant's ideas and values on a topic. Instead, their viewpoints are somewhat framed and focused by the researcher. This streamlined view, whilst beneficial to my focus and research, proves, in my opinion, to be

partially dishonest. The information received within the questionnaire is highly valued, however, it only serves to supplement Mr T's view; it has not been used to disprove nor prove anything. Questions for the survey were generated through interviews with Mr T. and research I have undertaken.

I designed my questionnaire with the guidelines offered by Ann Levan in *Doing your own Research*, which state that 'the questionnaire form should be simple with plenty of space for replies' (Levan cited in Kane, 1985: 74). I wrote my questionnaire on paper firstly to make sure the wording was open in order to avoid directing my participants too closely towards my personal ideas and to allow them to express their own opinions. I also wanted my questionnaire to flow naturally, like a conversation (Levan in Kane, 1985: 75), to ensure that answers were not forced. I used a mixture of open-ended questions and forced choice questions (see Appendix 2) to gain information for the topic area I am exploring. Due to having used open-ended questions, thematic analysis was then used to analyse and discuss the results. However, because my questionnaire is overall semi-structured there was less work required when analysing. I created the survey online using the website Survey Monkey. I feel by using an online resource I may have limited my pool of participants due to the age range of those I am discussing (late fifties to sixties) who may not be able to use nor feel comfortable using electronic devices. This is somewhat a presumption; however, it is something I did not consider straight away as I use electronic devices comfortably myself.

Chapter 3: Reputation as Currency

In this chapter I will be arguing that reputation can be used as a 'currency' within Fishermen as a group within the fishing industry of Grimsby. To illustrate my argument, I will discuss three topic areas: Social, Economic, and 'Perspectives'. I have chosen to separate my argument into three topics as they each contribute relevant details regarding reputation as a whole in relation to my work. Whilst they are separate topics, they are not distinct as the boundaries between each blur; I will also briefly define the context in which of the topics stand. However, reputation is a complex topic, entangled within social meshworks so therefore, I am only exploring and discussing this topic within the confines of my ethnography and the knowledge I have gained from it. Discussion regarding further explorations in this area will be discussed within the conclusion of this piece.

What can be understood by reputation regarding the social? For the social aspect of my work I will be exploring and discussing how reputation impacts upon the social roles (and lives) of Fishermen. This will include discussion regarding friendships, relationships and creating ties with other people. Next, within the economic section of this piece I will analyse how reputation shapes the ability to succeed or progress further within the hierarchal structure of the ships themselves and on land. I will also explore labour relations and discuss how the associated theories are impacted by reputation and the meshworks involved. Whereas labour relations are regarded within the economic sphere of anthropology I wish to show how they are linked to the social as well. The final topic area is 'perspectives'; this is important because outside of the immediate habitus of Fishermen, those who are unaware of the 'inside details' of the industry may not understand behaviours or habits such as the large consumption of alcohol, and therefore, the 'outside' reputation of Fishermen is different, including my own perspectives (which I will elaborate further upon). At the same time, I will be reviewing how networks are important when discussing and exploring reputation as they help to show how everything is connected, so therefore, networks, or my preferred term, meshworks, are intrinsically linked to my topic areas.

Meshworks:

Thus, I will begin by discussing meshworks accordingly and their importance to my work. Craik notes that 'the typical structural pattern of networks can be further described as a set of clustered interconnections' (2008: 10), whilst he has used the word networks, the application is slightly the same. My interpretation of meshwork, however, is the notion that it is a collection of overlapping ideas, beliefs and rules which shape and somewhat control society; these can include cultural and religious ties etc. This is important to note because one 'strand' of the meshwork can potentially alter other 'strands' which then has a wider impact on those involved. Within the fishing industry there are many different cogs that provide motion to the industry as a whole such as the Grocers who provide food for the ships to the train drivers who transport the fish across the country, "For every fisherman that goes to sea, 10 people on land are employed" (Mr T, 2017). For this reason, I have chosen only to focus upon the Fishermen themselves. When discussing reputational meshworks Craik notes that 'we must securely tie a specific person's reputation to that individual's own particular network of other persons' (Craik, 2008: 3); however, within my work, whilst I gained a large portion of knowledge from Mr T., I cannot accurately decipher his own reputation nor the reputation of others because Mr T.'s experience and knowledge are of times past.

Furthermore, I would like to note that within the meshworks, animated by the extensive connections, is the exchanging of messages. Interactions can take place almost anywhere within the community, which, with little doubt are places of conversations, an 'exchange of messages'. Exchange is essential to reputational meshworks; Bailey's notes that, 'Society and community are an endless exchange of messages. Exchange is the essence of social interaction.' (1971: 10). I agree with Bailey's statement (ibid); furthermore, noting that, reputation as a currency is important for the concept of exchange as it allows for a collection of messages, discussed further in the Economic section, to exist within the meshworks of the social and economic. As mentioned within my ethnographic study, a man's reputation can precede him, 'Reputation starts from day one' (Mr T. 2017). If you have a bad reputation with Grimsby it may travel up to Aberdeen in Scotland or as far down south as Cornwall. If it is particularly bad, it may precede someone as far as Iceland or Denmark, places that a large portion of fisherman within Grimsby had

ties to. As Craik discusses, places/industries etc. can be either high or low density networks, which are noted as two extremes of recognition amongst groups (2008: 9-10). High density network refers to people who know each other (can recognise faces and names (Craik, 2008: 2) and a low density network is when people do not know each other (ibid). Referring to Grimsby fishermen as individuals, I would argue that they formed a high density network. Fishermen worked across many ships, drank in many pubs and gained employment there (see later discussions in the economic section). The importance of this regarding how reputation travels across and within different ports, will be discussed later.

At the same time, within networks, I would like to note how these impact upon anthropological work itself. As an anthropologist, participant observation is often an integral part of our study; however, whilst we may successfully “integrate” into societies we are researching, I argue, we cannot ever be completely aware of all the nuances of a person; neither can we know a person’s reputation and ultimately their overall role in society. Craik eloquently writes, ‘out of these observations, impressions, and discussions, the reputation of a specific individual emerges’ (2008: 4). Whilst we could attempt to speak to every person the village leader, group guide etc. may have known, this, I feel, would be somewhat fruitless. So, could we understand the reputational meshwork of a group in society? By applying an economic notion of viewing reputation as currency, we can understand how it transforms the habitus in which it is situated.

Reputation and the Social:

In this section I will be discussing how reputation impacts the social aspects of Fishermen’s lives; this includes both the notion of friendship and kinship. Being a Fisherman is an arduous task, it requires dedication and perseverance, ‘the fisherman spends most of his life at sea working twenty hours a day’ (Mr T. 2017). It takes a toll physically and mentally, ‘not everybody’s made fer that job, it doesn’t suit ‘em, a lot of ‘em’ (ibid). As Fishermen spend three to four weeks (or occasionally longer) at sea they can become close to those to whom they work, however this does not apply to all situations. ‘To speak of friendship between two co-workers, then, is to speak of something construed as distinct from the relationship defined by their respective locations in the organisation that employs

them' (Carrier cited in Bell and Coleman, 1999: 21). The point raised here by Carrier expresses the notion that friendships can be perceived within a different sphere to that of work, social as opposed to economic relationships. Within the boundaries of reputation this can be understood as a means of maintaining a 'good' reputation regarding how others perceive you. If you are noted to be a 'good' friend, both in and out of work, then there is a greater chance of social support meshworks materialising and continuing. Craik notes this point in his discussion of Granovetter's work, the *Strength of Ties* (1973) in which he states that 'the multiple beneficial functions of strong ties are evident in providing personal and social support' (Craik, 2008: 10). This is further supported within my ethnography in which Mr T. discusses how he was close to several people and they provided support when needed:

'I mean it used to be four of us really close together, and we used to treat each other [pause] if one was out of work or if one of us had a bad trip, then the other three would look after 'em. [long pause] that was a common thing amongst fisherman as well, you always looked after each other [long pause].' (2017)

Whilst reputation from this perspective cannot be seen as 'currency', the friendship shared by my participant allowed for each individual to have a safety net, such as when one person is out of work or if someone has had a bad trip (such as not being paid well, or not at all, if the haul of fish was poor). In the meantime, it is wise to note that whilst friendships may exist within the working environment of the ship, social hierarchies still persist: 'A lot of men know each other... worked together... knew what to expect. ...Someone who is not just new to the crew but to the industry, they will get a bit of good natured ribbing, but they will survive that, and it will be their turn next time [to give the 'ribbing']' (Bale, 2010: 70). This quote illustrates and supports the notion that reputation within social circles is important; being able to take a 'ribbing' means that you can 'survive' the social atmosphere of the ship and overall the industry. The aspect of giving someone a 'ribbing' implies that others were of 'higher' social/formal standing; the phrase 'it will be their turn next time' also suggests that movement within the social hierarchies on the ships was possible. The 'testing of the waters' regarding understanding a person's weakness helped to support the idea that everyone knew what it took to disrupt the hierarchical order. However, I would argue that you first need a reputation (from

experience working etc.) to move within the hierarchal structure of the ship. Therefore, friendships create strong reputational ties which can then expand further to allow individuals to move within hierarchal structures, the currency used being reputation.

At the same time, whilst friendships are not necessarily created by someone's reputation (but however, play a small, yet significant part in reputation) reputation can also be generational between families. To have whole generations of families whose men fished was a common occurrence, 'his father, his father before him, his brothers...' (Mr T. 2017). This is noted within *Gifts and Poisons*, 'a person's origin – where he was born and brought up – will influence people's behavior towards him' (Bailey, 1971: 44). The reputation of previous family members, such as grandparents, can impact individuals both socially and economically. A well-known example of this in literature is that of the Capulet and Montague families in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Whilst not explicit within my ethnography, there are some hints at reputation of a person's family in regard to the context of ship hierarchies; if a patriarchal family member was a Skipper (a Captain -the highest tier within the structure of the ship) then it is somewhat implied that this brings more social prestige. On the other hand, one could say that the children of a Skipper use their parents' prestige. Within *Crab Antics*, Wilson shows this other aspect: 'if a woman is ambitious to improve her social standing through her children, she must encourage the economic careers of her sons – and enhance the respectability of her daughters' (1973: 103). Thus, reputation within families could be perceived to flow both ways through familial networks, each individual member as a thread of the meshwork using their family members as a way to 'pay-their-way'. However, these are my own assumptions and should not be taken as fact. Furthermore, comparisons between reputation and *the gift* can enhance some aspects of our understanding of this topic area.

'The gift received is in fact owned, but the ownership is of a particular kind... It is at the same time property and possession, a pledge and a loan... a trust; for it is given only on condition that it will be used on behalf of, or transmitted to, a third person, the remote partner' (Mauss, 1967: 22)

Mauss does not explicitly mention reputation, his work discusses the social contracts and meshworks involved with gifts. To explore this aspect, let us suppose reputation was discussed in the same way as Mauss's description of *the gift*. Reputation is owned by individuals, it can be a pledge or trust, 'as long as you had a good name, a good reputation... you never had an issue finding work' (Mr T. 2017). Fishermen's friendship and the support offered to the others could be seen as a 'loan'. In one sense, reputation is used on the behalf of others: individuals 'cash-in' their reputation to work with a certain person or a 'remote partner' (someone the individual in question may not have worked with, but the person requesting crew for a ship may know of). The 'remote partner' can learn of an individual's reputation from various of sources including social places such as pubs, potential hearsay, or directly from the people within that individual's network (or the individuals themselves) to whom they have strong ties (Craik, 2008:28). I understand Fishermen as a group that are a high density network, however, this does not mean that each Fishermen has strong ties to one another.

As previously mentioned, the strength of ties, specifically *weak-ties* in Granovetter's piece, allows for further exploration into how, via the social, reputation is dissipated amongst ties and therefore depending on the nature (strong or weak) how this shapes reputation through-out an individual's lifetime. This area also links to Craik's notions of networks. Granovetter defines ties as such, 'the strength of a tie is a... combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie' (1973: 1261), with the definition of weak-ties limited to the acknowledgement that individuals may give one another on a sporadic basis such as Fishermen on passing boats waving to one another (ibid). So how does this relate? Some Fishermen are more likely to have strong-ties to their family and close friends for example and weak-ties to their work colleagues, the grocer, and the dock workers. If an individual only has strong-ties, then it is unlikely that information distributed about an individual in that meshwork would have a bad reputation (Craik, 2008: 10; Granovetter, 1973: 1366). Therefore, I argue that, due to there being many Fishermen with weak-ties to one another or to those working in and around the docks and Grimsby town, reputation can spread further: 'those [with] whom we are weakly tied are more likely to move

in circles different from our own and will thus have access to information different from that which we receive' (Granovetter, 1973: 1371, and also raised by Wilson, 1973: 173). This will be explored further in relation to gaining work in 'the economic' section.

Finally, in respect to weak and strong ties, it is worth drawing attention to the well-known Fisherman, Bunny Newton (who will be discussed in further detail within the Perspectives section). Sources on Bunny Newton come from Grimsby Town's own Telegraph. The paper notes that, 'His crews were always personally handpicked, discipline was strict...' (Towndrow, Grimsby Evening Telegraph, 11th June 1992). Therefore, it can be noted that Bunny had to know of the reputation of the people he picked for his crew. How would he potentially find this out? By weak-ties of the Fishermen themselves; 'weak-ties play a role in effecting social cohesions' (Granovetter, 1973: 1373). This shows that reputation, in relation to the social, becomes a currency through ties created between individuals within the meshwork.

To sum up, I have discussed how friendship can create support meshworks for Fishermen depending on how they act towards their friends, if they reciprocate deeds and support others when necessary and that maintaining a 'good' reputation in friendships is important. Evidence has been provided for showing that reputation can be generational both forwards and backwards and is how a Fisherman can use this to 'pay-their-way'. I have compared reputation to *the gift* and noted how this academic theory can be used to understand reputational currency further within anthropological academia. Finally, I have analysed using the concept of Granovetter's *strength of ties* (1973) to show how ties, entangled within the meshwork of Fishermen's lives can shape and control informational flows and impact upon reputation.

The Economic and Reputation:

Following on from the social aspect I will explore and discuss how reputation help shapes the economic sphere of Fishermen. This section compares the ways in which reputation, in its transmuted form of currency, can benefit the economic aspects of Fishermen's lives in which it is ultimately entangled. More specifically, the

discussion includes, nepotism, the periodic event of the 'walk-about', bad reputation and how this occurs, pubs and 'informal labour' and the idea of the 'three-day-millionaire' and how this links to the similar system of the *potlach*. Let us now consider nepotism, a point raised by one of my questionnaire participants. When asked the question *Do you think reputation influences social standing?* The participant responded with, 'Nepitism [sic] was the reason most skipper or mates got ther [sic] jobs' (Participant 3, 2018). I think that the notion of nepotism, as favouritism towards a job based on kinship (Merriam-Webster, 2018b), can be applied to the Fishermen within the industry of my ethnography because, as demonstrated by my ethnography further along, younger generational of Fishermen could receive work exclusively via family members. Social hierarchies have been known previously to influence an individual's reputation and potentially that individual's role in the community, 'An individual's ranking... may be strongly influenced by the reputation of his family – for example, the wealth education, morality of his ancestors... An individual's reputation may rest on the number of relatives he has in the village... people are expected to... defend his reputation as their own reputation depends on it' (Bailey, 1971: 46, also Plattner, 1989: 211 cited in Narotsky, 1997: 55). This links back to my previous discussion regarding generational reputation. If an individual had family within the industry, in the case of my participant Mr. T whose father was a Skipper, they could gain employment through the meshwork ties of the family, 'he was a friend of me fathers, they done a deal... [Mr T. also experienced violence in this trainee role however could not leave it] I wasn't allowed to leave him cos he'd done a deal with me father... so basically, he'd rented me out to him...' (2017). Whilst this may have given Mr T. work experience, violence at the hands of higher ranked Fishermen was not uncommon and became generational behavior which all trainees experienced. Being able to, in essence, 'take abuse' was a good trait amongst Fishermen which, as previously mentioned, increased their reputation, giving them more currency in which to exchange.

Having a good reputation meant that you could receive work; individual Skippers such as Bunny Newton, as previously stated, most likely used reputation to find crews. Offices on the dock recognised you by name more than face. Mr T. talked

about how easy it was to find a job if someone had a good reputation, 'Finding a job in them days wasn't difficult, you could walk out of one job and get another job in ten minutes [pause] as long as you had a good name, a good reputation...' (2017). If a Fisherman had done something wrong, or if the Office (personified by Mr. T himself) wanted to 'flex their muscles' (Mr T. 2017) then he would be given the 'walk-about', whereby an individual would ask at an office for any jobs going on the ships and be told no, only to go to each subsequent office and be told the same thing (ibid): 'the "walk-about" ... and they would refuse to give you a job, pass yer round all the other companies, and they wouldn't employ you either, for a set amount of time like a couple of weeks or a month or depending on how bad you'd been, what you'd done' (ibid). This exertion of power can be noted in Clegg's discussion of Parson's power schema: 'it produces, or rather facilitates the production of, binding obligations within organisational settings.... the power to sanction waits unused but ready, should the outcome desired not be secured by the exercise of symbolic power over the agent' (Parson, 1967 cited in Clegg, 1989: 136). Here power is exerted by the offices as noted by Mr T. and does not wait unused; it is implied by my ethnography that the offices do not make an individual 'walk-about' often, so when it does occur, it is simply the offices showing the power they have. This indicates that the office simply wanted to 'flex its muscles'. In this regard, reputation, even as a currency, becomes a null transaction. It could be understood for example as a person's credit card being declined. Unless a Fisherman (or other associate) approached someone individually, it appears that this power is unlikely to be overridden. However, even if someone was given the 'walk-about' this does not always imply they had a bad reputation.

As shown thus far, to find work as a Fisherman requires individuals to have a 'good' reputation. On the other hand, Bailey argues that to be a member of a community does not mean that someone needs to hold a good reputation but only to have one; those who do not perform well, judged accordingly by the community, are still members of the community (1971: 7). Be that as it may, I do not agree with Bailey; as shown within my ethnography, if a Fisherman's reputation is too bad he will have to leave the port and if it remains poor and word of his bad reputation spreads across the United Kingdom and into other countries such as Denmark and Iceland

then he has to leave the industry and is, therefore, no longer a member of the Fisherman community (but it not necessarily banished from the fishing industry as a whole).

'If your name was bad enough... you couldn't even get a job at all... you would have to move to a different town... which did happen to a few people... they'd gone through every ship in the fleet, eventually had to leave town to get a job... they were forced to look in different parts of the country, most would either go to Scotland... or down south to Cornwall, somewhere where nobody knew them... to start their career again... others leave the country and go to Denmark or Holland' (Mr T. 2017)

This statement from my participant clearly shows that reputation was taken seriously; if an individual needed to leave Grimsby to find work elsewhere then they had no reputational currency with which to trade. The narrative that individuals had to leave the country (which in a small minority of cases as pointed out by Mr T. did not always prove fruitful) to find work within the industry confirms that the meshworks of Fishermen thread across the country and into the seas beyond. However, there was, according to my participant and the meshworks in which he moved, there was no animosity regarding Englishmen going over to another country and taking jobs on board a foreign ship, 'we would go to Denmark, and take jobs on Danish ships in Denmark, they would come 'ere, take jobs on English ships, there were never any problems there' (Mr T. 2017). Here, the history of Grimsby and its ties to Denmark are prevalent. These international meshworks are important for Fishermen as they help to create ties, either strong or weak, which, alongside their reputation, is important in gaining and maintaining employment. If you had a bad reputation, it was unlikely a Fisherman would receive work, however, if a Skipper was desperate enough to go to sea he would go 'to the bottom of the barrel' (ibid – those with a bad reputation) to look for people to work. A desired trait of a Fisherman, according to participants of my questionnaire was that they must be hard-working, 'nobody ever liked to see idle hands' (ibid). The worst thing a Fishermen could be was a thief, this was due to the strenuous labour and time placed into fishing itself, so others did not want to feel as if they were not given what they deserved, being rewarded for their hard worker. If a Fisherman was

labeled as a thief, he would be blacklisted almost immediately. It can also be noted, in my opinion, that thieves are un-liked a vast majority of the time. The notion of being a hard-worker was important because the job was extremely difficult at times with potential for no economic reward, so therefore, if fishing trips were unsuccessful and Fishermen remained hard-working their reputational currency would increase allowing for jobs, successful or not, to be undertaken in the future.

The context in which Fishermen are paid is similar to that of the *Kula*, in the sense that when someone sets out within the *Kula* ring they are a recipient only and then the next year they host and repay the gifts back that they received with added interest (Mauss, 1967: 20). For Fishermen, they are usually paid five pounds up-front on the premise of working on the ships, therefore, their return is their labour with the danger of fishing being the interest. Furthermore, as in the *Kula* (Mauss, 1967: 25-27), if Fishermen do not work (including but not limited to, refusing to work, jumping ships and not turning up for sailing (Mr T. 2017)) they gain a bad reputation which diminishes its value as currency the worse the reputation gets. Before going to sea, Fishermen used to receive five pounds as a way of buying provisions, pay bills etc. however, many spent it all day at the pub. Being paid was either done via the offices or within the local pubs by young boys who would act as 'runners' looking for those currently not in work. As illustrated here, 'if they never had a job we'll give you a fiver... so they say yeah, take the five pounds, and then not turn up [to go sailing]. Just go up the piss [sic] with the fiver, have a party... eventually they'd get bad names that way' (ibid). In this sense, a Fisherman's reputation is again offered as a loan, a promise (Craik, 2008: 28; Mauss, 1967: 22) as mentioned earlier. Therefore, the more an individual does not payback the 'loan' with their labour, the more they provide themselves and others with the means to give them a poor reputation. The next section deals with how the economic and social spheres intermingle within 'Pubs' and how reputation is enacted within these spaces.

'Community life does not depend on neighbourhood only' (Bailey 1971: 6). This can include churches, markets, factories, places of recreation e.g. 'pubs'; any kind of association, formal or informal. Finding a job via pubs was a routine occurrence as

drinking alcohol was a large part of fishing culture; therefore, as they were not considered a formal application for work such as the offices, gaining employment in the pubs, in this context, can be understood as 'informal labour'. Fishermen would congregate there and get to know others - creating ties and discussing daily life and work. Previous research established by Mollona confirms that finding a job in a pub is not unique to the fishing industry, pubs can function both as leisure spaces as well as an institution for welfare and economic practices (2005: 538). Granovetter further supports in the discussion of how American blue-collar workers find work (1973: 1371). This is evident within the case of my ethnography:

'as time went on and people got to know ya, if you built up a good reputation, a good name [pause] then [pause] you could get your jobs in the pubs... certain pubs there you'd have skippers... like the Kent Arms, off Freeman street there, one side there you'd 'ave all the crew drinking, mates, deckhands, cooks [pause] an' on the other side... generally all where the skippers would sit and drink together... you could walk in there and ask them [pause] and if they didn't recognise yer, they'd ask you yer name... awh I'm... have yer got any jobs... oh yeah, yeah, no problem... come cook with us or...' (Mr T. 2017).

Here, the social hierarchy can be clearly noted with the separation of the Skippers and the rest of the crew. The Skippers are the male elders, as referred too within Mollona's piece (2005: 540); they, for a small part, control the local economy regarding Fishermen and their employment. Pubs and other public spaces are hives of both social and economic activity in which ties and meshworks are created. In these places sustained social chat occurs which feeds a collective pool of information regarding the reputation of a person (Craik, 2008: 29, Bailey, 1971: 4). Thus, when a Fishermen approaches the Skippers for work within the pub he is presenting them with his currency. Reputation can therefore, be understood as a credit score; by an individual offering his 'reputation credit card' he allows for himself to be checked over and judged accordingly. When his 'credit card' is being checked those who are judging him, bring to the forefront of their minds, the information they may have on him, his family members, friends and others. Then, after analysing his reputation, a decision is usually made with the individual deciding if to make the offer. Craik also observes the same notion that there is an

ongoing circulation of information regarding a person's reputation existing in individuals mind and within the community (2008: 69). The circle of information, embedded with the Fishermen's meshworks of life, passes through people and groups help to mould reputation into currency. Here, I want to note that the passing of information flows through the ties created by family and friends with the pub and outside it, blurring the economic and social, but whilst still maintaining the differences between them. Not only do Fishermen have their reputation 'checked' they also complete the transaction vice versa by learning about the Skippers in which they approach for employment. Therefore, as shown, reputation does not move linearly but multi-directional depending who it is wielded by and in which context.

As was pointed out in the introduction to this section I will discuss the 'three-day-millionaire' and how this links to the *potlach*. Here, this section ties both the Social and the Economic together. The 'three-day-millionaire' is a term used by both Fishermen themselves and the British media (Gibbons, November 2012). I would like to note that my use of potlach is not a claiming of the word for 'Global North' perspective but simply as a frame of reference for my ideas. As previously illustrated, Fishermen spend a long time at sea, therefore as drinking culture is a large portion of the fishing lifestyle, when Fishermen come home they then go to the pubs:

'Within that three or four days he's home, he's got three weeks living to make up for... [pause] there're not actually drinking anymore then somebody else whose spread their drinking out over the course of three weeks... just that they've done it in three days, we used to do it in three days, then you'd be a sea again' (Mr T. 2017).

Because of this, Fisherman received the nickname of 'three-day-millionaires'. During this period, it was likely they would 'drink away' large portions of their money either on themselves or by buying drinks for others. They would share their money with others, most likely family first, then friends and then strangers: 'cos you always had plenty of money, and you, you {mumbled} treat people, friends, even strangers' (Mr T. 2017). Here, this represents how the Fishermen's labour, turned into money, is used to create or strength ties which consequently enhances their reputational currency. Moving on now to consider how this links to the *potlach*. The

potlach as defined by Mauss translate into 'to nourish' or 'to consume' (1967: 4), however, within the context of this piece, I do not use these terms but instead link to the model of the *potlach* itself. As noted by Frank Boas, the *potlach* is a system based upon credit which relies on friends, acquaintances and others to create its central power (1989: 105). It is the contracting and payment of debts in a public manor, in which the person who initiates the *potlach* uses their labour to create honour and prestige (Boas cited by Stocking, Jr. 1989: 107). Failure to compete within the *potlach* by giving and receiving gifts is 'a loss of dignity' (Mauss, 1967: 40) but those who show their wealth by spending recklessly win prestige (Mauss, 1967: 35). Taking the understanding of the *potlach* into account, we can then apply this to the notion of the 'three-day-millionaire'. Thus, when a Fisherman spends his money (not only on alcohol) both buying drinks for himself, gaining social reputation – social places, 'joining in', and on others, sharing wealth shows that he cares, or wants to be seen as being prestigious because he has potentially more monetary wealth than others. In other words, I argue that he initiates a personal *potlach*; perhaps unaware or completely aware of the actions he takes regarding his money; therefore, if one person acts this way others maybe inspired to do the same thing and so they too initiate a personal *potlach*. Mr T. mentions that spending money and being generous began as soon as they left the ship after a good trip, '*lot of the old Plonkies [drunk people], up there, waiting for yer to come off the dock and they'd be asking yer, can yer spare, spare a £1, a £1, yeah, yeah...*' (2017). By completing these acts, I maintain that the value of a Fisherman's reputation is enhanced in both the Social (social capital is gained) and Economic spheres. Without a job Fishermen cannot mingle socially and so therefore both are entangled together within the meshwork. Within the Social ties are created by the sharing of wealth (due to working successfully, sign of a hard-worker which is a desired trait) which then flows into the Economic as the value of reputational currency for gaining employment is increased.

To conclude this section, I argue that reputational currency can exist in multiple forms, either good or bad. Depending on the form it takes depends on whether a Fisherman can gain employment. However, there are different factors involved in how reputation can be created and used such as the ability to 'take abuse' which was considered a good trait for a Fisherman. How reputation became null in the

shadow of power emitted by the Offices but how supporting meshworks can prevent men from being out of work for too long. This, however, depended on the individuals themselves and if they have given themselves a bad reputation by missing going to sea or by not working hard onboard ships. Reputation has also been shown to travel both nationally and international and therefore is prevalent in where and how men are employed. I have discussed how reputational currency, traded informal within pubs can create employment and how within these spaces reputation is circled is both for social and economic purposes. Finally, I have shown how, via the model of the *potlach* and discussion of the 'three-day-millionaire', can show the blurring of the Social and Economic boundaries which can lead to an increase in reputational currency.

Perspectives – Inside, Outside:

In this upcoming section I will explore and discuss how perspectives are integral to discussions and analysis of reputation. As stated within my research aims, I will also discuss if reputation has the potential to alter perceptions of individuals/groups within society. The areas this section will cover include my initial perspective, the perspective of Fishermen by others outside the industry, Mr T's perspective of Fishermen by himself and of other Fishermen, Bunny Newton and his reputation, and discussing throughout how perspectives have a wider impact on reputation. I will not cover reputational currency here, but I will explain a small, but in my opinion, distinct area of reputation.

It is often the case, in my opinion, that as one completes an ethnography some perspectives are likely to be altered within this process. I wish to draw firstly upon my own perspective of Fishermen because when I chose to undertake the topic of fishing I had no clue of the knowledge I would uncover. My initial perceptions of Fishermen consisted of them being drunkards who begged for money and lived off state benefits. This view, when I try and demarcate its origins, appears to come from my own parent's perceptions whose origins I do not know. Now, having undertaken the study, if I were to be asked my perceptions of Fishermen I could reel off large portions of information that many people may not be aware of and, for this knowledge, I am grateful to my participants. If I once held a view which is somewhat inaccurate (though not completely as stated by previous discussions

regarding alcohol) then how many other people's views would echo my own initial views?

Alcohol may have been an important factor in influencing outsiders' perceptions, both individually and as a group, towards the industry, as Fishermen, as previously mentioned, consumed large quantities of alcohol. 'You'd never see us sober [pause] and then of course [pause] you'd be drinking and then [pause] fights would start... over various reasons [pause] so that's how fishermen got a bad name' (Mr T. 2017). Here, Mr T. states that Fishermen gained a bad name from the fights caused by drinking and whilst I cannot disagree completely as I did not experience the fishing industry during its successful years, I would like to note that other factors played a part, especially those regarding young boys and crime. When a young boy had committed a crime in Lincolnshire he was sent to either Lincoln Gaol or to be an apprentice within the fishing fleet (Mr T. 2017, Grimsby Fishing Heritage Centre, 2017). However, due to a multiple of factors including the difficulty of the job and the potential for abuse, some chose to return to the prison rather than go to sea (ibid). Therefore, the perspectives that these people may have held could influence others within and even outside their own meshworks.

In the case of Fishermen's perspectives of themselves, both Mr T. and my questionnaire participants agreed that reputation was important; 5 out of 6 participants answered that reputation meant 'a great deal' to them. Mr T. remarks that 'the fishing industry in itself is a unique industry' and the skills needed cannot be learned overnight (2017). He also mentions that he did not expect to leave the industry and would be working as a Fishermen until he died or retired.

According to Craik (2008: 14), 'the lifelong generation of a reputational network is a process over which the person has varying levels of initiative and choice'. This point is limited by the fact it fails to refer to the impact individuals, groups, culture and other factors may have upon a person's reputational network. In spite of this I do agree with the idea that a person does have 'levels of initiative and choice'; they can choose if they want to work-hard or not at all, choose to participate in a personal *potlach* or not. As aforementioned, meshworks are important for reputation. Therefore, could it be suggested that perspectives, which have the ability to alter meshworks in my opinion, impact reputation? Yes, individual

perspectives, such as those by the young boys or my own parents, may become 'the norm' and as a result, perpetuate a reputation which could be inaccurate.

It is, of course, important to acknowledge Bernard 'Bunny' Newton, a legendary fisherman (as stated by a member on the forum ShipsNostalgia, 2007). As previously stated, large portions of my information on Bunny Newton comes from the exposés written by the *Grimsby Telegraph*. Bunny was born into a fishing family, however his father wished for him not to join the industry. Bunny at first agreed not to, however, after his father died he did join along with Bunny's three other brothers (Towndrow, Grimsby Evening Telegraph, 11th June 1992). At the age of 21 Bunny had become a Skipper and soon after earned himself the nickname of 'The Beast' (Otter, Grimsby Telegraph, February 4th, 1970). Bunny did not choose his nickname or decide his reputation; it was based both on people's personal experiences with him and the perspectives of those who had heard of him. An academic understanding of Bunny's behaviour could be understood in terms of his aims for economic survival; it could be seen as 'the manipulation of interpersonal relationships and people's relationships were motivated, or at least tainted, by their desire for gain' (Carrier cited in Bell and Coleman, 1999: 27). However, this view seems somewhat extreme, and without speaking to Bunny himself we would be unlikely to comprehend his motivations. At the same time, it is not unreasonable to agree with Carrier (ibid) that some people may manipulate relationships for their own means. This also suggests that individuals can also manipulate their own reputation and perspectives if they so choose.

In summary, this section has discussed how perspectives impact and can influence reputation. I have set out my own views and suggested views others may hold, and the views of Mr T. and other Fishermen in regard to whether they consider reputation to be important has also been considered. Finally, I have discussed how other people's perspectives shape the reputation and status of the Fisherman, for example Bunny Newton. I hope that within this small section I have clearly shown how, whilst only a small point, perspectives can impact reputation.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The aims of this dissertation were to explore the impact of reputation on the socio-economic roles of Fishermen, discuss if reputation can alter perceptions on individuals/groups within a society and to explore if reputation as a topic can contribute universally to an anthropological understanding of groups within society. I have used the framework of meshwork to help shape and understand my points regarding reputation throughout my work and have shown that it is embedded in both the social and economic spheres of Fishermen's lives. In relation to the discussion on strength of ties, strong ties have been shown by Craik (2008) to be beneficial to individuals in order to prevent a poor reputation from occurring. However, my findings in line with Granovetter (1973) suggest that weak-ties are more viable for reputation as they allow for deeper social connections and more viable economic connections.

The evidence, a combination of my ethnography and academic theory, have shown that reputation, when understood in the context of currency has, in fact, impacted the socio-economic roles of Fishermen. In the case of the Social, I have elucidated how having a 'good' reputation, in relation to friendship, helps to maintain a support network (which can be used if economic crisis arises) and by being a 'good' friend, the social lives of Fishermen are enriched. Second, it has been shown how reputation can be passed generationally through kinship ties in multilateral ways, as Fishermen can 'pay-their-way' via another's reputation. Therefore, this expresses the notion that it is beneficial for reputation to be transferable.

Moving on to now consider the economic aspect of this piece, it has been revealed that reputation as a currency can be used successfully in discussion of how Fishermen gain employment. The 'good' traits of a Fisherman can benefit long-term reputational meshwork creation, which, when employment is sought, is evaluated and transformed into currency. This reputational currency, when used both at the Offices and within the informal setting of pubs, circulates through both the individual and community consciousness, allowing for employment transactions to take place. As previously stated, this is not always completely possible as the offices themselves can exert power over the Fishermen regardless of their reputation (though it is not to say that it does not have an impact). Reputation has also been

shown to travel across national and international meshworks and therefore has a much wider impact upon the Fishermen than they, themselves, may realise. Furthermore, I have explained how the model of the *potlach* can be applied to the concept of reputation and how, by the notion of the 'three-day-millionaire', one can begin to understand how the boundaries of the Social and Economic, though blurred, play an important role in the lives of Fishermen. Finally, this study has demonstrated how perspectives impact reputation by allowing differing viewpoints to mould the meshwork in which reputation is situated. How, through Bunny Newton, it can be noted that what could be seen as a 'bad' reputation, is simply just a reputation. However, all forms of reputational currency still impact the socio-economic roles of Fishermen.

Overall, I argue that this piece contributes to further anthropological understanding of means of exchange via the use of reputation as a currency. As an anthropologist, it was somewhat easier to see overall the different intertwined meshworks of the lives I was discussing. However, I could not be a participant observer and see and learn the deeper contexts in which these individuals' lives are situated. On that note, I contend that it is not completely possible for anthropologists to successfully achieve this anyway. By using the work of Bailey (1971), Craik (2008), Granovetter (1973), Wilson (1973), Mauss (1969) and other academics, I believe I have successfully supported my academic theory and created a clear understanding regarding the perspectives of my work. I conclude that whilst reputation impacts the socio-economic roles of Fishermen's lives, more detailed research is needed to create a wider picture of impacts as a whole; this would include speaking to more Fishermen, to those who work upon the docks and those who work within the social places Fishermen inhabit. However, what is shown is that reputation as a currency is transferable, shaped not only by the individuals who wield it but also by the *habitas* in which they are situated.

Finally, I argue that this study lays the groundwork for future study into reputational currency as an identified topic within economic anthropology. Reputation can impact lives in many ways, as discussed, and therefore when trying to understand the intricate details of a group of society, either within the United Kingdom or elsewhere, it should not be dismissed.

Appendix 1: Partial Interview Transcriptions

Transcription: Interview 1

P: I left school at 15 in them days you could leave school early if you had a job to go to. [pause] errrh [pause] started off as trainee with me father on his ship for a pound a day... for a twenny hour day. [pause] I was on the eh small wooden Danish ships what was called Seinettters [pause] they would be eh fifty to fifty-five feet in length [pause] four of a crew with a trainee [unintelligible] [pause] because you were share fishermen the crew she had the running expenses of the ship... but as trainee you never had to pay for anything... but to get fed you had to put your work in cos it was up to the crew if you got fed or not. If you didn't work 'ard enough they wouldn't feed ya... you know they'd give you a sandwich of something... bread and butta [long pause]

P: With me father fer... couple of trips and left 'im. Went trainee on another ship... ended up [pause] ended up in Denmark [long pause] the skipper there he useda to er... like fresh fish for his breakfast every mornin' so two 'a' clock every morning I was up with a line and a hook catching 'is breakfast. Ferribut whatever, mackerel for 'is breakfast [pause] and then I used to start me days work then... generally as trainee you learnt all aspects of the job... the cooking, keeping the cabin clean, learning all the deck werk, how to gut fish [pause] you all the did the donkey work, fetching and carrying. [pause] Sometimes the mate would take you down the fish room and you'd chop ice for 'im. [pause] if he was happy with ya you'd get an extra couple of pound for that at the end of the trip. [long pause] and then in 1976 I went to the nautical school... did three months there [pause] useda get thirteen pound a week for being there... which was a lot of money.

I: What is that equivalent to now? Probably like...

P: Oooh bloody hell [pause] well a single mans dole was seven pound fifty and I was getting thirteen pound... so whats a single mans dole money nowadays? Single persons dole money, dunno fifty quid init

I: Yeah, forty, fifty pounds... so you'd be like seventy/eighty... so quite a lot... wow

P: Yeah... that was a bit... for the training school. You did three months there and you learnt, you learnt the compass, how to mend nets, splice, splice rope, splice wires, and... [pause] and a lot of the other everyday bits an bobs we get in the deckwerk, rigging the trawls, how to rig 'em, and you also did yeh... what was called SOLAS – Safety at Life at Sea. Which was your basic sea survival, they took us to Scaffa Baths I think it was [pause] and then basically there, what they useda do was get an inflatable life raft and they would chuck that into the pool upside down, you

would have clothes on [pause] jump in the pool and then try and get inside into the life raft and then 'elp each other in and out... and then a few other bits [pause] and basic firefighting that was part of ya training [pause]

I: Do you know if the school is still around?

P: No, its shut down now... it's a Lockhill, but its not a nautical school anymore now, its shut down now [long pause]

I: Do you know what year roughly?

P: That's was erm... 1976, January to March... there was thirteen of us in the class [pause] and then within [pause] within four weeks of us leaving the nautical school and going to sea... three of 'em were already dead... they'd lost their lives... one was decapitated, one was pulled into the winch and the other was into the sea. And I think today out of the thirteen of us, three of us left alive [pause]

I: Did they ever discuss in the nautical school how dangerous fishing was, was that ever something discussed? Was it a big taboo to bring up?

P: Never mentioned, never mentioned... you knew it anyway [pause] its always been well known that the fishing industry was the most dangerous occupation in the world... and the mortality rate was very, very high I mean... I think I read somewhere once were it said... [pause] for every miner that's killed in a mine, there were ten fishermen lost at sea... you generally lost forty/fifty men a year [long pause] so it was nothing unusual...

P: When I first started in the summer of seventy-five I think it was... was a ship called the Marina, she was lost with all hands... four crew... I think that was in seventy-five, might have been before [pause] but you useda get quite a few of the Trawlers lost in the winter months... that was common [pause] erm

PW: (unintelligible) when you were a kid...

P: oh yeah, I first went to sea in 1965... when I was six... useda go pleasure tripping, what was called pleasure tripping.

PW: [laughing]

I: I presume that was just going out on the boat and spending a few days at sea for the sheer hell of it...

P: We used to do three weeks at a time... two-three weeks at sea... [pause] and then every school from being six years old I was taken to sea... Me father took me... He was a skipper [pause]

PW: Bet she don't want to know all that you know...

I: Anything, everything... you wanna say at all, I honestly don't mind...

PW: Yeah, he had his own ship {Participants father}

P: Yeah, erm [unintelligible] company...

I: Was it a generational thing? Did like his parents his fish, his grandparents...

P: It is... his father, his father before him, his brothers... one of me uncles he, he was injured at sea and he ended up erm being a 'unchback... he was deformed... bent over... [pause... coughing] err [long pause]

P: Yeah nineteen, nineteen seventy-six left the nautical school and got meself a job [pause] trainee again with a Danish Skipper... he was a friend of me fathers, they done a deal [pause] so he, he took me... and [pause] he wa'nt a very nice person... pretty... pretty hard man to get along with... if you made a mistake he'd take you down the engine room and beat you with a chain... [long pause] and wouldn't feed ya [pause] either so [pause] me first... me first there... we did [pause] twenty-four days at sea and I lost ten stone in weight... me mother took me to the hospital soon as I got home... [long pause] but I wasn't allowed to leave him cos he'd done a deal with me father... so basically he'd rented me out to him... leased me out to him [pause] and I ended up staying with him... err [pause] from the April to the October of '76 and then I went back me father [pause] and we were fishing up the North end of the North Sea off the edge of Scotland way... and working out of Denmark... one of the ports out of Denmark. [long pause] but when we were in port... used to be my job to go to the local bakers every morning, five o'clock every mornin' and get fresh bread... for the crew. [pause] and err... in the end I said, I said to me Dad, Imma fed up with this... [pause] so he just said okay, and he left me there... just got up the next day, he said pack your bags we're off to sea and you're staying 'ere... what do you mean staying 'ere? You don't wanna go to sea, stay here and off they went... just left me there... (I: In Denmark?) in Denmark. Foreign country... couldn't speak the language, I had hundred kroner {Danish currency} which was like ten pounds [pause] that's the only money I had... and it took me til... I stayed at the local seaman's mission for a little while for free, they were feeding me, giving me a room to sleep in [long pause] and then I 'eard of a job that was going to sail from Eilsberg back 'ere [pause] so... they organised me transport to get me down to Eilsberg from the northern end of Denmark, got that job there, went there... and I got home at Christmas, December...

I: When did he leave you in Denmark?

P: In the October... from October to December I was there... [long pause]

Transcription: Interview 2

P: You'd go down dock and you'd go round all the offices and speak to the cashiers... knock on the wickets, ask 'em if there was any jobs going cos they're they usually organise the jobs... if there wasn't and you went to the next office [pause] but as time went on and people got to know ya, if you built up a good reputation, a good name [pause] then [pause] you could get your jobs in the pubs, (unintelligible) certain pubs there you'd have skippers... like the Kent Arms, off Freeman street there, one side there you'd 'ave all the crew drinking, mates, deckhands, cooks [pause] an' on the other side... generally all where the skippers would sit and drink together... you could walk in there and ask them [pause] and if they didn't recognise yer, they'd ask you yer name... awh I'm Steve Thompsen, have yer got any jobs... oh yeah, yeah, no problem Steve, come cook with us or... then you can go down dock once yer got a job, if you got it in the pub, you could get yerself down dock, go to the cashiers, get £5 sub, with the strength of 'aving the job, {I: Hmmm} they would give you a fiver... and then you would be straight back up the road, straight in the pub and on the bevy for the day...

PW: He's got a story to tell yah, he ain't finished yet... [chuckling] I hope yer fetched plenty of paper with yer...

P: Fiver, fiver get you out all day... {PW: Used too me...}

I: So how much, so just for, just for context, so £5 that buy drinks all day like...

P: Oh yeah, yeah... cos I mean [pause] a pint, a pint of lager in them days was only 12-15p... [long pause] {I: Wow... PW: How much is it today? I: Well it's like, I think, £2.50 in some places...} In them days you could go out all day on a fiver...

I: Was drinking a heavy, a big part [P: a big part normal, yeah], normal...

P: It was part of the life, I mean, as time progressed and you got to know yer way around the dock... and got to know people and [pause] where they used to hang out, on the docks, the ships grocers, you could buy booze there, they were licensed to sell beer and spirits... so you would go in there in morning and, there might be two or three friends already in there and they'll have a case of what used to be long-life lager on the counter and as you walked in and they would just offer you one and you would take it turns buying a case of beer until the pubs opened...

I: What time is it you'd go in the morning?

P: Generally about seven in the morning, generally down dock for seven in the morning... you'd go down dock and do a little bit, a little bit of werk... nothing major... tidy a few cupboards out or [pause] check the fire cos we used to have coal fires in the cabins in them days, stoves, so you used to [pause] keep that going to

keep the dampness out the ship... cos with them being wooden ships, the moisture used the really take hold if yer didn't keep em warm... [pause] that was called 'working by'... you could go to the office then [pause] half past nine/ ten o'clock, and go get another fiver, from working by... [pause] and then you go back to the grocers, [pause] carry on [pause] carry on drinking til the pubs opened and then you'd all get together and you'd be off down Freeman Street, or wherever, start yer drinking and start yer day... [long pause]

I: How long was drinking part of fishing culture or was it something that has always been? Kinda thing...

P: It's, it's always been part of the lifestyle... because on the deep sea trawlers, you used to get a rum ration every day, [pause] and [pause] and what some people used to do, what you used to do is go up to the bridge... see the Captain, Skipper... and you'd take yer cup with yer and he would fill that with rum. [pause] yeah, basically it was to keep yer warm in the winter months... keep the chill off... and he would give you the full mug... he'd just fill it up, and what a lot of people used to do was take it away, pour it into a bottle, save it and then they'd have a party. [pause] so some skippers started making you drink it in front of 'em... so you'd stand there mug that size {imitates size of mug} full of lambs rum... and they'd watch you drink it and they'd wanna have a look and make sure its empty... it created alcoholics, the job it does, it creates alcoholics... [pause] that's part of the culture, it's always been part of the culture [pause] drinking...

I: Is that why then fisherman used to have a bad reputation as alcoholics, it was just something that everyone did, like it was never seen as a taboo?

P: Yeah, always had bad name because... {PW: unintelligible} yeah, you'd never see us sober [pause] and then of course [pause] you'd be drinking and then [pause] fights would start... over various reasons [pause] so that's how fishermen got a bad name, but I mean, what people didn't understand was [long pause] the fisherman spends most of his life at sea working twenty hours a day [pause] and then he got three/four days to make up for that time he's lost... so within that three or four days he's home, he's got three weeks living to make up for [pause] so, it doesn't take, take a genius to work out that [pause] there're not actually drinking anymore then somebody else whose spread their drinking out over the course of three weeks... just that they've done it in three days, we used to do it in three days, then you'd be a sea again. [long pause]

P: That's where they got the nickname from, 'three-day millionaire' [long pause] cos you always had plenty of money, and you, you {mumbled} treat people, friends, even strangers [pause] you useda, Riby Square, lot of the old Plonkies, up there,

waiting for yer to come off the dock and they'd be asking yer, can yer spare, spare a £1, a £1, yeah, yeah, yeah [pause] {sniff} and that went on fer all my career that, over twenty odd years I was fishing... it was common practice... I mean it used to be four of us really close together, and we used to treat each other [pause] if one was out of work or if one us had a bad trip, then the other three would look after 'em. [long pause] that was a common thing amongst fisherman as well, you always looked after each other [long pause].

P: But the drinking culture, that was common, that was normal... [pause] you would err... sail with one Skipper, and [pause] and all the food would come to the ship delivered by the grocer, and they'd be a usually a case of beer each, and a bottle of spirits each. Once we put up, once I'd put all the food away and everything, he would say, oh [pause] we'll sup this, and if the dock gates are still open, when we've finished this, we'll go to sea... if the gates shut before we finish this then we'll go back to the pub. That mean that's three of yer there, there's three cases of beer usually, there'd be twenty-four cans in a case in them days, and a litre of spirits each... and you would sup that, and the gates used to be open two hours before high water til two hours after... so they'd only be open four hours, I mean trying to sup three cases of beer and three litres of spirits in less than four hours, makes a right mess of yer.

Part 3:

P: If you wasn't fishing you'd be doing something else, and if so you'd do the same job again the next day... just for the sake of giving you something to do... nobody ever liked to see idle hands, they didn't like to see people not working, 'specially young boys... [pause] so as time goes on and you get older, you get that mindset, so when [pause] you start taking young lads to sea with yer [pause] you try and enforce that mindset into them so yous do the same things, but and I mean, it didn't matter how you did it, you could use a much violence as you liked... to get them to do what you wanted you to do [pause] I mean I've been, I was mate in a ship, and we had a young lad with us, only 16/17, and he, he just refused to work, so the bunks were built into the side of the cabin and they'd be covered in, and they'd just be a small hole, that you could crawl into and you, be about the size of this couch {3ft ish}. But imagine its just enclosed, it be about that high {gesticulates 1 ½ - 2ft high}, with your mattress in, maybe not even as wide as this couch... just wide enough to lay on your back, or on your side and er, he decided [pause] he wasn't going to work, so I got meself some fish room boards, wooden boards, what we used to carry... they were about three feet long, some six inch nails and I nailed him in there... [pause] I just left him in, kept him in, and... nailed the entrance shut, with some boards, just left him there... for a few days. And once he'd been sleeping

in his own mess, cos I wouldn't let him out to go to the toilet or nothing... wouldn't feed him [pause] so after a few days, yeah alright I'll work now, that's how you used to get them to work, it was done to me, done to just about everyone, everybody. If you turned round 'n said, you weren't gonna work, or you didn't feel like it... things like that were going to happen to yer. I mean [pause] another favourite trick was chucking buckets of water in yer bunk, if you were laying in there an the alarm went off 2am every morning regardless, you as the youngster has to be the first one out, it would be your job to put the kettle on, make cups of tea for everybody... stoke the fire, so the cabin is all nice and warm [pause] and then, probably about 2:30am you would get the rest of the crew out, you would wake them up [pause] take the skipper his cup of tea, you'd say good morning to 'im, give him his cup of tea [long pause] and if erm, one yer decided one morning oh I want to lay in [pause] you'd get the bucket of water over yer, or something. It was a wicked life fer young lads.

I: Did everyone go through the same thing? Every, sort of, person, similar experiences?

P: Basically, I mean, things like that were, were a common occurrence, I mean especially, not everybodies made fer that job, it doesn't suit 'em, a lot of 'em. So after a few days, so they wanna go home and be with their Mam, you'd have them crying for their mother, you know, maybe cos they're seasick all the time.

Part 4:

I: Was there any animosity between people from different countries? Would you go down to the pub together?

P: That's it yeah, no, I mean, there was always animosity, err used to get it with the Icelandic's, because of the Cod Wars, err... there was never any animosity between the Danes and the, the Englishmen, always used to get on well together [pause] erm, [pause] that Skipper I was leased out too, he was from a town in Denmark called Fredricks-haven, and they were renowned over there for being funny-buggers, really awkward, they grow up like it, its in their blood, they're nasty people, from that town... [long pause] really not nice people, I'm not a big lover of the Dutch either, but that's another story... ..Danes, Norwegians, fine with...

I: Political sphere regarding 'jobs being taken' in relation to those from other countries.

P: We would go to Denmark, and take jobs on Danish ships in Denmark, they would come 'ere, take jobs on English ships, there were never any problems there, there was none of this [pause] job thing, the odd one or two under a drink, oh you took my job, they would start fighting, you took my mates job, he hadn't taken his mates

job, his mate had got the sack for some reason, he turned up and he got the job [pause] its not as though he stabbed him in the back, worked him out, it happened, the fella got the sack, and he took whatever was there... there was never any animosity there, between nations, no... that never existed, not in my circle anyway... it never. Most of the ships I sailed on, they were nearly all Danish skippers.

PW: You're from a Danish family as well.

P: I'm from a Danish family, I've got family in Denmark, now to this day, err so its never an issue... and I mean [pause] we used to see all sorts, we used to get people from the southern end of the country, Cornwall, Cornishmen coming up to Grimsby for jobs, or [pause] Fleetwood, Scottish, be a little bit of animosity there... that was just, you're a jock I hate yer, same as Yorkies... There was always a thing between Grimsby and Hull, because they were both [pause] competitive, err because Grimsby was, in the 70's, Grimsby was the biggest fishing port in the world, Hull didn't like that...

I: We were quite famous for our fish, weren't we?

P: Yeah, and that created animosity, between [pause] them in 'ull and us, and they got this silver cod thing, so certain Skippers their, their annual earnings, whatever the ship had earnt for the year, the top earner would get what you called the Silver Cod, it was a trophy... we never had anything like that, here... and that was just summat that they could brag about, 'ooh yeah I've been with a Silver Cod Skipper', all that lot, its rubbish yer know, that's Yorkies for 'em, they like to brag about things [pause]

I: What do you think of the decline in the fishing in Grimsby?

P: It's terrible, I never thought it would happen in my lifetime, I expected to spend my days [pause] all my days fishing, I never expected it to change... [long pause] even up to me stopping in '94.

Part 5:

P: Finding a job in them days wasn't difficult, you could walk out of one job and get another job in ten minutes [pause] as long as you had a good name, a good reputation... you never had an issue finding work, you was only out of work if you wanted to be [pause] for any length of time [pause] unless you done summat wrong or one of the offices decided to give yer what they call the 'walk-about'... and they would refuse to give you a job, pass yer round all the other companies, and they wouldn't employ you either, for a set amount of time like a couple of weeks or a month or depending on how bad you'd been, what you'd done, and that was called a 'walk-about'. [long pause] you'd never be told you'd got it but after a few days

you would err, it would sink that's what had happened... because you'd go to the office, ask the cashier, usually it was the cashier you spoke too, and you'd ask 'im, "any jobs going today?" and normally they'd say, "oh yeah, we've got this ship, this ship, this ship", but if they give you walk-about, they'd just turn round and say "nah, nah we ain't got any, nought today", so you'd walk round all the other offices and they'd all be saying the same thing... so after a day or two you'd get it into your head, oh well, I've upset somebody 'ere, and I ain't gonna get a job... It might last a week, it might last a month... but generally it was only a few days, and then the... just the office flexing their muscles sort of thing, showing their authority a little bit... that's all that was.

I: Is reputation quite important then?

P: It was {I: like one of the big...} massive, if you had a bad name, you'd never get a job [pause] you'd struggle, and... all the companies, on the dock... they all knew who had good names, who had bad names [pause] people with bad names were at the bottom of the list for any kind of a job, they were the bottom of the barrel... they would 'ave to pass in with the Skipper, and the Skipper must have to be desperate enough to wanna go to sea... he couldn't get anybody, he take one of these.

I: What was the sort of things that would get you in that position?

P: Err [pause] a few, refusing to work, err... jumping ships, not turning up for sailing, err... what some of the runners would do, if they were looking for men they'd go round the pubs... The Humber, The Albion, Kent, Cotties, all down Freeman Street, looking for people that ain't new, to see if they had a job or not, if they never had a job we'll give you a fiver so this afternoon or tonight, or in the morning, a fiver like I said to you before was a lot of money, you can go out all day on a fiver, so they say yeah, take the £5, and then not turn up. Just go up the piss with the fiver, have a party, and then the next day, wouldn't turn up, so eventually they'd get bad names that way.

Part 6:

P: There was all sorts of things that could give you a good name/bad name, people soon got to learn, and if your name was bad enough... you couldn't even get a job at all [pause] you would have to move to a different, a different town... [long pause] which did happen a few people... they'd gone through every ship in the fleet, eventually had to leave town to get a job [pause] they were forced to look in different parts of the country, most would either go to Scotland... or down south to Cornwall, somewhere where nobody knew them... to start their career again [pause] others leave the country and go to Denmark or Holland and start work over there [pause]

I: So, could someone's name be ruined by, so to speak someone else or would it literally just be through their own actions?

P: Nine times out of ten it was usually their own faults... but you did get the occasional one where [pause] people had lied about their reputation, said they'd done summat they hadn't actually done... that soon got around, like err {cough} a Skipper might accuse you of falling asleep on watch when you were streaming, travelling to the fishing ground or travelling to where ever, and he caught you asleep... That was a big no, no... obviously for safety reasons as you're the only one in charge of the ship, if you're asleep anything could hit yer... It had been known one or two Skippers were willing to tell lies about people [pause] if they wanted to get rid of them... or if they didn't like them for some reason...

Part 7:

P: Where are they going to get the men from? The experienced men from? And the knowledge... that's gone now... [pause] there is very few at my age what's left... they {I: May I ask how old you are?} I'm 58. We lost a generation now at least, one or two generations anyway... of knowledge. Its alright having a industry but if you've got nobody who knows, because... the fishing industry in itself is a unique industry because it works with nature... you can't control nature, but you can learn how it works... so you can learn, educate yourself to the movements of the fish, where they like to be, what depth in the water they wanna be, and it gets very, very technical... just on a simple basis [long pause].

P: The government said, "well no, you're classed as an unskilled worker" [pause] "so we don't have to give you redundancy", and then some people got together with some lawyers [pause] convinced the government you're not an unskilled worker because, you cant just walk off the street into that job and be expected to do everything without being trained to do everything... because you know nothing, not how to read a compass, cant mend a net, can't splice ropes, splice wires, kill fish, you process it, ice it, can't do anything, cos you don't know it. So yer have to be trained to a certain level [pause] and I think that's how... they... could use the argument that you's a skilled worker not an unskilled worker, because of the knowledge you actually need to know to do your job properly...

P: When people refused to go to sea, even up to me leaving, they got themselves a bad name jumping ships, finding it progressively and progressively harder and harder to get another job because yer name and your reputation preceded yer... not matter what office you could walk round, every office on the dock [pause] soon as you mentioned your name... because you would go into the office knock on the wicket... the first thing they'd say is what your name? Tell 'em yer name and if

you've got a bad name then there was no jobs. You had a good name, there would be jobs all day long, that was the difference... and you could go from office to office and if you had a bad name it didn't take you long before you couldn't get a job out of here. I know one or two people been through every ship in the fleet and have to leave town in the end. {moved around the UK because they couldn't get jobs in Grimsby} (Aberdeen, Lowestoft etc) sometimes your name could already be known there, either for a good reason or bad reason... other times it wouldn't be, if you went down there, it didn't take long for the word to spread if there was already people from Grimsby down there,

Appendix 2: Questionnaire Questions

1) Do you accept to be part of research regarding fulfilment of a dissertation?
2) Age: including, 40's - 50's, 50's - 60's, 60's - 70's
3) Where have you travelled (if you have) in the UK as a fisherman?
4) What are good traits for a fisherman?
5) In your opinion, what is the worst crime amongst fisherman within the fishing industry?
6) What does reputation mean to you? Is it important and how?
7) What would affect someone's reputation?
8) Do you think that having a positive reputation increases a persons' chance of finding work aboard a fishing vessel?
9) Do you think reputation influences social standing?
10) Any other comments regarding this topic area?

Appendix 3: Newspaper Clippings

These are also within the reference list.

14 THE NEWS - Wednesday, February 4, 1970

TOWE MA... WHO ADDED TO GRIMSBY

'BUNNY' NEWTON

The sixties was not a memorable decade for Grimsby's fishing industry. Fewer ships sailed from the port, the fish markets slumped and, as everyone agreed, the standard of crews declined notably.

In 1967, however, one incident brought the port, and in particular one of its outstanding skipper, world-wide fame. That occasion was when 'Bunny' Newton, regarded by some as 'l'enfant terrible' of Grimsby's fishing fleet, was arrested by an Icelandic gunboat only to escape during the night from a heavily guarded Reykjavik harbour.

His trawler, the Brandur, was arrested for a second time later that day but by this time Bunny's escapades had won him fame wherever man earns his living from the sea. Even the Icelandic people saw the funny side of a tiny British trawler - complete with two Icelandic policemen - slipping out of their main port under the guns of two naval vessels.

Bunny still has to laugh when he thinks of that day. It was a memorable one, certainly, but was only one of a series in his career - an one of the most colourful trawler skippers ever to sail from Grimsby.

He "swallowed the anchor" almost two years ago and now, among other business interests, runs the bingo on Cleethorpes Pier and has a half share in a Grimsby trawler.

His career reads like an adventure story. During the 29 years he spent at sea - twenty-two of them as one of Grimsby's most successful trawler skippers - he earned a reputation as a man who feared nothing. He treated the killer Arctic ice and the gunboats of half a dozen nations in the same way - they were all there to be beaten.

His grandfather and his father were both trawler skippers who sailed from Grimsby and therefore, it was the natural thing for him to do to choose the sea as a career.

He first went to sea at the age of sixteen. That was during the war and, apart from a couple of trips in convoys to the United States, he was a deckie serving in the handful of trawlers still fishing from Grimsby.

Those were hazardous days. One of the trawlers he served in was among three ships attacked by a German bomber off Iceland. The attack crippled the only neutral ship in the trio, an Icelandic cargo vessel which was later towed to safety by a fluit trawler.

'Nose' for fish

When the war ended he carried on in the Grimsby fishing fleet and by the time he reached the age of

21 he had gained his skipper's ticket.

At first he acted as relief skipper but it was not long before he was given his first command. For the rest of his career he always sailed as skipper, a tribute not only to his ability as a seaman but also to his uncanny 'nose' for fish.

The success he brought for the owners of the ships he sailed, the crews that served under him and himself he attributes to the experience he gained as a deckie working with Lawrence Ford and Ted Little who, in their day, were Grimsby's top skippers.

that a message came through from the bridge saying there was a Russian gunboat approaching.

"They opened fire on us immediately and we stopped. They took us to Vladimír, a Finnish port they had taken over. We were there for about three days while they questioned us."

"The first thing they wanted was any camera equipment we had on board. We hadn't got anything like that. They took all but one of our code books and sealed up the radio room so we didn't have a chance to let anyone know we had been arrested."

Borrowed gear

"Then they took us to Murmansk when I had to appear in court. It was a woman judge and the trial lasted three days. They were very fair and I was found guilty as I expected. I would be. I didn't see my counsel until the day of the trial, not that it mattered really because I knew I hadn't much of a chance of getting away with it."

They confiscated our gears and our warps were taken as well. We told them we must have our warps in case we had an emergency at sea. What they really wanted to do was to spoil our trip but after we left we borrowed some warps from a trawler on its way home and we had quite a successful trip.

"The Russians offered us provisions but the prices were so outrageous we refused. We had provisioned in Norway so we didn't gash."

It was during the trawler's enforced stay in Murmansk that Bunny organised his first daring tilt at authority.

When the trawler was arrested the Russians put a dozen guards - all with fixed bayonets - on board.

"It was freezing, there was black frost on the ship, but they had some of these guards on deck. We had to have a laugh about it. all

fixed bayonets on a small British trawler.

"Going down the Kola Inlet we were stopped and checked every mile. It was a big naval base at the time and they had one or two big cruisers about. They didn't want us to see too much."

"When we got to Murmansk the guards were taken off the ship but put on the quayside."

"No one knew we had been captured. They had dismantled our transmitter but we weren't mentioned. I had heard of ships disappearing before and I wondered at the time if this was how they ended up."

"They had put a seal on the wireless room door and they told me that if it was interfered with it would mean five years in

a camp for me. This seal was a bit of card and some sealing wax but we did find we could open the door a few inches without breaking it."

"It was only after we had been there three days that we remembered that the transmitter batteries would need charging up. Then we thought about getting a message out because the Russians hadn't let anyone know they had arrested us. I suppose the people in England thought we were sitting on top of a lovely big fish shop and were not saying much about it."

"We had a wireless operator character called Haggis on board that trip. When the Russians had taken the code books they had left one very important one behind."

"We got a long pole and shoved it through this opening in the door to flick the switch to start charging the batteries."

Off the hinges

"We had an arrangement with the engine room for them to knock the charging switch off if the Russians decided to come on board, as they were in a habit of doing, so that they wouldn't see the light that comes on when you're charging your batteries."

"When the batteries were charged up, we took the door off on its hinges on the left - hand side. The

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NEWTON, Bunny

Fishermen called Bunny 'The Beast'



The BUNNY NEWTON
EPISODE TWO
Story

1924 - 1991

Reports and research by
Evening Telegraph
staff reporter
JACINTA TOWNSEND



Bunny and Kay on their wedding day in 1945.

A TEENAGE Bunny Newton sailed out of Grimsby for the first time in 1941 — and into a career which would make him a legend among trawlermen the world over.

When he went to sea at 16, an age when most other boys were content to play football in the park, he sailed to oceans haunted by German U-boats and mines.

Even the fishermen of Grimsby could not escape from the perils of the Second World War. To add to the danger trawler crews were on constant lookout for German planes and submarines all eager to add another vessel to their casualty list.

These were troubled times — but there was never a moment that Bunny Newton left like quitting.

Father and grandfather had both been fishermen and it was natural for him to want to follow in the Newton family's seafaring traditions.

He did meet with opposition from his father, John Newton, who had experienced first-hand the harsh reality of life at sea.

John Newton died at sea while serving with the Royal Navy during the war. Four of his sons followed in his footsteps and obtained their skipper tickets.

Bunny Newton was to go on to spend 37 years as a fisherman — and he kept the strictest rules to the end.

His crews were always personally hand-picked, discipline was strict — causing many of those who sailed with him to call him "The Beast".

It was not a name given with great affection, but Bunny Newton did not care.

He was at sea for one reason and one reason only — to catch fish and make a fortune.

And in his book if making a fortune meant you sometimes had to be harsh then so be it.

In later years when he was celebrating the opening of Bunny's Club in Grant Street, Cleethorpes, he recalled those days.

"We went to sea to make a killing every trip," he said.

"Where some other skippers would pack up when they had enough fish to make a profit, I always kept on working."

"Some skippers doing well at the grounds, would stop to have a drink with their crews, but mine was a tee-total ship except for the odd tot of rum in really bad weather, and when the work was over."

"This was the difference between real success and just running a ship that made a living for the crew and the owners, and kept them in the black."

During the war when his basic wage was a few bob plus a share of the trawler's poundage, Bunny's life was one of hard work.

His first deep sea trawler was the Coniston where he was signed on as a deckie fireman.

But after losing more than a stone in weight shovelling coal he decided that the boiler room was not the job for him.

Luck was on his side. He found a berth on Grimsby's top-earning trawler of the time — The Voles.

Bunny stayed with her throughout the war, serving as a deckie-gunner and learning the trade of a fisherman inside out.

Ashore, Bunny met the women who were to be his wife for 47 years.

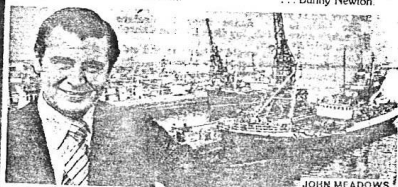
He met Kathleen Hilda Reed, an orphan who had been brought up by a Grimsby trawlerman and his wife, while she worked as a ticket clipper on the Grimsby trolley buses.

Kathleen was swept off her feet by the 6ft trawler deckhand — and they were married in 1945 when she was just 19 years-old and he was 21.

For 25 years of their marriage the Newtons lived at 159 Waltham Road, Grimsby. The house has five bedrooms and two acres of garden.

One of the bedrooms was converted into a den for Bunny.

Throughout his turbulent marriage Bunny was renowned to have had several affairs with other women. The most notorious of these was with the daughter of a close friend who died in a car being driven by Bunny Newton.



JOHN MEADOWS

'He was so full of devilment'

JOHN Meadows worked alongside Bunny Newton on Icelandic fishing trips, but he never sailed with him.

"He was full of mischief." "I would never call Bunny Newton a bad man. He hated lazy people and he detested "wiffers", lazy crew members.

"If he had any crew members who were shy of work, he hated them and made it known too."

"He had to be tough, because fishing at that time was a tough business."

"If a skipper was easy going — he was not a skipper for very long."

"I never sailed with him."

"We got on well together because we are like each other. We both loved devilment and loved a joke."

"I was at sea when I heard that he had been killed. It took a while for the news to filter through and nobody was

aware of what had happened."

"Then we were told that Bunny had been shot. I could not believe my ears. It was all such a shock."

"Everybody called Bunny 'The Beast'. If he hadn't have been he would not have survived at sea it is as simple as that."

"I do not think he was a violent man, because he was so full of devilment."

"You had to be tough at sea. It is a demanding life."

"Bunny did not allow people to shirk while on board one of his vessels. Being at sea was hard work."

John attended Junior Nautical School in Victoria Street in Grimsby from being 12.

He went for two hours every night from Monday through to Friday. Just before his 15th birthday John went away to sea for the first time.

Appendix 4: Photos of Fishermen and Ships

Photos provided by Mr T.



Appendix 5: Ethics and Consent Forms



PRIFYSGOL CYMRU
Y Drindod Dewi Sant
UNIVERSITY OF WALES
Trinity Saint David

E3 FORM

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL – BA level

CAIS AM GYMERADWYAETH MOESEGOL – Lefel BA

Mae'r ffurflen hon i'w chwblhau gan bob BA myfyrwr. Rhaid i bob ffurflen gael ei ystyried gan diwtor y modiwl.

Dylai un copi o'r ffurflen yn cael ei roi ar y ffeiliau Gyfadrn ac un copi cadw ar y ffeil myfyrwr.

This form is to be completed by all BA students conducting research, projects or productions. This form should be completed by the student. All forms must be considered by the Module tutor. A copy of the form must be kept centrally and on the student file.

ADRAN 1 – MANYLION MYFYRIWR

SECTION 1 - STUDENT DETAILS

Enw Llawn Full Name	Deanna Marie Iris Inkson
------------------------	--------------------------

Ysgol/Cyfadrn/ School/Faculty	AHA	Rhif Myfyriwr Student Number	1501210
Cydlynnydd prosiect / Tiwtor Module Tutor/ Programme Co-ordinator	Luci Attala	Enw'r Gradd Name of Degree	BA Anthropology

Teitl dangosol yr Traethawd Hir:

Indicative Title of Dissertation:

Reputation as Currency

ADRAN 2 – MANYLION CYFRANOGWYR / SECTION 2 - PARTICIPANT / CYNULLEIDFA AUDIENCE DETAILS

Pwy yw'r cyfranogwyr arfaethedig?	Who are the intended participants?	Ydw / Yes	Na / No
Myfyrwyr / staff Y Drindod Dewi Sant	Students / staff of Trinity Saint David		x
Oedolion (dros oed 16 ac yn gymwys i gydsynio)	Adults (over the age of 16 and competent to give consent)	x	
Plant a phobl ifanc dan oed	Children / legal minors		x
Cleifion neu gleientiaid gweithwyr proffesiynol	Patients or clients of professionals		x
Rhywun sy'n cael ei gadw yn y ddalfa neu y mae'r llys wedi cymryd cyfrifoldeb amdano	Anyone in custodial care or for whom the court has assumed responsibility		x
Aelod o unrhyw sefydliad lle mae'n bosibl bod angen i unigolyn arall hefyd gydsynio.	A member of any organisation where another individual may also need to give consent.		x
Eraill: Nodwch: / Others: please identify:			
Nifer, Oed a Ffynhonnell y Cyfranogwyr		Participant / Audience Number and Age	

Rhowch fanylion yr demograffeg y cyfranogwyr / gynulleidfa.		Provide details of the demographics of the participants / audience.
Nifer o Gyfranogwyr / yn y Gynulleidfa	Participant/ Audience number	1-5
Grŵp oedran y Cyfranogwyr/y Gynulleidfa	Participant/ Audience age group	40 years of age or older

ADRAN 3 – GWEITHGAREDD YMCHWIL SECTION 3 – RESEARCH ACTIVITY

1.	Ydy'r prosiect yn cynnwys:	Does the project include:	Ydy / Yes	Nac ydy/N o
	Defnyddio holiadur neu offeryn ymchwil tebyg	Use of questionnaire or similar research instrument	x	
	Defnyddio prawf ysgrifenedig neu gyfrifiadurol	Use of written or computerised test		x
	Cyfweliad (cysylltwch gwestiynau posibl)	Interview (attach provisional questions)		x
	Dyddiaduron	Diaries	x	
	Arsylwi ar gyfranogwyr a hwythau'n ymwybodol o hynny	Participant observation with their knowledge	x	
	Arsylwi ar gyfranogwyr a hwythau ddim yn ymwybodol o hynny	Participant observation without their knowledge		x
	Recordio fideo neu sain	Video or audio-taping	x	
	Mynediad i wybodaeth bersonol neu gyfrinachol heb gydsyniad penodol y cyfranogwyr	Access to personal or confidential information without the participants specific consent		x

Defnyddio unrhyw gwestiynau, ysgogiadau prawf, cyflwyniad y gallai rhai cyfranogwyr eu profi fel rhywbeth sy'n achosi niwed / tramgwydd corfforol, meddyliol neu emosiynol	Administration of any questions, test stimuli, presentation that may be experienced as physically, mentally or emotionally harmful / offensive		x
Cyflawni unrhyw weithredoedd allai achosi embaras neu effeithio ar hunan-barch	Performance of any acts which may cause embarrassment or affect self-esteem		x
Ymchwilio i gyfranogwyr sy'n ymwneud â gweithgareddau anghyfreithlon	Investigation of participants involved in illegal activities		x
Gweithdrefnau lle defnyddir twyll	Procedures that involve deception		x
Gweini unrhyw sylwedd, cyfrwng neu blasebo	Administration of any substance, agent or placebo		x
Dull arall o gasglu data neu fformat cyflwyno (esboniwch)	Other method of data collection or presentation format (please explain)		x

2.	Restru eich dull o gasglu data	List your method of data collection:
Diaries – written by myself of my experiences with participant observation, recording of conversations with participants for my own note taking (participants will be notified).		

3.	Risg Posibl: (corfforol, seicolegol, cyfreithiol, cymdeithasol neu economaidd)	Potential Risk: (physical, psychological, legal, social or economic)			
A oes unrhyw risg bosibl i:		Is there any potential risk to:	Ydw Yes	/	Na No
A	Cyfranogwyr?	Participants?			x
B	Ymchwilydd?	Researcher?			x

C	BrifYsgol/Cyfadrn?	University?		x
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4.	Rheoli Risg: Os oes, beth yw'r risg a sut y bydd yn cael ei reoli?	Management of Risk: If yes, what is the risk and how will it be managed?
To prevent any risks, I will be adhering to the ASA Guidelines; http://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf		

5.	Os ydych yn delio â phlant a / neu oedolion agored i niwed, rhaid i chi gyflwyno eich tystysgrif DBS i'ch tiwtor goruchwylio i'w cymeradwyo cyn i unrhyw gysylltiad â cyfranogwyr hyn.	If you are dealing with children and/ or vulnerable adults you must present your DBS certificate to your supervising tutor for approval before any contact with these participants.		
		Ydw / Yes	Na / No	
A	Ydych chi wedi gwneud cais am dystysgrif DBS?	Have you applied for a DBS certificate?		x
B	A yw eich tiwtor weld a'i gadarnhau eich tystysgrif DBS?	Has your tutor seen and approved your DBS certificate?		x

6.	A fyddwch yn cael cydsyniad gwybodus ysgrifenedig gan eich cyfranogwyr?	Will you obtain written informed consent from your participants?		
		Ydw / Yes	Na / No	
A	Os na fyddwch, pam hynny?	If no, why not?	x	
B	Os byddwch, sut byddwch yn sicrhau cydsyniad gwybodus?	If yes, how will you secure informed consent?		

Rhowch eglurhad / Please explain: I will secure confirmed consent both orally and via a consent form.	
Cynhwyswch gopi o'r ffurflen gydsynio os ydych yn defnyddio un.	Please include a copy of the consent form if you are using one.

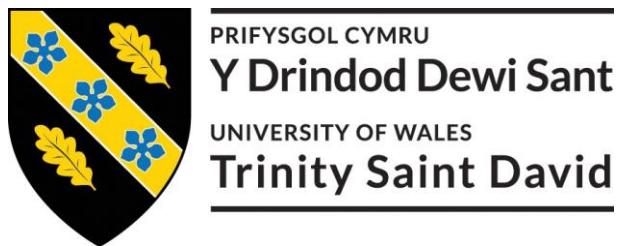
ADRAN 4		SECTION 4	
CEFNOGWYD /APPROVED	X	NIS CEFNOGWYD/ NOT SUPPORTED	
Datganiad Mae'r wybodaeth a gynhwysir yma yn gywir, hyd eithaf fy ngwybodaeth a'm cred. Rwyf wedi ceisio dynodi unrhyw risgiau a phroblemau sy'n gysylltiedig â'r prosiect / ymchwil neu gynhyrchiad ac rwyf yn cydnabod f'ymrwymiadau innau a hawliau'r cyfranogwyr.		Declaration The information contained herein is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate. I have attempted to identify any risks and issues related to the project/research or production and acknowledge my obligations and the rights of the participants.	

Llofnodau Dylai'r ffurflen hon gael ei chwblhau a'i llofnodi gan y myfyriwr a'r Cydlynnydd y prosiect /Twitor	Signatures Luci Attala: Deanna Inkson This form should be completed and signed by the student and the Module tutor/Programme Co-ordinator.
---	---

Myfyriwr / Student	Dyddiad: / Date:
Deanna Inkson	01/05/2017

Cydlynnydd y prosiect /Twitor	Dyddiad: / Date:
Project co-ordinator / Tutor	20/05/2017
Luci Attala	

This was provided as a physical copy.



Cyfranogwr Rhif Adnabod:

Participant Identification
Number:

FFURFLEN GANIATÂD CYFRANOGIAD

PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

TEITL Y PROSIECT: / PROJECT TITLE: Reputation as Currency

Name of Researcher: Deanna Inkson

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated **25/07/2017** for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team.

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations. Unless I formally choose to do so.

☐

5. I agree to take part in the above research.

☐

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

You may decline to participate in this study. You may end your participation in this study at any time. If you decide to remain anonymous, maintaining your anonymity will be a priority and every practical precaution will be taken to disguise your identity. If you prefer anonymity, there will not be any identifying information on audiotapes or transcripts of this or any interview. No-one will hear any audiotapes or see any transcripts without your prior consent. All materials generated from this or any interview will remain confidential.

When completed, please return in the envelope provided (if applicable). One copy will be given to the participant and the original to be kept in the file of the research team at: **PLACE: University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter, SA48 7ED**

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B - <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nepotism>

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