



UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

Sailing Through Life

Experiencing Difference Within Mutuality on Tall Ships

Montse Pijoan Vives

ADVERTIMENT. La consulta d'aquesta tesi queda condicionada a l'acceptació de les següents condicions d'ús: La difusió d'aquesta tesi per mitjà del servei TDX (www.tdx.cat) i a través del Dipòsit Digital de la UB (diposit.ub.edu) ha estat autoritzada pels titulars dels drets de propietat intel·lectual únicament per a usos privats emmarcats en activitats d'investigació i docència. No s'autoritza la seva reproducció amb finalitats de lucre ni la seva difusió i posada a disposició des d'un lloc aliè al servei TDX ni al Dipòsit Digital de la UB. No s'autoritza la presentació del seu contingut en una finestra o marc aliè a TDX o al Dipòsit Digital de la UB (framing). Aquesta reserva de drets afecta tant al resum de presentació de la tesi com als seus continguts. En la utilització o cita de parts de la tesi és obligat indicar el nom de la persona autora.

ADVERTENCIA. La consulta de esta tesis queda condicionada a la aceptación de las siguientes condiciones de uso: La difusión de esta tesis por medio del servicio TDR (www.tdx.cat) y a través del Repositorio Digital de la UB (diposit.ub.edu) ha sido autorizada por los titulares de los derechos de propiedad intelectual únicamente para usos privados enmarcados en actividades de investigación y docencia. No se autoriza su reproducción con finalidades de lucro ni su difusión y puesta a disposición desde un sitio ajeno al servicio TDR o al Repositorio Digital de la UB. No se autoriza la presentación de su contenido en una ventana o marco ajeno a TDR o al Repositorio Digital de la UB (framing). Esta reserva de derechos afecta tanto al resumen de presentación de la tesis como a sus contenidos. En la utilización o cita de partes de la tesis es obligado indicar el nombre de la persona autora.

WARNING. On having consulted this thesis you're accepting the following use conditions: Spreading this thesis by the TDX (www.tdx.cat) service and by the UB Digital Repository (diposit.ub.edu) has been authorized by the titular of the intellectual property rights only for private uses placed in investigation and teaching activities. Reproduction with lucrative aims is not authorized nor its spreading and availability from a site foreign to the TDX service or to the UB Digital Repository. Introducing its content in a window or frame foreign to the TDX service or to the UB Digital Repository is not authorized (framing). Those rights affect to the presentation summary of the thesis as well as to its contents. In the using or citation of parts of the thesis it's obliged to indicate the name of the author.

Doctoral Thesis

SAILING THROUGH LIFE

Experiencing Difference Within Mutuality on Tall Ships



Doctoral Candidate:

Montse Pijoan Vives

BA Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Barcelona

MSc Anthropology and Ethnography, University of Barcelona

Department of Social Anthropology

Faculty of Geography and History

University of Barcelona

February 2020



UNIVERSITAT DE
BARCELONA

Doctoral Thesis

SAILING THROUGH LIFE
Experiencing Difference Within Mutuality on Tall Ships

**A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Doctorate (PhD) in Social
Anthropology at the University of Barcelona.**

Montserrat Pijoan Vives

Supervisors/directors:

Joan Lluís Bestard Camps, University of Barcelona

Timothy Ingold, University of Aberdeen

Tutor: Oriol Beltran Costa

**Program EEES: HDK17 Society and Culture: History, Anthropology, Art
and Heritage.**

**Department of Social Anthropology
Faculty of Geography and History
University of Barcelona**

February 2020

Declaration

I, Montserrat Pijoan Vives, have composed this thesis, 'Sailing Through Life: Experiencing Difference Within Mutuality on Tall Ships'. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. It is based upon research I undertook myself. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and sources of information specifically acknowledged.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Montserrat Pijoan Vives', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

ABSTRACT

This study sets out to understand the experiences of young people as they undergo Sail Training aboard tall ships (i.e., traditional rigged sailing ships propelled exclusively by wind). It goes beyond current literature on the educational value of Sail Training by focusing on how youngsters actually experience sailing as a way of life. Many young people sense a tension between what they are expected to do, for themselves or their families, and what it feels like to live with everyday decisions. To find harmony in one's path of life, just like in sailing a ship, one must deal with these contrary forces. On board a tall ship, a manifold of lines is continually generating harmony by way of the tension imparted from the ropes to the sails, from the sails to the whole boat, and from any part of the boat to its crew members. Dwelling on board arises from within this tug of contrary forces. It is a creative dwelling since movement is a constant to which every element in the oceanic medium adjusts itself.

In the introduction, I establish the theoretical basis of the study in the maritime environment, in which sailing was practised long before the science of the West attempted to put the ocean under control as it had already done with the territorialisation of the land. To follow the history of the maritime environment and its inhabitants reveals a complex set of skills not only for building the boat as a craft, but also for staying afloat once at sea. Sailing on tall ships offers opportunities to become involved in this process in which, as in every society in past times, experts instruct novices in the course of working together.

In the first chapter, tall ships are presented as large sailing vessels that, like earlier craft, need permanent maintenance to remain seaworthy. To keep them so, some friendship races and regattas are organised by Sail Training International, with host ports using the fleet to hold heritage events. These events help to raise the funds to enable young people to participate. Chapter two describes how youngsters without previous experience of sailing, and amateurs including myself, enter this environment as crew members. In the process of becoming familiar with this environment, they get their sea legs. Chapter three shows how the craft, as a shelter affording movement and

perception, is both a home in which to stay afloat on the waves and a calming of the wind that, thanks to the sails, provides the required energy to glide the hull over the water. Chapter four describes the organisation on board, with its system of watches or work shifts. This seems simpler than life on land because one does not have to worry about anything other than the established routine. However, since one follows the same daily routines, an awareness of environmental changes emerges with the perception of non-human phenomena like wind, dolphins, waves, clouds and so on.

Crew members become sensitised to the ocean environment, to the others and to themselves when responsibilities on board are shared day and night. Attention at sea is existential, it is a matter of life and death, whereas on land it remains contingent on particular interests. At sea, the watch system leads to the development of a meshwork of relationships, described here as a *taskship*, a creative and trustworthy bonding which lasts for the duration of the voyage. The mutuality on board, discussed in chapter five, allows crew members to develop a sense of who they are while in the company of others. Thus the taskship is constitutive of dwelling on board. Optimal sailing is evidence of the quality of the relationships on board and vice versa, the quality of the relationships on board is shown through the best set of sails to get underway. Finally, in chapter six, it is shown that the wisdom and skills obtained in this ocean-sky world make the difference between an experience that is intentionally transformative for the young person undergoing it and a sailing experience that opens up to an understanding of life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents.....	iii
Table of Illustrations.....	vii
List of Tall Ships.....	xi
Acknowledgements.....	xiii
PREFACE.....	3
INTRODUCTION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF SAIL TRAINING.....	7
Introduction.....	7
An Ocean-Sky World, Smooth or Striated?.....	8
A Vanishing Art of Sailing.....	12
The Ocean Environment and Seafaring in Anthropology.....	16
Craftsmanship and Companionship in an Animated World.....	20
Youngsters on Tall Ships: Getting Skilled at Sea as a Way of Understanding Life.....	26
The Differentiated Character of Relationships during the Voyage.....	31
Chapter 1. CONTEXTUALISATION AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	39
Introduction.....	39
My First Contact with these Sailing Experiences.....	39
Contrasting Realities: Host Ports in Spain.....	44
Sail Training International.....	45
Tall Ships, Races and Regattas that have been Part of this Study.....	48
Outdoor Education: Origins and Literature Related to Sail Training.....	52
The Methodological Approach: Four Stages with Different Roles.....	58
. Stage One: My Own Experience.....	58
. Stage Two: Being a Mentor On Board.....	59
. Stage Three: Volunteering as the Spanish Youth Coordinator.....	63
. Stage Four: An Atlantic Crossing as a Researcher in Sail Training.....	70
Conclusion: Living On Board, Getting to Know the Others.....	76
Chapter 2. GETTING YOUR SEA LEGS: SETTING A ROUTINE AT SEA.....	79
Introduction.....	79
My Own First Experience.....	82
From Funding to Getting On Board.....	87
Welcome Aboard.....	91
Setting a Routine On Board.....	93
The Watch System goes together with the Meals On Board.....	100
Setting Sail: A Bundle of Emotions and Fears.....	104
Seasickness and Vomiting.....	110
The Boat as an Extension of the Body.....	114
Getting Your Sea Legs.....	117

Comparing the Boat with a Womb.....	120
Conclusion.....	123
Chapter 3. TO INHABIT THE OPEN: THE BOAT AS A SHELTER.....	127
Introduction.....	127
Inhabiting the Sea.....	130
The Boat as a Place on the Move.....	133
The Boat as a Shelter.....	135
Temporary Home, Time Machine.....	139
The Politics of Place.....	144
Of Knots and Relationships.....	147
Experiencing the Boat's Environment.....	151
Storms at Sea: Of Lows, Squalls and Microbursts.....	157
Building Personhood in a Band of Fellows.....	162
A Transformational Power.....	165
A Place for the Soul.....	169
Conclusion.....	170
Chapter 4. PERFORMING EXISTENTIAL ATTENTION TO THE TASKSHIP IN AN OCEAN-SKY WORLD: A WAY TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS ON BOARD.....	173
An Ocean-Sky World: Seafaring Between Corporeal and Operative Attentionality.....	173
Taskship and the Shape of the Boat.....	178
Life at Sea and the Sea Environment:	181
. The Environment in Relation to Me.....	181
. The Environment is Never Complete: Wayfinding or Seafaring.....	185
. The Environment Continually Comes Into Being.....	191
Characteristics of the Taskship.....	193
. Shared Responsibilities	
. Tasks Synchronizing the Same Rhythm	
. Time by Yourself	
Sea versus Land: Impressed Memories of the Sea.....	196
The Quality of Relationships On Board: To Voyage in Place with Other Human and Non-Human Beings.....	201
The Effects of this Spatio-Temporal-Energetic Phenomenon.....	206
. No Institutionalised Schooling, Learning by Movement.....	206
. Magical Experience for Minors.....	208
. No Disabilities On Board.....	209
Conclusion.....	212
Chapter 5. MUTUALITY OF SAILING: A KIND OF KINSHIP.....	215
Sail Training and Sea Culture in Different Environments.....	215
The Kin Substance: Mutual Attention and Memory.....	219
Co-residence and Shared Resources.....	223

The Boat and Its Extended Relationships: Womblike Hollowness.....	228
The Boat is In-Between: Mutuality of Sailing.....	232
Womblike Hollowness: The Story of the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	235
Mutuality Beyond Individuality.....	241
The Experience of Mutuality by the Trainees and Their Diagrams of Relationships.....	244
. Group Diagrams.....	250
. Keeping the Same Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams.....	251
. Transitional Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams.....	254
. Drawing Themselves as a Boat in Post-Voyage Diagrams.....	255
. ‘Ship Family’ with <i>Mana</i> and Honour of Work.....	258
Conclusion.....	263
Chapter 6. WISDOM AND SKILLS AT SEA.....	267
Hoisting Sails to Get Underway.....	267
The Difference Between Lived Correspondences On Board and Re-Presentations of Knowledge.....	271
Knowing From the Inside.....	276
Getting to know the <i>Wylde Swan</i> :.....	281
a. The Sails.....	281
b. Parts of the Latin Sail.....	284
c. Names, Settings and Actions of the Lines.....	284
d. Square Sails.....	287
e. Other Elements on Deck.....	288
Being Creative with the Rigging: A Game of Correspondences.....	290
Skills of Navigation: This is the point between the Major and the Minor.....	293
From Mapmaking and Assemblages to Correspondences.....	298
From Western Skills of Navigation to Maps.....	301
From the Modern Educational System to Learning Skills of Navigation with the Minor Gesture On Board.....	305
Of Tacks and Gybes: Differences on the Character of the Relationships.....	309
Conclusion.....	314
MAIN CONCLUSIONS.....	319
Trust Versus Confidence.....	324
Education at Sea.....	326
A World of Perception and Movement.....	330
Particularities of Human Life Inhabiting an Ocean-Sky World.....	334
A Sea of Opportunities.....	337
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	339

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Most of the illustrations are the author's own, to avoid mentioning this in each photo, I will mention the author only when photos have been taken by someone else.

Front page: Parade of sails on the *Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.

Preface: Trainee and mentor on the helm. *Pelican of London* crossing the Bay of Biscay. TSR 2012..... 1

CHAPTER 1

Figure 1: <i>Statraad Lehmuhl</i> . The Shetland News newspaper, 2 nd of September 1948. Provided by Sail Training Shetland 19/1/2019.....	15
Figure 2: Letters to the editor. The Shetland Newspaper, 2 nd of September 1948. Provided by Sail Training Shetland 19/1/2019.....	15
Figure 3: The Polynesian expansion: a representation of Hawai'i (Hawaiki) as the origin or hub of Polynesia being situated somewhere in the Society Islands (Richards 2008: 209 from after Hiroa 1954 [1938]: 88).....	32
Figures 4-7: Tall ships in Lerwick harbour, the Shetland Islands, Scotland. July 2011.....	47
Figures 8-11: Tall ships in Stavanger harbour, Norway. August 2011.....	47
Figure 12: Tall Ships Races 2011. Figure from www.sailtraininginternational.org	50
Figure 13: Tall Ships Races 2012. Figure from www.sailtraininginternational.org	50
Figure 14: Tall Ships Races 2016. Figure from www.sailtraininginternational.org	50
Figure 15: Regatta <i>Rendez-Vous</i> 2017. Figure from www.sailtraininginternational.org	50
Figure 16: Different class A and B vessel models. Tallshipspart.com.....	52
Figure 17: APV workshop with the Sea Scouts Azimut in Barcelona. May 2016.....	66
Figure 18: APV workshop on board <i>Far Barcelona</i> . May 2016.....	66
Figure 19: Lunch on deck with most of the trainees and their parents during the TSR 2016. Tall ship <i>Atyla</i> in <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. Photo taken by one of the trainees' parents.....	70

CHAPTER 2

Figure 20: Lerwick harbour. The Shetland Islands. July 2011.....	83
Figure 21: Sara. Lerwick harbour. The Shetland Islands. July 2011.....	84
Figure 22: Spanish trainees in Madrid airport. TSR 2016. A parent took the photo.....	88
Figure 23: Leaving home. Spanish trainee (15-year-old). TSR 2016. Parents took the photo.....	88
Figure 24: Lisbon. TSR 2016. Meeting with the mentor before embarking on the <i>Gulden Leeuw</i> . The mentor took the photo.....	90
Figure 25: <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. TSR 2012.....	90
Figure 26: <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. New trainees embarking on the <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	90
Figure 27: Cards on board the <i>Lord Nelson</i> . Aft starboard watch, dates staying on board, berth number, watch leader name and berth place, mess day to be in the galley.....	92
Figure 28: First moments on board. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	93
Figure 29: First instructions on safety drills. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	93
Figure 30: Adjusting harnesses. <i>Lord Nelson</i> in Marín harbour (Galícia). TSR 2012.....	94
Figure 31: Climbing the mast on shore. <i>Lord Nelson</i> in Marín harbour (Galícia). TSR 2012.....	95
Figure 32: Tightening ropes on shore. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	96
Figure 33: Coiling ropes on shore. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	96
Figure 34: Instructions for hoisting sails on shore. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> 2012.....	97
Figure 35: Steering instructions on shore. <i>A Coruña</i> harbour. The <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	97
Figure 36: Briefing on board by the second officer. <i>The Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	98
Figure 37: Peeling potatoes on deck. <i>Lord Nelson</i> TSR 2012.....	101
Figure 38: Preparing lunch on <i>Lord Nelson</i> . TSR 2012.....	101
Figure 39: Breakfast on board <i>Lord Nelson</i> . TSR 2012.....	102
Figure 40: Lunch time on <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	103
Figure 41, 42: Sandwiches and paella on board <i>Sirma</i> . TSR 2011.....	103
Figure 43: Parade of sails. Lerwick. The Shetland Islands. TSR 2011.....	104

Figure 44: Tall ship <i>Constantia</i> in first position, Tall ship <i>Tecla</i> in second position.....	106
Figure 45: <i>Tecla</i> approaching <i>Constantia</i> , just half a meter distance between both boats.....	106
Figure 46, 47, 48: Parade of sails. Spanish trainees on board <i>Morgenster</i> . <i>Cádiz</i> . TSR 2016.....	107-108
Figure 49, 50: Sleeping on deck and on the sofa after three days of sailing. <i>Pelican of London</i> and <i>Lord Nelson</i> . TSR 2012.....	117
Figure 51: Happy hour. Tall ship <i>Constantia</i> . TSR 2011.....	119

CHAPTER 3

Figure 52: One of the five ‘hogback’ stones now housed in the church, photographed c.1900 in the churchyard. The original position of the Govan Stones in the churchyard is not known, however many were at least partly buried by the 1800s. From the exhibition.....	129
Figure 53: Hogback Stones exhibition in the Old Parish church of Govan. Visited 9 th of August 2019....	129
Figure 54: Govan knot. From the exhibition.....	147
Figure 55: On deck on the <i>Wylde Swan</i> during the Atlantic crossing. Making a common grommet with a rope.....	149
Figure 56: The most suitable knots for mooring. STA F Sail Training guide.....	149
Figure 57: Two lines are permanently combined with a binding, a splice. STA F Sail Training guide.....	150
Figure 58: At the ends of halyards (ropes used to hoist sails), figure of eight knots are made to prevent the lines from running through the fittings. STA F Sail Training guide.....	150
Figure 59: When a boat is stationary, the Centre of Buoyancy and the Centre of Gravity are aligned. Barker 2016: 43.....	152
Figure 60: When a boat heels over, the centre of gravity and the centre of buoyancy stop being aligned. This creates a force called the Righting Moment, which counteracts the force of the wind and constantly tries to pull the boat back upright. The more the boat heels and is pushed over the wind, the stronger the Righting moment (RM) gets. Barker 2016: 43.....	153
Figure 61: Understanding relative wind. STA F Sail Training guide (2002).....	155
Figure 62: When the wind blows straight from the aft, it is pushing the sail, behind it there are only whirls. STA F Sail Training guide.....	156
Figure 63: Watching the right angle with assistance from the telltales: A right; B sail loose, tighten up the sheet (rope used to adjust the wind into the sail); C sail tight, give slack on the sheet. STA F Sail Training guide.....	156
Figure 64: Squall. Simon Rowel. STI Conference 2019 Antwerp.....	159
Figure 65: Wet microburst. From Caracena, Holle & Doswell 1990. Microbursts, a Handbook for visual identification.....	160
Figure 66: Canoe Adornment as spatiotemporal transformation (Munn 1977:48).....	166

CHAPTER 4

Figure 67: Taskship on board the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	173
Figure 68: Narrative story-map across the Bay of Biscay, from <i>A Coruña</i> to Dublin. Trainees on the <i>Pelican of London</i> . TSR 2012.....	178
Figure 69: A drawing as a way to narrate a storm at sea. Trainees on <i>Pelican of London</i> 2012.....	188
Figure 70: Dolphins below the bowsprit. On board <i>Pelican of London</i> , 2012.....	200

CHAPTER 5

Figure 71: Getting the ship’s position with a bearing compass. Irish sea, <i>Pelican of London</i> 2012.....	219
Figure 72: Preparing dinner on board <i>Vahine</i> , Atlantic crossing 2017.....	223
Figure 73: Fosse’s drawing of the relationships on board.....	236
Figure 74: <i>Wylde Swan</i> empty hull. From https://www.wyldeswan.com/	237
Figure 75: <i>Wylde Swan</i> in construction (2007-2010). From https://www.wyldeswan.com/	238
Figure 76: Main hold of the <i>Wylde Swan</i> . From https://www.wyldeswan.com/	238
Figures 77: Old version drawing, with longer masts, bigger main sail and a Schooner sail. From a <i>Wylde Swan</i> wall picture.....	240
Figure 78: In today’s photo, the Schooner sail is divided in the staysail and the fisherman. Tallshipstock.com	240

Figure 79: Draft of the relationships on board	241
Figure 80: <i>Wylde Swan</i> during the Atlantic crossing 2017	241
Figure 81: Group from <i>A Coruña</i> diagram, who sailed on the tall ship <i>Santa Maria Manuela</i>	250
Figure 82: Group from <i>Cádiz</i> diagram, who sailed on the tall ship <i>Morgenster</i>	250
Figure 83: Alex's previous diagram of his family relationships	251
Figure 84: Alex's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.....	251
Figure 85: Edu's previous diagram of his family relationships.....	252
Figure 86: Edu's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.....	252
Figure 87: Eric's previous diagram of his family relationships.	253
Figure 88: Eric's post-voyage relationships on board diagram.	253
Figure 89 and figure 90: Yago's diagrams are a mixture maintaining the family structure and circular layers which are different levels of participants in the diagram of the relationships on board.....	254
Figure 91: Gabriel's previous diagram of his family relationships.	255
Figure 92: Gabriel's post-voyage relationships on board diagram.	255
Figure 93: Alicia's previous diagram of her family relationships.	256
Figure 94: Alicia's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.	256
Figure 95: Ines' previous diagram of her family relationships.	256
Figure 96: Ines' post- voyage relationships on board diagram.	257
Figure 97: Diego's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.	257
Figures 98, 99: Blackboard in the fore cabin wall with the list of roles for a new permanent crew in charge of the boat. Atlantic crossing 2017 on <i>Wylde Swan</i>	260

CHAPTER 6

Figure 100: One of the two teams ready with the peak halyard of the main sail. Atlantic crossing on the <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	269
Figure 101: Steering and having breakfast on the aft-deck. Atlantic crossing on the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	276
Figure 102: Checking the life suits on deck. In the background, sanding and varnishing a pantry table. Atlantic crossing on the <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	278
Figure 103: One of the engineers explaining the mechanical system of the boat to those interested on deck. Atlantic crossing on the <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	278
Figure 104: Up on the mast in the middle of the Atlantic. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.....	279
Figure 105: Illustration of the main sails on the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	283
Figure 106: Illustration of the main lines of the Latin sails on the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	286
Figure 107: Illustration of the main lines of the square sails on the <i>Wylde Swan</i>	289
Figure 108: Map of the deck on the <i>Wylde Swan</i> with the correspondent lines.	296-297
Figure 109: <i>San Vicente de la Barquera</i> from the north, from a modern pilot (Waters 1976: 407).....	302
Figure 110: <i>Peña Menor</i> and <i>Peña Mayor</i> of <i>S. Vicente de la Barquera</i> Cut XXXI, G17 Pierre Garcie: 63) (Waters 1976: 267).	302
Figure 111: Using the sextant to discover the exact position measuring the angle between the sun and the horizon. <i>Wylde Swan</i> , 2017.	306

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Figure 112: Stowing the jibs, being attentive to the view of land and of dolphins in the right side of the photo. Reaching Bermuda. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	319
Figure 113: Main hold in the evening: those not on watch are reading in their bunks or resting. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	321
Figure 114: Pancake day! The cook has the day off. Even though both trainees in the picture are not Dutch, they are helping their Dutch friend to cook pancakes. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	323
Figure 115: Scrubbing the deck as routine on the morning watch. It's important to clean the deck because the crew are in bare feet most of the time on board. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.	327
Figure 116: Dealing with coiling the ropes nicely. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.....	327
Figure 117: Sharing time in the pantry. <i>Wylde Swan</i> 2017.....	329

Figure 118: A tuna caught with a fishing line in the middle of the Atlantic, and the emotion and participation of everyone involved. *Wylde Swan* 2017..... 333

Figure 119: Sewing a piece of sail to make a cover for the base of the mast. She does it with a big needle, pushed with a leather hand protector – normally called ‘Palm’ in English, containing a piece of iron inside to push the needle. 334

Figure 120: Snippet from a local newspaper in Bermuda. *Wylde Swan* 2017..... 338

LIST OF TALL SHIPS

Below are listed the tall ships participating directly or quoted in the study and their characteristics:

Statsraad Lehmkuhl: Barque three-masted/ 84.60m hull length/ 48m height/ Class A/ Built in 1914/ Norway.

Santa Maria Manuela: Gaff Schooner five-masted/62.64m hull length/34.47m height/Class A/ Built in 1937/ Portugal.

Lord Nelson: Barque three-masted/ 49.15m length/ Class A/ Built in 1985/ UK.

Tenacious: Barque three-masted/ 54 m hull length/ 35.24 m height/Class A/ Built in 2000/ UK.

Pelican of London: Barquentine three-masted/ 35m hull length/ 21.20m height/ Class A/ Built in 1946/ UK.

Gulden Leeuw: Gaff Schooner three-masted/ 54.54 hull length/ 39.33 height/ Class A/ Built in 1937/ Netherlands.

Wylde Swan: Topsail Schooner two-masted/ 43.71m hull length/ 36.27m height/ Class A/ Built in 1920/ Netherlands.

Atyla: Staysail Schooner two-masted/ 25m hull length/ 26.50m height/ Class A/ Built in 1984/ Vanuatu.

Morgenster: Brig/ 38m hull length/ 25m height/ Class A/ Built in 1919/ Netherlands.

Constantia: Gaff Schooner two-masted/ 23,05m hull length/ 22.11 height/ Class B/ Built in 1908/Sweden.

Tecla: Gaff Ketch/ 27.48m hull length/ 19,92m height/ Class B/ Built in 1915/Netherlands.

Caravela Vera Cruz: Caravela/ 23.8m length/ Class B/ Built in 2000/ Portugal.

Far Barcelona: Gaff Schooner two-masted/ 30.85m length/ Class B/ Built in 1874/ Barcelona.

Jolie Brise: Gaff Cutter/ 17.10m hull length/ 20.28m height/ Class B/ Built in 1913/ UK.

Vahine: Bm Ketch/19.68m hull length/24.28m height/ Class C/ Built in 1973/Finland.

Helena: Bm Schooner two-masted/ 31.80m hull length/35.48 m height/ Class C/ Built-in 1992/ Finland.

St-Iv: Bm sloop/ 12.12m hull length/ 16.57m height/ Class C/ Built in 1990/ Estonia.

Sirma: Bm Sloop/18.44m length/Class C/ Built in 1987/ Netherlands.

Spaniel: Bm Sloop/17,05m hull length/ 23.43m height/Class C/ Built in 1979/ Latvia

Rona II: Bm Ketch/ 20.57m hull length/25.91m height/ Class D/ Built in 1991/ UK.

Peter Von Danzig: Bm Sloop/ 16.90m hull length/ 23.74m height/ Class D/ Built in 1992/ Germany.

Tomidi: Bm Sloop/ 17.45m length/ Class D/ Built in 1985/ Belgium.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Kinship understood as mutuality opens a sea of opportunities as those I had from the people who believed in me. For his care and his emphatic way of listening to my voyages, and his handshake to open my way into the academic world, I thank to my first supervisor Professor Joan Bestard, who followed my entire path through the University from first degree to PhD, and with him, everyone in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Barcelona.

Additionally, I must be grateful from the beginning of this dissertation for the way Professor Tim Ingold *understands and predicates Anthropology*. I got from his life work the tools that make me the person I will become with this thesis. In writing this dissertation I was privileged to work under his supervision, which means exactly that what he states, it has been practised along the way, exposed to ‘the risk of this new beginning’. With the same care and attention, in a broader way, I had the support of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Aberdeen, in which I have been based during my writing-up process.

Special thanks to Dr Andrew Whitehouse as PhD coordinator at the University of Aberdeen and as part of the organising staff at the Scottish Training in Anthropological Research post-fieldwork course in May 2019. To all invited scholars, organisers from the University of St Andrews and University of Edinburgh and all participant researchers, that was a precious time to share. To Jo Vergunst, Tanya Argonouva-Low, Maggie Bolton, Martin Mills, David Anderson for their lectures and recommendations. To Alexandra Falter for her welcome in Aberdeen, Gioia Barnbrook, Erin Consiglio, Catherine Hoomlong, Agne Lama, Kirsty Kernohan, Peter Looers, Ilia Xipolla, Maria Noujaim, Masha Nakhshina, Ester Gisbert amongst many others for our conversations in Aberdeen. To Bea, Xavi, Mireia, Uzuri, Marta, Rosa, Marteen, Maria, Patri, Sibila, Alba, Albert, Juan for our time at the University of Barcelona.

Other important people who made it possible are: Alistair King and David English.

This thesis has been possible thanks to an APIF scholarship at the University of Barcelona, with especial reference to Eduard and Graciela from *Beques i Ajusts de Tercer Cicle* for their attention. Besides, a grant covering six-month living costs from the STI Research Committee that has been supportive during the writing-up process.

Thanks to STA E for allowing me to be the Youth Coordinator between 2015 and 2019. Thanks of course to all the many vessels, organisations and passionate sailors that I met during my fieldwork, for all those who were like myself amateurs, to the families, specially of the Spanish trainees in TSR 2012 and TSR 2016, the youth from so many countries, and other crew members, particularly Anni Peljo, Ruth Giesen, Mairi Osborne, Jonathan de Rooij, Fosse Fortuin, Miquel Borillo, Rui Santos, Iñaki Hornes, Jan Stalmans, Jarkko Saarmala, Alfonso Garzas, Agathe Chico-Grimbert, Jean-Baptiste Richard, John Etheridge, Murray Henstock, amongst many others.

To my cousins Tonya and Eulalia and my uncles Teresa and Josep, who always encouraged me to follow, to Gerard for his support during difficult moments, to my father for his effort in recovering himself from a stroke during my PhD process.

Passions are to human nature what winds are to navigation.

**Without passions, man is nothing;
badly directed, he is tormented by them;
well governed, he sails with full sails toward his happiness.**

André Grétry 2019: 259



**Surely, it is the structure of this thing, which, in cooperation with the existence of wind,
enables it to move like an animal, but using the wind's effort, not its own.
Like a person who rows a boat uses effort, but the man who puts up a sail,
he lets nature to do it for him, with the intelligence to use a sail.
You see? That is the most highly skilful art of all that it is using magic.**

Alan Watts narrated in the 8MM *Bark Europa* film¹

¹ See also Antarctica. Produced by Focus Wolf by Josiah Holwich, <http://www.proper-films.com>.

PREFACE

While reading for my research, I made two curious discoveries. The first was the book *The Sea: A Cultural History* by anthropologist John Mack, in which the author mentions the existence of portolan maps in Europe, as ‘sailing lines between ports’. He argues that ‘even the most sophisticated ones, such as those in the famous Catalan Atlas of 1375, gave a fragmentary view of the coastline as a whole’ and therefore that the mariner’s view in those pre-modern times, was ‘strictly experiential, restricted to an image of waters and shorelines born of familiarity, to what the Romans knew as *mare nostrum*, our sea’ (Mack 2011: 35).²

The second was in the book *Beyond the Blue Horizon: How the Earliest Mariners Unlocked the Secrets of the Oceans*, in which the Irish anthropologist and archaeologist Brian Fagan wonders ‘what pushed people across the horizon’ and ‘how and why they decoded the ocean’ (Fagan 2012: 2). In this respect, he speaks of one of the first written documents, the Catalan *Customs of the Sea*, which was first compiled between 1320 and 1330, in which it is noted that ‘agreements made at sea were invalid, because some passengers would promise a thousand marks of silver to anyone who would put them ashore’ (Fagan 2012: 15). These customs are part of the book *Consulate of the Sea*³, which is a compendium of maritime law that governed trade in the Mediterranean for centuries. It still reflects the riskiness of life at sea, which lacks the stable ground of life on land. Unpredictable circumstances can appear suddenly, demanding an immediate response, as will be shown with examples from my field experiences of living on board.

Perhaps this maritime past and customs of the sea made it possible that some centuries later, a comic about a young Catalan travelling the world under sail would make me laugh! I remember the exact moment I realised why I was doing this kind of fieldwork. A

² Atlas Catalan is the most important map of the medieval period in the Catalan language (drawn and written in 1375) by Jewish Cresques Abraham from the Majorcan cartographic school. It has been in the royal library of France since the time of King Charles V. It contains text in Catalan covering cosmography, astronomy and astrology. The Western portion is similar to contemporary portolan charts but it contains the first compass rose known to have been used on such a chart.

³ MOLINÉ BRASÉS, E. (1914) [1494, written in a hand of the 14th century, on paper of that century] *The Maritime Customs of Barcelona Universally known as the Book of the Consulate of the Sea*. Barcelona. This is the first work to collect the scattered laws and customs of Roman, Greek, Byzantine, Rhodian, Italian, French and Spanish maritime rights. The only known copy of this edition is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris.

childhood memory came to me: when I was a child, following the Catalan tradition of exchanging books and roses on the 23rd of April, St George's Day, I always asked for the latest book of *The Extraordinary Adventures of Massagran*. *Massagran* means 'too big' in Catalan and it is a comic similar to the internationally well-known *Tintin*. The author, Folch i Camarasa, based this comic on the history of Catalonia⁴, in particular its maritime connections with the rest of the world.

Instead of focusing on a colonial past, he sketched adventures of a young boy who became a sailor because of his interest in getting to know different cultures, peoples and environments around the world. The extraordinary adventures of *Massagran* made me laugh as a child, because of its recognition that people sometimes do things differently. Until *Massagran* got to know why different societies do such different things in their respective environments (usually after living or sharing experiences with them for a while), he had to struggle with other ways of thinking and understanding life; a process that I came to see as the true adventure of the comics. That was what I remembered about him, and what most came to my mind when I decided to revisit these comics.

However, once I found them, in a box, still with some drawings or paintings on the front and back pages, what astonished me was what I discovered when reading one of them again. I was struck by the fact that most of the voyages of discovery undertaken by this little boy and his dog, were on board tall ships. This realisation occurred during my Master's degree studies, after my first experience on a tall ship. It might have been partly due to the fact that at the time I was living in a small city on the coast; this took me back to my remote memories of these much-loved comics.

At that moment, I wondered about starting my fieldwork in an environment that contrasted so much with the place where I was born, a farmhouse in the countryside. As I reflected on it, I thought that perhaps there was not such a big difference between living and working on a boat and on a farm, since in both there exists the need for the whole family or community to help in the daily and continued tasks. However, I was also very much aware that in these two environments, countryside versus sea, there are particular ways of living.

⁴ Ramon Folch i Camarasa was the son of Josep Ma Folch i Torres, who, in 1910 wrote about *Les Aventures Extraordinàries d'En Massagran*. In 1981, his son edited a collection of comics about Massagran's adventures that more or less were published once per year in the following years. A total of 15 comics from 1981 to 2002.

A short-term memory⁵ of pleasure reading these comics when I was a child returned to my mind and compelled me to review them again, such a long time after I first read them. Although my childhood was long gone, looking back over them I could still feel my excitement at the prospect of enjoying the latest book about *Massagan*, where he would go on a new voyage around the world and the stories he would tell about different peoples and environments. So I ended up proposing to do my PhD research on tall ships. This was a kind of life-line for me, a line that has always been there. If 'it is along paths that people grow into a knowledge of the world around them' (Ingold 2007a: 29), in my experience, a line that I have never used before, has turned inside out to recover its original openness, as in animistic societies, following 'the principle of continuity of experience' that John Dewey (1997) announces in 'the workshops of life' (Ingold 2016: 15, see Dewey 1997: 35).⁶

Being alive and open to a world in continuous birth can come as a gift. Life can give a sense of astonishment in opposition to official science, in which everything follows the same logic: 'according to the directions of cultural models or cognitive schemata installed in our head' (Ingold 2006: 9). 'Reversing this logic is re-animating our "western" tradition of thought' (Ingold 2006: 11), following each of our own paths, sensitive to our previous life experiences and practices, living along the way, as life is understood in animistic societies.

Reversing this logic also raises an important methodological issue that recurs throughout this thesis. Here I keep the original names of the participants from my sailing experiences; this has been done with their agreement, and is an approach I have chosen because I do not consider them to be my objects of study. I will expand upon this further in the methodological approach section in Chapter 1; it is sufficient to note that the basis of my position stems from Ingold's (2008a) argument that anthropology *is not* ethnography. I cannot agree with him more on the fact that there is not an external field to study, but rather that research is participant observation of myself working together with others. Therefore, anthropology is an education (Ingold 2018c), in which we participate with our lives in the

⁵ An act at a distance that comes or returns to you a long time after under conditions of discontinuity, rupture and multiplicity is called short-term memory (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 15-16).

⁶ 'For Dewey (1997), habit was not a settlement but a movement, a principle of continuity of experience, a life-process, in which, in the things we do, we perpetually shape the conditions under which both we and those who follows us, and to whom we relate, will live together in the future' (Ingold 2016: 15).

environments we live in or study. The emphasis here is on living *with*; it is our responsibility to take part in this living just as much as a local inhabitant does.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to a possible criticism that could be levelled at this dissertation, namely gender. In some examples in the thesis, the boat is given feminine attributes, or likened to a womb, or a 'creative nest'. This might draw a feminist critique, since it could seem that treating the boat as a woman, or attributing a kind of feminine character to the boat, as some of my interviewees do, is disrespectful. Similarly, the reader may be concerned that there is a lack of analysis about sailing as an experience just for males. However, even though the history of sailing has often been male-dominated, with some activities related to life at sea at times only available to men, I had not myself experienced such a division in the field. Not only was I able to be fully involved in the Sail Training experiences as a woman; I also met a number of highly-esteemed female sailors. For instance, Ruth, with whom I shared my early writings, studied philosophy, and after not finding a job in her mid-twenties, she started sailing. Now that she is in her thirties, she is already a captain. The organiser of the Atlantic crossing within Sail Trainees from Finland (SNUPU) was Anni, and most of the SNUPU were women too. I have met as many experienced female crew members in Sail Training as males, however, just as in the rest of the world, certain powerful positions still seem to be a male preserve. In fact, the first round-the-world sailing with an all-female crew was completed in 1989 by skipper Tracy Edwards, and it is narrated in the documentary *Maiden*, in BBC series called *Storyville*. Remarkably, too, the New Zealand-born Dutch sailor Laura Dekker is the youngest person to have sailed solo around the world, when only 16-years-old, from August 2010 to January 2012. So I hope this consideration from the preface onwards will demonstrate that my interest is not in being pejorative about some characteristics culturally attributed to women. As will be shown, this was not something that my encounters in the field would lead me to take any further.

To conclude, this preface has introduced my background in relation to the topic of study, sidestepped a gender critique that would not accord with lived experience, and emphasised how the motivation for this study has grown along the path of life from childhood to anthropology.

INTRODUCTION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF SAIL TRAINING

Introduction

This thesis is an exploration of the experiences of young people undergoing Sail Training aboard tall ships in the North Sea, the Atlantic Sea and the Baltic Sea. It both speaks to and moves beyond current literature on the educational value of Sail Training by focusing particularly on how young people experience sailing as a way of life. Thus, rooted in how the people of the sea have inhabited this maritime environment, in understanding the principles of boat-building, in drawing on the profound wisdom of the sea, the sky and the wind, together with the use of technical devices to explore ever-changing phenomena, I establish how to inhabit an ocean-sky world (Ingold 2015b: 199). Many ethnographies from the South Pacific, in which anthropologists have explored sailing phenomenologically, will support my approach to the sea people and their environment. Sailing remains as a way of understanding life on tall ships when they offer opportunities to become involved in the process in which, as in every society in past times, experts instruct novices in the course of working together.

Following the history of the maritime environment and its inhabitants reveals a complex set of skills not only for building the boat as a craft, but also for staying afloat once at sea. However, modernity comes an intent to chart the sea with a unified map, an aggregation of local knowledge through portolan maps, in which geographical metrics, such as longitude and latitude made it possible to determine the exact position of anyone at sea. Thus, science and navigational devices evolved into the technology we have today, such as the GPS or the radar to forecast the weather.

But with traditional skills on board a sailing boat, as much as on a tall ship with its traditional rigging, one attends to constant movement by way of the tension imparted not only from the ropes to the sails, from the sails to the whole boat, and from any part of the boat to its crew members, but also to the relations among crew members themselves. In this regard, optimal sailing is evidence of the quality of the relationships on board and vice versa, the quality of these relationships is shown through the best set of sails to get underway. The best set of sails or shape of the boat, at every moment, is the result of an accurate harnessing of the wind, allowing the boat to be propelled under the most harmonious conditions.

With these principles established, the main contribution of this thesis is to show how the tensions of the boat in the maritime environment extend to the tug of contrary forces affecting every crew member as they follow their path of life. In their everyday decisions, what the young people are expected to do, for themselves or their families, is always at stake. Thus, through the wisdom and skills obtained, the sailing experience becomes a way of understanding life.

In order to fashion a theoretical framework, many other issues are discussed along the way, such as the qualities of an ocean-sky world, the phenomenological approach, the perception of the environment, the boat as a place on the move, the beginning of 'something', the character of the relationships, and the experience of differentiation in practising skills together as a way of building quality in relationships.

An Ocean-Sky World, Smooth or Striated?

Fernando was a Spanish volunteer among the crew of the *Wylde Swan*. His character really suited life on board a tall ship because he was always attentive and caring towards others. From Extremadura, a region of Spain defined by him as sparsely inhabited, he started sailing in a school on the lakes. From there, he wanted to start a career as a sailor, so he took different courses in Galicia and Bilbao, combining them with jobs at sea. The least rewarding of his jobs, fishing for tuna off the coast of Equatorial Guinea, had nothing to do with sailing on board the *Wylde Swan* where we met. As a fisherman or sailor, he went there to earn money. 'Life there is something else', he said. One knows that one can get plenty of money if one wants to be involved in a fishing market on the African coast, but this was not a life, 'you can do it once but never again, you spend plenty of time alone there!', Fernando told me. Sociability is not allowed; the mindset on board is 'you are not here to make friends!' One could not relate to others in an ordinary way. Instead, the amount of fish one can get for money is what dominates the job. Life at sea is nowadays dominated by a great number of conflicting interests, from small fishing companies to big merchant boats, from small rafts of migrants to large cruising boats, all lines of a Western globalised world.

Marcus Rediker, in his book *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, states that 'a romantic image of seafaring has tended to obscure important features of life at sea' (Rediker 1987: 4). In his study attempting to recover the experiences of the common seaman since the

first half of the eighteenth century, he asserts that ‘these experiences of collective self-activity of maritime workers, pointed in many ways toward the Industrial Revolution’ (Rediker 1987: 6-8). It seems that this all started with the first expeditions at sea to open a door to a new world⁷; a striated world in which lands had been territorialised, and in which even the seas and oceans were exactly charted by positions and locations with the first maps and the invention of latitude and longitude.⁸ Regarding these processes, French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) raise the question of whether we must accept the argument that the great discoveries by the Portuguese set 1440 as a turning point, marking the first decisive striation:

It is as if the sea were not only the archetype of all smooth spaces but the first to undergo gradual striation gridding it in one place, then another [...] A *dimensionality* that subordinated *directionality*, or superimposed itself upon it, became increasingly entrenched (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479-480).

In this section, I show how striation, which goes beyond bearings in affecting the relationships of people and their environment, was extended in the modern era from land to sea. However, the sea, as ‘the smooth space par excellence’ (1987: 479) is a space occupied by ‘intensities, wind and noise, forces, and sonorous and tactile qualities’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479), comparable to the smooth ground of nomadic pastoralists. In my fieldwork, I found that the way to sail a tall ship together, getting underway through a sensitive responsivity to the environment, combines a smooth space full of intensities with young people with previous experiences on land, and others who had inhabited the sea but under striated conditions.

Sailing in the smooth space of an ocean-sky world, then, supposes ‘an entanglement of trajectories of growth and movement of people’ (Ingold 2015b: 198), ‘following no predetermined direction but responding at every turn to the conditions of the moment and the possibilities they afford to carry on’ (Ingold 2015b: 198). There are plenty of sailing nomads in the history of the world. For example, Madagascar, ‘a rich island not settled until

⁷ ‘Maritime space was striated as a function of two astronomical and geographical gains: *bearings*, obtained by a set of calculations based on exact observation of the stars and the sun; and *the map*, which intertwines meridians and parallels, longitudes and latitudes, plotting regions known and unknown onto a grid (like a Mendeleyev table)’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479-480).

⁸ **Latitude:** Distance north or south of the equator, expressed in degrees. **Longitude:** Distance east or west of the meridian through Greenwich, England (Lieberman 1989: 187).

very late in human history' (Mack 2011: 8), was inhabited, as John Mack notes, by people from the Western Indian Ocean with exclusively maritime livelihoods who therefore had 'no interest in colonising the land or exploiting its resources directly' (Mack 2007: 13). The trajectories of such nomadic people, living in the smooth and responding to the possibilities of the moment, may be regarded as 'rhizomatic lines or lines of flight' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). These lines are both concrete and abstract, 'they entail movements against colonial regimes' (Loovers 2018: 1). Tim Ingold invites us to enter into a linear world in which all paths are lines of a sort. 'Life is lived', he argues, 'along these paths, not just in places. It is along paths, too, that people grow into knowledge of the world around them, and describe this world in the stories they tell' (Ingold 2007a: 2).

But lines can be of different sorts, as Peter Loovers (2018: 2) mentions in his article *Lines of Procurement*. 'To obtain something with care and effort' (Loovers 2018: 1), as the Gwich'in of Hudson Bay did in their land, and as the land did with them, is one thing. However, 'to persuade or cause someone to do something' (Loovers 2018: 1), as the government attempted with this indigenous people to develop northern resources, is a thing of another kind. So what we have to be aware of is not just lines, but the *kind* of linearity involved, because as Deleuze and Guattari state in their maritime model, 'even a smooth ground can become striated' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479). In Fernando's experience of fishing in Equatorial Guinea, he described feeling alone, not allowed to build a path together with his shipmates since the only goal on board was 'the bigger the catch, the greater the salary'. Even though Fernando and his shipmates were living under extremely harsh conditions at sea, the key lines at work were those of extracting resources from the sea, just like the lines of procurement by governments, that Loovers (2018) advises us to pay attention to.

History also shows us that the past can be reflected in the present in respect to the inhabitants of Equatorial Guinea, who were working together with Fernando. In the eighteenth century, as Rediker describes,

seamen were younger sons of yeomen and poor farmers, men who had migrated to the cities in search of work and finally found it on the docks. Some, perhaps, had been dispossessed of land by enclosure. Others had been picked up by press gangs, and once forced to acquire the skills of marine labour in the Royal Navy, decided to work as merchant seamen. Still others were rural folk who had been drawn to the sea by the lure of high wages during wartime (Rediker 1987: 13).

With his analysis, Rediker proves how the sea was striated not only with scientific findings through abstract machines such as longitude and latitude, but also by States. With their ships modelled hierarchically, they imposed the same striation they had on land, on the sea as well (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479). In the exhibition *Ocean Liners: Speed & Style* at the new Victoria & Albert Museum in Dundee, it is noted that:

for more than one hundred years, ocean liners were the primary mode of intercontinental travel providing regular schedules on established routes. [...] In the second half of the nineteenth century, many countries established Liner lines, frequently founded on government contracts to transport mail, and as symbols of State intensifying national rivalries, with luxurious interior designs.⁹

Anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1961), in his *Tristes Tropiques*, describes what these cruising ships were like, with different class areas and services. In his first voyage to Brazil, he went first class, however, he compares it to a second voyage when he had to leave France to go into exile, in which he highlights the insalubrious conditions for the lower class on board (Lévi-Strauss 1961). In this regard, Ingold states: 'Colonialism [...] is not the imposition of linearity upon a non-linear world, but the imposition of one kind of line on another' (Ingold 2007a: 2). The stratification on board cruising ships is a graphic example. The boat, for Lévi-Strauss as for many others during the second world war, established boundaries within which the life of some was 'contained and confined' into 'vertically integrated assemblies' (Ingold 2007a: 2). He survived that horrible passage on board that allowed him to live in exile; however, many other people are nowadays leaving their countries in Africa and looking for a better future, paying huge sums to earn a passage across the Mediterranean Sea. But the infra-human conditions in which they find themselves, adrift or without food or fresh water, risking deportation to their countries of origin, if not losing their lives at sea, seem part of a vertically integrated logic of exclusion imposed by the Western world.

The imposition of lines of striation upon lines of life is also evident when scholar and sailor David Lewis (1994) cites data from the pre-colonial era. Here he quotes the writings of naturalist Georg Foster, who was on board Captain Cook's second expedition to Oceania: 'natives have expanded their navigation beyond their current limits, because of the knowledge they have of various adjacent countries (islands)' (Lewis 1994: 310). Native

⁹*Speed & Style* at the new V&A Museum in Dundee, from 25th September 2018 to 24th February 2019.

anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa from the University of South Pacific states that contrary to the Western view of the area, 'Oceania is a sea of islands', in which the sea, as much as the islands, is part of the paths of life of its inhabitants:

We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically in the tiny spaces which we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed place, and from which we have recently liberated ourselves (Hau'ofa 1993: 16).

In this regard, life experiences at sea, rooted in the habitation of this maritime environment - such as those of the Pacific navigators in an ocean-sky world - are basic to my study of sailing experiences as a way of understanding life. This is a study based on how young people experience and perceive the sea as a smooth space in the open, and how that experience can transform their ways of being. For the inhabitants of Oceania, rather than seeing a striated sea from the land, it is possible to view the land from the vantage point of an ocean-sky. Following his statement of a sea of islands, Hau'ofa adds: 'We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom' (Hau'ofa 1993: 16). Trainees embarking on tall ships might agree. For them too, as will be shown, a similar feeling arises, countering the indecision and lack of participation of lives lived on land.

A Vanishing Art of Sailing

In English literature, one of the first texts about traditional sailing ships is dated 1627, and written by Captain John Smith. In this book, *A Sea Grammar*, an extension of a previous book by the same author, *Accidence for Young Sea-men*, Smith aims to interest young people in sailing (Goell 1970: XI), as an experience that can open their eyes to life. This idea was reiterated by Dr Eric Fletcher in his presentation at the Bordeaux International Sail Training conference, in December 2017. Fletcher cited an extract from Norbert Elias (1950), in which Elias asserts: '[...] a sailing ship requires the mind of a craftsman', only people apprenticed to the sea early in life could hope to master it. 'To catch 'em young' was a well-known slogan in the old Navy' (Elias 1950: 293).

Similarly, in the book *Sail Training: The Message of the Tall Ships*, John Hamilton (1988) attributes the origin of Sail Training rooted to the maritime environment and practices aboard

‘as a result of a process of incorporation of values referring to the past’ (1988: 40). For Hamilton:

training how to sail was universal among seafarers when there were young people watching and learning from the oldest on any type of boat. [...] It took a long time, as it consisted of learning from observing the elderly with more knowledge (Hamilton 1988: 35).

Prior to the establishment of Sail Training International, Alan Villiers and Irving Johnson were the first known youth Sail Training movement organisers (Hamilton 1988: 40). Alan Villiers did his first round-the-world voyage with youngsters, before the Second World War on board the tall ship *Joseph Conrad*, which nowadays can be visited in the Mystic Seaport Museum, in Connecticut, USA (Hamilton 1988: 41). This voyage, which took place between 1934 and 1936, is narrated in Villiers (2006), *The Cruise of the Conrad*. It should be pointed out that not even the master, Alan Villiers, had a licence to undertake the voyage and that some of the other crew members had no previous experience of sailing:

I was merely following in the best traditions of the sea and sailing-ships, for most of the great trade routes of the world were opened up and sailed for centuries by men who held no kind of certificate. You held command then because you were able to, if I were not able, I should not get very far (Villiers 2006: 44).

The archive of the Mystic Seaport Museum also contains a documentary, *Around Cape Horn*, recorded by Irving Johnson in 1929 aboard *The Peking*. I know from some officers that this documentary is still shown in class when studying navigation degrees. Watching this documentary one realises that apart from keeping hens and other animals to provide food on board, trainees and crew were living in the same adverse conditions at sea as those sailing nowadays. These environments, sea or ocean, are totally unpredictable.

After World War II, a group of associations and foundations decided to create an international association to promote Sail Training among young people. The Sail Training International Association (STI), founded by national associations, such as the Spanish Association of Sail Training (STA E), has been the organisation taking care of creating what nowadays can be called a Sail Training international community. They also created the tall

ships races and regattas¹⁰, and the rules and regulations protecting the practices of sailing as in olden days on tall ships, that is to say, building companionship on board with hands-on training and an emphasis on craftsmanship. Sail Training international (STI) was founded in 1956, as a tall ships fleet with non-vocational purposes (Rowe 2014: 30).

The STI was the first institution to organise events and meetings of tall ships and the promotion of Sail Training, with the first Atlantic regatta and the exchange of crews amongst participating vessels.¹¹ I chose these tall ships as the place to develop my research, inspired by the life story of Captain Miquel Borillo, who truly believed in the transformative experience that being a member of these crews can provide for youngsters around the world. Further reference to the origins of Sail Training and how STI managed to organise the annual gathering of these boats over these years, their classification of different types of tall ships, the research supporting their philosophy, and the extension and functionality of their project, will be presented in Chapter 1.

I conclude this section with a curious post from the Shetland Sail Training association on 19/1/2019 that includes a snippet from Thursday 2 September 1948, published in the Shetland News newspaper. At that time, the Norwegian tall ship *Statsraad Lehmkuhl* was on one of its early visits to Lerwick Harbour. In the letters to the editor, it is said that ‘Sail Training was out of date’, so not really necessary when Norway already possessed ‘the most modern fleet of motor ships afloat’. Besides, the editor complains that ‘with the navigational instruments of modern science, it was useless that the boys will spend most of their time with a paint brush, chipping hammer, or sooji-wad in their hand’, on board the tall ship.

¹⁰**Tall ships races (TSR):** When tall ships sail from harbour to harbour by sail, without starting the engine. At least half of the crew members must be youngsters between 15 to 25 years old. People of all abilities can take part, even those with mental and physical disabilities. No previous experience sailing is required.

Tall ships regatta: It is like a TSR but the age factor of more than half of the crew aged 15 to 25 is not compulsory. See also section ‘Sail Training International’ in Chapter 1.

¹¹ See Hamilton 1988. That was the basis of an organisation working to establish bonds and companionship amongst crews and countries, that is to say, surpassing striation, confinement and verticality.



Figure 1. The Shetland News newspaper, 2nd of September 1948. Provided by Sail Training Shetland 19/1/2019.

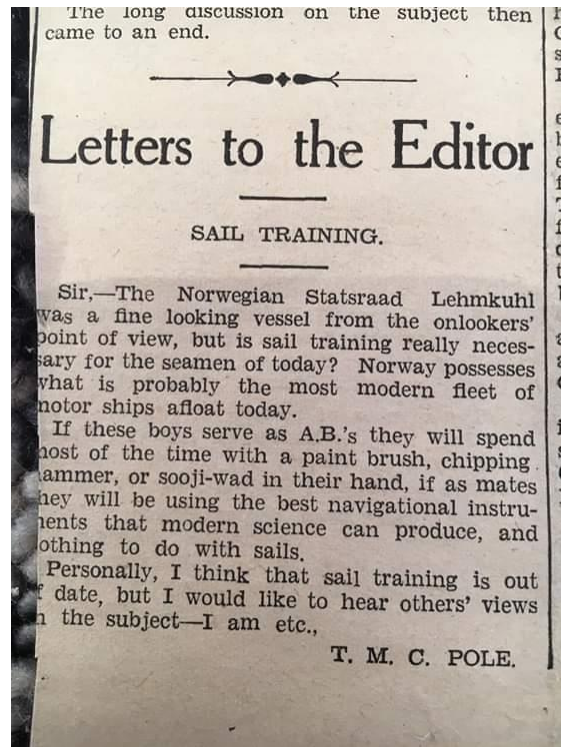


Figure 2. Letters to the Editor. The Shetland Newspaper, 2nd of September 1948. Provided by Sail Training Shetland 19/1/2019.

For this correspondent, tall ships were already out of date in 1948, even before STI was founded. Nevertheless Nigel Rowe (2014), in his book *Tall Ships Today*, mentions three important values that have kept these ancient boats in the public eye. The first is ‘their historical importance and their value in preserving a nation’s maritime heritage, often as stationary museum ships and tourist attractions’ (2014: 30). Secondly ‘when these sailing ships disappeared from commerce, the importance, to seafarers, of the experience on these ships still remained’ (2014: 30), thus seafaring retained some of its value as a profession. That is why tall ships are still commonly built and operated by national governments, maritime universities and schools. Thirdly, there are the tall ships concerning this dissertation: ‘used for a non-professional purpose, as experiences for youngsters, without previous experience sailing’ (2014: 30). As we will see in Chapter 2, amateurism is one of the facts of this experience, in which youngsters and myself included, start sailing with no formal requirements.

The Ocean Environment and Seafaring in Anthropology

The Kula was and still is, a re-enactment of the process of understanding the ocean, making open water as familiar a landscape as that of island and village (Fagan 2012: 50).

The subject of inhabiting the sea has been long neglected in anthropological studies. The gap in ethnographic literature is made starker by the fact that many of the major figures of the discipline have referred to the importance of the sea in their work. Much of the material related to seafaring that currently exists in anthropology has grown out of ethnographic studies carried out in the region of Oceania. Bronislaw Malinowski speaks of the 'bliss of travelling under sail' not only in his diaries (Malinowski 1967: 78) but also in his seminal monograph *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). Other anthropologists have also drawn conclusions about the character of the inhabitants in Oceania and how it is tied with the ocean. Raymond Firth observes of the Tikopians:

fired by the lust for adventure and the desire to see new lands canoe after canoe set out and ranged the seas, and those members of the crews who returned contributed a great deal to such knowledge of the outside world as the islanders now possess. Fear of storms and shipwreck leaves them undeterred, and the reference in an ancient song to the loss of a man at sea as a 'sweet burial' expresses very well the attitude of the Tikopia (Firth 1936: 32).

In his book *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity and History in Oceania*, historian environmentalist and archaeologist Paul d'Arcy asserts that 'the sea dominates the lives and consciousness of the inhabitants of Polynesia and Micronesia as nowhere else on earth' (D'Arcy 2006: 26), and that 'islanders have their sea environment represented as a dynamic marine ecosystem in their cultural vision or representations' (D'Arcy 2006: 13, 178). Lewis (1994) also speaks of the character of the islanders as sea people in his book *We, The Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*. Lewis, though of English origin, spent his childhood on Rarotonga (one of the Cook Islands), and devoted much of his life to studying traditional navigation systems in Oceania. He also compiled an exhaustive bibliography on the subject. Lewis himself claims that Polynesians and Micronesians 'have certainly grown up seeing the ocean as something like a homeland, nearby, and not as a hostile place' (Lewis 1994: 18).

Archaeologist Geoffrey Irwin points out that the sea was more a bridge than a barrier in Oceania (Irwin 1980: 329). He debunks the idea of a coincidental colonisation of the Pacific by their inhabitants.¹² Andrew Pawley, a linguist at the National University of Australia, supported Irwin with powerful evidence of cultural and linguistic cohesion in the area. Pawley campaigned together with archaeologist Roger Curtis Green of the University of Auckland to replace the term 'Melanesia' with 'Remote Oceania', first used by him in 1973 and re-used by Green in 1991.¹³ Indeed, Green (1991) does not even mention Melanesia, suppressing the previous classification of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, due to his interest in recognising the past of Oceania before it was colonised and divided into these three areas. The navigator-settlers not only provide evidence of cultural and linguistic cohesion from Madagascar to Asia and the islands of Remote Oceania, but Green's archaeological findings also yielded 'remains of prehistoric pottery, Lapita, originally from the north of Papua New Guinea and an archipelago that includes New England, New Ireland and Manus' (Lewis 1994: 7)¹⁴, offering evidence of the existence of sea paths in the area. And the existence of sea paths goes together with the importance of an 'established set of traditional navigation knowledge and skills' (Turnbull 1997: 555). Irwin concluded that 'there is direct continuity from prehistory into history in Oceania' (Irwin 1980: 332), 'between the first arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century and their final penetration of the new Guinea highlands during the last half of the twentieth century' (Irwin 1980: 324). It was also during the last half of the twentieth century that anthropologists studied the old ways of seafaring and sea wisdom with native navigators in different islands of Oceania.

In the Trobriand Islands, Malinowski studied 'the ring of Kula network of relationships' (Malinowski 1922: 70) as a 'trading system of exchange amongst islanders' (Malinowski 1922: 2), which was also a matter of prior interest in other ethnographies from Oceania. Instead of an ocean inhabited by their people as familiar paths constitutive of their environments 'in between islands' (Sarró 2016: 277), sailing as a way to access to the Kula trade was omitted as a subject of study. It is Brian Fagan who reminds us that 'the Kula is an interwoven fabric of relationships that encompasses men living hundreds of miles from one

¹² Historians such as Andrew Sharp of the University of Auckland supported this idea when they first categorised people from Oceania as occasionally isolated inhabitant groups that had found distant islands by chance (See Sharp 1956, 1963).

¹³ See Green 1966, 1995.

¹⁴ According to the Department of Prehistory of the National University of Australia.

another, bound together by direct and indirect ties' (Fagan 2012: 51). He also emphasises the importance of the sailing skills and wisdom of the sea of these people when he remarks that 'over the generations, a vast intertribal network of ideas, cultural influences, art motifs, songs and alliances travels down the Kula routes' (Fagan 2012: 51). So all of these Kula exchanges, such as 'the many things that go without saying' or 'what concerns man most intimately, that is the hold which life has on him' (Taylor 1996: 201, see Malinowski 1922), took place on sailing voyages.

Once sailing was revived as a subject of study in the 1970's, Hau'ofa criticised the way the world has seen Oceania, even through the eyes of some anthropologists. For instance, Hau'ofa asserted that the *etak* system of dead reckoning, employed by navigators in Oceania, had been interpreted as an inversion of a Western point of view by anthropologists such as Gladwin. For Gladwin (1970), the *etak* system was a way of measuring the distance from the point of departure to the point of arrival, on the understanding that navigators from Oceania saw the different islands moving behind them during their sailing. Yet according to Hau'ofa, all Gladwin does is invert the Western view of 'the European envisage, in which the European, in his self-contained little world of craft, crew and navigational lore' with a view of the Puluwat navigator on a stationary course 'with islands moving towards him instead of the boat moving towards stationary islands' (Hau'ofa 1993: 17). For Hau'ofa, Westerners have seen Oceania, ever since its colonisation, as a large area of sea with tiny islands, because their inhabitants have been enclosed and territorialized, into the regions Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, while their sailing way of life was forbidden.¹⁵

Similarly, Ramon Sarró argues that 'the Europeans of 1922 should ideally learn "the meaning of Kula" in order to mend their wounded humanity' (Sarró 2016: 277). Since they were not like Trobrianders, what really happened was that 'the world beyond the horizon which had seen as one filled with opportunity for generations in Oceania, took intrusions that devastated entire communities' (D'Arcy 2006: 118). With proof from a report *From the Settlement of Polynesian Outliers* by R.G Ward and J.W. Webb (1972)¹⁶, dated just two years after the publication of Gladwin's ethnography (1970), Hau'ofa presents a rather different

¹⁵ For when sailing was forbidden in Oceania, see Turnbull 1991:3. See also the section 'The Environment Is Never Complete' in Chapter 4.

¹⁶ Ward, Webb and Levison 1972. Reprinted in Finney 1976.

analysis from the one given by Gladwin. Not only are ‘the risks and dangers of the sea that weigh heavily in the minds of continental men not given such emphasis by island navigators’ but also ‘the western pacific islander in the past might well sail east or south or north in search of new land, confident in the belief that, as usual, islands will rise over the horizon to meet him’ (Ward and Webb, in Hau’ofa 1993: 17). Inhabitants from Oceania believed in their wisdom and navigational skills. Through the practices, songs and beliefs of their ancestors they felt the islands to be meeting them when sailing. They were together with the environment, sensitive and grateful for what came to them not as a discovery but as a way of life.

The review of anthropological literature on inhabiting ocean environments, while sailing to exchange or trade with the other islands of the region, points to many parallels with traditional ways of sailing on tall ships. I found a connection between traditional sailing in the Pacific South and in Europe, through meeting with Yuki Wakamatsu, a Japanese crew member of the Sail Training ship *Atyla*, whom I met in Bermuda during my last stint in the field. As he had sailed with the traditional canoes in the Pacific South and sailing was part of his project for a Master’s in education, he wanted to take part in the Sail Training experiences during the regatta *Rendez-Vous 2017*, in which I also participated.

Promoting these experiences for youngsters in tall ships in Western seafaring can be compared to the attempt that some anthropologists from the University of Hawaii such as Ben Finney¹⁷, together with David Lewis, whom I have already mentioned, made in the 70s with the renaissance of traditional seafaring. The celebration of the bicentenary of the State of Hawaii was part of a rebirth project for long canoe trips throughout the Pacific (Lewis 1994: 313). The first trip consisted of the making of a typical canoe, the *Hokule’a*, to undertake a first voyage from Hawaii to Tahiti, sailing in the traditional way, getting orientation from the stars, waves, birds, and currents, in order to verify that these abilities were useful, efficient and practical. The *Hokule’a* canoe was made in 1976, and the whole rebirth movement has become a traditional school of navigation at the University of Hawaii. They promoted the vanishing art of seafaring with no technical devices, with the last native people and their seafaring knowledge. As Lewis explains, ‘the confidence of the islanders to keep themselves

¹⁷One of the promoters of this rebirth under the motto of learning about traditional methodologies of navigation, was the anthropologist Ben Finney of the University of Hawaii (Lewis 1994: 18), who wrote two books about it: *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging* (1976) and *Hokulea: The Way to Tahiti* (1979).

on course, with the location of the earth when there were storms' (Lewis 1994: 354) was remarkable and proved the efficacy of their skills.

Craftsmanship and Companionship in an Animated World

In the Pacific South, communities of sailors transmitted their knowledge with instruction together with their youngsters. Training began when young boys 'learned the mechanics of wind propulsion' by 'playing with miniature sailing canoes in the lagoon' (d'Arcy 2006: 86). In the Marshal Islands, the paths between islands 'were indicated with stick-charts or *rebbelib*', in which 'the cowrie shells represent the islands, and the sticks represent currents and lines of swell' (Turnbull 1989: 20; d'Arcy 2006: 78). Navigators traditionally developed sensorial perceptions finely tuned to the ocean through years of experience. An animated world of relationships with their environment allowed them to live along ocean paths with no technical devices. For instance, 'they divided the heavens into a series of latitudinal bands called *jaan*, "paths or routes". All the stars that rose and settled in the same position follow the same *jaan*' (Goodenough 1953: 4). From ethnographies in Micronesia we also know that meteorological information was obtained between 'a sidereal calendar that started from Altair (East), after sunrise, and adapted to their lunar calendar' (Feinberg and Genz 2012).¹⁸

This wisdom was obtained through practice, with some years of instruction and shared experiences between experts and novices, as also happens in the short-Sail Training experiences in my study. As I will show with some crew members who ended up as permanent crew, nothing in our cultural or genetic inheritance predetermines how our experience in the world unfolds, or the directions we take in life (Ingold 2009b: 197-198). Instead, wisdom is acquired through enskilment with others in a field of practices.¹⁹ The art of sailing and its practices is wisdom that needs to be acquired by spending time on board. As an amateur within this field of practices, I had the feeling myself of getting to know all the lines on deck

¹⁸ Mack also speaks of calendars in Yemen, 'although the Roman Julian lunar calendar was used for agriculture, a Persian solar calendar was adopted for timing the sea, since solstices have implications for wind and current directions. It began with the summer solstice in June as day one and ran through a whole year' (Mack 2007: 6).

¹⁹ Enskilment is a term developed by Ingold, 'conceived as the embodiment of capacities of awareness and response by environmentally situated agents, that can help us to overcome both an overly rigid division between the works of human beings and those of non-human animals and, in the human case, the opposition between the fields of "art" and "technology"' (Ingold 2000: 5-6). Ingold also argues about the use of enskilment versus enculturation (Ingold 2000: 36).

and their correspondences only after my final stay in the field, during an Atlantic crossing of six weeks on board, as will be described in Chapter 6.

The boat itself is of major importance at sea. The boat is where all the living and doing takes place. It is in this sense, as Malinowski asserted, that 'the craft' (1922: 80), which as a verb means 'to make or produce with care, skill or ingenuity'²⁰, is 'live in the life of the sailors', because 'it is built up of tradition and of personal experience' and therefore, 'it is more to a sailor than a mere bit of shaped matter' (Malinowski 1922: 80). The boat as a craft is the shelter that provides the possibility to inhabit a sea-world. The boat as a shelter means making the best of what an ocean-sky environment affords for protection. In these experiences, in which youngsters deal with unpredictable circumstances, mutuality with the environment and the gaining of fellowship and trust among those in the same boat are of the essence. The particularities of a shelter afford its inhabitants the ability to be more alive than ever due to a highly sensitive attentiveness to the surroundings, which 'can extend to deep and sympathetic companionship towards others in the same situation' (Ingold 2019c: 70). Starting with a consideration of what a shelter is, I will go further with the analysis of the sailing boat as a shelter in Chapter 3.

Based on my fieldwork, youngsters did not find in sailing an experience that encloses them. Had that been their experience, within a hierarchical structure similar to what they claim to have encountered on land, in their schools, then maybe they would never want to participate again. In practice, however, they found their experience on board not only quite different from their experience of schooling on land, but also highly rewarding, as we will see throughout the thesis. They crash into a dynamic world as the one defined by d'Arcy, in which everyone has to do something in order to remain underway. In this ocean-sky world, there is no distinct surface separating ocean and sky (Ingold 2015b: 199, from Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 421). As Ingold asserts, the ocean world allows the individual 'to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium', in the incessant movements of wind and waves (Ingold 2007b: S30). Consequently, 'in this zone, substance and medium are brought together in the constitution of beings' (Ingold 2008b: 1803-4), such as the weaving of the best or most harmonious setting of sails on the boat, emerging from this confluence.

²⁰ 'craft', *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/craft> (accessed 19/11/2019).

An open world is a world of formative and transformative processes. 'If such processes are of the essence of perception, then they are also of the essence of what is perceived' (Ingold 2008b: 1801). The ethnographies of Thomas Gladwin (1970), David Lewis (1994), Ben Finney (1976) and Joseph Genz (2014) on traditional navigation in Oceania, and of Gene Ammarell (1999) on Indonesia, show how novices at sea learn to understand environmental signs phenomenologically. As Ingold would note: 'my environment is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense, it came into existence and undergoes development with me and around me' (2000: 20). This phenomenological approach to the environment also appears in discussions of sailing practice. For instance, Joseph Genz states that:

the perception of ocean waves, swells and currents involves watching and listening to the flow of waves but rests primarily on the navigator's sense of balance while perched on the lee platform of the canoe and the navigator's movement through the ocean (Genz 2014: 342).

Similarly, as I will show in this thesis, crew members experience the boat as an extension of themselves. Seafaring, like the 'wayfaring of the medieval thinker, who would travel in his mind from place to place, composing his thoughts as he went along' (Ingold 2007a: 15-16, 95), becomes a process of reflection for young people as they become more skilled on board. In this regard, trainees often draw story maps of their experiences aboard when nearing the end of the voyage. In these story maps, geographical references are not necessary. Instead, trainees try to relate the vivid stories of their adventures at sea with those of others on board. For instance: when they got seasick; when they saw dolphins; when a sail was broken.²¹ These are all important moments to inscribe in their drawings, as they are moments that helped to develop knowledge and skills of practice both communally and for individual crew members.

For this reason, in the European Middle Ages, as mentioned in the preface, customs of the sea were difficult to establish as laws, they were invalid compared to land, in which control had always been more effective. Portolan maps were elaborated over a long period of time as regional knowledge was obtained through the seafaring practices of local mariners. In their practices, they were 'continually attending and responding both to one's own

²¹ This will be shown and explored in Chapter 4.

movements and to those going on in one's surroundings' (Ingold, forthcoming). That's the point of Lull's *Logica Nova*, dating from this period, which speaks of being sensitive and affected by the environment around (Ingold 2015a: 116-7). On these grounds, Lull defines 'human' as a verb:

homo est esse quod est actus humanitatis, homo est ens homificans, homo est animal homificans, homo est animal rationale mortale. Et etiam est animal hominificans, homo est ens, cui proprie competit hominificare (Bonner and Perelló 2002: 190-191).

The above speaks of 'the hominisation of the animal, vegetable, and elemental kingdoms, and through them of the whole universe' (Lohr 1992: 34). These observations are of great interest and support in understanding the definition of an animated world, as I will proceed to discuss. Similarly, the young people in my fieldwork drew the story maps at the end of their voyage, like seafarers had drawn portolan maps previously. Additionally, when I asked for a drawing of the relationships on board at the end of the voyage, some of them drew themselves as a boat. This will be shown and explored in greater detail in Chapter 5, in which mutuality as a kind of kinship will be analysed.

This animated world is rewarding for its contrast with life on land. At sea, everyone becomes the same, just one more on board; it becomes a 'ship family', in which everyone is needed for the sake of the group. Young people joining these experiences meet an animated world in which 'smooth space is filled by events or *haecceities*, far more than by formed and perceived things' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 479). *Haecceities* is a term used by Deleuze and Guattari, which consist entirely of 'relations of movement and rest between molecules or particles, capacities to affect and be affected' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 261). In this world, in which everything is to be created, and in which inhabitants of the sea have to adapt to every single ever-changing phenomenon in their environment, a sailing experience provides what Kenneth Olwig calls a 'womblike hollowness' (Olwig 2008a: 33) or what Vilém Flusser calls a 'creative nest' (Flusser 1999: 57).

As 'a locus of rest in a turbulent medium' (Ingold 2015a: 29), the boat is like a womb or nest, in which something is created together as a way of learning. This world in movement has no boundaries of age, social strata, or other classifications. It is, in other words, a world without exclusion. Moreover, it is an animate world of continuous change, in which what is learnt through the skills of sailing is to understand the other, allowing the other to care for

oneself and vice versa. This is evident in the example of Manu, a youngster with cerebral palsy, who took part in the experience in 2012. His father put him on a plane to Oporto, and once there, without autonomy of movement or speech, and only understanding Spanish and Catalan, he boarded the *Lord Nelson*. His foster-father sent him as if to an enclosed, institutionalised experience; he was used to doing that as he had adopted him in his capacity of being a pedagogue. But, as Ingold asserts, in an open world everywhere, 'entanglements of life will always and inevitably triumph over our attempts to box them in' (Ingold 2011: 125). In the end, Manu's experience was remarkable because the willingness of two other youngsters to be his buddies on board, and the lack of hierarchy, made it possible for him and the rest of the group to go forward. All kinds of boundaries between him and the others were broken down, so that by the end of the voyage he had become just one among equals. In an animated world of *humanifying* beings, as Llull's work had shown, 'things are dissimilar and really integrated, and boundaries can be crossed without rupture' (Boss 2013: 46). In the power of the correspondences on board, and in their character, lies one of the main differences, for the young people of my study, between life on land and at sea.

However, differences are also possible at sea as we learn from Fernando, the fishing boat sailor, who gives us a great example of how different he felt in both experiences: working on a fishing boat in which he felt deprived of humanity, and sailing in a tall ship. In his first experience, he was enclosed with a group on a boat to be 'at the mercy of the manipulators of the global economy' (Hau'ofa 1993: 6), whereas in the latter, he was in an open world, with no insides or outsides, without boundaries, only comings and goings. The opposite of an animated world is a world of objects. The objectness of things, or what Heidegger called their 'over-againstness' (Heidegger 1971: 167), is the result of an inversion that turns generative lines into boundaries of exclusion. Whereas objectness can be prepared in advance, inhabitants in an open world are continually coming into being along with the environment.

Rather than starting from a world of objects, this thesis appeals to an animated world, in which a concern for living beings makes the world 'present' and 'real'. Animism is defined by Ingold as what it means to be alive to the world, in a word, to be sentient, as the generativity of material flows and creativity of an improvisatory practice that is ever responsive to what is going on (Ingold 2013b: 224-5). The character of the relationships then, is experienced differently for the young people in my fieldwork from land to sea; and for

people working at sea, within different organisations or job places with a rather different character of the relationships on board.

Like Fernando, as he moved from working in fishery companies in Africa to volunteering on the *Wylde Swan*, as during my stages in the field, I met other crew members returning to being alive in an ocean world. For instance, steps like that are common among people dedicated to supporting or participating in Sail Training, because in most European countries, the licences to be an officer or a captain on board come from naval or merchant studies, in which practice on board military or merchant ships is required. That is to say, to obtain the license, they have to join a totally institutionalised ship in the case of the navy; and sometimes on merchant or fishing boats, in which, as Fernando mentioned, human deprivation serves the interests of economy. But for the majority of the officers running tall ships, the crew are treated as a second family. Curiously enough, in some countries such as Sweden, the practice required of merchant officers, values days at sea on a Sail Training civil vessel more highly than on a merchant ship. And sometimes, you can meet one of these students on board, as in the case of Henke, whom I met on board *Constantia*, my first tall ship.

To conclude this section, the difference between institutionalised sailing and sailing experiences that offer experiences of growth for young people, is based on the characteristics of the sea environment as 'smooth space'. These provide feelings of mutuality and correspondence with the environment, as expressed to me by Fernando when asked what the *Wylde Swan* was for him: 'This boat is a piece of art itself!', he said. Young or not, crew members build the boat together as a group of colleagues. As I mentioned above, at sea all become the same. So Fernando added: 'This is barter, with non-financial exchange, because not even the captain of the boat is here for money'. In Sail Training, there are plenty of volunteer jobs among the crew members, and when they are paid, the salaries are symbolic. They consider that the experience itself is the best way to be paid. However, associations and foundations dedicated to this training also need to find ways to maintain the boats and keep them afloat. This maintenance is very expensive, so they need to re-invent themselves in a process of continuous creativity: the more the participants are involved in the whole process, the better the opportunities for the life of the boat, because its entanglements of relationships and stories will stay alive.

The Sail Training community is in a process of continuous growth. As Fernando remarked: 'It is a species of curious thing, because here, in a way, the company takes advantage of the people who want to stay on board in order to maintain it'. Thinking of a world in movement, without boundaries, without exclusion, is thinking of an animate world, always undergoing change and in continuous transformation. For crew members on board, living in an ocean world, their surrounding phenomena 'wind them up into new forms' (Ingold 2011: 13). Like 'a growing root or fibre' they 'create themselves endlessly', 'trailing past stories behind that press against the present' (Ingold 2011: 13; Ingold 2008b: 1804).

Youngsters on Tall Ships: Getting Skilled at Sea as a Way of Understanding Life.

Voyaging was not forced upon people as a last resort of escape or adventure; people simply embraced it as a way of life (Richards 2008: 217).

Voyaging could be described as a process of becoming, where past, present and future fuse within the social transformation of the actual journey (Richards 2008: 216).

'Sea Fever', a poem by John Masefield, is much praised amongst the Sail Training community, for the way it captures many of the themes and experiences described above. Where the experience of sailing on tall ships serves as a process of becoming; movement is a flow for the life experience of the young people who participate in Sail Training. In this poem, many of the key values that give name to these traditional rigged boats, the tall ships, appear, emerging as a core of essential themes and experiences. One of the key themes of the poem is the metaphor of what a tall ship is, as a place or a nest during a young's person's journey on board. In this poem, which is highly esteemed and meaningful within the English organisation that promotes Sail Training, it is revealed that the ship and its community make up an imaginary world that allows young people of different countries to 'sail' the paths of their life.

I must mention at this point that some people in their sixties, at least in North East Scotland, where I have been writing this thesis, told me that 'Sea Fever' was standard when they went to school. This suggests that, at least in certain areas of Scotland, children were brought up aware of their historic sailing culture and educated with the recognition of what

a tall ship is, and an appreciation of the key significance that sailing had, and continues to have, in coastal areas of the country.

Sea Fever by John Masefield (1878-1967)

*I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the sky,
And all I ask is a Tall Ship and a star to steer her by,
And the wheel's kick and the wind's song
And the white sail's shaking,
And a grey mist on the sea's face, and a grey dawn breaking.
I must go down to the seas again, for the call of the running tide
Is a wild call and a clear call that may not be denied;
And all I ask is a windy day with the white clouds flying,
And the flung spray and the blown spume, and the sea-gulls crying.
I must go down to the seas again, to the vagrant gypsy life,
To the gull's way and the whale's way
Where the wind's like a whetted knife;
And all I ask is a merry yarn from a laughing fellow-rover
And quiet sleep and a sweet dream when the long trick's over.*

The poem is dedicated to young people, because, by their nature, they are thought to be at a stage where they have to choose their path in life. In this regard, anthropologist Carles Feixa argues that 'the variability and plasticity of the adolescence period through space and time, is a social construction determined by culture as a lot of research in the field of social sciences demonstrates' (Feixa 2011: 1635). To debunk the idea of adolescence as a natural period in human life, he quotes from Boas 'many of the things we attribute to human nature are nothing more than the reaction to the restrictions imposed by our civilization' (Feixa 2011: 1634, see Boas 1985). However, as I will show with the young people from my field, what precisely young people are emphasising with their experiences sailing as contrasted to life on land, is their *agencing* within the experience rather than representing a culturally determined social construction.

Although the experience of young people is a key focus of my study, age and youth are not essential factors in the transformative essence of the sailing experience. These

experiences are not a *rite of passage* (Van Gennep 1960) from adolescence to adulthood, first and foremost because there are not such groups within the society, and because evidence would prove Félix Guattari (1980) to be right when he reminded us that the reality of adolescence is something that cannot be determined by an age class, but ‘as a happening’ (Guattari 1980: 47), or what the popular saying entails ‘to have a young spirit’ which can happen at any moment of life. In my experience, as Guattari (1980) tells us, teens are attracted by the different ways of ‘becoming’, normally contrary to the normative discourse or the discourse of the major science that takes away their autonomy.²²

In this discussion, there is a certain affinity between the Western social construction determined by culture of what a young person is, and the social construction of the Pacific islands as tiny places within a large sea. The social construction, in both cases, diminished them. As quoted in Hau’ofa’s book (1993), Dewe Gorodey from New Caledonia, the first Kanak woman ever to receive a college education, once said: ‘Do not confine to the hut those who inhabit the world’ (Hau’ofa 1993: xvi). The hut in this sense seems more a trap than a shelter, in which either island or youngster, in the view of Western society, confines them. Consequently, as Stephen Kern (1983) argues, ‘individuals behave in distinctive ways when they feel cut off from the flow of time, excessively attached to the past, isolated in the present, without a future, or rushing toward one’ (Kern 1983: 3-4). And to invert this logic is to entail movements against colonial regimes or pre-established futures for young people. In Ingold’s words, ‘whereas the trap is set up by outside agencies, putting you at risk of falling in or being caught, with the shelter it is the other way around: you are the one who sets it up’ (Ingold 2019c: 70). In a shelter, you enter on purpose, while the imposture is practised on the authorities. Therefore, even in its veiled chambers, the shelter is not a container, but a place-holder for life that gives out to the open (Ingold 2019c: 70).

Once I started my participation in the field, Christ and Dan, two mentors whom I met on board the *Caravela Vera Cruz* in Lisbon in an advanced weekend meeting²³ before embarking on our voyages, warned me: research about these experiences is not possible because what matters can only be lived by everyone, not told by others! Indeed, there is not a single truth or a programme of Sail Training that will work out in another group. Everyone

²² The normative discourse is the discourse of the major science or the striated. See Ingold 2018a.

²³ Advance Planning Visit (APV): A meeting in a city or boat during a weekend in which the different mentors and some of the trainees get to know each other before their sailing. It is funded by ERASMUS + programmes.

participating in them must follow their own path, regarding the experiences and circumstances of their own lives. In the process of getting skilled, participants in these experiences comment on a process of transformation, in which ‘not the message but the code, the very rules of transformation are of interest’ (Bateson 1972: 130).

Being open to a world of relationships, a sailing experience becomes a way of learning from oneself and from the others in a particular environment. On board, an animistic world comes true! A vision that is primarily optical on land becomes primarily haptic at sea – i.e. close-up, hands on, and aligned to the movement. Other senses such as the kinaesthetic or the auditory become more attentive; that is to say, haptic perception comes into being. And as Stefano Harney and Fred Moten define it, ‘*hapticality* is the feel of what is to come’, ‘a feel for feeling others feeling you’ (Harney and Moten 2013: 97-99). As Genz asserts ‘although the navigator might seem motionless, the canoe works like an extension of his body to evaluate the movement of the ocean’. Therefore, his informants ‘supplemented by descriptions and gestures’ the processing of this vestibular and kinaesthetic information, which was otherwise ‘difficult to communicate effectively through oral language’ (Genz 2014: 342). In fact, once you are on board, *kinaesthesia* dialogues with the *kinetic* perception of the others, including the boat. *Kinaesthesia* is our sense of self-movement. Through *kinaesthesia* we are aware of the *kinetic* dynamics that we create in moving, dynamics that ground our everyday movement habits (Sheets-Johnstone 2011: 118).

When Fernando felt released and had the time on board to think about his previous experiences at sea, he compared the boat to a work of art. I would say that in Sail Training experiences, because of the mutual relationships between the crew and the sea environment, what is going on aboard is an entanglement of new threads looking for their lines of growth. Paul Klee in his Notebooks, volume I, shows us an oil on canvas on wood called ‘The ships set sail’, in which he states: ‘Let yourself be carried to this life-giving ocean’ (Klee 1961: 80). He describes art this way, setting sail to get underway: ‘the work of art is first of all genesis; it is never experienced purely, as a result’ (Klee 1961: 78). This is possible because on board all have to work together for the purpose of sailing. The watch system or work shifts lead to the development of a meshwork of relationships, described here as a *taskship*, a creative and trustworthy bonding which lasts for the duration of the voyage. The taskship is what makes the boat and its correspondences with the environment, and its unpredictable phenomena, a

piece of art. Similarly, Klee states that 'all becoming is based on movement. Form giving is movement, action. Form-giving is life' (Klee 1973: 269). On board a tall ship I experienced the boat as a piece of art, looking for the best patterns of relationships and skills in a way that does not need to be planned or programmed.

Taskship is shown in Chapter 4 to be a way to build the boat together within the quality of correspondences between different materialities and temporalities. As seen in Manu's experience, crew members were immersed in this 'commonality of rhythms', in which 'communing and variation are co-dependent' (Ingold 2016: 15, see Dewey 1997: 35). Once the boat sets sail, the crew brings together diverse elements such as wind, tides, sails, and combines or redirects their flow by paying close attention to what might emerge. Each time they set sail with a new group of trainees accompanying them, different combinations of materials and forces will therefore naturally emerge. With them, the lives of those experiencing it will be performed and transformed.

Sail Training does not, therefore, consist of assimilating youngsters to what the system or their families expect of them, or wish them to be. In this dynamic environment, the boat is built by everyone along with a set of skills within a taskship which, subjected to the confluence of different rhythms once at sea, generates tension in the ropes setting the sails. It is a creative dwelling since movement is a constant to which every element in the oceanic medium adjusts itself. As David Anderson asserts, 'the mutual interrelation of person and place constructs a sentient ecology' (Anderson 2000: 116; Ingold 2000: 25). With regard to the boat, manifold lines are in tension, similar to the bundle of life decisions faced by the young people. Both are in search of harmony.

On board, the boat is experienced as an extension of the body. Thus crew members feel all that impresses on it, entering into an animated ocean-sky world through 'touch and movement' (Sheets-Johnstone 1990: 5). And the presence of the experienced boat acquires reality when 'attentiveness to the movement and actions of what is living is central to our existence' (Sheets-Johnstone 2011: 116-7). Thus, attention to the movement of the boat, seeking to join those 'very forces that bring form into being' (Ingold 2013b: 213), 'makes visible' the work of art involved in the habitation and practices aboard (Klee 1961: 76). Improvising practices while sailing and 'immersed in a weather-world' (Ingold 2007b: S34), when mutuality flows aboard and everyone notices that the hull is gliding through the water, a common rhythm emerges and lends harmony to the experience. This process, like primitive

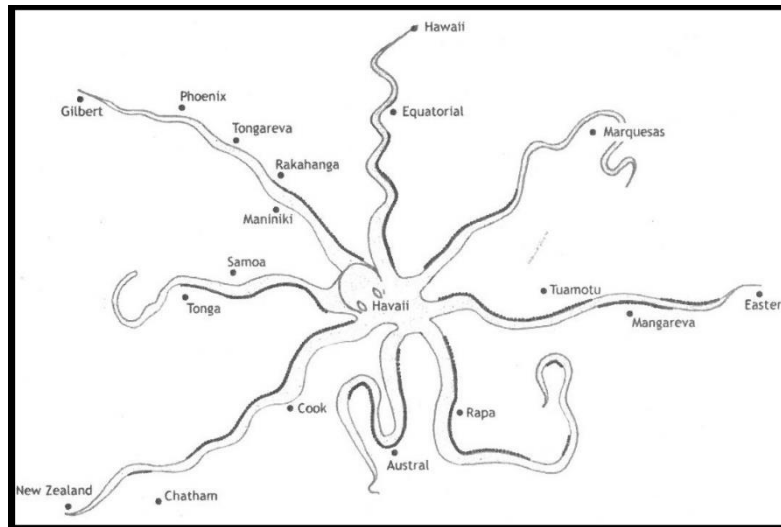
art and skills, is 'restless, fluid and dynamic' (Ingold, forthcoming). Consequently, it transforms one's relationship with others, with the environment, and ultimately with one's self.

The Differentiated Character of Relationships during the Voyage.

Tall ships become communities, an enmeshed taskship of different human and non-human beings that result in a new way of shaping the boat. The boat as a piece of art is a thing-place that gathers the lives of youngsters who dwell on it, 'holds their collective memories and gives forth in the rulings and resolutions of unwritten laws' (Ingold 2013b: 215) and customs at sea. As Kenneth Olwig (2008a) describes for the land in a brilliant account of the political geography of early medieval Jutland, the site of the *Landsting* was a powerful place by virtue of its emptiness, without specific material significance but nonetheless constitutive of the unwritten, memorised law upon which the land was built and manifested (Olwig 2008a: 33-34).

Similarly, but with the sea, Hau'ofa (1993) claims that the relationships between the islands in the Pacific south were forged as invisible underwater connections in an ocean medium. These connections strongly influenced the identities and practices of people living in the area. The sailors who inhabited these islands, and their canoes, operated within the ocean-sky world, elements of a larger entanglement of relationships and stories, as well as skills – including knowing the particularities of the environment and the kind of things they could exchange there - all of which was required to enable sailors to reach these islands. Colin Richards represents an octopus drawing of the ocean in Polynesia, in which the head of the octopus is the mythical place, named *Hawaiki* (Figure 3). He notes that *Hawaiki* was recognised 'as a western homeland from which ancestors travelled east to colonise islands' (Richards 2008: 219). Polynesian voyagers, through ancestral myth and practical experience, knew the sea was full of islands running eastwards (Finney 1996: 93). However, as Ben Finney notes, *Hawaiki* was also the place 'which the dead return to, importantly, allowing them to travel in a westerly direction' (Finney 1996: 93).

Figure 3. The Polynesian expansion: a representation of Havai'i (Hawaiki) as the origin or hub of Polynesia being situated somewhere in the Society Islands (Richards 2008: 209 from after Hiroa 1954 [1938]: 88).



In this world all things were connected with the maritime environment animating their life system²⁴, and marine creatures had a significance that extended far beyond their being a source of food (D'Arcy 2006: 40). Collins (2009) notes that voyaging to the east 'across a turbulent and unpredictable ocean' was a process of considerable social transformation, not only in terms of the 'accrual of social prestige', but also because as they replicated the journeys of their ancestors, 'the participants became fused with their ancestors, absorbing *mana* in the process' (Collins 2008: 217). Sailing as a way of living in Oceania required being aware of, and sensitive to, the sentience of the environment and the various relationships and entanglements that existed within it. This sea of islands, as Hau'ofa presents it, was not empty or remote, as regional and international development discourses often suggest of island regions²⁵, but rather had established ocean paths between islands, both physically and relational.

Just as Hau'ofa appeals to a New Oceania, regarding its cultural history as a place of entanglements and rich relationships among islands, people and environment, I argue that

²⁴ In their mythological stories gods had a direct relation with their live affordances, materials and forces, as Te Rangi Hiroa (1938) mentions in his book *Vikings of the sunrise*: 'the male parents of the gods Atea (Space) or Te Tumu (Source), and their mothers Papa (Earth foundations) or Fa'ahotu (To-cause-to-take-form). Their children were given rule over special departments: Tane, forestry and craftsmanship; Tu, war; Ro'o, peace and agriculture; Ta'aroa, marine affairs and fishing; and Ra'a, meteorology' (Hiroa 1954: 87).

²⁵ Holly High also explains similar frictions between state and the islands in the Mekong river in Laos (2009).

some of these themes of relationship, attentiveness and awareness can be seen in my research among young people undertaking Sail Training. In particular, the process that these young people experience teaches them not to only focus on end results or solutions, but also to develop an approach of being afloat, attentive and alive in an ocean environment that is in constant movement, 'living on the inside of an eternal movement of creation' (Ingold 2000: 57) at sea.

Following the different experiences at sea that Fernando highlighted, and exploring history through boats, it is sufficient to say that 'there are two kinds of voyage, distinguished by 'the manner of being in space, of being for space' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 482): 'Voyage smoothly or in striation, and think the same way...' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 482). This is also the difference between contrary forces in science: the major and the minor.²⁶ Whereas the major science of the West is attuned by programmes, classifications, grades, titles that divide from external accretion; the science of the minor is sustainable and ecological with its wisdom obtained through enskilment. Life is in continuous movement on board, and crew members inhabit the open in a process of enskilment with a practical engagement in this world. In doing so, they find their own ways of living and deciding in life between the smooth and the striated. As Deleuze and Guattari state, 'there are always passages from one to the other, transformations of one within the other, reversals' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 482). This is exemplified in the paths of two young people I interviewed. The following two interviews, with Jonathan and Claire, clarify this theme, outlining and reflecting upon the challenges that young people, growing up in this case in Europe, have to face, particularly with regard to life decisions.

Jonathan has always been working since he joined tall ships. He started as a dishwasher, making tours around the North Pole for half a year. It was not really much like Sail Training.

In Sail Training, they are 16 years old and I think it is the perfect age for it, because they are starting to have an idea of the world, they are starting to develop their own ideas but they are still very flexible. So in six weeks you really see how they change a lot. The first week they come on board very insecure and some of them at the end are steering the boat like a captain. I think it works really well with 16-year-olds over a longer period. They are out of their comfort zone with

²⁶ The sciences of the major and the minor are compared by Ingold (2018a). For other authors critical of western science, see Scott (1996). I return to this theme in Chapter 6.

a group of kids and they just start developing themselves. It is really nice to see it.

When asked if he had experienced this by himself, he replied:

Yes, but as a crew member, when I started dishwashing 5 years ago. Now I will become first mate in a month, so it's quite a time ago. Some really good captains made a great effort with me, to develop structure really, because I needed to focus.

Jonathan had no previous studies. Although he had the academic intelligence to undertake further studies, he had a dilemma: 'if I do not know what to study, then I am not going to do that'. He saw a lot of study opportunities around him that, for him, didn't make sense. He also saw a lot of his friends just picking a study course because they thought they had to. But he said himself, 'I do not want that, so I didn't study'. Instead, he decided to travel around, and he was going to have as many new experiences as possible and always keep working in different jobs to see new things. The result was: 'I've been 3 years just travelling around, I found 45 jobs. A lot of partying of course but it didn't really have a lot of sense'. Then he thought of doing something serious in his life and he began to study psychology for two months. That was time enough for thinking again:

I am never going to sit on a school bench for years, that's not my life. I really have to move. If I just keep moving all the time, something towards developing is gonna appear. So what I really really like about sailing, and what suits me well, is that you are alive, the job is moving around, which is what I need. I cannot stand still. If I am on the same spot for three months, I will be completely depressed. For me, sailing is just perfect to have a way of living, of having a job that allows me to travel around all the time, have all this fun stuff and also have the challenge to be good at something!

Regarding this process, experienced by Jonathan in the minor key, 'poetic involvement through dwelling, through the practical activities', constituting the taskship in an ocean-sky medium, enters directly into the constitution of his personality, 'not only as a source of nourishment, but also as a source of knowledge', while reciprocally, he enters actively into the constitution of his environment (Ingold 2000: 57). Youngsters with no previous experience of sailing enter an environment in which they find themselves and their differences from one another from the inside of shared activities of enskilment, that is, through a process of 'interstitial differentiation' (Ingold 2018a: 117, see Dewey 1997: 35).

By contrast, Claire started sailing with her parents, who had a yacht, every weekend and holiday. They would sail from England to the Netherlands, France, Belgium. When she finished school, she took a gap year before going to University and worked for a company in Greece. And after that, she ended up on a Dutch tall ship; for the last 4 years she has been sailing on tall ships. The first one was from the Baltic; the second was a German ship. After this, with the same owner, she was on the *Gulden Leeuw* for the last three years during the summer in between university terms. I met her on the *Wylde Swan*, where she told me she had studied audio-engineering at the university, but that was not for her:

I didn't enjoy it from the very first year! But when I start something, I have to finish it. And I had already paid for the first year. University is expensive and then people said, ah, yes, finish it, it is a degree, then you have something. In the future, if sailing finishes, then I can just get a job on land because I have a degree. So I finished it, and there was a subject in the last year that was very nice because it specialised in underwater acoustics, so I had the chance to do my studies on a boat for a while. It was very interesting, I was looking at boat noise and how it impacts the environment.

She told me she had never realised before how much she learnt when she was a child. Sailing was just natural. Although it was a slightly different experience because of the number of people on board - when she was young it was only her parents and a friend of hers; on board the tall ships she was surrounded by a lot of young people – in both cases she enjoyed the company of others, sitting on the foredeck, playing games or other activities. The conversation followed her first statement, when she admitted that from the very first moment she had not enjoyed her studies:

I thought about studying something about sailing, but I didn't realise I wanted it to be my profession. My application to the university was approved and that same year I was accepted for a gap year and I started my sailing. Being already accepted by the university, I had to go and that's the way it was!

She followed by telling me that the difference from being on board and on land for her was the noise:

When I am on land I go to places in which I can be alone. I just go to visit my Mum, it is just her and me in a house, I cook for myself, I do this and then I am very much alone, I see friends but maybe just in the evening, for a coffee. Whereas on board, there are people all the time.

So it is a lot more relaxed at home, I like to be at home, but after a few weeks I am thinking what are the others doing? Sailing makes me happy! That's it!! You are working as a part of a group, you are sailing, you are happy at the end of the day when you finish the tasks you've done.

The interview excerpts from both Jonathan and Claire highlight how their decisions of what paths to follow in their lives were risky. Jonathan seemed comfortable 'waiting upon the appearance of propitious circumstances' (Ingold 2015a: 138), whereas Claire was more about 'doing', with 'leading edges of action' that 'may or may not afford possibilities for carrying on' (Ingold 2015a: 139). Claire, when asked what she imagined her future would look like, and whether this would involve sailing, said:

Yes, for sure, even if it is for short deliveries or maybe working as a pilot, just being in one place, but yes, still on the water, I cannot work in an office. When I was on a ship making my recordings, it was nice because I was sitting there at six in the morning with my water sound track, but after that I was back in the University and sitting there for hours behind a computer. I worked in a small dark library and I was there longer than 9 to 5, just sitting in front of the computer and it was horrible so that was not worth it for me. If I had only had to do the experiments it would have been very nice but the computer coding afterwards, was not really made for me!!

In the science of the minor, 'mind is not a property, but a process, the infolding and unfolding of a continuum of affective relations' (Ingold 2018a: 116); this can be seen in the examples presented of life on board tall ships. The wayfarer, or seafarer in our case, is not being educated, rather the opposite: his education is rendered attentive, opened up in readiness for the 'not yet' of what is to come' (Ingold 2015a: 136). This way education as *exposure* precedes education as attunement. Philosopher of education Jan Masschelein (2010) says that education in this sense has nothing to do with routine objectives such as 'gaining a critical distance' or 'taking up a perspective' on things; it is not primarily about arriving at a point of view. Rather, it is 'about putting this position at stake; it is about exposition, about being out-of-position' (Masschelein 2010: 276-8).

Similarly, with skill, Bateson states that the 'artist's practise always has a double effect: making someone more able to do whatever he is attempting; and, on the other hand, by the phenomenon of habit formation, making someone less aware of how he does it' (Bateson 1972: 138). To this end, Ingold would clarify Bateson's words, saying: less aware but

more concentrated! 'Concentration rather than cognition', as he describes it, 'lies in the affective unison of haptic and kinaesthetic awareness with the movement and vitality of material' (Ingold, forthcoming). Learning a skill is to be responsive and adaptable while moving along, rather than doing it mechanically, as I will show throughout the thesis.

To conclude, while supporting this processual view of reality and honouring the Greek Philosopher Heraclitus, as did Radcliffe-Brown in emphasising 'life as process in continuous movement' (Ingold 2011: 234; Ingold 2008a: 77, see Radcliffe-Brown 1957: 10), I must mention another line of exploration that occurred during my writing period. A group of people, all of whom who truly believed in a world in motion, in which nothing is fixed, reacted to a concluding comment called 'At home on the waves?' by Ingold, while I was in Aberdeen. They noted how they feel that their boat, named *Heraclitus*, serves as their home place, because they have lived there for more than 30 years. They are members of the Institute of Ecotechnics, a US/UK Research organisation whose members built the boat in the California of the 70's. *Heraclitus* is a research boat centre for the ocean and maritime cultures that today, after forty years of sailing and 270,000 nautical miles, is being rebuilt at Roses' shipyard, in Catalonia. When I was back in Barcelona, I visited them.

They truly exemplify the themes and arguments that I am developing in this thesis. They grew up together on board, the boat embracing an extended community, a family, which is now working on rebuilding every part of it. Their lives are totally tied to this project not only when they are sailing, but for the rest of the time as well. They dedicate all their time and efforts to bringing *Heraclitus* back to life. They live at the very threshold of their economic possibilities, all with the aim of completing the reconstruction. This is reminiscent of the work of Miquel Borillo, the captain who first introduced me to these experiences and spent four years working for free in a shipyard in Norway, as will be described in more detail at the beginning of the next chapter. To conclude this introduction, and continue in the vein of honouring Heraclitus, I recall that the crew members of *Heraclitus* include one of his 'Fragments I' in their postcards: 'Whoever cannot seek the unforeseen sees nothing for the known way is an impasse'.

CHAPTER 1. CONTEXTUALISATION AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Places do not have locations but stories (Ingold 2000: 219).

Introduction

In this chapter I will contextualise how I came to know about these sailing experiences for young people and, the various organisations around them. I will also outline my own participation in Sail Training, undertaken during an extended period with a total of four different stages in which I had the chance to experience a number of perspectives within the movement, spending time working also in four different roles. This chapter will provide the wider contextual background for this thesis, and will also describe the methodological approaches I adopted for the research itself.

Being part of the crew meant that I was involved in everything on board. Sometimes, when I had a bit of time to myself, I could settle down and write, but mostly I spent my time with the others. This was important because experiencing differences within the mutuality on board is what everyone on board does in their process of assimilating and fully participating in the experience. Jirásek and Turčová, two of the authors who wrote about experiential learning and outdoor education, which is the focus the study on Sail Training had had until now, mentions that ‘the English word experience does not provide a clear specification and it is not an easy term to define’ (Jirásek and Turčová 2020: 9). ‘Czech language’, they argue:

has three different terms for experience: *prožitek*, *zážitek* and *zkušenost*. The difference is in the sense of temporality. *Prožitek* is the present experience, an intensive way of living, characterised by non-transferability. *Zážitek* refers to past experiencing and *zkušenost* is the processed experience which is transferable’ (Jirásek and Turčová 2020: 15).

This epistemological example is a lovely way to start this chapter, in which the temporality of the experience will give us an overview of my participation in the research.

My First Contact with these Sailing Experiences

A captain, Miquel Borillo, who wanted to promote these experiences amongst youngsters, first told me about Sail Training when I was doing my Master’s degree in

Barcelona. He was a teacher in a high school in Sitges, a town on the Catalan coast, south of Barcelona. We were attending a *Slow fishing* meeting, but the most impressive input I got that afternoon was his life story. Many years of dedication to a Sail Training project for young people in Spain had faded away into the past. The story began once he had finished his degree, when he travelled to Lapland with a friend. On his way back through Norway, he realised that what he had always wanted to do since childhood, was to be involved in the construction of a ship. As a grandson of fishermen in Castello (Valencia), once he saw the Norwegian shipyards with the old ships to restore, he started to formulate a plan. He wanted to promote Sail Training in Spain; for which he would need a ship and some other, equally passionate people to be involved in the project. He worked alongside a friend of his in a shipyard in Bergen for free for four years, in order to get a ship in exchange. Another friend, an English teacher working in Catalonia, covered their expenses so that they could travel back home once a year.

For Miquel, a schooner like *Anne Dortha*, built in 1874 in Sotra (Norway), was the perfect size and layout to promote Sail Training amongst youngsters. After four years working in the shipyard, the schooner *Anne Dortha* was theirs and they moved it to Castello (Spain). This was a dream come true. A School at Sea was opened in Castello, where Miquel was born. The project was a success, and over time more people became interested in it. Particularly, the *Barcelona fes-te a la mar* Association and *Consorti el Far* became interested in it and proposed moving it to Barcelona. In 2006 her restoration was financed and completed by these institutions and the name of the ship was changed to *Far Barcelona*.

Even though the ship was then ready to sail, the bigger school located in Barcelona continued to promote Sail Training for only a short period. There was a spike in engagement with the activity when the ship was sailed back to Bergen full of Spanish youngsters, during the tall ships races in 2008. For further information on this, there is a section 'El Retorn als seus Orígens' in the book *Barcelona i la Vela Tradicional* (Blanc and others 2010: 152-165). However, the life project of these three youngsters who wanted to promote Sail Training in Spain and had got off to such a good start after their personal effort, becoming a bigger project in Barcelona, led to many conflicts of interest amongst the Association Consortia el Far, the harbour, the Department of Education and the Barcelona local authority. These

tensions, pulling in various different directions, unfortunately caused the project to collapse over the next few years.

When I met Miquel, even though he was no longer involved in Sail Training, it was clear that every single thought and breath related him to his boat. Miquel was the owner of *Anne Dorteia* and he had originally lent it to the School at Sea in order to promote Sail Training. With the School at Sea, it was possible for it to be restored to some of its former glory, and most important of all, it was ready to sail with youngsters aboard.

Nowadays, unfortunately, *Far Barcelona* is simply part of the Inventory of the Maritime Museum in Barcelona, implying that it is no longer useful for overnight sailing. What I learned from this life story is that the ship was alive when the people who took care of it maintained it, and kept this purpose going. When the ship was abandoned and forgotten, no longer part of Sail Training, its original purpose, its owner and its participants also felt alone, and abandoned. From then on, the ship was part of a much larger community composed of *Consortia el Far*, backed by financial support from other local authorities and institutions. The boat was affected by its new context, becoming an exhibit in the Museum rather than a living shelter for young people to explore the maritime environment.

Miquel looked back on parts of his life with a combination of longing and frustration, frustrated especially that the way things had worked out was not what he had ever expected for *Anne Dorteia*. He had the feeling that the supreme effort he and his colleagues had put in was not being replicated or supported by the School at Sea. The *Consortia el Far*, the city Council of Barcelona and Barcelona Harbour administration - all of them external groups of institutions - mistrusted the project or had simply lost interest in running it.

Since my first experience I was able to appreciate the difference of cultural interest in these sailing projects depending on which countries were involved. In Scandinavia or the North of Europe, there were ancestral stories from a sailing culture still ongoing today. But in southern Europe, the continuity of the sailing tradition is largely broken, so that young people who want to go sailing have no memories from their own experience or that of previous generations on which to draw. Government legislation concerning sailing imposes policies and requirements on crews and owners, as well as taxes for mooring, that are not within everyone's reach.

For instance, in Catalonia, even though we have a substantial coastline, there is not such a maritime culture as some studies promoted by the Heritage Research Department have suggested (Carbonell et al. 2011). The maritime environment has a remarkable history of state control. Studies on fishing show how Spanish government has regulated this environment. In the eighteenth century, people living on the Catalonian coast who wanted to be fishermen, needed to have done their military service in the navy (Pijoan 2011). Afterwards, they could apply for a *Matrícula de mar* to have access to a boat in order to work as fishermen. Eliseu Carbonell (2014), in his research on oral memory discovered much conflict in the fishing industry. Fishermen's associations, called *Confraries de Pescadors*²⁷ seem to have been hierarchical structures, in which conflicts between owners of the licensed boats and the daily workers at sea were common. The associations provided protection covering their health necessities and spiritual worship, but when a problem between employees and owners of the boats arose, the owners were more protected.

The sea environment can present extreme conditions, as we can also see from Penny McCall Howard's (2012) dissertation on fishing on the West Coast of Scotland. Under these conditions, agreements among fishermen over returns on labour were difficult to reach without a balanced distribution of the profits. In this regard, Carbonell (2014) mentions a moral economy that should be included in maritime heritage:

Conflictive episodes have not been properly collected in the literature on popular culture, and are absent from heritage presentations of maritime culture in museum displays and other expressions of intangible heritage. The oral memory of the seafaring world gives us access to this type of conflict, to a more genuine description of the culture, affording a view of what was considered legitimate and what was not, in other words, a sense of the moral economy that should also be included in the professional field of maritime heritage (Carbonell 2014: 209).

Thus, this hard and laborious place of work was fraught with moral conflict. In case of disagreement, the mediator was also the naval authority in the region. But, as Carbonell (2014) asserts for oral history, as well as in the case of an actual encounter in which the

²⁷ *Pescadors*: Fishermen.

workers were prioritised over the owner of the boat (Pijoan 2011), conflicts, and stories surrounding them, arise within the very activity of fishing.

These conflicts arise, too, in Sail Training. It takes only one youngster not to want to participate to disturb the efforts of all the rest; if he or she is not with the others, there is a noticeable lack of collaboration which affects the rhythms of tasks and relationships. The struggles and victories aboard a tall ship are what really make this shared experience fulfilling for them.

From past to present, there are still differences in regulations for sailing in different countries. For instance, no sailing licence for sailing your boat in Finland is necessary whereas, as Tomas, a Spanish engineer on the *Wylde Swan*, told me:

In Spain, this type of culture towards the sea, has been lost a lot ... in France or Holland, it is full of boats of the XIX or XX century ... for them that is something that is alive. We have the culture that if it is old, throw it away and make a new one. We had an empire that was based on the sea. And everything has vanished.

I want to have a personal sailboat ... as if it were my house. I like to be at sea, but I would not buy it in Spain, because it is completely unviable. A round the world voyage if you have a Spanish ship is just impossible! You have to do a Technical Inspection of the Vehicle (ITV) every year, but they do not contemplate that maybe you are on the opposite side of the world. Taxes and economic conditions for sailing are not accessible to most people in Spain. Ports are very expensive. A boat of about 30 feet (9 meters) long, in the Netherlands can cost you 1500 euros per year. In Spain it will cost you 400 euros per month.

The control and regulation of the sea environment in every country, and consequently, of the way people can be related to it, is an important factor that will help us understand different attitudes and organisations aboard the different boats I have sailed on. I must mention at this point that I was talking about Spain, just because the story of *Far Barcelona* contrasts with the attention given by the majority of the population, governments, institutions and participants to other tall ships. Nowadays there are only a few of them left, but they are still sailing around the world as they used to in olden days. It seems that in the case of *Far Barcelona*, Tomas' rule had been applied: 'what is old, needs to be renewed'.

Contrasting realities: Host Ports in Spain

Despite this lack of maintaining an old boat alive, when Spanish ports welcome tall ships, it becomes a maritime heritage event, with financial and political support. As the mayor of *Cádiz* asserted:

The tall ships regatta became a great opportunity for us to sell our cultural, gastronomic and historical heritage, in which our tourist offices attended to 40,000 visitors in four days. José Maria González, *La Vanguardia* newspaper, 1.8.2016.

Or the mayor of *A Coruña*: 'The tall ships races are one of the best attractions of the María Pita city main festival' Xuno Ferreiro. *La Voz de Galicia* newspaper, 5.5.2016.

The introduction of the tall ships races²⁸ in 1956, and the associated maritime festivals that have grown up since, have helped keep these vessels alive. Through the tall ships races, or international classical boat meetings, great tourist heritage events are generated, where tall ships are exhibited and become the focus of admiration. Consequently, as seen in the quotations from the city mayors above, there are cities that are interested in being a host port²⁹ of a tall ships race, because these meetings draw many people and are a source of revenue from tourism. Host ports holding gatherings of tall ships appeal to a maritime heritage, in this case a mobile maritime heritage, because the vessels are not only exhibited, but also afterwards will set sail just like in old times. Some institutionalised military or government vessels also join in the events if they are sailing nearby at the time of the tall ship races. In her *Tall Ships Handbook*, Butcher (2014) asserts that 'most of us use the term tall ship to mean a large traditionally rigged sailing vessel'. However:

even though the term tall ship makes them think of historical vessels, in museums, a few of them are still seagoing. Today's definition of the tall ships comes from the need to provide a fair system of

²⁸ The **Tall Ship Races** (TSR) are open to any monohull vessel of more than 9.14m water line length, provided that at least 50 percent of the crew is aged between 15 and 25 years old and that the vessel meets Sail Training International's safety equipment requirements. People of all abilities can take part, even those with mental and physical disabilities. No person under the age of fifteen is allowed on board a vessel during a race, a cruise in company, or any associated events. Trainees may join for all or part of the race series.

Race: The tall ships sail from harbour to harbour under sail, without starting the engine.

Cruise in company: The tall ships sail from harbour to harbour, stopping over in different places during the cruise.

Regatta: It is like a race but the age factor of more than half of the crew aged 15 to 25 is not compulsory.

²⁹ **Host port:** Harbour in which a tall ship event is held.

handicapping for the tall ships races by the organisers, Sail Training International (Butcher, 2014: 6).

This event is coordinated by the National Sail Training Association (in the case of Spain, the STA E), the relevant city council, the marina and port management, and usually takes place on the dates that interest the respective cities, whether for important festivals or commemorations of any kind such as Independence celebrations, in the case of Canada and *Rendez-Vous* 2017. Many volunteers are also required, the main ones being called official *liaison officers*, who are the support figures for each ship in the respective ports. In exchange for collaboration in the promotion of both the recognition of the tall ships as wealth assets, and of the participation of Sail Training³⁰, when Sail Training International signs a contract with a port or city, it obliges the relevant institutions to deposit a fund to finance or to award grants for local youngsters to embark. This helps to promote these experiences among those who still do not know about Sail Training. This was the case for some of the young people who were part of my third stage in the field. They came from the cities of *Cádiz*, *A Coruña* and *Maó*.

Young people who embark in a harbour are planning their voyages, getting to know everyone, organising the watches and doing their first practices with the boat in port. But the young people who have already sailed to that port, for whom the boat is already familiar, are invited to collaborate on guided tours showing tall ships to visitors. Often these visitors are the relatives of these young people, who come to pick them up at the end of the voyage, or other tourists. These kinds of events, as well as some dinners aboard or short sailing receptions, help to maintain an income for the boat. After two or three days on shore, trainees and crew have to be patient with these visits and get used to them, because they are a source of funding for the purpose of sailing.

Sail Training International

Sail Training International (STI) is an international organisation composed of national Sail Training organisations in 29 countries around the world. The national Sail Training Association

³⁰ As stated by Amanda Butcher: 'Many of the vessels that enter these races offer a form of adventure training for young people, called "Sail Training", so they earn their living by selling berths on board. Some vessels will take adults, including those with disabilities' (Butcher, 2014: 6).

in Spain, is in charge of spreading the values promoted by STI, as well as disseminating maritime culture and heritage, and the protection of its environment. STI is based in Hampshire, United Kingdom, as a registered charity, but has members and organises activities around the world.³¹

As a charity, STI focuses mainly on youngsters from different backgrounds and on promoting experiences at sea for them. Thus, in some of their rules and regulations they manage not only the event but in great part also the funding which enables the young people to participate. In this sense, their vision consists of: 'working with ports and ships to provide experiences and contribute to host communities through their events'; 'offering an inspirational international cultural experience that is a powerful symbol of a better society'; 'fostering understanding across nations and cultures through providing Sail Training to young people around the world inspiring them to live a fulfilling life'; 'enabling and funding young people from different backgrounds, especially those with fewer opportunities, to have challenging experiences and opportunities to develop life skills through living, working and interacting together'.³²

The main objectives of STI are hold heritage events in harbours and to offer sailing experiences for young people on tall ships. On the one hand, it is to revive tall ships as living heritage, by providing opportunities for youngsters to practice maritime skills (Del Màrmol, Frigolé, Narotsky, 2010: 10). On the other hand, it is to provide youngsters with experiences that will endure for the rest of their lives.

³¹ In the United Kingdom, an organisation can describe itself as a charity only if it is on the official 'Charity Register'. A charity is a type of non-profit organisation (NPO) with philanthropic goals, such as educational or religious, while responding to public interest or the common good. The legal definition of the charitable organisation varies depending on the country or region of the country where it operates. The regulation, fiscal treatment, and the way the law affects charities are linked to these definitions. The return of taxes, revenues from the collection of funds, revenues from the sale of goods and services or revenues from investments are important indicators of the financial viability of a charitable organisation. This information has an impact on the reputation of the organisation with donors and society, and therefore on its viability. Organizations primarily involved in political campaigns or lobbying do not qualify as charities for tax purposes, but trusts for them may be considered charitable. In addition to tax-exempt status, charities have also generally been granted immunity from tort suits.

³² Quoted from www.sailtraininginternational.org

Host ports in tall ship races.



Fig.4



Fig.5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig.9



Fig. 10



Fig.11

Figures 4-7: Tall ships in Lerwick harbour, the Shetland Islands, Scotland. July 2011.

Figures 8-11: Tall ships in Stavanger harbour, Norway. August 2011.

Tall ships, Races and Regattas that have been Part of this Study

Sail Training International (STI) achieves its primary objective of educating young people to develop essential life abilities through a range of activities and services, such as:

- Annual International Conferences and Seminars, which are a meeting point for all the institutions and professionals who work in Sail Training.
- Meetings of tall ships to participate in tall ship races or races between European cities and other longer races such as International Races.
- Publications and promotion of international research.
- The promotion of a forum of the great *class A* sailboats.
- The financing of the Youth Group of Sail Training International, which includes representatives, who must be under the age of 26, from every participating country in the world.

Captain Miquel Borillo told me in one of my initial interviews how much he has been convinced about his project with *Anne Dorthea*:

This is the strong point that Sail Training International has, this is it! They have a unique product. And that is at its heart, the essence of everything. Because when you go out to sea with these forces of nature on board a ship, this can reverse your way of seeing things, like turning a sack inside out. You can become capable of doing what you were not able to do. You can do what you had never imagined you could do. The one you believed or thought of as so strong, turned out to be frightened, whereas you were calm. Furthermore, in addition to all these qualities you can get on board that can change your personality, the boat takes you to other parts of the world, while allowing you to meet new youngsters from other cultures and countries. It becomes a full circle! It is a product that has undeniable values, proof of this is: the young people who experience it. This stays with them in a very positive way.

Borillo highlights the product of Sail Training as a benefit for young people, although this type of experience for young people is the subject of a process of re-appropriation of the traditional Western art of the sailing.³³ Expert crew are present to train novices in the

³³ This idea mostly comes from my experience in the field. Hamilton's book (1988), and other work on Sail Training coming from outdoor education programmes, find the origin of Sail Training in either Alan Villiers's first

necessary knowledge and skills. In parallel to STI, outdoor education programs have also worked alongside researchers in the subject, such as Kenneth McCulloch and Pete Allison at the University of Edinburgh, and others to be mentioned in the following section on 'Outdoor education', to create a foundation of legitimacy for these experiences.

The type of vessels that can participate in these events can also have a modern structure, if it meets the condition of providing a space for the training and development of young people. Therefore, Sail Training is carried out on:

- Tall ships, with demanding work aloft and on deck;
- Small ships, within more intimate teams;
- As part of the annual tall ships races and regattas.

Sail Training International organises races of tall ships annually, normally during the summer period, in Europe and the North Atlantic, attracting a fleet of up to 130 training sailing vessels and millions of visitors to European ports. The travel legs tend to have a voyage duration of 10 days, after which, upon arrival at the next port, there is a change of crew. The races, which can only be strictly sailing, are held every year in European waters and are usually made up of three sections (race 1 red colour in map image, race 2 orange, race 3 blue colour, and a 'cruise in company'³⁴ (yellow colour with discontinuous line) between these (see maps below). An essential condition of participation is that half (fifty percent) of each boat's crew participating in the races must be composed of young people between 15-25 years old, who do not need to have any prior sailing experience.³⁵

round-the-world sailing with young people or in the work of educator Kurt Hahn. The comparison I make with the vanishing art of sailing in the Pacific, regarding skills of navigation in the West or amongst Pacific navigators, highlights the need to keep traditional arts alive.

³⁴ **Cruise in company:** Leg during the tall ships races, in which in addition to sailing, different ports are visited. This is different from race or competition legs, in which there is a line of departure and a line of arrival. To take part in the cruise in company, a vessel must also take part in at least one race.

³⁵ Quoted from www.sailtraininginternational.org

These are the tall ships races and regattas in which I participated: TSR 2011 (Figure 12), 2012 (Figure 13) and 2016 (Figure 14) and Regatta *Rendez-Vous* 2017 (Figure 15):

TALL SHIPS RACES 2011

TALL SHIPS RACES 2012

TALL SHIPS RACES 2016



Figures from www.sailtraininginternational.org

Rendez-Vous 2017: International Sail Training also organises regattas, in several seas around the world, in which participation is open to all ages and there is no limitation that fifty percent of the crew must be young. The Atlantic route that I went on in 2017 was part of the Regatta *Rendez-Vous* 2017, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Independence of Canada.

Tall ships races and regattas, and sailing itself, are environmentally friendly practices. Although vessels do need to use engines at times, there are no emissions during sailing because they harness the power of the wind to move. Some also generate their own electricity on board with solar panels and wind generators. Many tall ships owners and operators prioritise using green shipbuilding skills. Lots of these new vessels use green technologies, and everyone on board is focused on sustainability.

For instance, there are sailing expeditions to gather data from the oceans such as the ones on *Pelican*: https://youtu.be/4n_HRvIcX5E and on *Morgenster*, where they collaborated with *By the Ocean We Unite* (BTOWU). There are other projects in which cargo ships under sail are run doing Sail Training with youngsters, such as the tall ships from the project ECOCLIPPER.org.

STI has an internal regulation specifically suited specific kinds of vessel. Vessels are classified into four types, depending on their rigging.³⁶

The following is an overview of Sail Training International four classes of vessel:³⁷

CLASS A: All square-rigged vessels (barque, barquentine, brig, brigantine or ship rigged) with a length of hull (LOA: length over all, including the bowsprit)³⁸ of over 24 metres and all other vessels more than 40 metres LOA, regardless of rig.

CLASS B: Traditionally rigged vessels (i.e. gaff rigged sloops, ketches, yawls and schooners) with an LOA of less than 40 metres and with a waterline length (LWL: water line length) of at least 9.14 metres.

CLASS C: Modern rigged vessels (i.e. Bermudan rigged sloops, ketches, yawls and schooners) with an LOA of less than 40 metres and with a waterline length (LWL) of at least 9.14 metres not carrying spinnaker-like sails.

CLASS D: Modern rigged vessels (i.e. Bermudan rigged sloops, ketches, yawls and schooners) with an LOA of less than 40 metres and with a waterline length (LWL) of at least 9.14 metres carrying spinnaker-like sails.³⁹

³⁶ **Rigging:** All the lines and their fittings on a vessel. The standing rigging supports the mast or masts. The running rigging raises, lowers and controls the sails.

Rig: The arrangement of a vessel's masts and sails.

Squaresail: A four-sided sail hung from a spar called a yard.

Spar: A mast, boom, yard or other support for sails, originally of wood.

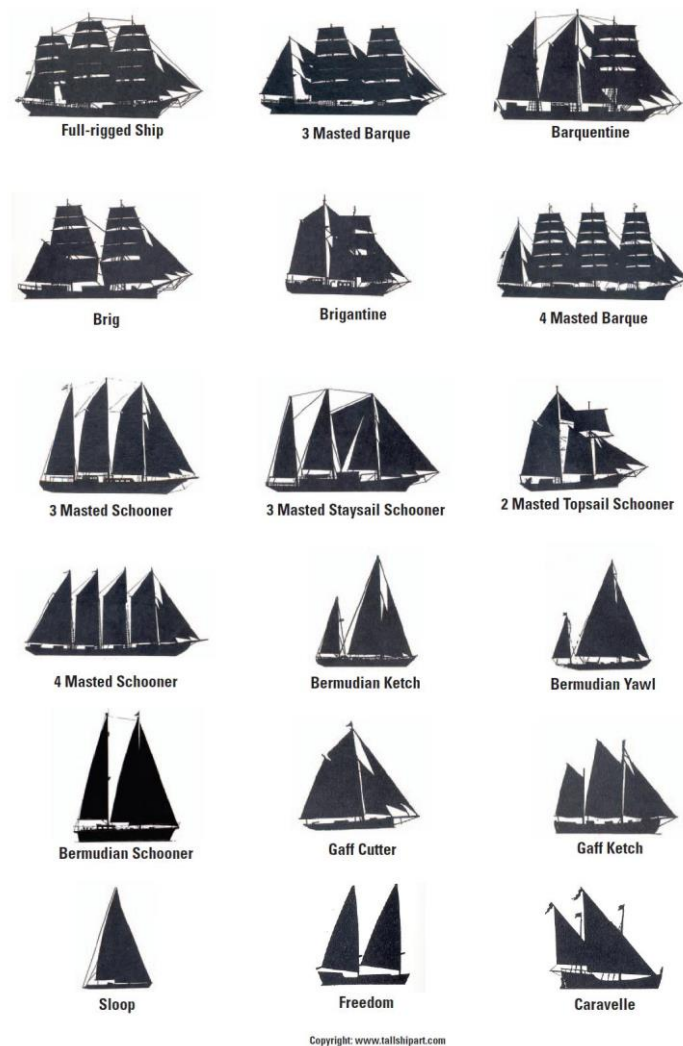
All from Liberman's glossary, 1989: 188.

³⁷ <https://sailtraininginternational.org/sailtraining/definition-of-a-tall-ship/>

³⁸ **Bowsprit:** A spar projecting forward from the bow (Liberman, 1989: 188).

³⁹ **Spinnaker:** A large, lightweight three-cornered sail set on the foremast for sailing downwind (Liberman, 1989: 188).

In the pictures below we can see some different class A and B vessel models (Figure 16):⁴⁰



Outdoor Education: Origins and Literature Related to Sail Training

Each culture has its way of travelling and of adapting this to educational ends that are rooted in its own history (Loynes 2010: 12)

This section is a review of the literature on Sail Training and the origins of outdoor education, especially in Great Britain, where the STI is based, but also in Norway and in the

⁴⁰ **Barque:** A sailing vessel with three or more masts, square-rigged on all but the aftermost mast, which is fore and-aft rigged.

Barquentine: A vessel of three or more masts, square rigged on the foremast only, fore and-aft rigged on the others.

Brig: A sailing ship with two masts, square-rigged on both.

Brigantine: A two-masted sailing vessel, square-rigged on the foremast only.

Schooner: A fore and aft-rigged vessel, with two or more masts, the second carrying the main sail. (Lieberman's glossary, 1989: 188)

Czech Republic. Most of the current research focusing on Sail Training experiences that I encountered during my reading approaches these aspects from the angle of the sociology of education. The specific demands of the discipline mean that this work often focuses on themes such as the best ways of learning, Sail Training as a form of outdoor education, informal versus formal education, community life and the socialisation of young people in an outdoor context.

The first publications on Sail Training were produced by the Universities of Sydney (Finkelstein and Goodwin 2005) and Otago, New Zealand (Grocott 1999), Flinders, South Australia (Rogers 2004) and Edinburgh (McCulloch 2002), together with publications in journals such as the *Journal of Experiential Education* (Allison and Pomeroy 2000), *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership* (Davidson 2001, Gordon et al. 1996), *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* (McCulloch 2004), *Ethnography and Education* (McCulloch 2007), and the *Oxford Review of Education* (McCulloch et al. 2010). Overall, they present this experience as one with guaranteed success.

Previous extended analyses of Sail Training such as *Four Days Before the Mast: A Study of Sail Training in the UK* by Kenneth McCulloch (2002) and *Exploring the Sail Training Voyage as a Cultural Community* by Eric Fletcher (2017), are based on short programmes (from four to fifteen days) aboard with UK organisations. McCulloch analyses individual experiences through psychological theory, arguing that the boundedness or enclosure of life on board leads to a powerful learning experience. Fletcher explores the Sail Training voyage as establishing a 'cultural community', and shows how it can generate beneficial educational outcomes on three co-dependent planes of analysis, 'personal through apprenticeship', 'interpersonal by guided participation' and 'community processes by participatory appropriation' (Rogoff 2014). In the same way, Capurso and Borsci (2013) present pre- and post-voyage analyses of short Sail Training programs; in their case, in Nave Italia with a hierarchical organisation run by naval officers. They were unable to discover any long-term effects after the Sail Training experience, so in their results, they proposed that 'projects of this kind should track continuity of the relationships among the crew and the boat over time' (Capurso and Borsci 2013). I have seen the long-term effects Capurso and Borsci were looking for on the *Wylde Swan*, giving stability over time to young people that come after a winter

programme, sailing with them as crew, as I will explain later in this thesis. The three-month voyage on *Astrid* undertaken by Norris and Weinman (1996) sought to analyse self-esteem from a psychological perspective, but we have no other conclusions from it.

Other studies, however, focus principally on the transformative experience of the voyage as a rite of passage, during which the participants abandon their past lives in order to prepare for a new role in society (e.g. Cleland 2011, Smith Wyatt 2012).

A larger study carried out by the University of Edinburgh between 2005 and 2007, under the title *The Characteristics and Value of the Sail Training Experience*, collected data from all sizes of vessels, targeting 30 voyages and 300 trainees. From this material, other articles were published, especially by Kenneth McCulloch and Pete Allison.⁴¹

Some of these projects are still being carried out at the University of Edinburgh, where Pete Allison⁴² has been director of the School of Education and from where he has conducted research on Sail Training. He directs several projects related to outdoor education, and has written about its origins, especially in Great Britain. He remarks that ‘three notable characters have influenced outdoor education in the UK: John Longland, Kurt Hahn and Surgeon George Murray Levick’. For Longland the emphasis was on social deprivation: ‘Jack Longland’s commitment was to alleviating poverty and providing opportunities for young people to mature into responsible members of society through residential outdoor education centres’ (Allison 2020: 34); while ‘for Hahn and Levick they were concerned with improving the individual so that they could contribute to society (very similar to John Dewey’s philosophy of education)’ (Allison 2020: 28).

Murray Levick followed the famous 1910-1913 Expedition to Antarctica with Captain Scott and returned to the UK to serve in both the First and Second World Wars. In 1932, as a result of his experiences specifically on the Terra Nova expedition, he took a group of boys from Grammar Schools on an expedition to Lapland and founded the Public Schools Exploring Society (PSES), which is now the British Exploring Society (BES). PSES continued with expeditions to jungles, The Arctic, high altitude and desert wilderness areas’, ‘focusing on

⁴¹ See Allison et al. 2007, McCulloch 2004, 2007, McCulloch et al. 2010.

⁴² Pete Allison is currently professor at the University of Pennsylvania (USA).

personal development through science and adventure' (Allison 2020: 29). Later 'youth development through expedition organisations were established, such as The Brathay Exploration group (1947), The Yorkshire Schools Exploring Society (1964) and Operation Drake/Raleigh (1978)' (Allison 2020: 30).

Kurt Hahn, for his part, continued the development of youth expeditions for educational purposes, for which his contribution is recognised in John Hamilton's book on Sail Training (1988). He was born in Berlin to Jewish parents and studied philosophy at various universities, although never completed a degree. With the help of Prince Max of Baden, with whom he worked as secretary, he subsequently co-founded Salem School in Bavaria, Germany, in 1919 (Allison 2020: 30). Salem was built in order to create community leaders among their students (Hamilton 1988). In the 1930s, this school already had a reputation all over Europe. However, in 1932, Hahn came out against the Nazis, which led to his arrest in March 1933. He was released and exiled to Britain that same year, thanks to the influence of the British Prime Minister (Ramsey MacDonald), who previously knew of his work (Hamilton 1988). He was released and moved to the UK where he founded Gordonstoun School in 1934 (Allison 2020: 31). Gordonstoun was established in Elgin, Morayshire, and has had many notable students, such as the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales (Hamilton 1988: 36).

Pete Allison and Nick Veevers (2011) have written a biography of Hahn's work *Kurt Hahn. Inspirational, Visionary, Outdoor and Experiential Educator*, as a tribute to an experimental pedagogue, a pioneer of outdoor education, and (with Alfred Holt) the founder and director of Outward Bound.⁴³ During that time, as Allison notes, 'Hahn was focused on influencing the work of the Norwood Committee that informed the 1944 Education Act – to this day the most important legislation for education in the UK', offering further confirmation that 'Hahn was first and foremost interested in education reform and saw politics as a crucial route to achieve it' (Allison 2020: 31).

In the words of Kurt Hahn: 'The aim of education is to encourage people to experience training values, to ensure the survival of qualities such as an entrepreneurial curiosity, an invincible spirit, perseverance in goals, wisdom and, above all, compassion' (Allison and Veers

⁴³ Alfred Holt was owner of the Blue Funnel Line from 1866, and the Ocean Steam Ship Company.

2011). The Outward Bound⁴⁴ training program continued after the war with the aim of preparing young people for life and their future professional careers. Outward Bound programmes aim to promote the personal growth and social skills of the participants through the experience of expeditions. Nowadays these programmes have come under the aegis of what is known as the Duke of Edinburgh Award.

Loynes notes that in Great Britain, outdoor education:

moved from nationalistic values of imperial traditions to environmental, adventure and service expeditions, traditions from the past were engrained and persistent. From cold and remote places to hot and inhabited ones, by the end of the 1980s, an immersion in another culture had become a common element of a youth expedition programme as exposure to a contrasting and dramatic landscape (Loynes 2010: 11).

However, in northern countries, as I noticed when sailing with the Swedes or Finns, historical approaches to outdoor education build less on this sense of adventure, in the exploration and conquest of unknown lands, and more on the habitation of a known environment, from which people derive a sense of belonging and identity.

In Scandinavia, *Friluftsliv* was the name for their versions of outdoor education, fostering people's relationships with the land as part of the process of building a sense of national identity, along with the celebration of old ways of fishing and farming [...]. Unlike British expeditions, that seek to explore unknown places, this is a practice that relates people to their landscape as home (Henderson & Vikander 2007 in Loynes 2010: 12).

Additionally, as Synnevåg Løvoll (2020) states, 'nature has been available along with the Norwegian public's right to free access in uncultivated land' (Synnevåg Løvoll 2020: 19, see Reusch 2012); and 'many families have access to summer farms due to late urbanisation and the continuous use of mountains for harvesting' (Synnevåg Løvoll 2020: 19). These factors partly, perhaps, explain the differences in approach to outdoor education noted above.

Another key movement in this field is the Czech outdoor education program called *Turistika*, 'in which journeying was used as a way to maintain the culture of the people under

⁴⁴ Outward Bound (OB) today is an independent, non-profit, and open-air international organisation with around 40 schools around the world.

Russian occupation, rather than explore the cultures of other people' (Neuman 2000, in Loynes 2010: 12). According to Jirásek and Turčová (2020: 9), the Czech term *turistika*, covering ways of travelling that explore natural as well as cultural phenomena, stresses its character as a learning activity.

At this point in the review of literature and its origins in outdoor education, I must say that my anthropological study of Sail Training goes beyond its core in the countries of Europe, and does not frame the activity of sailing exclusively in terms of educational objectives, but rather considers it 'in the round' as a total, immersive and potentially life-changing experience. The comparisons we draw, then, are not so much with other outdoor educational activities (such as skiing, camping, etc.) but with the sailing of other peoples around the world. Thus my concern is not with the Sail Training programme itself, but with experiences of sailing as ways *of*, and *for*, life.

Interestingly enough, in one of the most recent articles about Sail Training called 'The Question of significance: Tall Ship Sailing and Virtue Development', Pete Allison, Aaron Marshall and Jonathan Hearn gather a summary of interviews on long-term life effects of the sailing experience (Allison et al. 2019: 19). In their report, Allison et al. conclude that 'Class Afloat'⁴⁵ participants perceive their experience as significant in their personal and social development, not only during the voyage but in life afterwards, influencing their concept of personal identity, their later careers, marriage and parenthood, which indicates that some of this learning takes some time to be processed (Allison et al. 2020: 95). I will develop this idea in a section of Chapter 4. These experiences are not about a rite of passage, as Cleland (2011) and Smith Wyatt (2012) argued. As Michel Serres (1997) explains with the story of a swimmer breasting the river current in between its two banks: life is in the middle, following the different changes and rhythms, with the swimmer in a process of continuous adaptation. Having been 'in between', even very close to the river bank, the swimmer, and by extension the wayfarer or seafarer, is able to stay in the current, without needing to retreat to a secure

⁴⁵ Class Afloat is 'a sailing voyage of one or two semesters involving high school students, who also gained education credits for taking part. It was founded in 1984 in a residential tall ship sailing programme' (Allison et al. 2020: 94).

position on one bank or the other. What is being discussed here is not a change of social status; rather it is an experience for life.

To conclude this section, I have to mention that one of the articles that first attracted my attention was by McCarthy and Kotzee (2010), who compare Sail Training with land-based youth development activities.⁴⁶ Here they highlight ‘the unique environment aboard and the particular demands of sailing as an activity’ (McCarthy and Kotzee 2010). In the same way, the ‘Systematic Review of Sail Training literature’, by Manu Schiff et al. (2017), concluded that ‘the unique nature of Sail Training remains a repeated claim within the current research’ (Schiff et al. 2017: 176). I aim to go further with this theme, discussing it through the perception of the environment in such an experience, as well as in comparing sea and land in building landscapes and taskship as a way of life. In an ocean-sky world our attention requires us to be constantly alert, and that makes the lived experiences unique, with lasting effects on participants for the rest of their lives.

The Methodological Approach: Four Stages with Different Roles

Participant observation is a practice of correspondence: a way of living attentively with those among whom we work. It is not ethnographic, rather educational. To undergo this education is to join with others in an ongoing exploration of what the possibilities and potentials of life might be (Ingold 2015a: 157).

Stage One: My Own Experience

I joined my first tall ship in Lerwick, in the Shetland Islands, Scotland, during the tall ships race of 2011. This route can be seen in the maps provided in the section ‘Tall Ships, Races and Regattas’. I was on a Swedish schooner: *Constantia*. I sailed with them from Lerwick to Stavanger (Norway). From there I joined *Sirma*, a Belgian class D boat to Laeso (Denmark) and I ended up on *St Iv*, an Estonian class C, from Laeso to Halmstad (Sweden). The latter was the smallest Sail Training boat only eleven metres long and I had expected only to be sailing on it for a day, the shortest leg of my journey. However, I ended up going through the worst

⁴⁶ During my stay in Aberdeen I had the chance to meet Ben Kotzee in a workshop at the School of Education. Interestingly enough he was a sailor himself and, in his presentation on the philosophy of education he remarked that ‘what is unexpected is when we admire independent intellectual performance’, ‘all starts accidentally, it’s a matter of cultural routine’ and ‘what is clever is passing it to the next generation’. Sir Duncan Rice Library, Aberdeen, 1st of May 2019.

storm I have ever encountered at sea. It lasted five stormy watches, during which we just maintained a zig-zag tacking course. I can truly state that at sea, you never know what will happen, because on all the other occasions I sailed after this first experience, not even in the Atlantic crossing, did I go through a storm like that one. I will describe my first storm at sea in detail in Chapter 3.

Stage Two: Being a Mentor On Board

I decided to continue participating in these experiences, drawing on them as the subject of my study after my first sailing experience, because of the strong feeling I had that Sail Training was not solely about learning how to sail, but about building relationships on board. At that time, and for the following stage, my tutor suggested I should join in with some young people who would be starting from scratch, since they are the primary demographic supported and funded to participate in Sail Training. I was able to undertake this in 2012, the year that tall ships races visited Spain and there was funding for Spanish trainees. I joined two International Exchanges (IE) with thirteen Catalan youngsters as a Spanish mentor. The first IE was on board *Lord Nelson*, from Oporto (Portugal) to *A Coruña* (Spain), and the second on board *Pelican of London* from *A Coruña* to Dublin (UK).

My role as a mentor allowed me to be on board during these two international exchanges, in which there were other groups of 5-6 participants, each from a different country. The European Union funded a part of these exchanges within the *Youth in Action Program*, as ERASMUS + projects. Therefore, there were parallel 'programmes' on board: the habitual Sail Training activity on board tall ships and another one with the IE funding. The latter sponsored mentors and also created opportunities to get to know the city where the ship was anchored in harbour, with events put on by the host port country group. These included introducing features from different cultures to the others; giving traditional sweets or food from the participant countries to others; or cooking traditional meals on board. Traditional sweets and food had previously been transported from home by every member of the new crew. These IE activities were promoted on shore and, when possible, at sea.

My function as a mentor was to prepare these programmes with the mentors from other countries, meeting all the trainees from my country and when possible, getting them to introduce themselves. Meeting and getting to know their parents was also necessary. As a

Spanish mentor, I experienced how the organisation selling these voyages worked at promoting these experiences on board. Since I had proposed to make these experiences the subject of my study, they asked me to be a Spanish mentor. I had to ask youngsters myself to enrol in Sail Training, because here in Spain the presence of tall ships it is not common, and if they exist, there is no group of youngsters already organised to go sailing on them.

Thanks to my previous research with fishermen, and having gathered data for a maritime heritage project during my Master's research, I knew a group of people whom I thought might be interested in taking part in Sail Training. I sent the information about these sailing experiences along with an offer of scholarships for any young people who wished to enrol in different organisations, such as the Latin Sail boats from the Mediterranean, to some high schools which were running boat-building projects for young people, and to sailing clubs such as in Sitges, the town where I was living. I always let everyone know that I was doing fieldwork for my research but no one cared too much about it: I met parents and youngsters, and they asked me about my previous experience. These conversations led to some complicated discussions, in which parents might express a keen interest in their child being involved, but the young person would decline. A few times these parents asked me what to do, and I replied: 'nothing, you cannot force him to take part'. He won't collaborate with the others; to enrol him without his agreement is not possible. They have the chance to say: 'No'! Otherwise, his presence would only cause more problems once on board.

Previous to my sailing voyages, I attended a meeting of mentors together with some of the trainees in Lisbon. This was a weekend called Advance Planning Visit (APV)⁴⁷, also funded by the *Youth in Action Project*. During this meeting I sometimes felt that my research was being questioned. Some of the other mentors present tried to convince me that no-one could do research on Sail Training, since what this process really consists of is experiencing it for oneself. Reflecting on this APV weekend from my perspective as a mentor, I would say that it is perhaps better to have an initial meeting with the crew to see what is possible to do with the IE programme. Incorporating these experiences into the wider, very busy schedule of sailing is challenging, and so the permanent crew can sometimes lack the proper time and attention. Attention to the boat and to the environment is continual and of prime importance

⁴⁷ See footnote 23.

throughout the entire journey, whereas the rest of the activities, especially the IE activities, can be played out in the harbour. Previous contact with the crew is the norm nowadays, with more mentors who have already been sailing with a boat, and who have already met the permanent crew beforehand.

Much of the funding for these Sail Training experiences comes from external organisations. This can raise a number of organisational opportunities as well as administrative issues. For example, some of the external funding came via an agency located in Amsterdam. This agency had its own group of paid volunteers, all of them Dutch, but the funding for IE, itself coming from different EU countries, stipulated that young people from these various countries had to be employed. This stipulation may have caused complications for the organisation, but it is also one of the reasons why I was offered the position of mentor. The externalisation of funding also created some problems with parents. I had to deal with the father of a disabled youth who did not want a buddy assigned to him. Having a buddy was a condition for joining the boat, which had been specially adapted, with a double bunk in each cabin – the lower bunk affording easy access for the disabled participant and the upper bunk for the buddy. The buddy can be a volunteer or a friend of the participant who can help with basic functions.

Once on board, this problem was solved with two volunteers, Jean-Baptiste and Rui. The captain took a position different from that of the external organisation, and assumed the responsibility for the situation from the first moment when we picked up the participant in question, alone in Oporto airport. The IE programme, externalised by a company and without the participation of the crew from the ship, was an extremely strange combination, one that makes no sense in terms of the approach I am dealing with here. The watch leaders and the permanent crew bore responsibility for safety on board, as well as being responsible for showing the rest of us how to manage the boat once at sea.

What happened, in my experience as mentor, is that we were sailing a little like the trainees, as if for the first time, on these boats. The support we gave them might, then, be better described as personal or emotional, rather than primarily practical. As anthropologists, we are privileged to have the opportunity to be part of a community and its particular environment in any part of the world, even in our neighbourhood. Participating in a new or unknown environment means embarking on an adventure as a human being, which will have

a profound effect. However, being in the world can be hard to deal with when facing frictional situations such as that with Manu's father. While living them, one struggles with discomfort.⁴⁸ With this responsibility on my hands, some questions arose as I undertook my research on these ships, especially dealing with my experience as a mentor during the second stage:

Why did I choose to spend two months every summer on board these ships? Why did these groups of parents trust me with the wellbeing of their beloved sons or daughters? Unconsciously, I became the person to whom they entrusted their minors to fly to a harbour somewhere in the world in order to get on board a tall ship. So, why was I in the middle of such an entanglement of life experiences? (Field notes)

You try to be helpful and caring, but at the same time you realise that they are not only suffering seasickness, but also homesickness, and in some cases, fear. One of the main feelings, which I can share now after crossing the Bay of Biscay with 15 and 16 year-old teenagers in a storm lasting more than three days, during which almost all of them were seasick and vomiting, is: you suffer with them!

Anthropology is not ethnography (Ingold 2008a); the people whose names I am giving and telling stories about are not the subjects of my study, they are part of it as I am myself. As Ingold claims, our participation in the field is not ethnographic; rather it is educational (Ingold 2008a: 82). As in any life process, one needs time to process it, when 'participant observation is a practice of correspondence: a way of living attentively with those among whom we work' (Ingold 2015a: 157). That means that you are as involved as they are with the experience.

Once one assumes this, there is no way back, no responsibility can be avoided. *Anthropology as Education* (Ingold 2018c) goes together with this sense of the same responsibility towards a common goal. Having said that, I am most grateful to the Sail Training community and all the young people and others whom I met during my sailing voyages, together with all the families whose minors' experience on board I shared, and to the different organisations and crews for allowing me to be part of their lives through these experiences, as they became part of mine.

⁴⁸ Similar experiences are described in the writing of anthropologists. To mention two, Paul Stoller explains how he went with the people in Tera (Niger) shaking his hand to the *Hauka* spirit (Stoller 2009: 8-11). The other is about the life experience of anthropologist Lluís Mallart, converted to *Evuzok* in Camerun (Mallart 1992).

Sail Training programmes can be seen as an attempt to provide an outdoor experience that differs greatly from the standard educational system that exists in most schools.⁴⁹ I have seen for myself how young people completely change their attitude during a voyage. I remember helping a young Dutch girl who asked me to attend her while in the room together with the Catalan teenagers. She wanted the same care as I was giving to everyone else during the three days of seasickness. Once I agreed to accompany her to the toilet (the head), because she said she was still feeling too seasick to go there by herself with all the movement on board. She stood up from the saloon floor where all the seasick were lying, and literally, fell on me to show me how she was suffering with such an incredibly rough sea. Then I had to stop her: 'Hey, if you want to go to the head, you need to stand up by yourself because I cannot carry you down the stairs!'

We were only the two of us, the people were busy on deck, so I needed her to be able to stand by herself. I could support her emotionally, but not physically. She agreed and I trusted her, so we went to the head. Everything worked, and after that moment, she changed her attitude. She felt kind of recovered, she came out on deck after being seasick for three days. And her attitude was not fearful anymore. Instead, she offered her help to others, and became one of the strongest on deck, always ready to do any work or to help other fearful or seasick youngsters.

Stage Three: Volunteering as the Spanish Youth Coordinator

My third stage in the field was a very different one. It was carried out between May and October 2016 with all the Spanish trainees participating in the tall ships races that year. In 2015, there were new elections in the STA E (Spanish Sail Training Association). I was put forward as the coordinator of the Spanish Youth, and I accepted the position only as part of my research. This means that all the families and trainees contacted me in order to take part in the experience. Then I informed them that my task as youth coordinator was volunteering in order to do my research. So the purpose of it was a form of interchange between them and me. In exchange for being able to interview them about their experience, I put them in contact with the different organisations and ways to obtain funding for the voyage.

⁴⁹ See Simola et al. (2013) on combining path dependency, convergence and contingency in explaining Finnish distinctiveness in education policy and politics since the early 1990's. In some of my in-depth interviews the comparison appears too, as will be shown especially in Chapters 4 and 6.

Everyone interested in the experience contacted me through the STA E web-site, which also allowed me to arrange to get to know them. When someone was over 18, I met only the trainee. If they were under 18, I met their parents too. In Spain, minors need an authorisation from both parents given to the Spanish police for any young person to leave the country, and if the parents are separated and one of them disagrees, the young person cannot travel anywhere.

I established relationships by accompanying them; I got to know the parents; I answered a number of calls with questions and doubts; I met them, sometimes individually, sometimes with their parents; I helped them with applications for funding and so on. Nothing was different from what I had done during my previous experience as a mentor, the only difference was that the first time I had been working more locally with Catalan young people, and this time my work included young people from all over Spain.

How did I explain Sail Training to them?

As youth coordinator, when it comes to telling a new trainee what Sail Training is, I always explain that it is something very special, born in northern European cultures. It follows the tradition of having the ship as a place for the whole family to meet, to spend the weekends together, like when we have a house in the countryside where we were born, or a beach or mountain apartment where we always go during the holidays. I say that for people of northern cultures, living on the ship together and sailing overnight at sea implies a range of values that they consider important not only for personal development, but also because it is an important means of cultural transmission. It is common in the North for children to have these priceless experiences, and having once enjoyed them, they would want their own children and teenagers to participate in these experiences later on.

I had to explain this to people because such experience is unheard of in Spain. All the 37 trainees and their families participating in the TSR 2016 agreed that they had no idea of its existence when I accompanied them. Even though some of them sail during the holidays or were studying nautical degrees, nobody knew what Sail Training was. The exceptions were families with friends abroad who, on hearing that their young relatives were going on this programme, said they had heard of it, or similar programmes, through their friends from the North. On the other hand, there were families from *Cádiz* or *A Coruña* who knew something

about tall ships because they had stopped off there in the past and had noticed the commotion, but who had no idea that young people could participate in the Sail Training experience. The image they had was one of 'Old ships visiting the harbour'.

So from this starting point, parents' feedback on getting to know about the experience was most interesting. In the case of Silvia from Martorell, she was fearful of the idea that her son would participate in the Sail Training experience. She said:

I have agreed mainly because of the interest my son has shown. His willingness to do so is what made it easy for me because he has explained it all to me. In the end, this is his life, living his dreams. He saw everything as very easy, because his vision of everything was straightforward, but I did not see it as quite so easy.

During my first interview with her, she said that it would be the first summer that she could not vacation together with her son due to this voyage. She was also afraid about the hardships of life at sea, because she was born in the maritime neighbourhood of La Barceloneta in Barcelona and her father had worked as a cook on a ship. Eric, her son, did not know anything about this story of his grandfather at that moment, but her mother was conscious of how hard life is at sea.

Eric also had a friend from Martorell whom he encouraged to participate, but in the end, he did not. That was a step to overcome for him. The main problem in this other case was that his friend's mother was afraid. In a meeting with Eric and his friend, they pleaded with me to speak to her, so I contacted her. She told me that she could not understand why her son wanted to participate in this kind of experience. Her fear, partly made worse by her reading the information pamphlets without any understanding of English, was that this was a kind of military service, or even a sect trying to enlist her son.

Another indication of why it is not easy for some young people to take part in a Sail Training experience comes from Carme. She said that it had been four years since she and her son Edu had known about the experience when they decided to participate. She said:

Maybe people who often sail, join up readily. We did not know anything about sailing. This was completely unfamiliar to us, it is not something that you can have contact with unless you know someone who has done it.

Edu decided to take part in the experience once he met the group sailing on *Morgenster* from *Cádiz* to *A Coruña* in their APV meeting in Barcelona in May 2016. I coordinated this meeting, an APV (Advance Planning Visit) weekend in Barcelona, in which mentors and one trainee from every country participating in an IE came for a weekend, such as the one I attended as a mentor in Lisbon.

Figure 17: APV workshop with the Sea Scouts Azimut in Barcelona. May 2016.



Figure 18: APV workshop on board *Far Barcelona*. May 2016.



The tall ships races in 2016 were particularly special for Spanish participants. As two Spanish harbours were being used, there was more funding for Spanish young people to participate in the experience. Additionally, since the harbours were located in Spain, some of the fears that the parents had about letting their children participate were allayed. Normally, trainees have to take flights from home to the departure harbour and then again from the arrival harbour back home at the end of the trip. This can be challenging, especially for minors.

In this third stage, I was not involved in the sailing experience itself, rather I followed the processes and experiences of the young people, meeting them in the harbours of *Cádiz* and *A Coruña*. Here I conducted in-depth interviews, both prior to, and after, the sailing experience. The latter were done as group interviews in the harbours, when the experience was still fresh, most of the time with us sitting on the deck of the boat on which the young people had been sailing.

I remember my role as youth coordinator with pleasure. My relationships with the young people and their families started from scratch. Although I did not sail with them physically, I have been told that it was always as if I were with them on board; I cannot be more grateful for this. Being there, in the harbours, contributed to its success. Following up on all that they had experienced during the voyage was easy: when I came to speak to them again afterwards, they began to tell me about it without my having to ask them. Attending to their doubts, fears, and wishes, I received incredible feedback in the interviews. Some people are still asking me how I managed to have such enriched conversations with them.

The steps I took in getting to know everyone regarding their desire to take part in the sailing experience worked very well. If I had not been volunteering as a Spanish youth coordinator, I do not know if these youngsters would have enrolled in these experiences. Ana from Seville said that her son was lucky to have the possibility to have the experience thanks to the funding, and added:

If the idea is to promote this activity in a broader way, it is necessary to promote it in a more comprehensive way in schools and institutes. We found out about it through the House of Youth in *Cádiz*. It was fantastic once we got in contact with STA E because there was a telephone number and they answered in Spanish.

Multiple questions arose not only from the trainees, but also from their parents, as mentioned above. There is a process before one gets enrolled on board that is totally necessary to go through if you are not familiar with this kind of experience. For instance, I knew Edu from my previous job in education, but, as his mum states, it took four years for him to take part. He was invited in 2012 to be in the IE on *Lord Nelson*. At that time, he said that it seemed like a really good opportunity but he was not totally convinced about taking part on it. Later on, he asked me how to enrol in the sailing experience I had told him about some time before, and I noticed that on *Tenacious* they were looking for youngsters at that moment, but as he had to go by himself, he didn't enrol then either. However, during the APV weekend in Barcelona, in which I invited not only the youngsters provided by the ERASMUS+, but also all the youngsters I knew interested in Sail Training around Barcelona, it worked out. Edu mixed with other trainees and mentors who were visiting us and already had previous experiences of sailing, and from that moment on he decided to sail on *Lord Nelson*, one of the two boats in the International tall ships fleet, adapted for any sensorial disability. He thoroughly enjoyed the experience, got to know everyone, and was even interviewed after the experience by Antía García from the newspaper *El País* (14 September 2016). The main statement he gave in this interview was that: 'The sea puts everybody on the same level, it doesn't matter if you use a wheelchair or not'.

On the other hand, other parents such as Ma José and Carlos from Seville were just excited for their sons to join the experience, admitting that they were envious about not having the chance to do it themselves! Some parents worried about safety, like Carlos from Madrid:

My son is bilingual and I feel safe. Maybe I wouldn't feel safe for my son to have an experience like this to do tasks, if his level of English was poor. How could I send him there if he couldn't know what they were saying! It is the first time that our son has done anything like this, it is his first experience of getting away.

Though it is important to understand what to do, how to do it, when I have been participating in these experiences, I found that many youngsters do not have a proper level of English, and some others are not even able to communicate in the language. Thus, misunderstandings or omissions often arise. However, this can also serve as a way of getting to know others on board better, because at some point everything gets cleared up during the

voyage. Customs, ways of doing things, ways to communicate verbally or by doing them are woven together with the different rhythms of the boat in this ocean-sky world.

Gabriel's mother, Susana, from Seville, commented on the importance of anticipation in these experiences with other youngsters from different countries:

He went on another international exchange, a skiing course for two weeks with young people from other countries. The fact is that you had to register a year before and there were many meetings, many preparatory meetings to join up.

Parents' thoughts are important to take into consideration, to get an idea of how all will work out. It seems that in these two last examples, families were more used to this kind of youth international exchange.

All the participants in the third stage enrolled on the tall ships races of 2016, from *Cádiz* to *A Coruña*, but also in a IE Lisbon-*Coruña*-Cherbourg. Apart from those who came through the STA E, there were another three groups coming with the funding of the city halls of *Cádiz*, *A Coruña* and *Maó* (already mentioned them in the section 'Host Ports in Spain').

As well as doing in-depth interviews with the parents of the minors before the voyage, I interviewed those living near Barcelona at home, together with their friends after the voyage. These friends were surprised by some of the stories told by participants in the experience, such as when their friends made comments like: 'on board, we were like a family'. With this idea of family in mind, during the third stage of my research I asked each participant before the voyage to make a diagram of their kinship relations (including in them people whom they feel as kin) and after the voyage to make a diagram of relationships on board. My purpose was not an in-depth analysis of the forms of kinship, it was to compare the initial diagrams with those I requested after the voyage, to see how things had changed and whether, as noted above, the young participants also experienced this feeling of crew members becoming like a second family for them. Some findings arose as will be shown in Chapter 5.

During my time in the harbours I joined them all for a dinner in *Cádiz* as well as in a lunch on board *Atyla* in *A Coruña* with most of the young people and their parents. At both of

these meals, everyone brought some food to share as we got together. These are two meals that I will always be proud of and will remember forever.

Figure 19. Lunch on deck with most of the trainees and their parents during the TSR 2016. Tall ship *Atyla* in A *Coruña* harbour. Photo taken by one of the trainees' parents.



Stage Four: An Atlantic Crossing as a Researcher in Sail Training

One of the main goals among sailors is to do an Atlantic crossing, so I decided I had to participate in one. This was possible thanks to the Regatta *Rendez-Vous* 2017. I first contacted SNUPU, Sail Trainers of Finland, because previously I had met Anni, who was promoting a first time Atlantic crossing with a group of Finns. Anni had already started planning it in the STI Conferences in Quebec and Halmstad, both in 2016. I asked to sail with them once I got to know about the project, but when I asked about participating there was only a berth free from Sines to Gran Canaria. As it was not a long leg, and I had wanted to know better what Sail Training meant for Nordic Cultures ever since my first voyage with the Swedes, I decided to visit them in Helsinki. The occasion was when they organised a Training weekend for mentors

together with the Atlantic crossing crew at the end of April 2017 and our voyage across the Atlantic was one month later, departing from Sines on 29th May 2017.

Everything was different in Finland; they had three superb workshops for mentors: the first planning the meals and diet on board; the second focussing on environmental precautions and attention to their environment when sailing; and the third dealing with personal fears, necessities or conflicts with the others. Unlike the APV weekends, which were full of international exchange activities to fulfil programmes, they were just going over the necessities that arise once all are on board together. On the other hand, with regard to their preparations for the Atlantic crossing, they took the same steps, building confidence from the beginning and preparing the voyage a year in advance. I will mention some more aspects of their culture and my experience with them in later chapters.

This last stage of my fieldwork was planned and took place thanks to having a PhD scholarship at the University of Barcelona. This allowed me to have the time and the funding for the Atlantic crossing. I prepared questionnaires for the eight crews participating in the Rendez-Vous regatta 2017, and I went along with a small laptop, with external memory disks to save the materials, a recorder with a microphone for the interviews on deck, a Go Pro and my field notes. I was technically very well equipped as in my previous experiences I had had problems with a normal video camera in obtaining stable images, and with the recorder, some interviews on deck were difficult to hear clearly. This time, the problem was solved by using a microphone.

Throughout this preparation process, I had applied for the funding for what the tall ship *Blue Clipper* had requested in order to cross the Atlantic with them. Once the university had agreed on a budget for the crossing, I tried to arrange to meet the rest of the crew in advance. This turned out not to be possible, so I was wondering what would happen in Gran Canaria when I met them for the first time. Even though they all seemed ready to embark for the Atlantic crossing, only moments after I arrived in Gran Canaria from Sines on the Finnish ship *Vahine*, I was faced with a difficult decision.

I moved to the *Blue Clipper* as planned. I got to know the captain, the second captain and the crew, and they introduced me as a researcher on board. However, some irregularities arose. I was supposed to stay in my own cabin, not in a shared room with the rest of the crew.

They still had to shop for all their provisions for the Atlantic crossing in a supermarket, and they sent the cook, an American suffering from jet lag, who had just arrived in Gran Canaria some hours before. I told the American cook I would help him because he couldn't speak any Spanish, and I went with him to the supermarket. The day was slipping away and the shopping never-ending, five boxes of tomatoes, big sacks of wheat and so on: 'Oh, sorry we do not have that much, just packets of one kilo... This amount of food should have been ordered in advance from a cash and carry', the attendants in the supermarket told me!

My first impression was that it was strange not to have a bunk in the shared main hold with everyone (there were just cabins for one or two people), as well as not to have the crew involved in the food shopping, especially on such an important shopping expedition as getting in the food needed for all on board for the next five weeks.

Meanwhile, as I was wasting the day unnecessarily in the supermarket, the *Vahine* crew, with whom I sailed to Gran Canaria were struggling with their new captain who was unable to sail. They had then to make a big decision, to cross the Atlantic by themselves, without the captain!

In my case, I realised while doing the shopping that *Blue Clipper* was chaotic, with no-one in charge of the food for the whole voyage when other boats had been preparing for the voyage for a year, and with no shared cabins. What was this? A charter for passengers? Later I found out that the *Blue Clipper* was more like a charter voyage across the Atlantic than a Sail Training experience, and I decided to complain about this. After making my reservation, I had asked the *Blue Clipper* organisation to contact the crew beforehand to announce my participation on the voyage as part of my research, yet they had never properly replied. Was their intention to run it as a charter behind this failure to keep me informed?

Once I had finally decided that I was not about to sail on an Atlantic crossing on a charter voyage for my research, I informed the captain. He was not too happy with my decision and tried to persuade me to change my mind. I explained that the voyage was funded by my university and that the decision was not totally up to me. I questioned the lack of the appropriate range of participation in all the activities on the boat; this was not the way I had found Sail Training was run during my long experience in the field.

After that decision was taken, I explained it to Jonathan, the second officer on the *Wylde Swan*, whom I had met in Sines when I gave him my questionnaires for his crew, and he encouraged me to speak with his captain. The *Wylde Swan* was moored next to *Blue Clipper*, there were some berths still left to take part in the voyage. So I spoke to Fosse, the captain on the *Wylde Swan*, and he agreed to deal with the *Blue Clipper* captain. When Fosse contacted the captain of *Blue Clipper*, he managed to persuade him to accept my transfer from one boat to the other.

I found out later that Fosse's decision to accept me on board had rather compromised normal agreements amongst these organisations. I learned that *Blue Clipper* had managed my transfer with an economic agreement agreed by both parties. *Blue Clipper's* command wanted the money coming from my university for my berth, whereas the *Wylde Swan* asked them to provide food in exchange once we arrived in Bermuda. I told the captain of *Blue Clipper* what I thought of this, straight to his face: 'this is not what Sail Training is about!' Even though it might be a way to run a company, what I have seen and what the *Wylde Swan* was offering to me and the other young people, was an experience not paid by money, but one in which honour supersedes money. Fosse had no idea until later of how much they got from my university; that was not the point for him, but it seems that it was the cause of the *Blue Clipper* Captain's distress! If I were in the same situation today, I would take the same decision again.

With all these struggles to get on board, it is easy to imagine that every boat is its own world, depending on the people, the organisation and the disposition of the boat itself. The *Blue Clipper*, with cabins for one or two people, better suits the needs of a charter company. If you add to this the attitude they had towards me, it was not in my interest to do an Atlantic crossing on a charter ship with the money my university had given to study Sail Training experiences.

Jumping aboard the *Wylde Swan* at the very last moment before setting sail, I had to explain that I was doing my research, even though some of the crew had already known this because I had given them my questionnaires in Sines. I did not want to go deeper into the reasons for my transfer from the *Blue Clipper*, this was not necessary because we were all crew joining this regatta. So among my new crew there was no need to explain what had

happened on the other boat. My feeling once on the *Wylde Swan* was one of relief, having had my fourth stage resolved.

In a sense, I was a 'deported' member from one boat to the other, which could have been an issue to overcome. I did not feel like that, but rather just as Ana Lisa Ramella (2018)⁵⁰ mentions when the sound engineer of the music band she was doing research with told her: 'you are not part of the band because your presence did not serve a clear function within the tour as a whole' (Ramella 2018: 74). That was how the crossing started: I had been asked by members of the crew what was I going to do on the *Wylde Swan*. It was unexpected, unpredicted, unprepared, especially if compared to the formal presentation the captain of the *Blue Clipper* had made of me to his crew. However, I would call it a realistic approach to what Sail Training is.

On the *Wylde Swan* I was treated without further ado, as just as another person on board. Everyone had their time to meet me, in the same way I introduced myself and my research to them. Once I had met everyone and explained what I was doing, it was Wiebe who asked me for the first interview. From about half way through, until the end of the five-week voyage, I did an average of two interviews per day. I had no pre-established order. I got to know everyone on board personally because I had the privilege to have a talk with each one. I think that this privilege is only comparable to what the captain has. He is the one doing interviews to allow his/her crew to stay on board and who also gets advised of the new crew members and welcomes them. In a way, that is an overview of the whole crew. Getting to know something of everyone's stories, spending this time together was very pleasant. I felt that in many of the interviews, all involved, myself and the interviewees, actually enjoyed talking together.

Some of the interviews I conducted, for instance those with the captain or the first mate, Ruth, could be recorded during the voyage because the weather was good and there were not too many rough seas on this Atlantic crossing. During the former interview, I was asked by Fosse, the captain, what education meant for me. 'Could you tell me what you understand by education?' he asked. The question came because within the *Wylde Swan* organisation, they have the *Wylde Leren* programme, which has recently been recognised by

⁵⁰ Ana Lisa Ramella was a PhD student from the University of Siegen doing research with music band.

the Dutch government as an outdoor programme within secondary school education. Consisting of six weeks with teachers aboard, and validated as part of regular secondary school education, they have some trouble to deal with the differences between the different ways of understanding what education means on board or by the teachers in secondary schools.

Some of the young people who were part of the permanent crew on *Wylde Swan* came from that winter programme. Once it had finished, they asked to continue as volunteers or paid crew, especially when they had had some difficulties in adapting to ordinary education on their return. Some sail seasonally, but others had decided to stay for one or two years. The examples of Richel and Rens, permanent crew on the *Wylde Swan* when I was sailing with them, also highlight differences in the meaning of education. After 6 weeks on board the *Wylde Swan* and back in their high schools, they both decided to give up their curricular and academic route, breaking with the ordinary schooling system. They were then spending some time living on board as volunteers or paid crew while waiting for a later decision for their life paths. Their time sailing was really transforming them, and with them, their future.

Returning to Fosse's question, what is education and how I am going to focus on the concept in this dissertation, my answer is that education in these Sail Training experiences is based on being human when sharing life. As Ingold (2014: 124) defines it, the 'creativity of undergoing, of action without agency' is remarkable when sailing. Trainees or practitioners on board 'answer to [sailing's] commands in ways that draw upon already established skills of perception and action', and attending to the different tasks on board, 'one is expected to find his or her way around, attentively and responsibly without further recourse to explicit rules of procedure' (Ingold 2014: 133, see Ingold 2001: 137). Paying attention to these youngsters as the attention permanent crew has to the boat within this environment, results in 'humanifying'⁵¹ the youth in their process of enskilment.

In Sail Training I can identify a three-stage process of enskilment, defined as 'the creativity of undergoing' (Ingold 2014). The first stage of the process involves: following safety drills; observing the permanent crew showing everyone the different parts of the ship and the related tasks on board, such as the wheel, the compass and steering, the ropes and their

⁵¹ See Ingold (2015a: 115-133) (chapters 23, 24, 25) and my Chapter 3, section 'The Politics of Place'.

function, and how to coil, tie or release ropes. Once at sea, this leads to the second stage, during which trainees try things out for themselves by imitation. From the moment the boat leaves shore, releasing the ship's moorings from the dock and storing the buoys, trainees pay attention to what permanent crew are doing, and begin to participate.

After a few days at sea, trainees already know the lines and what they are for. Every hour they repeat a deck check in which they have to fix any sail, rope or line in order to make it work better. In this third stage, improvement comes from their own initiative. They may explain what decisions they have made, or just try something out and see if it works. If it does, then they leave it as it is, or modify their action by trying it out further. Trainees or practitioners improve by themselves until they cease to copy and begin to make their own decisions in undertaking most of the necessary activities. In the case of *Wylde Swan*, during an Atlantic crossing, the captain proposed that trainees should take on all the permanent crew roles in order to make their own decisions, and to take charge of the boat.

Conclusion: Living On Board, Getting to Know the Others

Once on board, one is continually finding ways of communicating with the others, with the boat and with the environment. This communication opens up a sea of opportunities to everyone, as well as a transformative life experience. It is in this sense that Ingold (2000) defines skill: 'not an attribute of the individual body in isolation but of the whole system of relations constituted by the presence of the artisan in his or her environment' (Ingold 2000: 291). In this regard, the comparison I have made between schooling programs and this kind of outdoor educational experience there is a key distinction that I would like to emphasise.

A number of published and funded studies of Sail Training focus on proving the efficacy of this experience for youngsters; the role of my participation on board has always been seen in this light too. However, demonstrating how beneficial this experience is for young people, to turn the experience into a schooling programme, makes no sense if we pay insufficient attention to the youngsters themselves, and to the particularities of this environment. Without doubt true, then, my main focus and hope is that my research will provide a greater understanding of the sea environment and its seafarers.

In each of the four stages of fieldwork, bar the third in 2016 when I did not get on board, I encountered some moments of friction, sometimes because of my presence,

sometimes because of my role. With the method of participant observation, which involves living with a group of people under their day-to-day conditions, 'we are confronted with the interplay of categories such as closeness and distance, while endeavouring to be both within and without, together and apart, emic and etic, all simultaneously' (Ramella 2018: 86). However, Ramella - who lived in a van on the move while touring with a music band – goes on to observe that: 'in conditions of intense space-time constraints, ...those spatial categories are often challenged, as we are forced into physical intimacy at a high pace' (Ramella 2018: 86). So being on board means dealing with this situation, being part of the others, and having others be part of yourself.

This experience requires that behaviour between people needs to be accompanied by an understanding that sometimes compromises the construction of the place and its relationships as a field for research. For instance, at the end of the voyage, when I had already done all the interviews, Ingrid felt a bit disappointed with my questions. This had to do with her personal situation with her partner, who was also on board. My questions about sailing had touched on what for her was a personal matter: her partner wanted a life on board, while she kept telling him that he was living in an unreal world. As Ramella also notes: 'ruptures on tour exemplify a transgression of personal and professional spheres' (Ramella 2018: 84). This voyage meant for Ingrid that her partner, contrary to what she expected, was even more convinced in his beliefs about going on sailing, leading to him apply for a job on board; speaking about it with me was not appropriate at that sensitive moment.

Ramella identifies herself as a 'sojourner of the between' in the same way as does Paul Stoller, for whom:

anthropologists are always between two or more languages, between two or more cultural traditions, between two or more apprehensions of reality. So that, living anthropology can transform its practitioners, changing our conception of who we are, what we know, and how we apprehend the world (Stoller 2009: 4).

In the same way too, sailing transforms the young people who take part in it.

CHAPTER 2. GETTING YOUR SEA LEGS: SETTING A ROUTINE AT SEA

The basic character of habit is that every experience enacted and undergone modifies the one who acts and undergoes, while this modification affects, whether we wish it or not, the quality of subsequent experiences. For it is a somewhat different person who enters into them (Dewey 1997: 35).

Introduction

Gisli Pálsson, in his book *Nature, Culture and Society: Anthropological perspectives on life*, argues that to engage in anthropology is not just to 'observe' and record but to participate in the lives of other people. That is why he reveals how he got seasick joining a fishing ship in Iceland, qualifying it as a feeling of 'culture shock'. When, quite suddenly, his nausea gave way to a sensation of alertness and wellbeing, he described it as an 'oceanic' feeling (Pálsson 2016: 120). This feeling is commonly known in the sailing world as getting your 'sea legs', meaning that you are not going to be seasick or off balance anymore. That is one of the main fears once you decide to join a sailing voyage as a first experience: 'What I am going to do if I get seasick?' Trainees, and especially their parents, ask me about this. Seasickness always strikes, yet no one expects it to be quite so severe.

Getting on board is a clear rupture with your routine, your stability and the worst of it is that you leave your closest ones or your family behind. When I accompanied Edu, a Spanish trainee in a wheelchair, to *Lord Nelson*¹ in *Cádiz*, he told me that he got this feeling within five minutes, just getting on board, on our way to leave his backpack in his bunk. He told me that since he first set wheels on board, he could feel the movement, and particularly noticed that smell, a mixture of wood, humidity, salt and the oily machine room. All around the walls in the cabins below deck there were paper bags. I told him that they were there just in case people needed them if they were seasick. He quickly asked to go out for a walk off the boat with me; he was shocked by the presence of the boat and by the way it engaged him in that environment. The crew on board

¹ *Lord Nelson* together with *Tenacious* are two Sail Training boats adapted to any sensorial disability. They have been run by Jubilee Sail Training Association for the last 30 years.

welcomed him and asked if he wanted to stay for lunch; what he really wanted to do was escape from the boat as soon as possible.

The boat does not leave anyone the same: from the first moment one goes aboard, its presence is a lived, all-encompassing one. It is not only a negative presence, of course, coming aboard one also feels that there is plenty of life in there, but the boat affects everyone, almost immediately. What made Edu so keen to leave the boat, what we might say 'culturally shocked' him in a higher sense, was the smell and the movement on board. For some permanent crew that smell, as Dave Ben Swain² told me, has an opposite effect to what it had on Edu. For Dave, smelling humidity means feeling at home. On the other hand, the constant movement on board is something that one needs to get used to, ending up automatically and unconsciously adjusting to the movement with postural sway. César Enrique Giraldo Herrera describes postural sway as 'our continual shift of weight from one foot to the other and from the front to the back during normal standing posture (also sitting, kneeling and in other postures both at motion and at rest)' (2013: 138). For Edu, even though the boat was anchored in the harbour, the amount of movement he perceived was incredible. Maybe he was more sensitive to movement as a wheelchair user. In any case, he told me that he felt the boat, as when he has first adapted to the movement of his wheelchair, as an extension of his own body.

Embarking means fully engaging with the entanglement of relationships on board. If there is a precedent for anyone's being 'below' and surrounded by water, it might be related to being back in the mother's womb. Some captains drew this comparison of the boat with the womb during my fieldwork. They felt it was an apt description of what a boat might be: the place from which, together with an ocean medium, life is created. I used this analogy as a way to present my research when, for my fourth block of fieldwork (as outlined in the previous chapter), I introduced myself to the SNUPU or Sail Trainers of Finland, and to the different crews crossing the Atlantic in 2017. In this introduction, I used the following text:

Getting to know about my research....

When I started my fieldwork six years ago, a captain told me in an interview that what the ship does, is something incredible.

² Dave is now captain on the *Pelican of London*, and I met him on board the *Pelican* as a third officer in 2012.

When you are on board, he explained, it is like being in a womb; he called it a uterine experience. He said it was not possible to feel something similar anywhere else.

He explained the perception that the ship is something which keeps you alive and at the same time, gives you life. When you are at sea, if you are not on board a ship, you are dead.

In addition to that, he said that the ship is like a time machine, because you are inside, like being at home. If you sail from one place to another, you move, but you are still at home. And this is weird because two days ago you were in another country, speaking another language and in different surroundings, but still at home.

When travelling on board a Sail Training ship, you never lose this reference, your boat, which makes you feel safe. You travel within your own world, like a snail, with the house on your back, and this is wonderful and unique.

On board, the world comes to life! For me, joining my first tall ship, *Constantia*, from Sweden, on a stormy day in the Shetland islands, was like entering a cave, a kind of shelter. As the Finnish trainee Rikka told me, 'the boat is a medium to be at sea'. 'Once sailing, I am not feeling as if I am in a boat, I just feel I am at sea'. Edmund Carpenter, sojourning with Aivilik people, wrote in a similar vein about the igloo, in his book *Eskimo*:

Visually and acoustically, the igloo is 'open', a labyrinth alive with the movements of crowded people. No flat static walls arrest the ear or eye, but voices and laughter come from several directions and the eye can glance through here, past there, catching glimpses of the activities of nearly everyone. The same is true with the sealskin tent (Carpenter 1959: 16).

Carpenter (1959) suggests that the roots of this phenomenon lie in Aivilik time-space orientation, in which three factors are involved. The first one is that there is no conceptual separation of space and time among the Aivilik, they see a situation or machine as a dynamic process; the second is their acute observation of details; and the third is their concept of space, not seen 'as static enclosure such as a room with sides or boundaries, but as direction, in operation' (Carpenter 1959: 22). Once the boat leaves the harbour and sails are set, another world of perception engages you on board. The movement of the boat increases dramatically once you set sail out in the open sea, leaving the line of the harbour lights. 'The variability, the polivocality of directions, is an

essential feature of smooth spaces of the rhizome type, and it alters their cartography' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 382).

On a sheltered boat, as in the Aivilik igloo, vision joins with hearing, smell and kinaesthesia in becoming more dynamically coupled and attuned to movement; that is to say, haptic space comes into being. For the haptic sense as a modality of perception, there is 'the sheer impossibility, in practice, of separating expression from affect in the encounter with another living being' (Ingold 2017b: 103). For instance, Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (1960) define 'acoustic space as dynamic, always in flux, creating its own dimensions moment by moment' (1960: 67). 'We hear equally well from right to left, front to back, above or below' (1960: 67). And within this haptic world of perception, as Deleuze and Guattari, assert for nomadic people, 'the dwelling is subordinated to the journey; inside space conforms to outside space: tent, igloo, boat' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 478). Consequently, during the voyage, a relationship of complexion characterized by an affective expression from the inside and an unstable weathering from the outside textures the boat. 'Complexion', here, is understood as the constitutive quality of any surface that is not set apart but produced in the commingling of forces and movements in and out, to which a haptic perception attends (Ingold 2017b: 103).

My Own First Experience

To become part of the experience, as for any other trainee getting on board for the first time, took some time. It required a process of registration, which started with searching for a boat I would like to sail on; then I checked the approximate dates it would be in one harbour and my availability to be there; and finally, I asked about the availability of a berth on board, dealing also with the expenses the boat asked me to cover. These are the initial steps, the same ones as for all trainees, which cannot be decided on the spur of the moment but must be thought about in advance. My case was somewhat unlike previous Sail Training research, such as that conducted by Kenneth McCulloch (2002), Eric Fletcher (2017) and Ryan Cleland (2011), in that I approached the field site as an amateur, whilst these researchers all had some previous experience in the field, with some possessing professional on board experience.

Figure 20: Lerwick harbour. The Shetland Islands. July 2011.



As a total amateur in the field, my perspective progressed along the path of experiences, just as this thesis does. As an amateur, this photo, taken the first time I saw a harbour full of tall ships, has an important meaning that needs to be explained. Like the figures shown in the last chapter, tall ships are impressive to everyone who sees them for the first time. One can go closer or admire them from a distance but it is a picture that stays in your mind. It is a

landscape full of colours and old boats, normally together with a crowd of people admiring and queuing up to visit them. The effect they have perfectly fulfils the expectations of the city halls that agree to being host ports: to attract tourism! You just cannot stop taking pictures of such a spectacle! However, impressive though the first view is, once one gets on board and becomes part of the crew, this initial image or representation changes and it becomes a living experience, something that is part of oneself and which one will inhabit. From my own experience as an amateur in my fieldwork, I noticed that there was a radical difference in perception between the image of a harbour full of tall ships and tourists and the world seen from the inside of every boat. The space of haptic perception, as Carpenter and McLuhan say, 'has no fixed boundaries, it is not a pictorial space, boxed in' (Carpenter and McLuhan 1960: 67).

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I travelled to the Shetland Islands, to board my first tall ship, *Constantia*, a Swedish schooner of two masts, class B. I had two flights from Barcelona to Aberdeen, with a stop-over in London. At Aberdeen airport, I met Sara, an English girl; like me travelling alone to embark on the tall ships. You can recognise trainees or crew in the airports or buses on reaching host ports. They are youngsters with big backpacks and smiling faces, awaiting new adventures. We flew to

Sumburgh on a small plane and from there we reached Lerwick harbour by bus. It was Sara's first Sail Training experience, as mine was too. She told me that she had found out about Sail Training through her college; that her teachers had recommended it to her parents and that it sounded good to her. Once in Shetland, we had to wait an hour for one of the buses on the island to call for a replacement because we did not all fit on one. So we waited for the second bus together, and when it arrived, the bus drivers allocated us seats and the journey started. In a sense we started a path together with the bus driver. With his attention to allocating us a seat and his rhythm, making us wait for the second bus, we all arrived at Lerwick harbour three hours later than expected but really welcome and safe on a windy day in Shetland. In Lerwick, the wind reached 60 knots. Mostly I wore warm and comfortable clothes: polar jerseys, tracksuits, leggings, sneakers, and waterproof boots, pants and anorak, a windcheater. Would it be enough? Even though it was July 24, Shetland seemed like winter for me. Walking down the street to the harbour, one could be blown away by the wind. We were met by the view of the port full of tall ships, with all the flags flying and a very choppy sea, with waves half a meter high in port. Everything whipped and twisted, it was 'dreich', 'snell' and windy.³



Figure 21: Sara. Lerwick harbour. The Shetland Islands. July 2011.

³ 'Dreich' is named most popular Scots word by *Scottish Book Trust*. The basic meaning is long-drawn-out, protracted, hence tedious, wearisome. It's the perfect word for a certain type of weather, damp, wet, and grey. <http://scottishbooktrust.com/>

The Scots have quite a few words relating to their varied weather, and the word that springs to mind when you step outside lately is 'snell'. Snell pronounced as it is spelt, means very cold or bitterly cold. It's a cold that is biting, sharp or even damaging, grievous or severe. <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle-2-15039/scottish-word-of-the-day-snell-1-2860826>

When Sara and I approached our respective boats, all our previous visualisations would remain behind in the face of the real experiences we would have from then on. While still at home, with a map of Lerwick harbour, I had found out where *Constantia* would be moored. *MIR*, Sara's boat, was about 200 meters further on. *Constantia's* mooring was in the second file away from the dock, so I had to cross over a ship, to get there. My first vivid experience when I had to cross another boat to reach *Constantia* in a stormy harbour of creaking boats without any sign of any other human beings, was of a rising feeling of solitude. What world was I entering? asked a little voice in my head. This had nothing to do with the sunny harbour full of colours, sails and people I had in mind after I had been carrying my backpack for the last two days, three flights and a bus ride.

As soon as I jumped onto *Constantia's* deck, three characters appeared from inside the boat, surprising me. The three of them were very singular: they were the captain, the first officer Sören and Peter, whose name was familiar to me from my previous email contact to complete all the hiring and stages on the ship. They shook my hand, and told me that they were expecting my arrival. Suddenly after my initial sense of solitariness, here someone was telling me: we were waiting for you! I explained my adventure with the buses on the island to get there, and that we had waited for a second bus in order to seat everyone, that is what bus drivers in Shetland do. The three of them were going to a captains meeting, so they told me to go below and make myself comfortable. There would be someone who would take care of me because they all already knew that I would be embarking as part of the crew for the next leg.

I proceeded to go inside, but opening the wooden door to access the main hold was complicated because it was raining. It seemed that the wood had swollen. I put my backpack on the deck so that I would have more strength. The doorway needed to slide inwards: it was not so much strength that was needed, but practice. Once open, the last step was required, some crew members also expecting my arrival called me from inside: 'take care on the stairs!', which were very steep, like in almost every boat, due to the confined space. I went inside, the atmosphere was cosy and warm, a very large central table, with benches around the edges, all made of wood, with some cups on the table and some people finishing having a tea, others stuffing their things into some of the

bunks also lying around the table. An Old Class B boat has this layout inside, all the bunks (beds) are around a central table, with a corresponding space in the benches next to the table to keep your belongings in.

They showed me my bunk so I could settle in while they went on with their tea-time and table games. They did their best to instil a sense of familiarity, explaining that there are always participants leaving and others embarking in harbours. Even so, I felt totally out of place. I opened my backpack, put the bottom sheet I came with on the mattress of my bunk, unrolled and left the sleeping bag laid out on it. Reading back over my field notes from this time, I realise how unfamiliar I was with the place, how I kept just doing what the other crew members told me to do. After I unrolled my sleeping bag, someone showed me how to open a bench next to my bunk to stow the rest of my belongings and backpack. On a boat, every single space is useful for storing things.

Once my stuff was stowed away, they showed me the galley and the heads (toilets), which would be the basic practical parts of the boat I would need while living aboard. In the case of *Constantia*, there was a handle for freshwater and another for saltwater in the sink. While sailing, there are always several freshwater restrictions, and once in port, it is convenient to go to the crew's bathrooms in the marina services rather than using the boat head. The head on a boat is something that surprises you when you embark for the first time. It has a manual pump, with a system of valves that one has to open and close each time one uses it. Pumping manually brings seawater into the toilet, clearing the waste out through the hull. I felt as if I were camping, or in the woods, or staying at my father's in the countryside, where you have to manage a series of practical sequences to live there.

Turning the unfamiliar familiar when we inhabit the field means precisely that we become dwellers. Jo Vergunst in his tutorials instils in his students in Aberdeen a way of walking, whether in the city or the countryside, in which one sets up a relationship with the environment; he invites them to inhabit it.⁴ When getting on board a boat, when really inhabiting it, regarding the small paths, the distribution of the main hold, the small heads, one keeps getting bruises. In one's bunk, clearly, one will hit his or her

⁴ During my time at the University of Aberdeen, I attended some lectures. From *Anthropology of the Landscape* taught by Jo Vergunst, I got some of the theoretical ideas that I develop in this chapter.

head on the upper bunk when sitting up in it when still half asleep. Gaston Bachelard defines this accommodation of the body into a different space as 'muscular consciousness' (Bachelard 1969: 11). During the process of adaptation, trainees try to sleep on the bunks with security extensions to protect them from falling out when asleep. Sometimes there are extra berths in hammocks suspended in the main hold too. Once on board, all your 'muscular consciousness' is completely lost and disoriented, contrary to what is possible in one's bedroom, in which 'you could recreate how you reach out your arm across the darkness to reach the door handle very precisely because somehow your body knows the room intimately, its distances, its obstacles' (Vergunst 2017: 4).

From Funding to Getting on Board

A fascinating particularity of Sail Training experiences is that no prior sailing experience is required, so it is a world of amateurs! Normally, young people who participate for the first time do so in a tall ships race, a friendly encounter with classical sailboats, called a race, but in which awards may mark the social morality of the fleet, instead of simple competition. The prizes available recognise a number of different criteria: the ship with a crew of the greatest number of different nationalities; the ship friendliest towards the other crews; the ship with the most fun and animated costumes on display during the Crew Parade (port parade); the youngster of the year among all the races; and so on, with the 'friendship' award the highest available. Young people aged 15 to 25 apply for scholarships that finance part of the voyage. Both the application for scholarships and dates, routes and events in host ports of a tall ship race can usually be found two years in advance on the website of the Sail Training International. Once a youngster knows the ship on which she or he wants to sail and the route, they must make a contract to embark either directly with the ship, or through a specialised travel agency such as *Windseekers* (previously named *At Sea Sail Training*).

The contract is not only a reservation for a berth on board, it is the beginning of the process by which young people are included and educated into being effective and safe crew members. This involves the young person providing information related to their diet, health, pre-existing illnesses and medication requirements, whilst the ship or

travel agency provides a kit list. In a sense, this is the start of the young person's tall ship education. Through this list they learn important things related to life on board, such as always packing your stuff in a backpack, rather than a hard suitcase that could both take up space and be potentially dangerous once on board; making sure to have a head torch for waking up during the night watches and the necessity of having waterproof clothing.

Once this initial phase is completed, the new trainees have to book airline tickets to reach the chosen vessel at the port of departure. Some trainees, especially minors, are accompanied by their parents; others arrive at the boat by themselves or with a friend. When the voyages are part of an ERASMUS + programme, there will already have been a meeting between mentor and trainees. This can be online, in the airport of departure (Figure 22), once they arrive at the host port city (Figure 24), or as a last chance, on the boat. In international exchanges the mentor normally accompanies the group in a personal rather than technical capacity. He or she usually speaks the language or comes from the same country of origin as the group of trainees they represent and accompany. The mentors have a supportive role for the trainee and sometimes they can combine this role with that of watch leader, who guides the group of trainees in navigation techniques. Mentors tend to be on board when there is an international exchange, funded by the ERASMUS + program of the European Union, financing non-formal education and environmental approaches.



Figure 22: Spanish trainees in Madrid airport. TRS 2016. A parent took the photo.

Figure 23: Leaving home. Spanish trainee (15-year-old). TSR 2016. Parents took the photo.

Young people can also be more adventurous and sustainable and travel to the country or port from where the tall ships will depart, hitchhiking, and looking for a temporary job to earn some money before enrolling on board; enough to pay for their berth. Examples of this were Radska and Mihel from the Czech Republic. They wanted to sail, so they contacted Chuck, *Sirma's* captain, who offered them the chance to enrol, just paying for their food. These two youngsters left the Czech Republic without any money, with the aim of sailing during the summer of 2011. They travelled to Norway, to embark on *Sirma*. They arrived in Norway and worked on farms, cleaning cow pens for a month. They embarked on *Sirma* in Stavanger, where I met them during race 3, from Stavanger (Norway) to Laeso (Denmark). Meeting someone during your trip to reach the harbour, immediately creates a bond. This happened to me with Sara, mentioned earlier in this chapter, as well as when I was in Lisbon taking my bus to Sines, where I met Pieter and Will, two American youngsters with whom I finally crossed the Atlantic on the *Wylde Swan*. In the case of Pieter, once in Bermuda, when his parents came to pick him up, he introduced me as one of the first people he had met during this experience!

When the youngsters arrive at a Sail Training ship, a person of reference whom they have contacted beforehand usually receives them. The best thing is for that person to be one of the permanent crew of the ship because, at the same time as they are waiting for them, they can be introduced to the rest of the group as well as to the boat. When this is not the case, perhaps because they may be on larger vessels and the administrators of the travel agency or the foundation of the ship have managed the registration, the reception in the 'ship community' is poorer. There are mentors who do not know the boat yet, or who have not been in contact with the permanent crew of the ship in advance, and this can be little more challenging for these young novices.

Figure 24: Lisbon.TRS 2016. Meeting with the mentor before embarking on the *Gulden Leeuw*. The mentor took the photo.



Figure 25: A Coruña harbour.TSR 2012.



Figure 26: A Coruña harbour. New trainees embarking on the *Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Welcome Aboard

When arriving in a small boat, if it is a class C or D, you are welcomed by most of the group, you start helping with the departure proceedings until everything is ready, and then you normally join them to have a drink. Embarking in a larger old sailboat, a Class A boat (with square-rigged sails) or B (Latin sails), you will usually find a bigger organisation: with a cook; a bosun, who undertakes the role of organising deck operations including storage, deck maintenance and deck supplies; an engineer; first, second and even third officers; a captain; a nurse and/or doctor, especially when the boats have people on board with some disability; all depending on and regarding the needs of the coming group. In this case, the presentation of the crew members is made more official through a captain's briefing. The captain's briefing on board *Constantia* was postponed because of the bad weather conditions during those days leading up to the date of departure. This gave me time to visit the swimming pool in Lerwick and have a shower before departing; a welcome luxury after travelling for three days and facing a coming week on board with no showers and a restriction on the use of fresh water, which is mostly reserved for cooking.

Shower facilities are offered to participants in the tall ships races. Once getting on board you will be given a bracelet (shown in figure 40). Previously this would have been a pin, which you must wear at all times to enter and leave the port area, and also to access the services that they provide you free of charge. When you are in port, you can have a shower in the marina bathrooms, sometimes the first for a week or fortnight if you have been sailing in a small boat or old sailboat. You can also wash your clothes in the laundry, especially if you are embarking on the next leg. Host ports also provide free entrance to swimming pools, sports centres and museums or other cultural events in the city.

Back from the pool, all the crew were eating and waiting to be able to start the greetings and presentation of the whole group! The captain and the first officer explained to everyone how we would be divided into watch groups (teams), usually three groups, each with a watch leader and an experienced volunteer. Watch leaders are present on any voyage, as they are technically responsible to the captain and officers in each watch group. The group, divided into watch groups or work shifts, was also

informed of the watch system: In a rotation of 4-hour watches, there was, the FW group (Fore Watch), on watch from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m., MiW (Mizen Watch) from 12 noon to 4 p.m., MW (Main Watch) from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. And then, when the shifts started again, the FW from 8 p.m. to 12 midnight, the MiW from 12 a.m. to 4 a.m., the MW from 4 a.m. to 8 a.m., and again for the following days. Normally the officers and permanent crew or watch leaders have the same watch (especially during the night): for example, the first officer from 12 a.m. to 4 a.m. in the morning, and the second from 4 a.m. to 8 a.m. For the trainees, there are rotating watches because during the afternoon, there will be two shorter shifts: from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., that will rotate the groups in different watch times every day. Some ships like *Lord Nelson* provide a personal card with the rotating watches, which one will sometimes have to check because one does not really know when one is on watch. On the *Lord Nelson*, apart from the presentations, there is a group photo with the names of each person to identify them, since it is very difficult to get to know 40 or 50 people at once. On such a large ship, with a diverse and international crew, learning the names of so many people, some quite unusual to the novice, takes on an extra level of difficulty.

Figure 27: Cards on board the *Lord Nelson*. Aft Starboard Watch, dates staying on board, berth number, Watch leader name and berth place, Mess day to be in the galley.

STS Lord Nelson		courtesy of Blue Swan Printers Hull	
Aft Starboard Watch			
Voyage No.	Date From	Date To	
822	4-8-2012	12-8-2012	
Name	Berth		
Montse Pigoan Vives	21		
Watchleader	Berth		
Peter Muldo	23		
Buddy	Berth		
Emergency Station (see note below)	Messman Day(s)		
AS	5		
Unless you have a specific duty listed above, when the general alarm sounds go immediately to your Muster Station. Please make sure you know where this is.			
Voyage Crew Signature		Ship Security Officer	

	Aft Starboard	Middle Midnight to 4 am	Morning 4 am to 8 am	Forenoon 8 am to 12.30 pm	Afternoon 12.30 pm to 4 pm	First Dog 4 pm to 6 pm	Last Dog 6 pm to 8 pm	First 8 pm to Midnight
Day 1					█			
Day 2	█					█		
Day 3			█				█	
Day 4				█				█
Day 5					█			
Day 6	█					█		
Day 7			█				█	
Day 8				█				█
Day 9					█			
Day 10	█					█		

Numerous solutions exist to assist new crew with this: one approach is to write down your name on a piece of paper and stick it on the outside of your bunk. Onboard

Constantia, where the bunks were around the main table, the names were visible at all times. This solution also avoids any confusion when waking up the next watch at night. Twenty minutes before your night watch ends, there is a call for those on the upcoming watch. That way you are sure not to wake someone who is not about to go on watch. *Lord Nelson* also has the bunks around a central area, just like *Wylde Swan*. In the case of *The Pelican of London*, there are small cabins for four people, sometimes with their own bathroom.

Setting a Routine On Board

During the first moments on board, when trainees have already stowed their belongings in their bunks and benches, and once they had been introduced to each one with a captain's briefing or some games on deck, the permanent crew introduces the boat to them.

Figure 28: First moments on board. A *Coruña* harbour. *The Pelican of London*. TSR 2012



Figure 29: First instructions on safety drills. A *Coruña* harbour. *The Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Faces are clearly of disorientation and displacement in figures 28 and 29, when facing the first moments on board, and of questioning: what were they doing there? At this initial briefing, the boat, its components and their various roles seem of limited interest to trainees dealing with homesickness and away from their usual routines. After the presentations and welcoming aboard, the first instructions that are given when you are still in port are the security drills. Harnesses and lifejackets are distributed among the crew members, together with dry suits, thermal, waterproof and wind-proof jackets and trousers. Harnesses are adjusted for each one, and once everyone has their material, as with the bunks, they write down their name on an adhesive sticker, so as to recognise their kit.

Setting sail and running the boat means working in groups, with all the tasks being performed together. This organisation on board, as will be shown in Chapter 4, needs agreement among crew members, since sailing involves crew members being ready to work full time, without allowing for the differences of night and day-time as one might when on shore. Harnesses must be used most of the time during night watches and always during bad weather. If there is bad weather, security nets can be set on both sides of the main deck. And during the night there will be a life line along deck, in which everyone on watch or getting on deck needs to be clipped to the safety tether or harness. With harnesses they can practise how to climb the mast, which feels very different on shore compared with after setting sail.

Figure 30: Adjusting harnesses. *Lord Nelson* in Marín harbour (Galicia). TSR 2012.



Figure 31: Climbing the mast on shore. *Lord Nelson* in Marín harbour (Galícia). TSR 2012.



During this instruction, the different parts of the boat are visited by every watch or team. All seems do-able on shore, tying a line, coiling a rope, taking the wheel, but, once the boat sets sail, you inhabit another world. The instruction you receive on shore is difficult to follow at sea. A seemingly easy job such as coiling a rope, when you have difficulties standing up and feeling sick at sea, can be a struggle because all is moving around you; therefore, one needs some time to get used to being involved in the experience, because first one needs to stay upright by oneself.

One needs to practice and practice continuously; there is no other way to learn how to stay upright on deck. Additionally, one's movements and actions always have an impact on others around you, and on the boat itself. Attention to every practice is a priority because it is a potentially dangerous environment in which injuries are always possible. For instance, tightening the ropes on shore without the tension on the lines is not dangerous, but once sailing, the last eighth of the rope needs to be kept on the cleat if one wants to ease progressively, or if with the help of other fellows or a winch, the rope needs to be tightened. The way to put one's hands on the rope is also crucial. One should never have a hand next to the rolling rope, rather it must always be kept aside, with an extra security coil from which tension can be reduced or controlled.

Figure 32: Tightening ropes on shore. A Coruña harbour. The *Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Figure 33: Coiling ropes on shore. A Coruña harbour. The *Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Hoisting sails and steering are both rewarding skills that will be described in Chapter 6, both are practices in which one only knows what to do next when actually

undergoing it. One cannot anticipate them; they evolve through the voyage. They are also practices that, once one has stayed on board for long enough, one can do without having to think about how to do them. After some time aboard, trainees feel the boat and, though they may still not know exactly what a rope is for, or to which side they must turn the wheel when steering, they are able to start doing it without even realising why. From that first moment in the process of enskilment, to being able to explain exactly what one is doing and why it is being done, there is still a step forward that needs more time aboard.

Figure 34: Instructions for hoisting sails on shore. A Coruña harbour. The Pelican of London. TSR 2012.



Figure 35: Steering instructions on shore. A Coruña harbour. The Pelican of London. TSR 2012.



In class A vessels, there are calls for morning briefings or any other information that must be given. On the *Lord Nelson* the call was through loudspeakers, on the *Wylde Swan* they had a bell on deck. They can give the information during short watches. Meals are also announced this way. During the morning briefing, every area of the ship is reviewed by its crew members: the galley, the machine room, and so on. If something is needed or something has not worked the day before, it can be improved, and this will be decided by everyone. Then, normally the captain explains the plan of the day, the weather forecast, and what to do if it all changes dramatically. He can also show a cartographic map, explaining some details, like currents or tides. There are different ways of doing these briefings. On the *Wylde Swan*, I never saw a map, but instead, chalk drawings were used on deck to explain the different winds and the best sails to use and the reason for having the sails we had hoisted at that moment. Once this briefing has been held, in some ships, as in the case of *Lord Nelson*, the subgroups of the watch have a second meeting, where each watch leader and mentor will explain the main briefing to the subgroup. They will draw someone's attention to particular things like keeping their backpacks and personal belongings out of the way in the main hold, and so on.

In figure 36, the second officer on the *Pelican of London*, after a permanent crew briefing, met everyone in the main hold to explain the forecast for that day. The daily briefing is always submitted to possible changes that emerge at every single moment once on board. So, everyone needs to adapt quickly to them.

Figure 36: Briefing on board by the second officer. *The Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Different tasks and practices on board will be offered to the trainees who wish to learn from more experienced ones. Their togetherness, their shared rhythm on board, will provide opportunities to share tips on how to inhabit the ocean medium. Fosse, the captain on the *Wylde Swan*, mentioned in my interview with him that he likes to call it 'instruction or experience instead of education: showing people how to do something, you have to break it up into bits and pieces and make it understandable for people. That's what we do here'. They are instructors for the youngsters, seeking to guide them, whilst at the same time letting them do things by themselves.

The new routine on board will give the trainees a new medium to explore, and as Ingold and Vergunst have shown in the case of people walking together, by sharing or creating a rhythm of work on board, participants also develop close bonds among themselves (Ingold and Vergunst 2006: 69). While sailing, crew members taking part in the experience, say that they quickly bond amongst themselves and with the boat. Jarkko, the first mate on *Vahine*, the Finnish ship I sailed with from Sines to Gran Canaria, was asked about the differences between being on board and on shore. He replied:

It is difficult to get the same feeling of community on land because you do not have that 'microcosmos'. You do not have the restrictive space, and people, although not consciously, are adapting to that. They are behaving differently on the boat. He added. – Ja, the limited space creates the environment to build up that 'family' or whatever we want to call it. And really fast. You have seen it, I have seen it, it happens in five minutes sometimes, even people who do not know each other..., they bond together and create that. We have to adapt to that situation.

In Sail Training, not only does the physical limitation of space on board create an immediate bonding amongst the crew faster than on land, but also the crew members, all working together for the same goal, develop a shared attentionality. In the words of Alex, the Spanish mentor on *Morgenster*, during the leg *Cádiz- A Coruña*, TSR 2016, this is a 'thread that unites us', holding everyone together and with the craft. Similarly, another trainee, Edu, argued in the interview with his friends that on the ship you have the same project as the rest of the crew and cannot escape it! From the first moments on board, youngsters begin to know who their fellow travellers are.

I believe that in this situation it is normal to react like that because when you are five or ten days without knowing anything about your family or your loved ones, you need at least to give them signs of life...I guess that the sociable character I have may help. The first day I already started talking with my bunkmate, we started to talk about the relationships we had had, when we had finished them, if it had been difficult for us to get over it, I mean, this is not something that you normally tell a stranger, and I just met him a few hours before... the conversation went like that and that's what it was like. Also I have to say that for example my bunkmate was willing... we'll have to be colleagues because we are going to be sharing... we are going to get along, but we didn't know that at the outset... and I remember that day very well because we ended up taking a selfie... just six hours after meeting.

The Watch System Goes Together with the Meals On Board

Apart from the seasickness and the security drills, one of the main aspects on board is the preparation of meals. The organisation of the different watches and their shifts corresponds with the meals. For instance, the watch starting at 8 a.m., have their breakfast ready at 7.20 a.m., because after having breakfast, they leave the table ready for the rest to have breakfast. The same happens at midday: the watch starting at 12 a.m. have lunch at 11.30 a.m. As shown on the *Lord Nelson* card, in large boats, such as the class A ones, there can be a 'mess' shift, which means that every day one trainee from every watch helps in the galley. Then he or she avoids the watches of his or her own group. Even though the process the trainees go through until now might seem hard, one of the main challenges on board is to help in the galley. When there is a rough sea, any single activity in the galley is a challenge. Peeling potatoes, chopping onions, all makes you seasick again. On the rest of the other boats, class B, C, D, there is no cooking role, so every watch previous to every meal will be in charge of preparing it.

What does sailing consist of then? The main activities on board are sailing, eating and sleeping. Being on board with continuous movement and gestural adaptation makes people hungry. On the boats, there are always plenty of extra food resources. It is also typical to have hot chocolate during the night watches. I have seen plenty of gummies, and snacks on night watch too! During my first experience with the Swedish boat, I have never seen so much dairy products, calorific meals such as porridge with marmalade and

baked cakes of all sorts during afternoon tea. Later, when sailing with the Finns, I expected the same diet. However, they were vegetarian and so we ate plenty of fresh fruit and vegetables. Besides, bread is something that is soon finished once at sea, so in most boats they make bread on board. I have also learned from the Finns how to make

bread. There is nothing better than the smell of freshly-baked bread in the middle of a night watch, leaving it ready for breakfast. The Dutch, as when I sailed on *Sirma* or on the *Wylde Swan*, always have their Pancake Day, and their traditional honey cookies.



Figure 37: Peeling potatoes on deck. Lord Nelson TSR 2012.

Figure 38: Preparing lunch on Lord Nelson. TSR 2012.



Once I attended a mentor's weekend in Helsinki, I realised that they planned three main workshops really well before getting on board. One was related to the diet on board, the second to mentorship to solve personal conflicts or emotional responses, and the third focused on protecting the environment. During a mentor training workshop, all those interested spent a whole weekend together discussing these three topics and sharing the best proposals of every group. As an association of youngsters, they have plenty of facilities and financial support provided by their government, even though people of different ages, especially women, participate in it. The Finnish government supports the autonomy of different youth organisations to develop their own initiatives. In this case, they are sail trainees of Finland or SNUPU. There is also an autonomous entity for the Sail Training association of Finland. These two organisations work rather well this way, because STI F works with host ports, tall ships events; whereas SNUPU concentrates on training practices and preparing sailing activities. Finland is one of a few countries with this kind of collaboration. Most members of Sail Training international are represented by ST national organisations, in which the youngsters are part of the national Sail Training organisation.

Figure 39: Breakfast on board *Lord Nelson*. TSR 2012.



Figure 40: Lunch time on *Pelican of London*. TSR 2012.



Figure 41 and 42: Sandwiches and paella on board *Sirma*. TSR 2011.



For the Atlantic crossing, many crews had planned beforehand what they would need. There was a diet drawn up by the *Spaniel* crew that was really developed for the needs of everyone, calories and balances of ingredients. They published an article on this once they finished their Atlantic crossing because they thought it had played a part in their success in making the crossing. Among all these versions of the different ways to prepare meals, which are as important as the sailing techniques and their correspondences with the boat, what cannot be changed once setting sail is the provision of food on board. All the planning and thinking together of the Finns, and the diet programme of the *Spaniel* crew, were remarkable since in small boats, there is no

specific role on board for the cook, as on class A boats (the ones who perform this role, however always with the collaboration of the rest of the crew). In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michael de Certeau chooses ‘cooking as a significant practice of an everyday operation’ (de Certeau 1984: xvii). On the boat, the cook or the watch in charge of preparing the meal, confronts heterogeneous and mobile data once they have set sail: what they have on board, the tastes, appetites, and moods of the crew, the best possible combinations of what was provided in the galley and the days left to the end of the voyage, which cannot be expected to be the same number as forecasted before setting sail. So what De Certeau says for cooking that comes true on board: ‘the intellectual synthesis of these given elements takes the form, however, not of discourse, but of the decision itself, the act and manner in which the opportunity is “seized”’ (de Certeau 1984: xxvii).

Setting Sail: A bundle of Emotions and Fears



Figure 43:
Parade of sails.
Lerwick. The
Shetland
Islands. TSR
2011.

Setting sail is a highly emotional moment, full of euphoria and perhaps some nerves. Everyone is reminded to have their safety harness ready, as well as to ensure their dry suits are accessible, and to have all their belongings stowed within their respective benches. At this point many people, especially the trainees, are making their last calls before a few days of disconnection. Everyone is very happy, the mooring is cast

off, some ships salute each other leaving harbour with their horns. There is almost a dialogue of horns and waving between the different crews. Once they cross the harbour's line across the lighthouses, the crew work together to start hoisting sails. Crowds of people are awaiting the moment at strategic landmarks, like rocky hills or headland views on the coast, ahead of where the tall ships must pass, to greet them. This spectacle is called the parade of sails. Watching it transports you to the past: it is like watching a movie from the eighteenth century. Probably there are not many opportunities to watch such a number of tall ships setting sail together these days.

Again, it would seem that you are living an illusion, a dream, a picture, but then you realise it is real life! With the sails already hoisted, and after the parade of sails, all the ships participating in a tall ships race head to the start line, which is between two navy vessels. This is why they are called races, there is a game played among the different crews. For those on board who are aware of it, a challenge to reach a good position with all that it implies, becomes a game with the other crews. As Tomas, engineer on the *Wylde Swan*, told me in my interview with him:

I have done many regattas with clubs and there is a lot of competitiveness. In Sail Training that does not happen, when talking with other boats there is a joyful and helpful atmosphere amongst crews. If we have started as the last but move forward, that is motivation but not a goal!

Normally, the new trainees are not even aware that there is a start line, and it may take some days for them to find out that there is a finish line to reach too. The departure is progressive according to the type of ship. First, Class A boats, which are the slowest, cross the start line, followed by class B, C and D, which are the faster ones. For a Class A or B boat, being at the departure time at the start line is already a struggle. It requires a strategic position, depending on the sea conditions and the ship's own characteristics. It is very difficult to manoeuvre with a ship of these characteristics and dimensions, and to return to this position if the start line is crossed ahead of time. It can take around an hour to reposition themselves to cross the start line.

Taking these observations into account, in my first experience, once the tall ships left the parade of sails and the boat was moving, emotion turned into tension, all the organisation in watches hoisting sails for the wind to fill them, and the little practice I

had, came into operation, especially being at the helm as I was. Let's explain the following images of *Constantia* and *Tecla*, both taken at the same moment when we left the Shetland Islands. The first one was taken from one of the class C ships that witnessed the tension of the moment and I took the second on board *Constantia*. These two class B ships, the *Constantia* in the front line and the *Tecla*, right next to it, were about to cross the start line. The *Tecla* came very close, almost too close, as seen in the image, maybe we had them half a meter away. They put pressure on us to move the helm and leave the start line marked between the two navy boats.

Crossing the start line. Two photos of the same moment. Lerwick, The Shetland Islands. TSR 2011.



Figure 44: Tall ship *Constantia* in first position, Tall ship *Tecla* in second position.

Figure 45: *Tecla* approaching *Constantia*, just half a meter distance between both boats.

Suddenly I was at the helm, accompanied by one of the volunteers. Keeping the rudder straight and without hesitation, as he told me, having a ship of these dimensions half a meter away was something that, just setting sail for my first time, generated a lot of adrenaline. Patrik, an experienced volunteer from *Constantia*, young and looking forward to some fun during the race, maintained a serious position regarding my inexperience. If the first officer had been in charge, perhaps the same situation would not have arisen. At that time, the first officer and captain were busy trying to deal with our damaged top foresail (the red one), as can be seen in the image. So here we were!

As a novice, I was placed in a position where I was at the forefront of operations and had to take the lead, while Patrik remained in the background, keeping my movements under close observation.⁵ The limit of the start line marked by one of the

⁵ These strategies in which experts remain behind just in case they are needed corresponds exactly with how Lye Tuck-Po explains the way the Batek of Malaysia do when 'training' their children. Similar to my

navy boats was just one hundred metres on our left side. This is visible at the very edge of figure 44. So, there were only two alternatives: keep going straight or turn in time before crashing *Constantia* into the navy boat of the start line. The second alternative would have meant returning the boat to its earlier position and, as mentioned above, would have involved at least one hour of manoeuvring.

Another memorable moment, right at the setting of sails, was lived by the trainees on board *Morgenster* during the Parade of Sails in *Cádiz* 2016. The following images, taken by myself from a small boat following the parade, connect the outer view we had of the Spanish trainees, who for the first time in their lives had left port up on the spars of a tall ship in order to set the sails, with what was being lived from the inside. I took some pictures of them during this parade of sails, and was extremely surprised by how all of them were up on the spars of the *Morgenster*, as if they had done it all their lives. However, there is a massive difference between observing it as a courageous image and experiencing it first-hand.

Figure 46, 47, 48: Parade of sails. Spanish trainees on board *Morgenster*. *Cádiz*. TSR 2016.



experience, the Batek offered him to be in front, keeping him 'under observation' along the way in the forest, while his knowledge was forged (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 29, see chapter by Tuck-Po).



Once I met them in *A Coruña* and spoke to them, some of them told me they had suffered very much. Alicia was up on the highest spar, and she told me that after this brave act, she had vomited for almost five or six days. It was a lot to expect of her, so Alex, the Spanish mentor was really worried about her. All the rest, Eric, Yago, Diego, Gabriel, Ines, Alex, followed her steps, even if the effect was not so dramatic. What appears from the outside as a memorable image will be remembered by all of them as a jump in their lives, right at the very beginning of the experience.

Edu, whom, I also pictured next to the helm of *Lord Nelson*, seemed very happy to greet me, but afterwards described leaving the mouth of the harbour and entering the swell of the sea tides as a bad time. He was upset, with feelings of homesickness and loneliness. He told me he was crying, just as he had been when calling his girlfriend once he had gone on board when I left him there the second time. Accompanying him on board for the first time was impressive, but what 'was to come' was rocking him, as we argued in the interview I had with him, his girlfriend and two more of their friends after the voyage, being back at home. Edu compared the sailing experience to entering a new world to his friends. These are some of his words after the voyage:

The first day I had the option of being able to eat on board or going ashore and I chose instantly to go ashore... come on, see you later... because you want to, but when you are there, it is in spite of your own feelings... so you have many contradictions... you cannot imagine the feeling you have, you cannot imagine it at all... I was so anxious to be on board... come on... come on... I felt like that... and then the first three days were horrible... I had many ups and downs... there were moments when I said, I want to be back home now... and then I was scared... yeahh, at any rate I had many ups and downs. For instance, the smells are also very different... the smell of damp in the cabins when you get on board is so strong... and then it all fades away... I thought at the first moment that with that smell I could never sleep there. The same happens with the ship's movement, it takes you three days to get used to, and then, like that smell it went away.

To this, his girlfriend Camila, replied:

I had talked to him on the phone just before setting sail... once he left... he called me overwhelmed but really overwhelmed, he felt out of place; he was crying... so right... it is like a totally different contrast!

‘It is true that the first thoughts are very hard, you feel completely out of place and very far from your family and friends’, Edu explained, but he added, even if the ship had been in the port of Barcelona (where he was from) rather than far away from home (this time was in *Cádiz*) he would have felt the same. This would have happened, he argued, because once on board one enters a new structure, like a completely different world. In Edu’s words:

even if we had been in Barcelona, since the moment you get on board and say goodbye to your family and friends, you already have an incredible sense of solitude. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to go on your own on such an adventure. Yes, because, you just shut everything out and off you go.

Similarly, other Spanish trainees from *Cádiz* told me: ‘You become part of a set of new dynamics, you break with your daily routine!’ What I have shared with the youngsters during my experience in the fieldwork, especially with the youngest ones from summer 2012 and 2016, is that this experience is ground-breaking for them. It is like the contrast between the pictures from the outside and living from the inside. One has nothing to do with the other.

Seasickness and Vomiting

In 2012 Alba and Joana were on board the *Pelican of London*, crossing the Bay of Biscay. With a delayed departure because of the bad weather, they had their first experience on board a tall ship with three days of a storm. They did nothing but vomit, like most of the rest of the youngsters. When youngsters start vomiting, it passes quickly from one to the other like a contagious illness. If I compare this voyage from *A Coruña* to Dublin on the *Pelican*, with the one I did just two weeks beforehand on board *Lord Nelson* from Oporto to *A Coruña*, the level of seasickness and vomiting was just the same, indicating no correlation between bad weather and increased seasickness. In his book *Psychology of Sailing: The Sea's Effects on the Mind and Body*, Michael Stadler mentions that ‘seasickness is mostly evoked by movements of large amplitude and low frequency’ (Stadler, 1987: 65), to which I must add, ‘like the waves in the North Sea’, where the boat seems to go up for a while and downward afterwards like being on a roller coaster. I remember this feeling crossing the North Sea from Shetland to

Stavanger: there were five-meter waves, very far apart, that brought on sickness because there was a drawn-out rise followed by a long downward motion. I would agree with Stadler that this movement is far more seasickness-provoking than a stormier sea.

Giraldo Herrera has an extended analysis of seasickness, in which he considers that ‘the specific etymological sense of nausea, can be classified as a form of motion sickness’ (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 135) in which ‘in transient stress conditions that require an energetic response’ (2013: 134), the body is in a state of alertness. He frames this as ‘a drop in the activity of the parasympathetic nervous system and an increase in that of the sympathetic nervous system’ (2013: 134). Whereas the physiological response to nausea, vomit, ‘occurs within the dominance of the parasympathetic over the sympathetic nervous system’ (2013: 134), the body falls when this state of alertness continues for long periods. Both systems, sympathetic and parasympathetic, are part of the autonomous nervous system also called ‘involuntary’, but with opposed effects.⁶ For instance, whereas the sympathetic system accelerates the heart, the parasympathetic system slows it. Their lack of adjustment evokes first nausea or seasickness, and later, vomiting.

Seasickness increases if you are below deck, like in the main hold, and especially if you try to do some particular activity that requires your full attention such as trying to chop vegetables in the galley. That is why sometimes, with a rough sea, people stay on deck, even to prepare the next meal. Giraldo Herrera, states that ‘reducing the mismatch between the visual and the gravitational information, like looking at the wide horizon on deck, or projections of coherent horizons, has been shown to reduce nausea or its severity’ (Wertheim 1998 in Giraldo Herrera 2013: 136). Sailor Lucinda Barker puts it this way:

Seasickness occurs when your eyes and your brain/inner ear are telling you two different things. Your brain/inner ear are saying that everything is moving, but your eyes (if you look at something fixed on the boat) are telling you that things aren’t

⁶ The autonomous nervous system (ANS) includes the sympathetic nervous system (SNS) and the parasympathetic nervous system (PNS). ‘Parasympathetic nervous system’. *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster Inc., <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/parasympatheticnervoussystem>. Accessed 24 November 2019. ‘Sympathetic nervous system’. *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster Inc., <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sympatheticnervoussystem>. (accessed 24/11/2019).

moving. The conflict between the two are where the feelings of nausea come from (Barker 2016: 64).

Stadler also tells us that sickness appears when the body and the ground are stable but the space around you moves (Stadler 1987: 27), so solutions such as staying on deck or 'stiffening the neck' (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 139) staring at the horizon as a way to reduce seasickness seem helpful. In Barker's words: 'Keep an eye on the horizon, your eyes then know your going up and down' (Barker 2016: 64). Other recommendations of hers, once being sick are:

to tell it to your skipper, stay warm, stay as active as possible, if possible, try and have a snooze, make sure you are clipped onto the boat with your safety tether, you must be sick with the wind behind you and make sure none of the crew members are downwind of you! (Barker 2016: 64).

The last point is strongly emphasised on board. It seems that probably many times, someone not feeling well vomits and it goes onto other people or sticks on deck when you do not consider that the wind is behind you.

Despite all of these formulations, Stadler considers that 'the main cause of seasickness is the fear of getting seasick' (Stadler 1987: 27). This fear, he emphasises, 'can make someone seasick before getting on board or once one loses a land reference' (Stadler 1987: 29). Giraldo Herrera also highlights that 'emotional and social aspects clearly play a role in motion sickness as they are closely related with the regulation of the autonomic nervous system' (2013: 134). From my experience with the youngsters, they are very influenced by their fellows, and their fear quickly spreads among them. Consequently, when the first becomes seasick, the rest follow, without any relation to better or worse weather and its correspondent instability on board. Comparing the two voyages with the same range of seasickness but under different weather conditions, the difference was that security drills were not taken at the same level for both voyages.

On the *Pelican*, crossing the Bay of Biscay with stormy weather, the aft saloon was allocated for the sick ones to lie down. The aft is normally the most stable point of the boat, therefore sick people were recommended to stay there. For the rest of the crew members, it was compulsory to wear harnesses, lifelines, dry suits and to be stuck

in the lifelines every time one wanted to walk on deck. There were also security nets around the deck, just to prevent anyone not fixed from falling overboard when the boat was moving abruptly because of the coming waves or because of the extreme angles the boat can reach. On the other hand, all of these security drills were not necessary on the *Lord Nelson* during a short leg between Oporto and *A Coruña* with no stormy weather, but even then, everyone became seasick and vomited as much as on the *Pelican*.

Sickness strikes at the moment you enter the world of the sea. For this reason, during the parade of sails most trainees are already seasick. If you ask them in what position they were while crossing the start line, they have no idea what you are asking them about; it is something they are not even aware of. Setting sail, their personal process is such an important one that they are not aware of anything else. Apart from my own first experience of being at the helm, on the rest of the voyages in which I accompanied youngsters, even without feeling seasick myself, I have never again been aware of the start line. On the *Pelican*, I was helping Joana stand up on deck. She felt seasick and wanting to vomit outside the main hold, she went out on deck without her harness, so an abrupt movement of a coming wave made her fall and slide to the front corner of the leeward side of the main deck. On the *Lord Nelson*, everyone was seasick and vomiting the same way; on the *Morgenster* in *Cádiz*, I was taking pictures of the trainees up on the spars; so the exact moment we crossed the start line was no more relevant for me or the trainees I accompanied. This is a play for the experienced ones, in which one realises that there are different levels of awareness in the little world of the boat.

In other studies, such as the one from Giraldo Herrera (2013), or from McCulloch (2002) with his more than fifteen years of experience at sea, seasickness is suffered by the researcher, which was not my case in any voyage. Here, I would add that the experience can be rather different on a sailing boat or a fishing boat. I had myself been on a fishing boat as had Giraldo Herrera, propelled by engine, and it can be rather different from the sailing boat, not only in terms of the contrast between the harmony of feeling the hull sliding over the waves and the breaking of the waves with a motorboat, but also because of the engine noise and the strong smell of oil and fish of the fishing boat that increases once you step on shore. I note that McCulloch got his

worst seasickness experience when returning to sea after a long absence, most often when tired. It was, for him, 'very unexpected and deeply unpleasant' (McCulloch 2002: 189). And interestingly enough, Giraldo Herrera states that 'vomit provided a momentary relief, however it also implied a cleansing purge, not only of the contents of his guts, but also of his memories, expectations and a variety of preconceptions' (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 174-5). These words match my own experience of accompanying youngsters. And he adds, 'it was like getting naked inside out, vomit exposed my weaknesses and left me more exposed' (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 175).

The Boat as an Extension of the Body

If the boat is supposed to be an extension of the body, most participants would agree, getting your sea legs might mean becoming adapted to a 'new ground touching you'. Sheets-Johnstone states that the ground we want to examine is 'the ground we can feel under-foot' (1999: 295). But is there such a ground once at sea? Seafarers, together with their boat and its sails, create a path or line of life through both sea and sky, but they do not really *work* the sea as a fisherman does with a motorboat. As Howard states, fishermen can feel the sea under-foot when they work:

You must work the *whole* ground, up and down. He showed me how to jig the lure up and down while lowering it a few feet with each movement until I felt the weight hit the bottom and the line go slack, and then how to raise the lure a few feet with each jig until it eventually arrived back up at the surface. He explained how the shoal of mackerel would move up and down in the water and that we needed to make the lure cover the ground in order to find them (Howard 2012: 41).

She also mentions that the fishermen she worked with educated their attention to feel the ground this way:

The fisherman was feeling the ground with his left hand on the wheelhouse wall, along the deck of the boat, up onto the steel structure taking the strain of the trawl, down 150 metres of trawl wire and finally to the hoppers at the front of the net which are bumping along the sea floor, all the while watching the sounder over his shoulder and poised to adjust the throttle (with his right hand on the handle that controls the speed of the engine) [...] His right hand poised over the engine controls was ready to 'give

it the handle' and accelerate the engine should he feel the fishing gear 'sticking' (Howard 2012: 50).

Walking in bare feet, as most of the crew did on board when the weather was not harsh during the Atlantic crossing, 'the ground we were exploring *touched* us, "*directly, personally*"', in the words of Sheets-Johnstone (Sheets-Johnstone 1999: 295). However, bipedality, as Ingold (2004) argues, cannot be attributed 'to human nature, or to culture', or to some combination of the two. Rather,

human capacities to walk, and to use their feet in countless other ways, emerge through processes of development, as properties of the systems of relations set up through the placement of the growing human organism within a richly textured environmental context (Ingold 2004: 336).

Herman Melville (1972), in his narrative of travel in the South Seas, *Typee*, observed that the appearance of the feet of Marquesan islanders was adapted to their sailing skills. Melville described the toes of the Marquesan islanders 'like the radiating lines of the mariner's compass, pointing to every quarter of the horizon' (Ingold 2004: 334, see Melville 1972: 142). In this case, 'their feet touched the ground' because they were adapted to the ocean environment through a long process of development. Their perception under-foot, which was highly tactile, allowed them to sail long distances with their canoes using, among other perceptual inputs, the feet as a compass.

The metaphor of 'getting your sea legs', however, is about more than perceiving through the feet. For instance, for Edu, who is a wheelchair user, the ship, like his wheelchair, is a physical extension of his body. That's what he noticed once he stepped on board for the first time. He explained how:

The feeling that the wheelchair is like part of you takes time to get integrated, if you just sit on it one afternoon you do not feel that the chair is part of you... With the boat it is exactly the same, the movement goes with you, you end up integrating it, it moves as if it were part of you spending some time on board.

And for him this goes together with seasickness once on board: 'You do not notice it... When you pitch for the first time, it's very hard, you feel like your head is going to explode... that is what the seasickness problem is'. Giraldo Herrera also states that 'the characteristics of the watercraft can make some forces or others more relevant

for the seasickness of those who fare in it' (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 135). In this regard, the permanent crew on *Lord Nelson* explained me the differences that wheelchair users find between the two adapted boats of the Jubilee Sail Training trust, *Lord Nelson* and *Tenacious*, in which they can work alternatively. *Tenacious* has a thinner hull, whereas *Lord Nelson's* is wider. This gives a lot more stability when moving along the deck with the wheelchair. There are many more details regarding the architecture of the hulls of traditional sailing boats that could be analysed. It is a world in itself for lovers of traditional boats, in which I will not go deeper in this thesis. Suffice it to note what I found interesting from the first moment I accompanied Edu, that he had a highly developed sense of the movement of the boat, even in port. Experts and lovers of traditional boats have only to figure the form of the hull or the type of boat to be able to imagine the feeling of the hull over the water. Of course, this needs to be combined with a knowledge of the kind of rigging and the temperaments of crew members. Every boat, then, can be adapted to fit the tastes and requirements of those who wish to sail in it. And at the same time it provides information about the other crew members who are with you all the time, sharing the rhythm of the boat at sea and their process of enskilment. For instance, as Edu states:

One day I was on duty and one of my teammates too... we started breaking waves and somebody came and asked: who's at the wheel? because we were breaking waves... When you slide through the water, you notice it a lot; but when you break waves, you notice it even more... you go with the ship's movement, so you integrate it as part of you...

On the first sailing days, what is most striking are the efforts of new crew members simply to survive in the face of their own inexperience. It is not necessary to be on deck; even when lying in your bunk, you wonder who might be at the helm when it is difficult to get a rest. Then one can do two things: keep calm and try to rest, hoping that the feeling will soon go by, or to step on deck to share what's happening. The first option is the better choice because it recognises the first symptoms of hapticality, the 'feel for feeling the others feeling you' (Harney and Moten 2013: 97-99) that will eventually lead to your getting your sea legs. The second option, even it seems unavoidable at the time, is a kind of resistance that you need to get rid of, because in

only few hours, it will be your turn to be again on watch. And it will not be nice to stay on watch without having rested.

On board, your body is continually adjusting its postural sway to the movements of the boat together with the movements and actions of the whole crew. Finding the best position while trying to sleep is a challenge. One can fall asleep pressing one's feet against the wooden protector of the bunk or the hull wall, trying to find the best position, one can adapt the position to the tilting angle of the moment, which one can change after some hours just rolling to the other side if the boat tacks. It is always better to sleep on the leeward side but the course can be changed while one is resting.

Getting Your Sea Legs



Figures 49 and 50: Sleeping on deck and on the sofa after three days of sailing. *Pelican of London* and *Lord Nelson*.

Getting sea legs is part of everyone's engaging with the rhythm of the group or the boat in a sea medium. So when after two or three days one cannot stand the tension of adaptation any longer, it is like recognising that you cannot do it by yourself, that the others that are with you are also suffering the same process, so your tension is transformed into mutuality. While you are resting, the others are steering the boat for you, so they become as important as yourself. This hapticality for other human and non-human beings is a form of mutual care and protection by which participants become skilled in this environment.

The process of getting your sea legs not only concerns bodily instability, or a muscular conciousness as the adaptation of the body to a new space. It is about acquiring a new set of practical or life skills. As Anna Orland Portisch states, based on her study of Mongolian craftwomen, we have to establish relationships 'with the materials and tools with which we work, we adjust actions and dispositions; we assess

progress, rhythm, timing, and positioning’, ‘we take conscious steps towards improving our practices, and towards developing and adjusting a goal-type in the process’ (Portisch 2010: S76). Therefore, more than a mechanical or physical adaptation of our bodies, enskilment entails ‘reflective and intelligent practices’, applicable to similar situations in life (Portisch 2010: S76).

The complexity of the process of enskilment goes together with the hapticality experienced, initially, with the seasickness induced by a different way of perceiving. Getting used to hapticality is a clear sign of giving attention to ourselves in the process of becoming familiar to an oceanic world. Philosopher Alan Watts said of the boat that the greatest skill of all comes when, without using very much effort, but only the intelligence to set the sails, one gets everyone and everything to cooperate.⁷ One has first to attend automatically to the government of one’s own body, as when one is sick; only then can one extend the same principle, learning by responding in particular ways to the actions and certain outcomes that arise on board, forcing one to reassess one’s own actions in relation to others.

Your body is really tired from all the effort to assume a non-stop postural sway, a different muscular consciousness and new skills. ‘There are processes of habituation or adaptation, which can take from a few hours to up to three days’ (Giraldo Herrera: 135). With your homeland behind you, vomiting all you can, without any mobile cover and your tiredness, everyone collapses to have a good rest. You feel you need it, and you can rest when off watch. With the rest that comes after getting your sea legs, we had become totally involved in the ocean environment, and after the tension between ways of perceiving and living on land and at sea, we finally give way, unconsciously, to life at sea. As Giraldo Herrera asserts, from the tension of contrary forces, comes harmony (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 109).

In Greek, harmony (ἁρμονία) designated a technique, a means of joining together by antagonism or opposition; it was applied to the joining of the planks in shipbuilding, the anatomical understanding of the sutures of the bones and the building of armour, the stringing of bows and tuning of lyres; by extension it was applied to musical chords, to the understanding of the soul

⁷ From the poem ‘The Greatest Skill of All’ by Alan Watts. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-Zel_pAPJg

and metaphorically to love, friendship and political agreement (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 109-110).

When it happens, there is 'little difference between oneself and the environment, between stimulus and action, between past, present and future' (Turner 1982: 56-58).

Once calm is restored on board, it is time to clean everything up! The necessity to clean up all the areas of the boat is introduced to new trainees as 'the happy hour', which means that everyone is involved in the cleaning that lasts one hour each time when needed. Watch groups will clean different areas and the system will be by rotation, so everyone has to clean the heads one day or another.

Figure 51: Happy hour. Tall ship *Constantia*. TSR 2011.



When back on shore, as Stadler notes, the body also needs to reestablish its stability (Stadler 1987: 72). It is noticeable that on the first nights we sleep on shore, we are awakened because in our dreams we feel like we are going to fall out of bed. The problem then is that the bed stays stable, without movement. To which Giraldo Herrera says:

after landing, I often experienced *mal de terre*. I tumbled while walking, while standing, sitting and even sleeping, in particular whenever I was relaxed (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 357).

The process of adaptation once on board takes two or three days, while once on shore it can take 'from six to ten days'. 'If someone embarks again within this period, he or she is probably not going to need the adaptation process again' (Stadler 1987: 73).

Comparing the Boat with a Womb

In this chapter, I have explained the transitional process that trainees go through to get on board, breaking with their routines on land to begin getting used to the routines that allow them to be at sea. In doing so, I took steps to establish what their paths through the ocean medium are. Many books have been written about paths walked on land such as *Wandering* by Thoreau (1999), *Wanderlust* by Rebeca Solnit (2015), and the collection of different articles in *Ways of Walking*, by Tim Ingold and Jo Vergunst. In the latter, the authors argue that social relations 'are not enacted in situ but are paced out along the ground' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 1). Of course, they are thinking about walking and their analysis follows that path. They analyse the first steps taken in childhood affirming that walking comes when infants have their first experience of rhythmic activity, sitting astride the shoulders or on the back of a grown-up. And then they say:

It is when the feet have found their rhythm and the body its momentum that we discover, without having been aware of any moment of commencement, that we are already walking [...] They set out a path on the ground unconsciously, an attunement of rhythm, body and correspondence with the adults caring for them (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 3).

If we turn to look at what happens when getting on board from this perspective, it is necessary to refer to a experience that comes before walking: 'the unborn baby will have experienced something of the same rhythmic movement while carried in the womb' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008:4). Indeed, parents and child already interact during pregnancy. The sharing of rhythm is only possible when movement exists in both. Anna Badkhen describes the feel of the fishing boat in a Senegalese seafaring community in the same way:

The sea rocks the boat. Up and down, side to side: this is the rocking of the womb, the gentle swaying weightlessness that precedes our being, that our mothers prolong when they strap

us to their backs in our first months, when they cradle us to sleep. But the rocking goes back further still, to that crepuscular beginning when we were microorganisms swished and tossed this way and that by the tide, a tide that has changed very little since, yet never stays the same (Badkhen 2018: 8).

I was told right at the beginning of my research, by Miquel Borillo that the boat's rhythmic correspondences make it like a womb. He may have meant by this that it allows the crew on board to share rhythms which, in the oceanic medium, become social correspondences. In her book the *Primacy of Movement* Maxine Sheets-Johnstone states, 'it is through movement that the life of every creature acquires reality' (Sheets-Johnstone 1999: 117). Our primal animation is 'the mother of all cognition' (Sheets-Johnstone 1999: 118, emphasising Husserl 1980: 69), 'in originary self-movement, what is created and what is constituted are one and the same' (Sheets-Johnstone 1999: 132). The felt body is the experiential foundation of 'the fundamental phenomenon of sentience' (1999: 464), 'the feeling of being alive' (1999: 464), and hence 'definitive of "primal" or "core" consciousness' (Sheets-Johnstone 1999: 464). This sentient body in the mother's womb that engages life with its first movements and shared rhythms, would demand the same attention afterwards. For instance, when being pushed in a baby carriage that stops somewhere because the adult meet someone and stops giving their full attention to the baby, the baby's reaction after a while would be to cry. While moving, babies and young children develop a reciprocity, a rhythmic correspondence with adults, like being in the womb. Whereas when stopping somewhere, the movement is missed and demanded by the baby, if only to keep feeling alive and be taken notice of.

We recover this shared rhythm on board. The movement is involuntarily yet continually shared. We therefore become sentient to the rhythm of this environment with the rest of the crew. It is not only about becoming attuned to movement, it is also about acquiring a rhythm with others, which you will engage with in some way, and that you will miss once leaving the boat. I cannot give a better comparative example than that of the baby's crying because he or she asks for attention and for movement. Sailors love it when they feel the wind in the sails, and they suffer if there is none. They feel carried by the wind, like a baby feels carried by accompanying adults. An example of this

is provided in the interview I conducted with Charlotte, who told me how she felt when during the first miles as a volunteering doctor, she realised her differences with the rest of the crew:

We had no wind before, and then suddenly that rough weather, which made me seasick. But you see all the crew really happy, they are passionate! In my mind I said: okay, as a volunteer guest, I am just here for the next two weeks. But they are different: all the sailors are loving it, or waiting for it. I like it also, because it is what I expected, but I thought maybe it should stop because it was getting too much. But then the captain and all the crew members were, we are now doing 11 knots, we are heeling now... there was such a difference between them and me, very interesting to see.

As Charlotte notices, there is joy when you have a fair wind to get underway, whereas there is a generally bad mood and impatience when there is no wind. I remember spending two days lying off Fuerteventura, in the Canary Islands, just waiting for a bit of wind. It was totally flat. In desperation we tried to set the spinnaker⁸ in order to catch the minimum flow of wind in the air. But then, tired of hours and hours under the sun and next to no breeze, with increasing general tension, with the crew in a bad mood about not having proper meals because of possible food shortage if we spent a few more days afloat, we decided to have a salt-water shower on deck. (This was a particularly popular decision since no one had had a shower since we had left Sines a week before). Everyone was happy as we used some salt-water pumped from the sea to shower and a small pan of fresh water from the tap in order to rinse the shampoo from your hair at the end. It was wonderful: fifteen minutes of collective effervescence that distracted our attention from the boat. As a result, the spinnaker, which is very sensitive and thin, set only when there is little wind, rolled around the mast. That was a problem, since we could not continue sailing without solving it. So we had to message through the radio that we were finished with the race, because we needed to start the engine to reach the harbour to repair it. The two days without wind, the tension of all the group trying day and night to catch a bit of wind, ended up with a shower distracting the whole group.

⁸ See footnote 39 in Chapter 1.

With these examples then, what are the differences or similarities between the womb and the boat in an ocean medium? The sea 'offers only conditional support, its depth is ever threatening to swallow us up [...]. On land, we can count on the ground to hold us' (Ingold 2019a: 351). I will develop this point in the next chapter, proving that sailing participants really feel the boat as a place or entanglement of relationships. At sea, 'we must necessarily hold on to one another and to our craft if we are to stay afloat' (Ingold 2019a: 351). And in doing so, we not only become more attentive to the continually changing environment, but also to the others and to oneself.

Conclusion

Regarding my experience on *Constantia*; in the first hours on board, I noticed that with the little light there was in the main hold, I could not find the things in my bench. Sören, the first officer, approached to give me a head-torch. He told me that it was his wife's head-torch and that I should keep it during the voyage because it would help me.⁹ Remembering that moment, I noticed how I was observed by the group; I was ignorant about some necessary utensils. On the other hand, receiving the head-torch was a warm and bonding experience, when Sören mentioned it was his wife's. It was a gesture that made me feel safe and welcome.

Even though this was a totally new environment for me, there was a process of getting into the field from the warm welcome I received with the first handshakes on deck with captain, Sören and Peter, inviting me to go through the doorway, up to the head-torch experience that really welcomed me aboard. These handshakes were truly a door-handle to the dwelling boat, the same way that Pallasmaa describes the handles of the doors as the handshake of a building (Pallasmaa 1996: 79). My picturesque view of the harbour with all the tall ships was transformed into a warm welcome in a dwelling for this new experience.

Once on board, crossing the gateway - or in my case, the handshake - with the crew, you become immersed in the ongoing life on board. This process by which things reveal their form of being to us is called by Heidegger (1971: 166-172) '*uncouncealment*'.

⁹ I had no previous kit list when boarding *Constantia*. That is provided by bigger organisations.

As Heidegger said of his jug, which he describes as a 'void that holds', making the transition crossing the gateway to get on board, one entire way of being is transformed to what looks from the outside as an object such as in a museum cabinet. As places that might reveal or conceal themselves, tall ships are not monuments in a museum. They are provided for groups of youngsters to sail on them: 'unfolding vessels', in which once on board, youngsters become part of a relationship and a particularly vivid story that will form the identity of the boat.

The youngsters are exposed to a new world that makes them emotionally afloat and fearful of leaving the harbour. There is no longer a picturesque image of the harbour nor a map with different boats located in a position. First of all, they feel homesick, then lost and after crying, vomiting and losing all their references, they enter a new environment where they perform what they can or whom they want to be. Learning through practice from experts who guide or instruct seems to be what one can find in Sail Training, but as happened to me once at the helm when I arrived, there are various unpredictable occurrences along the way that help you increase your knowledge. When the medium we are exploring touches us directly, personally, then we become acutely aware of reality.

Once on board, from the first moment, your muscular consciousness begins to adapt to the small space and the continuous movement of an ocean medium. Every single routine requires the full attention of the crew to the craft: we must necessarily hold on to one another and to our craft! This becomes both fully understood by and necessary for everyone once the sails are set. Every boat is a bundle of relationships with a rhythm, tightly wound along its voyages with the Sail Training community, above an ocean medium that connects land under the water. Every voyage will become a story lived by participants in the experience.

Getting your sea legs, as Gilsa Pálsson described it, is an 'oceanic feeling of well-being' (Pálsson 2016: 120), 'happiness and flux' (Csikzentmihalyi 2002: 2), 'harmony' (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 109-0) that not only means an engagement with the routines on board, but also with the rhythm of the boat and the crew. John Mack describes it as follows:

Boats themselves, and the knowledge which goes with being on the seas, engenders a commonality, that sociability comes from a shared bodily experience of the rhythms of the sea. [...]The skills the mariners possessed were appropriate to the shared engagement with maritime conditions (Mack 2007: 12).

Mack also observes that 'the boat, the self and the maritime environment are mutually and simultaneously engaged, brought into the relationship, through the act of voyaging' (Mack 2007: 12). Plenty of situations will arise in which wind, weather and ocean will touch crew members, from whom trainees borrow wisdom unconsciously. And as Colin Richards notes, 'the boat is also altered by the journey' (Richards 2008: 217). Inhabiting the open, the craft becomes an existential shelter to which ocean and sky, as two different mediums, react to get underway.

CHAPTER 3. TO INHABIT THE OPEN: THE BOAT AS A SHELTER

Once at sea, we must necessarily hold on to one another and to our craft if we are to stay afloat (Ingold 2019a: 351).

Introduction

Once you have got your sea legs, the boat becomes a familiar place, a home at sea, a shelter in the open ocean medium, in which the major protection lies in the relationships which arise from the experience through which you know that you can trust both the others and your boat. Where the previous chapter explored the former, this chapter examines the latter. The concept of the boat as an inhabited place on the move, that requires that trainees are involved in the process of sailing, building it and creating it within an ocean environment, gives us a clear idea of dwelling along paths of movement rather than in bounded places.

I will start this chapter introducing a remarkable story about the Vikings who came to Scotland and brought their sailing and maritime culture with them. To introduce it, it is worth mentioning that according to Zbigniew Kobyliński, 'Scandinavian skaldic poetry included a paraphrase (*kenning*) referring to a house as a ship' (Kobyliński 1995: 15, see Guriewicz 1976), which brings to mind the comparison with 'houses built in the shape of upside-down ships in northern Europe in the early Middle Ages' (Kobyliński 1995: 15). The symbolism of the house is well known. Just as a boat brings human order into the chaos of nature symbolised by water, so a house gives structural organisation to chaotic space. A house in the form of a boat reinforces this symbolism. Thus, the boat could also relate to the structure of the cosmos, both in the shape of a boat-burial and in boat-shaped houses.¹ In one of its meanings, the boat is, therefore, a 'part of the human world, a small piece of the enclosed *sacrum* in the boundlessness of *profanum*, something giving safety at sea, as the house gives safety on land' (Kobyliński 1995: 16).

¹ Richard Bradley (2000) states that 'there is clear evidence for the burial of the dead in boats from Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, symbolising the voyage to the other world' (2000: 133). Ships may evoke notions of foreign travel; they may well depict the journey of death, but it is also possible to suggest an interpretation of their placing in this particular landscape (Bradley 2000: 133).

Kobyliński also emphasises how the geographical environment in Scandinavia has a specific form of practice adapted to it that can bridge the gap between the symbolism of the boat from the Bronze Age to the early Middle Ages (Kobyliński 1995: 17). In this environment, above all, of sea coasts, there is no doubt that the principal social practice was certainly the economic exploitation of this ecosystem, and the boat as a technico-utilitarian artefact played a basic role in this task (Kobyliński 1995: 17). Consequently, Vikings are well known sailors due to their adaptation to the environment, and this is also noted when they arrived and progressively integrated in Great Britain. In this regard, I had a very special discovery related to inverted boats as houses from the early Middle Ages, which can be seen in several places throughout the British Isles but nowhere else in the world. I am talking about huge stone graves with an inverted boat form, such as the Govan Stones on the outskirts of Glasgow, dating from the early Middle Ages.

This very particular kind of tombstone, found in the little Old Parish Church of Govan, is understood as an intercultural adaptation.² In the same way that we know that lots of burials took place on boats in Scandinavia, it appears that these tombstones, called *Hogback*, are Viking graves from a cemetery around the church. In the church lies the sarcophagus of St Constantine, who is thought to be its founder. The story is that King Constantine was sacrificed by the Vikings, and his sarcophagus was moved from the Pictish site to Strathclyde as a symbol of unification by the first king of the Scots.³ This is represented by the Govan knot, present in many of the stones, and attributed to a carving school in the area. Curiously enough, the main shipyard of Glasgow, bombed several times during the two World Wars, is only 200 metres from the Govan Old Parish Church, which remained intact.

² Thanks to Tim Ingold for recommending this profitable visit to me during my time in Scotland.

³ King Constantine, son of Kenneth McAlpin, who reigned 862-876, or his son Donald who reigned from 889-900 (Ritchie 2011: 7).



Figure 52: One of the five 'hogback' stones now housed in the church, photographed c.1900 in the churchyard. The original position of the Govan Stones in the churchyard is not known, however many were at least partly buried by the 1800s. From the exhibition.



Figure 53: Hogback Stones exhibition in the Old Parish church of Govan. Visited 9th of August 2019.

The *Hogback monuments* are seen as inverted boats, and also compared to houses, due to the carved roof tiles on the 'inverted boat hull', often together with carved animals embracing either end of the stone. This unusual type of tombstone appears to 'have been invented in Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire in the 10th century, and the fashion spread north-west into Cumbria and Strathclyde and north into Pictland' (Ritchie 2011: 16). The *Hogback monuments* are said to be both the result of integrating the two cultures, and to mark the beginning of a sedentary life for the Vikings who settled in Scotland.

This evidence of the subordination of the dwelling to the journey amongst nomads such as the Vikings, that we also know from the fishermen or the reindeer hunters in Siberia (Anderson et al. 2013), puts the idea of the vernacular house⁴ in question. In this chapter, I shall show that the boat acts as a home within which to inhabit the sea. The boundlessness of this home as a shelter, contrary to what is said about the boat's being a confined space, make it a place on the move.

Inhabiting the Sea

My approach requires us to go deeper into what inhabiting the open in these experiences affords to different crews. This involves considering the meaning of both the creation of the boat as a place of habitation built by the very people who are sailing it, and its relation to the 'scape' in an ocean-sky medium. Life at sea is different from life on land when it is the ocean-sky environment that continually affects and performs the shape of the boat with its inhabitants and not, as happens on land, the landscape being more shaped by its inhabitants than inversely. To develop this approach, I explore the boat through phenomenology, taking into account an environment that both affects me and that is affected by my presence. As shown in Chapter 2 when getting on board, 'phenomenology creates rich and detailed accounts of places as they are lived in', because 'it explores how places are made and re-made from an insider's point of view' (Vergunst 2017: 4). When at sea, on board a sailing ship, as philosopher Rumi⁵ (named for his origin in Roman Anatolia) once stated: 'you are not a drop in the ocean, you are the entire ocean in a drop'.⁶

From a phenomenological approach to sailing, taking the idea of 'being the entire ocean in a drop' seriously, we can see the boat as a place-holder as a valuable idea that allows the participants in these experiences to inhabit the medium of the ocean in permanent interchange with the weather-ocean, being continually and performatively

⁴ Vernacular architecture is the one 'that manifest a design that is attributable to the genius of cultural tradition rather than individual creation' (Ingold 2013c: 15).

⁵ Yalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī, 1207-1273 CE, was a 13th-century Persian Muslim poet, jurist, Islamic scholar, theologian, and Sufi mystic. Rumi's influence transcends national borders and ethnic divisions in the Muslim world and beyond.

⁶ This is the motto of the formation called 'Ocean Literacy Under Sail' of Tall ships America association that was provided to me by Nancy Richardson in the Sail Training conference 2019 in Antwerp (Belgium) that I think suits perfectly how to sum up what I mean.

affected and transformed by these media. Inhabiting an open world at sea, that is not prepared in advance, means having continually to come to terms with a world of formative and transformative *processes*. 'If such processes are of the essence of perception, then they are also of the essence of what is perceived' (Ingold 2008b: 1801). As the Finnish trainee Rikka told me, 'the boat is a medium to be at sea'. 'I am not feeling as if I am in a boat, I just feel I am at sea once sailing'.

If the boat is felt as a medium that allows one to feel 'the sea', and to adapt to every change of the sea while sailing, the boat becomes a *place* as described by Ingold. A place 'is a collection of lines and paths knotted together, more than a boundary between inside and out' (Vergunst 2017: 7, paraphrasing Ingold). On board one cannot feel the ship as a limiting boundary, you are part of the environment. However controversial his views on boundaries, philosopher Martin Heidegger was interested in 'being-in-the-world', or how things are, within their places of phenomenal existence, rather than how they can be constructed in an abstract or in an ideal form. He defined the concept of *Raum* as 'making room for', *peras* in Classical Greek, adding special emphasis on the fact that 'a boundary is not that at which something stops but as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*' (Heidegger 1971: 154, emphasis in original).

The boat is place and, over time, its presence begins to be part of the story of the participants in this experience. As Wiebe, the bosun on *Wylde Swan* told me in his interview:

This is my normal life. Being at home, or in a supermarket or waiting at a traffic light, that's not normal anymore. This is what I like. This is a real down to earth connection. Here you are just out of society, the only thing you have to do is to get the ship to the other side. You do not have all these things like mobile phones, the internet, so you can really focus on the people around you, you are just a small part of nature. We, as humankind just think that nature is something we do something with but here you are really aware that you are just a small piece of a bigger thing and I really like this feeling a lot!!

He also said: 'Yes, we are here for two or three months, and you can say that it is really your home, yeah'. Then I asked him if he would say that it is the same for the trainees, and he replied:

I hope so! At least this is the feeling we want to give. I hope they see this as a home at a certain moment. At the beginning, of course, everybody is a bit nervous and you have to see how it works, but in the end, it will really be a home.

Indeed, participants also feel that they inhabit the boat as a 'home place' once at sea, when they are invited to take part in everything on board, as one more member of the crew. As Ines, a Spanish trainee, told me:

What impressed me the most was the attitude of the family running the ship... I wouldn't call the boat a house as if it were a family house. I think the boat is a notch up from that, I think it's a house where these people live and they completely give you the feeling that you are invited to live for a while with them. I mean, they do not invite you to come for dinner and then you have to leave. They leave you their space for a few days for you to exchange whatever and to live this experience together. After that, you can follow your path and they take their boat, their home away. They not only share their space, but they also share their lifestyle, and what they have known in life, everything...

In presenting these ethnographic views of experiencing the boat as a home and by extension as a place in which a bond is created amongst crew members, I also introduce issues that will be analysed in the following chapters, for instance the boat as a 'ship family' in Chapter 5. This is because as Janet Carsten states, we might understand the relationships between homes, the hearth and the household as sites of 'becoming'. For Malays in the island of Langkawi, 'living and consuming together in houses, people become persons' (Carsten 1995b: 223). Therefore, habitation entails a 'sibling set', where the person is thus 'both individual and multiple' (Carsten 1995b: 226-7). Carsten defines a different way to understand kinship through a group of siblings that live and eat together, and for that, she uses Mac Marshall's description of siblingship in Oceania, and highlights 'the roots the Malay have from their ancestors who came to the island together with siblings' (Carsten 1995b: 237). In fact, Mac Marshall (1977) states that for the Trukese there is the category 'my sibling from the same canoe', referring to those who sustained each other through a life-threatening trial at sea (1977: 647). The term refers to men who shared a disabled canoe, drifted together at sea for many days supporting each other's flagging spirits, and sharing completely what meagre food and water they had until they finally reached land or were rescued at sea. 'Born of mutual

aid in adversity' these men swear eternally to treat each other like brothers: they would 'take care or look after one another', 'cooperate', 'agree to be of one mind', 'share land or other resources' (Marshall 1977: 647; Sahlins 2011: 14-15). These phrases encapsulate the essence of a proper kinship feeling of companionship when sailing in the same boat.

The Boat as a Place on the Move

In the process of getting used to being on board, trainees deal first with seasickness and setting a watch routine; they experience discomfort with these new routines, with the frictions of living together, with raw emotions, and even pain when they get through storms. An example of our immersion in place once on board is what Yago tells us about the duties:

What has struck me most is the number of things to do. It was non-stop until I got used to it ... I soon got used to it but at the beginning it was too much, to do this, you had hardly finished one thing and you had to do the next. Bang bang bang, to sleep, then you wake up again for your watch, ...

Trainees suffer painful organic illnesses, such as getting seasick during the first three days and they also experience homesickness; they miss and remember their loved ones once at sea. Philosopher Edward S. Casey defines a 'home-place as a site of resistance' because it is often achieved with the most 'strenuous effort across the most daunting obstacles' (Casey 1993: 301). Therefore, 'dwelling goes along paths of movement rather than in bounded places, and such movement may involve pain and discomfort' (Ingold 2000: xviii). Casey also says that 'to live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know places one is in' (Casey 1996: 18). He reminds us of the importance of getting back to the concept of place because as he explains, space and time are already in place, even though they are divided into space and time in the modern era.⁷ Echoing this, Escobar (2001: 143) notes that 'it is our inevitable immersion in place, and

⁷ Despite the hegemony of space, there has always been an undercurrent of interest in, and theorising of, place which has remained understudied from the perspective Casey brings to it and that extends from Aristotle to Irigaray, Bachelard, Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari and that includes, of course, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty (Casey 1996: 12).

not the absoluteness of space, that has ontological priority in the generation of life and the real’.

In this animate world of habitation under continuous change, what is learnt through the skills of sailing is to understand the other, allowing the other to care for oneself and vice versa, as an essential part of the process. As one trainee, Gabriel, put it: ‘in the world, you have the possibility to hide, but not on the boat’. On shore, many participants see themselves as ‘just teenagers’, but on board, they become important. As Gammon and Elkington described it, ‘a place is not strictly a physical location, nor is it a state-of-mind’; it is the engagement ‘with particular ways of thinking and seeing, of being-in-the-world’ (Gammon and Elkington 2015: 35). Yago and Gabriel cannot avoid having responsibilities on board, whilst on land they depend on their families for most things. As 15-year-old Yago told me:

It was a very different situation on board, maybe one even more civilised than our current life. I thought there were people on the boat who were older than me and who would be better than us but no, I am 15 years old and I think I have been worth more on board than many people older than me. On board, it was as if we were all the same age. What matters is what you do.

They told me that after the voyage because their experience had been hard, at the same time, it had been so transformative. Had they not been participating (‘being in the world’), feeling alive, it would not have been the same.

These lines, or the way a person is a *being in the world*, generate *meshworks* of relationships together with the rest of the beings in their environment. And the concept of place is developed by the sharing amongst the participants, the holding on to each other aboard in this environment. Alex, Spanish mentor in Morgenster, defined being in the world of the sea environment like this:

It is the sea that forces you to be yourself. Life at sea is more simplified; it is not comparable to life on land. It forces you to be authentic. You realise that more than half of the things you’ve brought on board are unnecessary; that ashore you give much more importance to appearances, are aware of what others say, or physical appearances. Contrary to this, on the ship, you have a purpose, which is to get it safely to port. On the ship we are all united in the same goal; each one a different entity, but with a thread that unites us.

I will use this metaphor from Alex, 'a thread that unites us', as the feeling that brings the experience of place into relation with ideas of time. It will be shown with experiences aboard, following Vergunst, that 'the past, present and in particular the future, in terms of what they place, might still become what a person or thing might be as part of it' (Vergunst 2017: 5). Indeed, there is a whole range of narratives and life stories tied to the life of each boat because places are about relationships, when time shared together builds them. As Sheller and Urry argue:

Places are dynamic, they are about proximities, about the bodily co-presence of people who happen to be in that place at that time doing activities together, therefore, you need time to build a place (Sheller and Urry 2006: 214; see also Urry 2003; German Molz 2006).

The main aim of the daily routine on board is the running of the household, and there is an awareness of others' activities and the priority of different tasks, in which each individual gains responsibility to the extent of becoming competent to do them (a process that also happens for example within the Kazakh yurts reported by Portisch (2010: S67)). And the collection of lines and 'paths knotted together' that suits the building of the boat as a home place at sea are no more contained within the boat than are threads contained within a knot (Ingold 2009a: 33). They trail beyond it, to other life situations in which the experience at sea can be remembered, 'only to become caught up with other lines in other places, as are threads in other knots' (Ingold 2009a: 33). Trainees as part of the crew will perform all kinds of maintenance and sailing practices on board. Through this each becomes another member of the crew.⁸

The Boat as a Shelter

At sea, the boat is the craft, the shelter without which we could not inhabit this environment. This shelter is deeply rooted in allowing humans to inhabit the open sea in the same way that animals adapt to their environment in the structures they build to suit their own physiological needs (Turner 2000: 7). In his writing about the shelter,

⁸ Similarly, Rita Astuti states that among the Vevo of Western Madagascar, newcomers become a Vevo through learning by doing. One can 'become a Vevo if one goes out with one's friends and works with them, rather than by a system of descent' (Astuti 1995:15; also quoted in Mack 2007: 9). It is less a 'state of being' than a 'way of doing' (Astuti 1995: 15).

Ingold (2019c) wonders whether shelter from the weather is a fundamental human need (2019c: 66), and I might say that at sea, the boat indeed fulfils a need in this regard. But when Jarkko was asked to consider the ship as a dwelling place, he replied:

The ship is like a home ... It is like a home in your mind at that point when you are sailing on it ... I would say it's even more than that! I know that for some people it is like being inside your mother's womb!

A womb is also a fundamental shelter for humans. I have two other interviews, both with captains, where they see the ship as a womb. This comparison of the ship with a womb highlights its properties as a place-holder, and its way of being a continuous process of fomenting proximities within a shared rhythm, as I argued in Chapter 2. Surprised by his answer, I asked if he had heard anyone making that comparison before:

Ya, I have. It's like that, it's a shelter, it's a mental state in a way. Also, I feel very safe on boats. Being there, you have the sea, which can really be a rough sea ... but then you have the boat which is looking after you, keeping you safe, when you are on it. It is joined to you and also vice-versa; like you are joined to the boat and also you are taking care of the boat. It's reciprocal. Ya, sometimes I think of the boat as a living thing. I mean, in a way during the long voyages.

Jarkko's feeling for the proprieties of the ship can also apply to other vehicles. For instance, there are many stories centred on the family car for the people who have gone on different trips and had different experiences in it, especially if it is a van or a caravan where the family can sleep, and the children have grown up with it. In family conversations, the family van can evoke feelings and emotions in those who have shared it and built part of their life-story in it. For example, in *Vehicles: Cars, Canoes and Other Metaphors of Moral Imagination*, edited by David Lipset and Richard Handler (2014), vehicles are considered 'living beings' (Lipset 2014: 3).

In shelters, humans, as Wiebe mentioned earlier on, 'go to earth'. The boat as a shelter is built in a hollow that allows us to inhabit underwater, as 'in times of war, shelters were also built underground' (Ingold 2019c: 67). Entering a shelter, you might likewise pass through a door, like the one I described when going below on *Constantia*, my first tall ship, however, 'even in its innermost chambers, the shelter gives out to the

open' (Ingold 2019c: 70). That is to say that the boat is a place-holder, but 'it is not a container' (Ingold 2019c: 70). Here again, the qualities of the boat as a shelter that open it to the ocean will demonstrate its boundlessness. To inhabit the open is to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium. Organisms or living beings such as the boat are not externally bounded entities, but bundles of interwoven lines of growth and movement, together constituting a meshwork within the medium, in which the environment comprises a 'zone of entanglement' with the organism (Ingold 2008b: 1796).

The shelter always alternates with exposure, within an open world of ocean and sky, as explained at the beginning of this chapter with the experiences of Rikka and Wiebe. 'Life in the open, far from being contained within bounded places, threads its way along paths through the weather world' (Ingold 2008b: 1796). As Deleuze and Guattari assert, within the tent, the igloo or the boat 'inside space conforms to outside space' and therefore, 'among the nomads, the dwelling is subordinated to the journey' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 478). Ingold argues that the lodge, as a home for circumpolar people, is also a 'nexus in a multidimensional world of relations' (Ingold 2013c: 5). In other words, the lodge and the boat are shelters in the open. This boundlessness reminds us of the 'open' igloo of the Eskimo that Carpenter speaks about, and to which I referred in Chapter 2 (Carpenter 1959: 16).

To be sheltered, then is more than a shift from optical to haptical: it's more attuned to movement in its all senses. Carpenter argues that ever since Aristotle's declaration that the sense of sight is to be trusted 'above all others', we have accorded a primary role to vision. He observes that in our modern world 'seeing is believing' (Carpenter and McLuhan 1960: 65). Among modern scientists 'mysticism and intuition are bad words' (Carpenter 1959: 27). The result is that objects are not performed by experience but given to us in final forms. Most of our thinking is in terms of visual models, but when we perceive in other modes, be they auditory or kinesthetic, they might be 'proved more efficient' (Carpenter 1959: 27).

For Deleuze and Guattari the 'opposition between the haptic and the optical corresponds to that between the smooth and the striated' (Ingold 2015b: 207). Ingold

however argues that 'the optical "scapes" generated by the scopic regimes of modernity, are neither striated nor smooth' (Ingold 2015b: 207):

in the scopic regimes of modernity, light, sound and feeling are reduced to vectors for the projection of final forms, cut out from the processes that give rise to them. These scapes can be viewed, studied, analysed, interpreted. But they cannot be inhabited (Ingold 2015b: 207).

Therefore, whereas the smooth and the striated stand for *the kind of habitation*, scapes (as 'scopic') belong to the optical mode, premised on the assumption that the viewer is not an inhabitant at all. For instance, inhabiting an ocean-sky world as participants do on board, there are not scapes on the sea, because all is in movement, and they need to adapt to a different way of perceiving the environment in an animated world.

It is at this point that the difference between seascapes and ocean-sky mediums needs to be emphasised. The ground worked by fishermen that Howard (2012) comments on, with motorboats and names for underwater areas, can be considered a seascape. As Howard (2012) notes, 'ground' is what the fishermen call the piece of the sea they work with. By this she is speaking of a particular area at sea, around the West coast of Scotland, known by the fishermen who work on their trawler or creel boat every day; naming the different seascapes of this ground by their particularities. But in open sea 'scapes' are dissolved into the medium. The only existing form that is continually performed is the set of sails or the boat shape of each moment.

In my field, the different crews are *seafaring* along their ways at sea, trying to catch the best wind and tacking whenever necessary in order to get the better path. In seafaring, the boat goes through the tides, balanced by its crew that uses the force of the wind in the sails as a form of energy. In the introduction, I showed how in Polynesia, the sea was sailed with canoes among islands. The islanders were constantly seafaring. The sea for them, their stories, their people, their relationships, are compounded with geographies and experiences amongst islands, routing the sea.

Temporary Home, Time Machine

The boat is seen as a temporary home, the crew must come and go, one cannot stay inside for long; in a shelter, 'residence is temporary' (Ingold 2019c: 70). Similarly, Rachel Hunt argues that the temporary nature of Scottish rural bothies means that they are afforded special qualities during 'the out-dwelling experience' because 'occupation is temporary' (Hunt 2016: 180). Regarding the exposure of the shelters, Hunt (2016) suggests that:

although out-dwellings do not embody all of the multiple ingredients which formulate 'home', they can nonetheless be experienced in homely, perhaps even hyper-homely ways precisely because they can heighten awareness of the outside world (Hunt 2016: 186).

It is probable that because of this exposure the sail trainees would feel the boat as a home for them when at sea, as was demonstrated in responses to the questionnaires I gave to all crews crossing the Atlantic in my last stint of fieldwork. One question in my questionnaires was the same as for the interviews, where I asked them if the boat was a home for them. The answers were a majority of 'yes', the boat is home once at sea. The questionnaires show the same results, 88% of the answers to this question, a total of 67 out of 76 in the questionnaires were 'yes'. They feel safe on board, and as Bachelard intimates, it is:

when faced with bad weather that the ability for a building to convey safety can come into its own. It thus appears that users can and in the instance of the out-dwelling do create, experience and imagine home (Bachelard 1994: 5).

Similarly, I was in a tutorial, at the University of Aberdeen, with a group of nine students of a course on *Anthropology and Landscape*, when we were asked to think about a home place. Most of the students in the class were from abroad, and most shared ideas of home amongst them that did not point to their parents' homes, but to places where they have their friends, their interests, where they can be themselves. In my small group, a Finnish girl said that now Aberdeen, where she is studying, is her home place, but before then, her home was in Greece, where she studied on an ERASMUS programme for two years. Another in the group was an Italian girl, and she said that her

home place could be Seville, home city of one of her best friends in Aberdeen. She was there and she felt at home with everyone in her friend's family and in the city. With the whole group, there were plenty of similar contributions: they cannot go back to their parents' home and feel at home there, not even during their visits for Christmas or short holidays; that is not their place any more. They feel at home where they have their friends and current lives. They have become new people, and the past relations with their home place do not describe who they are nowadays.

By way of contrast, as Hunt suggests, permanence would no doubt change people's sense of the boat (or the out-dwelling, in her case) as a home (Hunt 2016: 180). I asked Jonathan, second officer on the *Wylde Swan*, how often he goes home to the Netherlands when he told me that he had been abroad for two years but still did not feel it was his home:

Ohhh man, I am basically furniture. I mean the last time I went home it was too short, it was before the race for two weeks. And before that, I was 6 months away. But not always on the boat, as in the Caribbean I had a month off. And in Canada, I am going to have a month off. And next time longer because I haven't seen my family really. Not seeing them for long periods and then appearing there for two weeks makes no sense. Being there for a talk one afternoon is not really being with your family. You can do it only with certain people: you go straight back to the connection you have had with them since the first moment. But you only have this with a few people.

To this end, when asked how often Jonathan goes home, he is considering the character of the different relationships which build familiarity. And when asking him if the boat was a home for him, he even goes further with it:

Ya, it is my home, it feels like coming home, but it is also ... well, not really, in the end I would say no, because it is a home because of the people on it. But the ship itself is a piece of steel. My home is my city where I've grown up, because I have my whole background there. For me the ship is a machine, but what makes it home is the people on it. For instance, if we have a crew change and I am the only one left, it doesn't really feel like my home. It would be like that if we always had the same crew! What makes it a home is when with one crew traveling around, you go out at night with them and later we say, okay, let's go home!

Basically, what he emphasises is the way the character of the relationships is attuned with the way of inhabiting the boat:

The boat really feels like your home, but it is only because of the people on it. It has been my home now for two years, but because of the people.

That would be the same with the students abroad when recounting in a tutorial that they feel they are in a place where they have their fellows.

With this example, in which the boat or the cities where students stay for a period of time becomes a place, what is shown is that the place is created by the relationships amongst the young people and not by the physical mobility of the place itself. Therefore, in their description of places as being like ships, Sheller and Urry (2006: 214) give a wrong sense of what the concept of place really means. Keeping in mind Jonathan's reference to place as a bundle of relationships, the comparison Sheller and Urry (2006) make – that 'places are like ships, moving around and not necessarily staying in one location' (2006: 214) - holds, not because the boat-place is physically in movement but actually because it is a bundle of lines and relationships.⁹ In the same way, Malay houses in Langkawi may be considered 'mobile homes'. They are part of the system of relations, a dynamic process. They 'actively participate in a process of transformation between different aspects of the social life' (Carsten 1995a: 128).

Places, then, do not so much exist as occur; they are topics rather than objects, stations along ways of life. Instead of saying that living beings exist in places, Ingold (2008b) prefers to say that 'places occur along the life paths of beings' (2008b: 1808). What makes the difference between inhabitation and occupation (Ingold 2008b: 1797) stems from the same logic: when 'a dwelling perspective' can give us an 'idea of snug, well-wrapped localism that comes to mind whenever the word dwelling is used' (Ingold 2000: xviii; Ingold 2008b: 1808).¹⁰ It is preferable then to use the verb of inhabiting, just to give 'more mobility to a place-holder rather than a bounded dwelling' (Ingold 2000: xviii; Ingold 2008b: 1808). From the perspective of Jonathan, the boat is made by its

⁹ Mazzullo and Ingold (2008) say something similar of a home in the forest amongst the Sami: 'The principle of movement should not be confused with the physics of locomotion' (2008: 36).

¹⁰ In a preface to a 2011 reissue of his book *The Perception of the Environment* (Ingold 2000) points out that he regrets having coined the expression 'the dwelling perspective'. His preference now is for 'habitation', because it does not have the same connotation of localism.

people, and he and Fosse, the captain, are the ones who probably spent more time on board. They love the boat, they are living at sea, and they are building the boat together with the groups of youngsters participating in Sail Training experiences.

A place is not an object that can be completely described and measured. As Vergunst argues, 'its phenomenal qualities, the ways in which the place is for one as a perceptible entity, might be quite different and diverse' (Vergunst 2017: 5). For instance, when asked what the boat was for him, Fosse answered:

The ship is a lady. It becomes your lady. You know her, you take care of her, she takes care of you, you polish her, you make her shine, you try to encourage your team to make her more beautiful and more perfect and keep her alive as best you can. And then she will take care of you, she will bring you in one piece to the other side of the ocean. *It's absolutely not an object!!*

The boat, not as an object but as a 'thing' as Fosse describes it, is a gathering of experiences, the *raum* from which *begins its presencing* (Heidegger 1971: 154). Following Captain Fosse's interview, after his definition of the boat as a lady, I asked him: Would you call the ship a home?

In a way yes. But in another way, absolutely not. There are enough details on it which make me feel it as very personal because I've been doing something around them or for them. But when I look at my cabin, it doesn't feel like my room at all. I sleep there, I live there, but it's not my home. Staying in the aft-deck, I will always try to keep it in the best shape possible, but it is not my homeroom.

On a higher level, sort of philosophy, I love the ship, what she is, and all the things we've done together but if I just look at it still...

Do you have your own home?

No, I have my little car. I have just a few things which are mine and those are my little things. If I do something with them, for instance, if I drive around in my little car, that feels really like home.

Where do you keep them? I replied: 'Somewhere in storage' he said.

The boat was absolutely not an object, but a 'thing'. Its being an established home place for everyone brings me back to the same problem of perspective I described in Chapter 2, when starting the fieldwork. Tall ships are not monuments as host ports

try to exhibit them, rather they are lived in and loved by those who sail on them. As Fosse described the boat, it was not as an object but as a gathering or as a 'thing' with a 'particular binding together of the threads of life' (Ingold 2008b: 1807, from Heidegger 1971: 177).

Places are always 'read' or understood in relation to others; for Fosse, the boat is a lady. Archaeologist Christopher Tilley (1994) states that while places and movement between them are intimately related to the formation of personal biographies, places themselves may be said to 'acquire a history, sedimented layers of meaning by virtue of the actions and events that take place in them' (1994: 27). As Fosse mentioned, 'enough details of the boat make him feel it very personal', therefore 'personal biographies, social identities and a biography of place are intimately connected' (Tilley 1994: 27).

The question of the boat as a home place underpins the analysis of this present section. The place, understood as a bundle of relationships made Jonathan think that in life, you just have a few people with whom you can have a connection over a long time; they are like the *time machine* of the boat, as if time were not passing by for them. Sailors told me that the boat is like a time machine, that can lead you to change seasons in one day, as when sailing from Bermuda to Canada, or thinking that once inside, you are in the last place you stayed together on board. Anni's (Sail trainee from Finland, SNUPU) explanations about the process of inhabiting the ship can help us understand this. She said she felt very strange the last time she went on board *Helena* in Helsinki, in May 2017, because once she got off, she thought that she would be in Svalbard. She had been sailing the summer before on board *Helena* in Svalbard. For her, being 'in', inside the place of the ship, was like transporting her to the previous summer. For Anni, the feeling inside the boat is always the same, it is a home for her. Once she got off of the boat in Helsinki during her visit, there was the external world and this external world was not tied to the dwelling place she remembered. As she said:

All the senses and memories just strike me because the last time that I had been on board *Helena* for a long time, I was in Svalbard (summer 2016), but once I stepped off of the boat in Helsinki, I imagined Svalbard was going to be out there.

So as Anni added: 'I feel that a ship is like a mobile home and wherever it is, then, it feels like home'... 'A place' then, as Gammon and Elkington state, 'is not a physical

location' (Gammon and Elkington 2015:35). Sheller and Urry (2006) also note that 'places themselves are seen as travelling, slow or fast, greater or shorter distances, within networks of human and non-human agents' (2006: 214).¹¹ What occurred to Anni, when she said that senses and memories just struck her, is that we, in our Western view of the world, are accustomed to imagining a place as static, as if located in a geographical position, but meshworks of relationships are not like that. The entanglement of relationships inhabiting the boat give it the feeling of a home place wherever it is. Besides, this place as a gathering of experiences is on the move. Life itself, far from being an interior property of animate objects, is an unfolding of the entire meshwork of paths along the ways in which beings are entangled (Ingold 2008b: 1808, see Mazzullo and Ingold 2008). The temporality of the landscape that occurs during a period of time or amongst seasons on land cannot be appreciated in the same way when voyaging on the boat; on board, the relationships holding the others are performed as part of the practices on the way, of the taskship, ideas around which will be developed in Chapter 4.

The Politics of the Place

According to Kevin Hetherington (1997: 198), places travel with us and with the materials through which they are articulated. They move through 'representations (spaces) and they move through memories (time)':

Like the ship they are not fixed, they are not anchored, but they mobilise difference and are given temporary stability through their difference (Hetherington 1997: 198).

In the old days, as Rediker reminds us, the boat depended in the final instance 'upon nature, upon the movements of wind and weather' (Rediker 1987: 113), and 'social bonds among sailors arose from the very conditions and relations of their work' (Rediker 1987: 111); therefore, the ship was a hotbed of political activity. It was a space of resistance because the practices of proto-working-class revolutionaries could re-form and circulate in the North Atlantic. 'The ship became, if not the breeding ground of

¹¹ Regarding this quotation, I would say that instead of networks of connected points, it is preferable to talk of meshworks of entangled lines of life, growth, and movement (Ingold 2011: 63). For further reference, see Chapter 7 'When Ant Meets Spider' (Ingold 2011).

rebels, at least a meeting place where various traditions were jammed together in a forcing house of internationalism' (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000: 151; Cresswell 2006: 204). In this vein, Deleuze and Guattari spoke about a war machine as an entity of resistance:

The war machine was the invention of the nomad, because it is in its essence the constitutive element of smooth space, the occupation of this space, displacement within this space, and the corresponding composition of people (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 417).

The conditions in such an ocean-sky world, provide, to those who experience it, the feeling of being alive, inhabiting the boat through their experiences, tracing emerging lines of life by participating in efforts to deal with the adversity of the medium. As Alex observed:

On board, we are all the same in the socio-economic aspect. I think it is one of the things that the sea does. The sea puts us all on the same level. On the other hand, in the sociocultural subject, you encounter ways of working differently, different characters, different ways of taking things, and it is enriching.

There are plenty more examples of enriching encounters considering cultural differences aboard, which benefit the group. In this respect, Jasper, the engineer on the Wylde Swan, referred to it as a plus:

I haven't had any negative experience with cultural differences amongst the crew members. All these random people from all over the world, they are really good at what they do. They are given a task to do and they do it really well, it doesn't matter where they are from or what kind of culture or background they have, it just happens that different ways come together doing things and that is perfect!

Additionally, Wiebe, bosun on the Wylde Swan, said: 'I really like it, and in the end, everybody is making the ship!' In fact, this working together, emerging from the community as a dynamic process, is what Jarkko, first officer on *Vahine*, means when he talks about 'microcosmos in a limited space where bonding among the crew emerges rapidly'. The boat becomes a home place built in the process of sharing time, doing maintenance, sail repairs, rigging, as it was in olden days, all done together within a community of fellowship. At sea, everyone becomes the same: just one more on board.

On board, trainees get to know how to sail, not as a goal of the voyage itself but because mastery of sailing resides in the organisation of the community of practice, of which mastery is part. This is a deeply situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991: 94). Being on board within a community of practice has nothing to do with ways of understanding power, nor does it have anything to do with a hierarchical organisation or institution that might teach the youngsters how to behave in life or how to become proper citizens; it is not military service. Although Kenneth McCulloch treated the limited space of the ship as a confined space within a hierarchical institution, considering the ship as a 'total institution' (McCulloch 2002: 227-229), I am with Eric Fletcher in challenging this attribution (See Fletcher 2017: 61-71, and the section 'No Institutionalised Schooling On Board' in my Chapter 4). It is an experience of another kind, far from that of the boat as a war machine playing the smooth ocean space.

Normally, when growth and transformation occur among young people (or any group of people, for that matter), it is not as a result of institutionalised confinement, which is never going to work. The *Spaniel* crew echoed these ideas. They told me that 'egos can be greater in the harbour than at sea!' For them, on shore, without watches and set responsibilities, your behaviour can be very much your own. By contrast, at sea, even though there is a captain, everyone is important and necessary, and no one can assert their superiority over others. Onshore, though, this is different. A captain is a captain, and he or she is recognised as having proper knowledge of sailing. Onshore, all are individuals who can please themselves about what they do without regard to working for the common interest, but at sea, this world in movement has no boundaries of age, social strata, or other classifications. As Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2002) describes, sailing is flow and induces happiness because of the conditions that the sea offers, but this does not exclude the fact that they will, of course, experience some unpleasant situations: other young people recalled having to scrub the deck with an iron scourer and climbing the mast at 4 a.m. in the cold and wind, for example.

The dynamics while sailing became very different from the lives trainees had lived until then. Spanish minors on *Morgenter* were totally fascinated by the experience, in which they felt that even the captain was a colleague, and remarked upon this in their reflections. Sixteen-year-old trainee Gabriel put it this way: 'I have felt more of a person

on the ship than in the world'. Fifteen-year-old Alicia added to Yago's and Gabriel's comments:

I expected it to be super cool but it is much more than that. I had super high expectations but this is still better. But if I told someone that we spend all day scrubbing, pulling ropes, then sleeping, people wouldn't come.

Sailing experiences, lived as a path in youngsters' lives, including the fellowship and mutuality of the relationships they form on board, not only transform them but also become part of who they are. From now onwards, in their practices, they are 'continually attending and responding both to [their] own movements and to those going on in [their] surroundings' (Ingold, forthcoming). These young people are not merely being educated at sea. Rather, their 'education is rendered attentive' (Ingold 2015a: 136). They are in charge of the daily routines on board; they cook, pull the ropes, paint, and do all the maintenance. In this process, they become skilled observers of the others, of the boat and of the environment so that in the end they will make their own decisions, decisions 'open to pure possibility' (Nelson 2012: 90), and with which they will become skilled with the process of seafaring.

Of Knots and Relationships

Introducing this chapter, I mentioned that there was a carving style in Govan, not only for the Hogback monuments, but also for the Knot of Govan, which is inscribed on most of the stones as a symbol of unification.



Figure 54: Govan knot. From the exhibition.

J. Romily Allen described the interlace patterns of the Govan Knot as 'cross-arms'(Allen and Anderson 1903).

Purposeful asymmetry created a more complicated pattern that was impossible to trace fully. Beyond a decorative interlace ornament, this may have enhanced the apotropaic function of protecting from evil (Trilling 1995).

Every voyage will be an important knot in the life of its participants, especially if they face difficulties such as a storm. Ingold would say that by their experience, participants on board

make their way *through* a world-in-formation rather than across its preformed surface. As they do so, ...they may experience wind and rain, sunshine and mist, frost and snow, and a host of other conditions, all of which fundamentally affect their moods and motivations, their movements, and their possibilities of subsistence (Ingold 2008b: 1802, original emphases).

As I argued in Chapter 2, the bundle of relationships is not only amongst people and the boat, but also with the weather world and the materials on board. As is shown in figure 55, on board, a part of learning how to tie different knots, we also learned how to make a common grommet¹² with a rope: Harry, an older sailor showed us how. If you first split the different fibres that make up a rope and then roll them slowly and carefully, they can bind together in the form of a hole. As Giraldo Herrera says, in a chapter entitled 'Winding Bodies':

Rope-making is a craft affording a deep understanding of living bodies, society and, of environment. In its own right, it can be seen as a life, will and memory binding activity (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 121).

Craftspeople, as Anna Portisch notes, 'learn from the materials and tools with which they work as these respond' (Portisch 2010: S70), not by receiving transmitted information but by performing a skill together. The process of learning, then, is a 'guided rediscovery' (Ingold 2001: 139-142) in which we all as amateurs explore the ropes. As much as any other job on board, such as painting, greasing, scrubbing or sanding, young people learn on board by doing, in a process of enskilment. Learning a technique involves working in relation to others' work, as happened with Harry, who first showed how to make a common grommet with a rope. Youngsters followed him, and all entered together into 'modes of improving and innovations' of that skill (Portisch 2010: S70). Another skill I remember from my days on board, since it had me occupied some

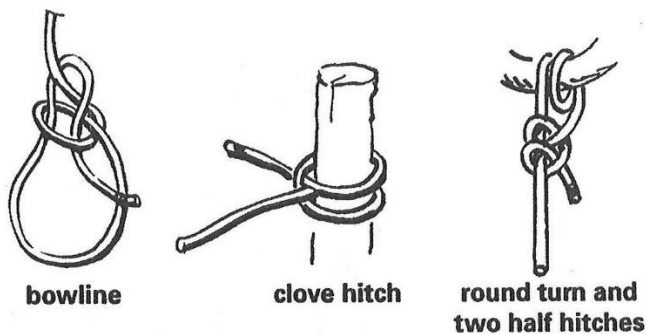
¹² 'Grommet': a flexible loop that serves as a fastening, support or reinforcement. Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/grommet> (accessed 10/2/2020).

afternoons, was helping Fernando in making new skin covers to protect the blocks.¹³ First, we made a pattern for one of them, then we cut the pattern, and we ended by sewing it. The whole process took time; at the outset we had some difficulty but after several days it became easier to sew them. We kept adapting the next cover for the next block, drawing on our past experience in creating a pattern for, and sewing, the first.

Figure 55: On deck on the *Wylde Swan* during the Atlantic crossing. Making a common grommet with a rope.



Below are some of the important knots used aboard (from STA F guide 2002: 14):



**Figure 56: The most suitable knots for mooring.
STA F Sail Training guide.**

¹³ A block is a wooden or metal case enclosing one or more pulleys and having a hook, eye or strap by which it may be attached. 'block' Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/block> (accessed 30/1/2020).

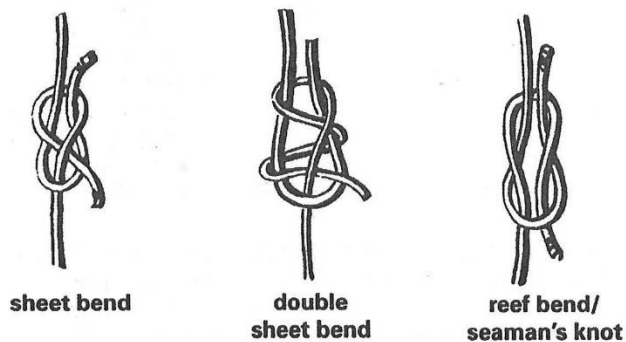


Figure 57: Two lines are permanently combined with a binding, a splice. STA F Sail Training guide.



Figure 58: At the ends of halyards (ropes used to hoist sails), figure of eight knots are made to prevent the lines from running through the fittings. STA F Sail Training guide.

Building relationships on board is the main goal of the place, and the place and its properties allow the crew to gain experience in such conditions and moments for learning different skills such as making knots. As Spaniel's crew noticed, the duration of the voyage is always uncertain. Though the crew can know the exact moment when they leave port and the sails are set, they can never be sure of when the boat will be moored back on shore. It depends on the weather, the boat, the crew, the ocean medium, and its mesh of correspondences. Furthermore, the time between the first sighting of land and the boat's entering harbour may extend for hours or even days. What happens on board is that a meshwork of relationships or ways of being-in-the world is created, 'the boat is part of our lives, adventures' said *Spaniel's* crew, 'it takes time to build this place', so mutual relationships are developed during the process of inhabiting the ship. When I shared these findings with Jarkko, he replied:

Ya, that's true, the boat needs us and we need the boat...and a boat also notices that it is not just me but also many people when, after a long trip you go into the harbour, it is so difficult to leave the boat. You realise that people do not want to go to the city, to have fun there or to go shopping. Many people don't want to do that. At first, they go and they feel separated from their nearest and dearest in the city...and they come back really fast and are like, I do not want to leave the boat, it is too noisy, there is too much there....

The phenomenology of place is not simply an account of how subjective experience is differentiated from objective. It consists of an 'exploration of the grounds of experience and perception that give rise to subjectivities in the first place' (Vergunst 2017: 5). Once in the harbour, when the crew members leave their boat to go to the city, they miss it. They miss the relationships they have created there; they miss their place, the boat as their home place at sea. In the process of inhabiting the boat, they become part of its story, and the boat becomes part of their lives. It takes time to get off the boat, and some trainees returned to sailing after a six-week initial experience as is demonstrated by Richel and Rens becoming crew on *Wylde Swan* because they realised they were missing the boat so much. Some others visit the boat when it returns to the home harbour every year, and help as volunteers in its maintenance. Rens told me: 'I was a trainee once and then I never really left the boat. It changed my life. I am still here after three years'. If we look at the feelings expressed by the *Spaniel's* crew when asked about what the boat represented for them after the Atlantic crossing (May 2017), they report:

Many things... I think it is adventure, experience, emotions, something to have, and something money can't buy. A means to travel, as well as another part of that, it is also the whole sailing process, technical, trimming sails.

It was very difficult or even impossible for them to have just one word for this. Instead, they created its definition by describing a process:

... when we are approaching land slowly... it takes time, you are building this place, you are full of emotions, and the same when you sail away.

Experiencing the Boat's Environment

Sail Training is all about living together with others from different countries in a shared cabin. It establishes a cockpit of sorts, that requires both maintenance work and the participation of the entire crew to make the boat sail. On board, all the crew work together to sail the boat. The tasks of maintenance, sailing, cooking and cleaning are shared on board as a way to socialise with the others while getting into the same rhythm. Here, rhythm should be understood as relating one movement to another movement, or in other words, it is how our own movement responds to the movements of others.

The boats, or places of movement, are built according to the time spent on board, and the relationships created are not only among humans but also with the boat itself and its environment. Similarly, in the example of houses, they too can be seen to serve as 'parts or extensions of the people who build and inhabit them' (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995: 2-3). And Richards remarks that 'the boat is also altered by the journey' (Richards 2008: 217), and will derive its identity from the people who sailed it. David Turnbull wrote of 'a kind of double movement', in which

people perform objects of all kinds, but especially buildings, by moving through and around them buildings also perform people by constraining their movements and by making likely certain kinds of encounters between them and others (Turnbull 2002: 135).

Getting on board the boats, as seen in Chapter 2, required certain performances that turned them into dwelling spaces. The spaces of dwelling then, are not already given, in the layout of the building, but are created with movement. What Turnbull draws from Hillier and Hanson, in their book *The Social Logic of Space*, is that:

these dwellings also perform the people not only by making them do certain performances, also by making likely certain kinds of encounters (Hillier and Hanson 1988: 20).

Along the same lines, Vilém Flusser (1999) argues that 'the shelter is dealing with the wind, not with the gravity' (1999: 55). It can be shown that there are *principles of stability* (Barker 2016: 43) that we can use in defining the boat's movements:

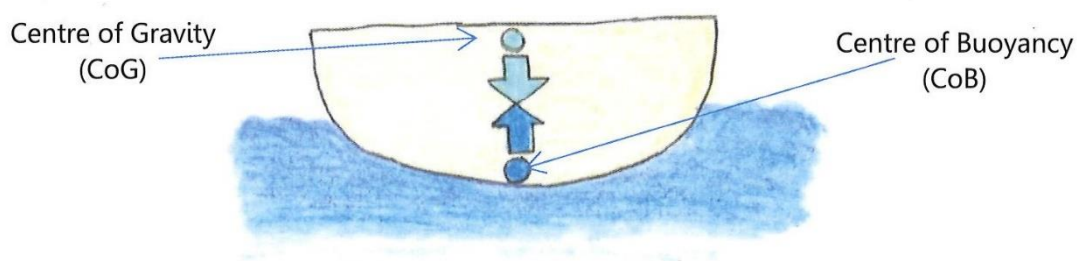


Figure 59: When a boat is stationary, the Centre of Buoyancy and the Centre of Gravity are aligned.

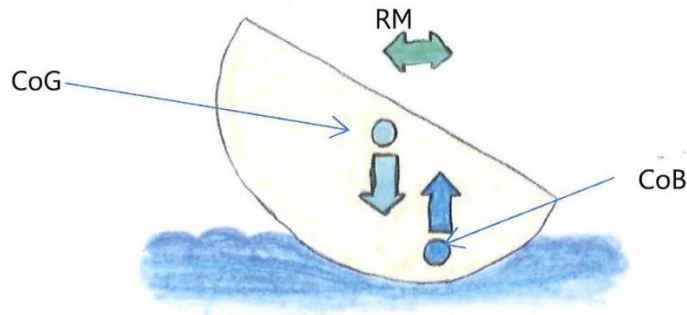


Figure 60: When a boat heels over, the centre of gravity and the centre of buoyancy stop being aligned. This creates a force called the Righting Moment, which counteracts the force of the wind and constantly tries to pull the boat back upright. The more the boat heels and is pushed over the wind, the stronger the righting moment (RM) becomes.

Both figure 59 and 60 are from Barker 2016: 43.

And regarding the movement of the boat, as well as moving forwards through the water (and backwards), boats can move in three directions (Barker 2016: 51):

- **Yaw** is the side to side movement of the bow and stern.
- **Pitch** is the up and down movement of the bow and stern.
- **Roll** is the up and down movement of each side of the boat.

For Vilém Flusser (1999), the tent's essential nature is as a sort of protective covering providing a refuge that can be 'put up in the wind, used against the wind and then folded up again in the wind' (Flusser 1999: 56). The sail is precisely the form that often brings the wind under control. The tent as a shelter tries to resist the wind, but 'the tent as a sail tries to exploit the wind's power' (Flusser 1999: 56). I have explored the boat as a shelter in this chapter, and I will proceed with a sketch of the theory of sailing that exploits the power of the wind at this point, leaving all the lines and sail names, placements and uses, which you have to know to become skilled with the sails, for Chapter 6.

With the sailing boat, all the activity on board consists of dealing with the wind as much as possible to get underway. The boat or shelter as a partially underwater body must breathe in and out to live as it does through its sails. Following the theory of sailing in the Sail Training Guide from STA Finland (2002: 34), to speak about the influence of the wind on the sails, the two main aspects to take into account are getting to know what the *relative wind* is and *how the air currents fill the sail*.

If the wind is the movement of air masses caused by differences in air pressure, then the **relative wind** means 'the speed and direction of the wind measured from the vessel' (STA F guide 2002: 34). In other words, the relative wind is 'the sum of the true wind and the speed wind formed by the vessel's own motion' (2002: 34). The relative wind is the wind perceived from the vessel, and we can know from it. For instance, for blind people, the relative wind is very important to know in which direction the boat is sailing. If the relative wind is felt as a fresh breeze, or as a fair or almost fair wind, it means that the true wind comes from the aft. Then the vessel seems to sail as if she was escaping from it. That's why the wind in your face seems much gentler than when facing the true wind (first picture in the following figure 61). On the other hand, when the boat makes a turn and starts sailing against the wind, as is shown in the third picture of the following figure 61, you will soon notice that you need more clothes. In that case, the relative wind that can be perceived from the boat is the true wind plus the speed of the vessel. The relative wind not only informs blind people of the direction of the boat, and affects whether crew members feel cold or warm; it also affects the sails. Thus the sails are adjusted to the relative wind (STAF guide 2002: 34), as shown in the following descriptive drawings:

- In the first drawing, when the wind blows straight from the aft, it is called a fair wind. In this case the speed of the relative wind is the speed of the true wind (8 m/s) minus the speed of the vessel wind (2 m/s), that is to say, 6 m/s. The fair wind is best for the square sails of the tall ships, whereas the wind coming from the side is the best one for the Latin sails of the tall ships and other smaller Sail Training boats.
- In the second drawing, when the wind comes from the side, the relative wind has turned a bit more against the true wind (coming from the side, with a speed of 8 m/s), so as the length of the arrow shows, the relative wind is both a little stronger (resulting with a speed of 9 m/s) and with the direction a little more against, than the true wind from the side.
- In the third drawing, when sailing tight against the wind (with the strength of the true wind of 8 m/s and the speed of the vessel of 3 m/s), the strength of

the relative wind is further a little more against and also clearly stronger than the true wind, of about 11 m/s (STAF 2002: 34).

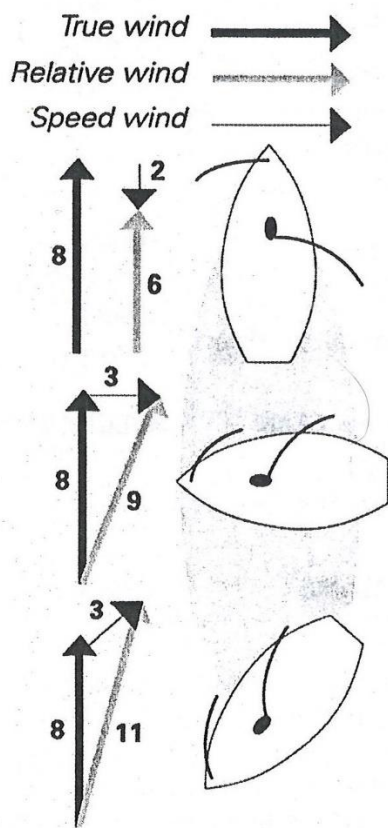


Figure 61: Understanding relative wind. STA F Sail Training guide.

A sailor has practical understanding and does not really need to understand detailed physics. He knows that a boat sailing with the wind cannot sail faster than the wind, irrespective of how big the sails are; but that when a boat is sailing into the wind, the boat can sail several times faster than the wind. There is then also a difference between square-rigged tall ships and those with Latin sails. What distinguished the Portuguese as the first modern sailors is that they were the first to perfect the technique of sailing into the wind in the 15th century, as we shall see in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, the **air currents on the sail**, the second main aspect of the theory of sailing, is something that crew members are constantly aware of. They have constantly to check how the wind fills the sails. They need to know that when the wind blows straight from the aft, it is pushing the sail, and behind it there are only whirls, as is shown in the first picture of figure 62. Therefore, only when sailing right before the wind, the wind 'pushes' the vessel along before it. In the second picture (figure 62) the wind is shown coming from the side (STAF 2002: 35).

With other wind directions, the forces carrying the vessel forward are formed on the basis of the streams developing on the surface of the sail. In this second case, if the angle between the wind and the sail is correct, the air mass facing the luff (fore leech of the sail) divides on both sides of the sail. It is important, as shown in figure 63 with the alignment of the telltales¹⁴, that in the air current on both sides of the sail there are no whirls, since then the force carrying the vessel is stronger (STAF 2002: 35).

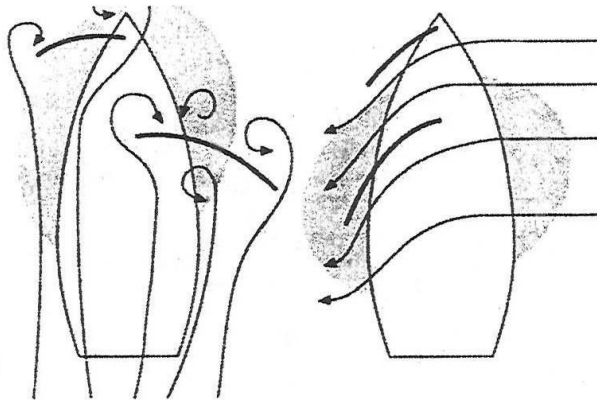
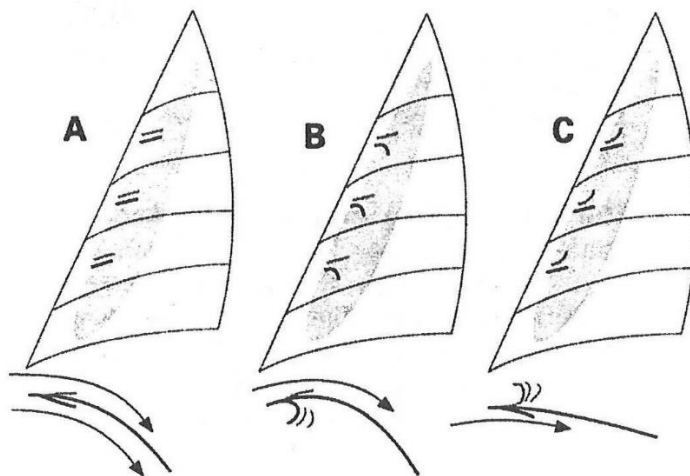


Figure 62: When the wind blows straight from the aft, it is pushing the sail, behind it there are only whirls. STA F Sail Training guide.



**Figure 63: Watching the right angle with assistance from the telltales:
A: right
B: sail loose, tighten up the sheet (rope used to adjust the wind into the sail)
C: sail tight, give slack on the sheet
STA F Sail Training guide.**

The sails act as screen walls, a ‘piece of cloth that is open to experiences’ (Flusser 1999: 57). Blowing in the wind, the screen wall, assembles experience, processes it and disseminates it. It is because the sailing boat is both a shelter and a screen wall with sails that we learn from this creative nest or ‘piece of art’, as Fernando said in the introduction of the thesis. Similarly, the Finnish architect, educator and critic Juhani

¹⁴ ‘telltale’: a wind-direction indicator often in the form of a ribbon. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/telltale> (accessed 10/2/2020).

Pallasmaa, in his book *The Eyes of the Skin*, following Gaston Bachelard's 'polyphony of senses', attempts to 're-sensualise architecture through a strengthened sense of materiality and *hapticity*, texture and weight, density of space and materialised light' (Pallasmaa 1996: 41). As he states:

Architecture is essentially an extension of nature into the man-made realm, providing the ground for perception and the horizon of experiencing and understanding the world (Pallasmaa 1996: 41,44).

Bachelard calls this polyphony of senses, in which 'all senses awaken and fall into harmony', as 'poetic reverie' (Bachelard 1971: 6).¹⁵ For Phillip J. Nelson, the boat 'is a place where the sailor may truly open him/herself to memorial reverie and imagination' (Nelson 2012: 99).

Within this world of hapticity, the boat has the best set of sails or groove of each moment due to the apparent wind, depending on whether the boat has square sails or Latin sails: with fair winds the groove will be more pleasant in both types of vessel but faster when having square sails. The boat speeds up with the wind from the sides when having only Latin sails, however the experience will never be as pleasant as sailing with a square-rigged tall ship with fair winds. To catch the perfect groove when sailing with Latin sails, the perfect alignment of the telltales gives you the best course to steer the helm. Thus the groove, like the transformation of crew members on board, transforms the boat into a smooth hull gliding over the water. It is the making-in-growing of the boat. As Nelson (2012) asserts, this is a quality of the felt situation:

of balanced sails gliding the ship through open water, and taking the sailor to the memorial and imaginal realms beyond his/her primary present self (Nelson 2012: 102).

Storms at Sea: Of Lows, Squalls and Microbursts

At sea, the youths who take part in these experiences narrate stories that have become part of them and shape their ways of understanding life after they have lived

¹⁵ 'Reverie': daydreaming, study, trance. *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reverie>. Accessed 15 December 2019.

'All senses awaken and fall into harmony in poetic reverie. Poetic reverie listens to the polyphony of the senses, and the poetic consciousness must record it' (Bachelard 1971: 6).

with the others on board. For instance, Anni told me that whenever she faces difficult moments or challenges, she recalls a sailing experience she had when she was 19 years old; she went through a storm during which she was amongst the few who did not get seasick and was thus able to take the helm:

We started sailing from Gothenburg with *Helena*. There was very rough weather and the night became stormy and it was just me and two more who were feeling well. So we had to steer through the night. When I was steering during that night through huge waves and strong wind, I thought if I fell, nobody could come and catch me because nobody would see me. But in the end, we managed.

This medium of ocean and sky does not stay still. When one stops paying attention to the boat and its surroundings, the situation can become dangerous in only a few seconds, whether due to lack of wind, as happened with the spinnaker on board *Vahine* when we had a salty shower, or to excessive wind or other weather extremes. For the same reason, everyone on board is asked to keep their belongings tidied away, fixed and stored in the different spaces of the interior main hold, next to the bunks, and under the seats. In a sudden tilting of the boat, any object can fly or fall and threaten the boat or injure a crew member.

The weather is something sailors are familiar with and always worried about. The principal concepts for describing the weather are wind (an air current caused by differentials in air pressure), temperature, visibility and humidity. With an expression like 'bad weather' we tend to mean cold, rainy weather with strong winds and poor visibility. All of these can occur when air pressure is low. To understand why, I first need to explain the terms 'warm front' and 'cold front' (from STA F guide 2002: 42):

A warm front is part of the low pressure system. When the warm air mass proceeds towards a cold air mass, the lighter warm air rises over the cold. The rising air cools down and the water vapour condenses to clouds. These clouds may forecast rain already a few days in advance. The wind is not yet very strong.

When the cold air mass reaches the warm air mass the lighter warm air rises above the cold. This phenomenon is even more rapid than that previously described and it brings both rain and strong, gusty winds. Also thunder may appear. The cloud layers proceed as a high wall and the rain may even be quite strong. A cold front is clearly of shorter duration than a warm front.

In total, the low pressure system consists of the wind blowing around the low pressure counterclockwise. Since a cold front moves faster than a warm front it will, before long, catch the warm front (STA F guide 2002: 42).

Lows are always accompanied by a warm front and a cold front; the differing air masses are responsible for creating the low centre. It is said that the low pressure area fills and the low pressure fades away. Locations in front of the low center (out ahead of the warm front) typically see cool temperatures and steady precipitation. Locations to the south and east of a low center (a region known as the 'warm sector') will see warm, moist weather. Locations behind, or to the west of a low center will see cold, dry weather.¹⁶

Apart from the Lows, there are many other weather features that can be very unpredictable and extremely dangerous when at sea. Squalls and microbursts, for instance, are feared because their presence implies a sudden change in wind direction and speed. When one can see these formations surrounding the boat, it is imperative that action is taken quickly. As sailor-meteorologist Simon Rowell said at the STI Conference in Antwerp 2019: 'if it looks like an Elephant, turn left!' The following are two graphics to understand the formation of these phenomena (provided by Rowell).

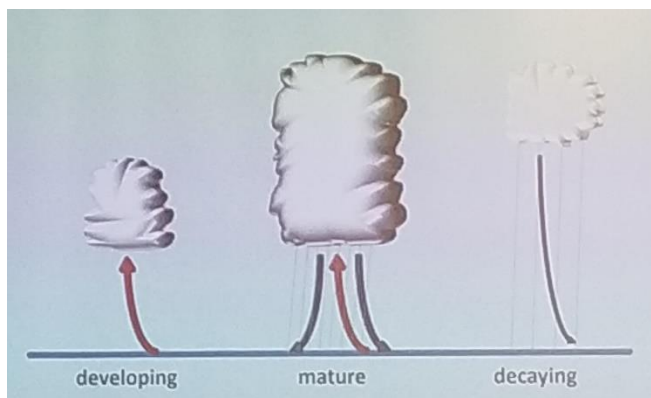


Figure 64: Squall

A Squall is a sudden wind-speed increase of 8 metres per second (18 miles per hour) or more, for one minute or longer. It includes several briefer wind-speed changes, or gusts. A squall is often named for the weather phenomenon that accompanies it, such as rain, hail, or thunder; a line squall is one associated with a squall line of thunderstorms that is often hundreds of kilometres long.

Enciclopedia Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/science/squall> (accessed 15/12/2019).

¹⁶ ThoughtCo What is a Low pressure area in Metereology?
<https://www.thoughtco.com › what-is-a-low-pressure-area-3444141> (Accessed 15/12/2019).

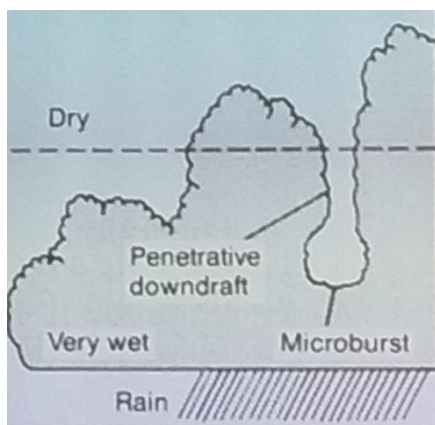


Figure 65: Wet microburst. From Caracena, Holle & Doswell 1990. Microbursts, a Handbook for visual identification.

A microburst is a pattern of intense winds that descends from rain clouds, hits the ground, and fans out horizontally. Microbursts are short-lived, usually lasting from about 5 to 15 minutes, and they are relatively compact, usually affecting an area of 1 to 3 km (about 0.5 to 2 miles) in diameter. They are often but not always associated with thunderstorms or strong rains. Wet microbursts, typical of more humid areas, are generally accompanied by a visible rain shaft.

Encyclopedia Britannica

<https://www.britannica.com/science/microburst>

(accessed 15/12/2019).

When one goes to sea, one never knows when it will be possible to return to shore. During all my voyages, I experienced the worst storm on the shortest voyage. That was a day voyage from Laeso (Denmark) to Halmstad (Sweden) during the TSR 2011. I was on board the *Sirma* (Belgium), but a Finnish girl from my crew and myself decided to board *St-Iv* (Estonia), which is the smallest boat dedicated to Sail Training, of just 11 meters' length. It was a sunny day and we expected to reach Halmstad in the evening, so we moved to *St-Iv* because *Sirma* crew wanted to spend the day on shore. After some hours of good sailing, a storm hit us. What should have been two hours to reach Halmstad became a five-watch storm (around 20 hours). It started raining, there was a thunder-storm, and the boat was pitching violently from the prow all the time, as if jumping. But before every pitch, there was a huge roll ending with the pitch. That was every half minute, and then sometimes the roll with the correspondent pitch was not regular, but with a sudden yaw.

At sea, there was us, with our tiny boat, and some huge merchant boats surrounding us, since the Baltic sea is full of merchant sea lanes. On deck on the *St-Iv*, there was no cover; we were totally exposed to the rain and to the waves that showered us with every pitch. We were eight crew members, so we were rotating every four hours so that there were four of us on deck. As we had just moved from *Sirma*, we did not have enough dry suits for everyone, so we shared them and interchanged once we changed watch. Dry suits were completely wet all the time, I remember the water coming in from the rain and the waves, it was a non-stop shower. On deck we were

attached to the life-line, and only the captain and his daughter as second captain, were steering the boat.

On *St-iv* there was a GPS, from which one could mark with the compass the position on the chart, but that was all manual, no screens aboard. So I remember how every hour, we went down to the main hold to plot the position on the chart with the compass and a pencil. It was a zig-zag that never went forward, we were just staying on course, with nothing much to do except wait for the storm to end. That was a long, long wait. When we were not on watch, we tried to lie down on a bunk, tightening the security extensions on the side of the bunk to avoid falling out if there was a sudden yaw. I remember being in my sleeping bag to recover from the four hours in a wet suit, with a warm and dry feeling but all the time keeping a hand on the upper bunk so as not to bump up against the upper bunk with the pitching of the boat. Time went by even more slowly when lying in the bunk. I remember thinking it would never end, and also feeling that I was the tiniest thing in the world. I supposed this was a normal feeling sometimes at sea, so I thought it was a hard life indeed.

In that situation, which was not just for a while, but during a much longer storm, there was a lot of pressure on each one of us not to lose our patience. I remember that on one of my watches, we thought we should eat something, so myself and another trainee, a young Norwegian student of medicine in Poland, went into the main hold to eat some bread with butter. While spreading the butter on the bread, with a posture to counteract the continuous pitching (with feet apart and bent knees flexion), a sudden yaw came, and the front light, the knife I was using, the butter dish and the bread slices all flew away. Once my mate recovered the front light, I saw the bread sliding on the tiny galley wardrobe so I started laughing. But the young Norwegian was breathing heavily, so I stopped, realising that something was wrong. He was having a panic attack, which stopped once I asked if he was okay. I always remember this storm as 'my storm at sea'. I have never experienced anything like that during all my subsequent voyages, not even crossing the Bay of Biscay or during the Atlantic crossing.

These Sail Training experiences, which bring new routines that are challenging both physically and emotionally, can be significant moments of growth for the young people who participate in them, both for breaking established classifications of people

by age, and as experiences in which the postural sway becomes boundless together with a social arousal during a storm, which results in performed shapes that they can remember for the rest of their lives. It is important to point out that on board, anyone can come to live 'existentially', when this threshold between life and death is experienced.

Building Personhood in a Band of Fellows

The process of growth consists of moments, significant events, in which one realises something has changed. One does not register it continuously, but at some precise moments one realises that one has grown in some aspects. These Sail Training experiences, because of the new routines aboard, and because of the perception from the inside once getting on board, could be significant moments of growth for the youngsters participating in them.

Youngsters find themselves feeling important on board. After all, it is at sea, as John Masefield's 'Sea Fever' suggests, that youngsters find themselves with their peers, their 'vagabond companions', who are like them, who make mistakes, who suffer, who are afraid, and who need others. If we have a look at the poem again (quoted in the introduction to this thesis page 27), it ends up pointing out that it is through the sharing with those peers that one can sleep peacefully and have sweet dreams when the 'long chaos' of life ends. And it is through sharing their threads in this environment of truthful relationships that they make up their person, whenever they choose to find their way of life.

On board *Morgenter*, in their processes of growing, the Spanish minors felt 'humanified', as Llull puts it in his *Logica Nova*, becoming sensitive to, and affected by, the environment around them (Lohr 1992; Ingold 2015a 116-7). The key to Llull's work lies in how dissimilar things are really integrated when 'boundaries can be crossed without rupture' (Boss 2013: 46). This happens in any relationship on board, amongst crew members but also between crew members and the boat that is considered a 'living' extension of them.

I suggest, then, that these 'vagabond companions' – that is, the group of fellows on board - is a band, defined as 'a group of persons, animals or things that binds or restrains legally, morally, or spiritually'. The word itself comes from Middle

English *band*, *bond* something that constricts, from Old Norse *band*; akin to Old English *bindan* to bind.¹⁷ In anthropology, Morton H. Fried defined a band as a simple egalitarian society. An egalitarian society was characterised by ‘the adjustment of the number of valued statuses to the number of persons with the abilities to fill them, without any restriction on the number of people exerting the power’ (Fried 1967: 33). Like a band of hunters following, observing and seeking to know their prey and what they feel, so the sailor with his boat and his mates is able to feel ‘the others as themselves’ – a feeling - described in Chapter 2 as hapticality (Harney and Moten 2013: 97-99). For the purposes of this thesis I take the band to mean a group of fellows surviving in an ocean-sky world. Its main characteristics will be:

- **equality** as defined above by its participants, there are no titles or hierarchical positions once at sea;
- **flexibility** because in this kind of space, adaptation to the others, to the different space and routines, and to the weather conditions, is constant and permanent;
- **intimacy** because of the proximities in a reduced space such as the boat, without walls, inhabited in common spaces.

It is worth mentioning here that different relations are at work in bands and states. Band and state are of different species, characterised by Deleuze and Guattari in terms of the contrast between ‘nomad science’ and ‘royal science’, respectively. The interest of states has always lain:

in settling, sedentarising labour power, regulating the movement of the flow of labour, assigning it channels and conduits, forming corporations in the sense of organisms, relying on forced manpower (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 368).

According to Acheson the concern of states (and royal science) with innovation and technical change, along with the modernisation of fishing fleets, has led to inequality and a loss of control by fishermen, who were used to an egalitarian organisation on board (Acheson 1981: 293-295).

The ideal skipper-crew relationship is one where crewmen remarked of the skipper that ‘he's so quiet, you hardly know the man is up there’ [in the wheelhouse] or ‘he hardly says a word’,

¹⁷ ‘Band’, *The Merriam Webster Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/band>. (Accessed 14 December 2019).

and orders rarely have to be given (Andersen 1980: 219, in Acheson 1981: 278-9).

As Fredrik Barth notes 'this egalitarian emphasis is related to the need for a well-trained, committed crew' (Barth 1966 in Acheson 1981: 279). Jean-Pierre Vernant asserted something similar within the first polis, among Greeks in the Classical period when he defined the *technè* of the artisan like this:

His *technè* depended upon fidelity to a tradition, using the kind of flair he had acquired by practising his craft, he must adapt himself to the always more or less unpredictable and chancy nature of the material upon which he worked (Vernant 1983: 291).

States, which are territorial organisations, control people by assigning them to locations in space. But place is different. And it is only because people are in place that they can be *somewhere* (Casey 1997: 81). People who are nomadic or itinerant know where they are, in terms of place, even though they are moving all the time. But that makes them, from the state's point of view, impossible to control. That's why states like people to be settled (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 368).

On board, among a band of friends, the door is open to every kind of correspondence; to a certain way of understanding life, or of wayfinding. Shotter describes *wayfinding* as the kind of knowing or of understanding which results in 'our coming to know our way about within a given sphere of practical activity' (Shotter 2012: 135). As John Masefield puts it: 'I must go down to the seas again, to the vagrant gypsy life'(vagabondage), and right in there, 'all I ask is a merry yarn from a laughing fellow-rover' (Sea Fever poem, pg. 27).

The band struggles with diverse problems and different characters, who inhabit the boat together while building its personality. Their bodies are the responsibility of the micro-community that feeds and cares for them, while they become attentive and participate in the community. There is a common attentionality, a direction taken by the ship, and a communitarian identity on board, in this place on the move that unites its participants while sailing and getting used to self-discovery.

The ship has its own name and personality which is always convertible and moldable for those who live on it and sail it. It has an identity precisely because it requires the whole group to make it sail, and never rests on one individual alone. As

Captain Borillo said: 'there are hardly two boats the same, they are immediately modified and adapted by their people and environment once they leave the shipyard'. Even though two ships are built identically, the microcosm of relationships on board creates a way of behaving, a way of interacting, and a shared attentionality once at sea.

A Transformational Power

In interviewing the youngsters participating in Sail Training, it is clear that the boat becomes their home because they have met their friends there, people who have the same interests. The most striking aspect of this is that they often dramatically change their future life projects after a Sail Training experience. In some cases, their parents had thought of them as future lawyers like themselves, as Chris told me, but after the sailing experience, he told them that that was not a life he imagined for himself.

It is common amongst crew members to say that these experiences have a transformational power. As I have remarked earlier in this chapter (in 'The politics of the place') that these encounters, while voyaging in tall ships, are lived as moments of growth. The power of transformation is called by Ingold 'making-in-growing', in which 'the maker is the one who stands at the threshold, easing the persons and materials in his charge across from one phase of life and growth to the next' (Ingold 2015a: 121). In the classic work of both Malinowski and Munn, we have clear examples of this from maritime peoples of the Western Pacific (Malinowski 1922: 124-145; Munn 1977: 39-53). In these societies, they have first to build the canoe and then proceed to sail. The task of the canoe builder is to bring one way of life and growth (of the tree in the forest) to a close in preparation for the launching of another (of the craft in the ocean). They hollow out the log and then the canoe has to be carried to the beach for final preparations. The launch, according to Malinowski, is compared to 'a caterpillar becoming a butterfly' (Ingold 2015a: 121). Nancy Munn summarises her article 'The spatiotemporal transformations of Gawa Canoes' with the following drawing (figure 66), in which the bottom half of the diagram indicates the transformation from land (stasis-heavy) to sea (speedy-light), and from inanimate to animate, effected by the conversion of wood into a canoe. I would rather say that it is a growth or conversion from one kind

of animacy to another, given the fact that the wood is also alive.¹⁸ The animate canoe from Oceania, like the youngsters in my fieldwork, would experience the process of going to sea. The process of canoe production also moves from bushland to beach, culminating in a product that moves on the sea. The inverted triangle represents the prow adornment which brings about a parallel transformation through wood carving (done in the hamlets), painting and mobile attachments (done on the beach). The transformation into motion is coordinated with a cosmetic extension of the surface that is also a movement from 'self' to 'other' in social space. The arrow at the top swings back from 'the other' to 'the self' indicating that the 'outward transformation' enhances (returns value to) the 'self' (Munn 1977: 48).

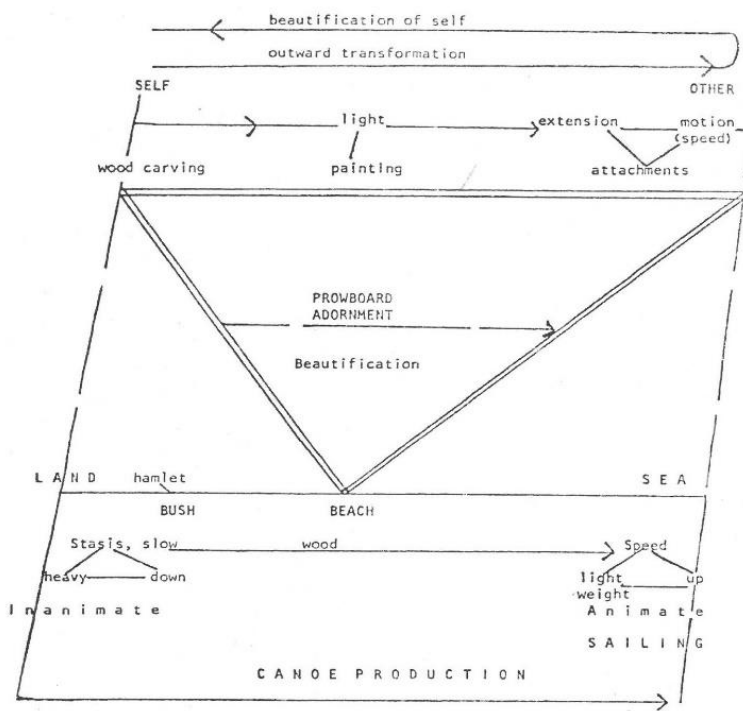


Figure 66: Canoe Adornment as spatiotemporal transformation (Munn 1977:48)

What I want to highlight is this arrow at the top; it really conjures up the process of growth while sailing. I could say that sailors take their line for a walk, as Paul Klee says of drawing (Klee 1961: 105). The outdoor, that is to say, openness, suggests the 'absence of limit' (Ingold 2008b: 1797), like the outward transformation of the self-presented by Nancy Munn in her drawing. There is still another example that has its focus in the transformational power of vehicles as 'living beings' that I also introduced in my earlier

¹⁸ Evidence from folklore, albeit from a completely different part of the world (Tornio, in northern Finland), suggests that trees could be seen as responsive beings and could possess extraordinary or person-like properties in their use for building construction (Herva 2010: 444).

discussion of the boat as a shelter. As David Lipset (2014) suggests, in an open world, in which young people participating face unique and unexpected moments, we can 'imagine the boat's movement across and askew moral boundaries' (2014: 2). These movements generate enduring relationships because some elements are out of human control. Lipset describes sailing with Murik canoes, as a 'capacity to move the moral, that is to say, to construct personhood' (Lipset 2014: 10).

Two examples from my fieldwork could be those of Rens and Richel who, when asked if Sail Training was more about a social process or learning technical skills, responded in the following ways. Rens replied to me: 'You can learn the technical skills in two days but if you are on the ocean for three weeks it is more about social skills'. What can you tell me about these social skills? I asked.

Well, you learn how to work together, and when something goes wrong, you know why and who did it, but then you also learn that there is no point blaming that guy. You just have to work towards a solution instead of blaming that guy because they had good intentions as well. So with all these small things you have to maintain a good atmosphere on board, so that everybody feels comfortable and if somebody needs something you can help. I also used to talk a lot and that's too much for some people. I learned that it's okay, although I still like to talk. But I really do not have to, you can just learn.

And Richel noted:

I think it is both together, definitely, being on the ship makes you think more about the consequences of different things. This morning I was at the helm, first I was steering on a course, Wiebe told me 275, but then he said just look at the wind, just look at the sails, and then instead of 275 I steered 260, so he made me think for myself. And that happens a lot during the Sail Training. Instead of just doing things people tell you to, you are more aware of things. Instead of just walking around the ship, you look at the sails, you look at the sheets, you are really aware. You make your own decisions too.

When asked if Sail Training is more about social relationships or learning how to sail, minors such as Richel and Rens, in particular, were speaking of what Hallowell (1955: 89-109) calls the 'basic orientations for the self, provided by the culture'. That is, a folk theory of motivation (how to understand others) and morality (how to place oneself in relation to these expectations) (Myers 1991: 108). 'Form giving' is about the

process of creating; in these experiences the process of making-in-growing is about the patterns of relationships and skills for sociability. Hallowell explains that among Ojibwa youngsters, 'once dreams were construed as experiences of the self, metamorphosis was personally experienced' (Hallowell 1955: 180). And according to Lipset, 'personhood was viewed amongst the Murik as contingent upon sustaining a relationship between a spider spirit and its canoes' (Lipset 2005: 118).

Being able to feel others, including non-humans such as the boat, as oneself, is necessary in the process of sailing, in which the boat deepens in a bundle of correspondences. In other words, the boat 'is a body in the act of becoming rather than one that is completed and separate in its boundedness' (Lipset 2005: 130). In this animated world, as described when sailing, crew members are 'alive' and 'sentient', while 'material flows' and 'improvised practices are responsive to the medium' (Ingold 2013b: 224-5). As Lipset argues, it would be a mistake to ignore the dialogic of personhood that is contained within the boat (2005: 122), because tall ships, like Murik canoes, are 'for the spirits to steer their creative process' (Lipset 2005: 122).

Thus, the process of sailing consists of significant events in which one realises something has changed. And as we have noted previously, this process is not only for youngsters, a point made by Erwin, who had, like Fernando, been working in different jobs at sea. He worked on other types of boats, mostly as a cook on cruise ships, or merchant ships, and he told me in his interview that this was his first time on a tall ship, even though he had always wanted to join them. In this new experience, he had realised a change in his growth, as the Ojibwa youngsters do when they dream of themselves participating in their life experiences:

I was always attentive already but was never aware of it. That's the only difference. So my life didn't change. I am very lucky with a wonderful life with a lot of different experiences sailing but I was not aware of the process behind it. Now I am aware of this process. I feel like, just enjoying it. You know, you have like, different periods in your life, like waves of different relationships.

Even though he had been at sea several times, it was on this voyage that Erwin felt the experience as a meshwork of relationships. He enjoyed the voyage as much as any youngster and he became one of the cooks on the *Wylde Swan* after the crossing.

In this way, crew members built their personhood together with the boat, as the Murik do with their canoes while travelling. The ocean-sky environment creates a meshwork of relationships, of transformative forces along the voyage, 'spin webs in the interstices of human dwellings' (Lipset 2005: 116).

A Place for the Soul

The encircling horizon offers a wealth of contemplation for the sailor who takes a moment to slow down and listen (Nelson 2012: 101).

On the boat as a place, or space-time, an ontogenetic process of growth and maturation will arise within the marine environment, giving the ship itself a personality, an identity or possibility of the place. Casey says that there is such a thing as 'spirit of place' (Casey 1993: 314). Nelson defines it this way:

there is a home in sailing, through the groove, I find meaning, solitude, emotion, memories and connections, as this is a place where I am made whole after the fast-paced heave and thrust of the cultural demands and expectations of dry land (Nelson 2012: 103).

Places too, take their character from the people who live in them. If places reflect the people who inhabit them, the very same people equally suggest the places they are from. Places are not just pre-given in the world but are constantly becoming themselves. We might say that ways of perceiving places are

learned and shared, whether that involves following traces left by others, having things of significance pointed out, or listening to stories of place and coming in time to reflect on their meaning. But who hears and learns is partial, and political (Vergunst 2017: 5).

It is common for tall ships to take part in port-to-port races, especially in the European summer, and it's noticeable that when they arrive at the so-called 'host ports' and take part in a typical Crew Parade, the respective crews will re-enact the ties that bind everyone to their particular boat. As Nigel Rowe puts it, a Crew Parade is:

a colourful event where the young crews try to outdo each other in their inventiveness in trying to produce costumes from what is available on board their ship. There is much dancing and singing during the parade, which is often enhanced with local bands and majorettes. The local port committee will provide a

number of inducements in the way of prizes for the best-dressed crews or most enthusiastic performance (Rowe 2014).

The way crews chant against the other crews entering a harbour, I would say that these youngsters together with those not so young, belong to that place, and even more than that, as ship families, they are members of 'bands' in which leadership 'does not act to promote the strongest but rather inhibits the installation of stable powers, in favour of a fabric of immanent relations' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 358).¹⁹

Relationships created on board are the main achievement of this experience. You have a group of fellows; you can trust them. As Gabriel said, 'I will probably trust first anyone on board before most of my friends on shore'. Even though apparently, there are foundations or organisations behind every ship (as well as the role played by STI in organising races and regattas), the community of fellows on board can still be called a band. I think the concept of band better describes the boat than that of institution. Trainees build together their personhood with the boat, as do the Murik with their canoes while travelling.

Getting places, then, is to find and re-find the soul through imagination and memory, where the soul of the sailor is more than just an individual sailor's soul for in the realm of imagination and memory everyone is a sailor searching for soul (Nelson 2012: 104).

Conclusion

The boat becomes a place on the move while its crew are inhabiting and caring for it. This place-holder or shelter also cares for its crew, protecting them within a weather world in an ocean medium. The correspondences between the crew, the boat and the environment make up a meshwork of relationships, from which a range of narratives and stories emerge.

Perhaps I have presented a romantic view of freedom, of the boat as a shelter in the open, which allows for the youngsters' making-in-growing, in which they, together with the rest of the crew, take 'the line for a walk' in the threshold between earth and sky. However, 'it has ever been the weak and the vulnerable who have sought shelter,

¹⁹ Immanence: a model that is perpetually in construction or collapsing, and of a process that is perpetually prolonging itself, breaking off and starting up again (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 20).

never the strong and the powerful' (Ingold 2019c: 70). To be sheltered implies dispossession on the part of those who seek it, and generosity on the part of its providers. If shelter is to be regarded as a universal human need, then as Ingold reminds us, we should acknowledge that 'the universe of needs is structured by relations of power, and does not fall equally on all' (Ingold 2019c: 70). In his doctoral dissertation Vladimir Davydov describes the temporary residences of the Kholodnoe Evenkis in abandoned state-buildings or self-built cabins in much the same way: 'when local people move from place to place, their feeling of home moves with them' (Davydov 2011: 216). We have seen examples from the eighteenth-century poor who ended up on the docks. There are the *vagabonds* of John Masefield's 'Sea Fever', and as Tim Cresswell notes, 'it is surely a strange fact that one of the central figures in the production of modern mobility is the medieval vagrant'. The vagrant (or vagabond) is described by him as the shadowy figure that stands 'behind contemporary legal and governmental approaches to moving bodies' (Cresswell 2011: 239).

On board Sail training vessels, youngsters from different social strata and nationalities can meet, work and live together. However, within the boat, they all become the same: fears of a weather world swallowing them in the eye of a storm are shared by everyone. The variability and multiple performativity of the environment makes the participants in these experiences reappraise and affirm their need for the others, enabling trainees to develop this skill as much as their involvement in tasks on board. They learn from the different skills, traditions, personalities, and thus become a group of fellows. That is probably the seed for the experience to be transformative, regardless of the problems the youngsters who have lived on board may have subsequently, once they are back in their habitual society. For Rens and Richel, it was not possible to go happily back to their high schools, and they ended up on board for longer periods. For Pieter, who never attended a normal school in Florida until he was of an age to go to high school, thoughts of ending his studies from home emerged again. Without their friends, their fellows in their everyday struggles in life, no sense of life would be possible for them anymore.

A home place, with its particular spirit, characterized by 'noticeable dialects, gestural styles and whole ways of thinking' (Casey 1993: 314), gives rise to a

'commonplace' or shared moments in a flow of social activity affording common reference (Shotter 1986: 199). The boat, wherever it is, as Anni told me, will be part of the people who have sailed her. And they will return to the boat again and again as Rens does, whenever the *Wylde Swan* is in its home harbour, or like Pieter's parents, who once met there, and had Annika, their first daughter, on the *Wylde Swan* (and she in turn later worked there and met her boyfriend there). That is the reason why 17-year-old Pieter and his cousin, 19-year-old Will, traveled from America, where they were born, and live nowadays to sail on the *Wylde Swan*. I met both of them on the bus from Lisbon to Sines, travelling to take part in the Atlantic crossing, and Pieters's parents and sisters joined the boat in Bermuda after his Atlantic experience.

As shown in the case of Pieter's family, the sailing boat is a meshwork, a 'thread that unites them' Alex said, binding crew members, ocean-sky and the boat but not containing young people within an enclosed living-space. In the open world, 'the task of habitation is to bind substances and the medium into living forms' (Ingold 2008b: 1803). To inhabit the open is to experience the incessant movements of wind, ocean and weather, and be immersed in them, performing life with the same movement. In this weather world, life is lived in a zone in which 'substance and medium are brought together in the constitution of beings' which, in their activity, participate in weaving entangled textures such as the boat, but not distinct surfaces (Ingold 2008b: 1804). There are reports of Micronesian mariners lying in the bottom of their canoes when travelling far out of sight of land, 'feeling the swell with their bodies while fixing their gaze on the sky' (Mack 2007: 12). The sailor, through soul-making and spirit-dwelling, comes to find a home in getting placed (Nelson 2012: 104).

The sailing boat is the crew who sail it together with the skies and seas it crosses. The sailing boat and its extended relationships are a powerful bundle of correspondences in a continuous process of creation and transformation. Once back on shore one can be acutely aware of this power when waking up suddenly during the night, the movement of the sea and the tides rocking the body suddenly stops, and in the same moment, the presence of the others is missed as a lack in oneself.

CHAPTER 4. PERFORMING EXISTENTIAL ATTENTION TO THE TASKSHIP IN AN OCEAN-SKY WORLD: A WAY TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS ON BOARD

The surface of the sea is far more than a division, within the known physical world, between the sky above and the waters below. It is also a threshold between parallel worlds of existence, of life and death. To venture out upon the waves is to inhabit this threshold, at every moment to place one's very existence on the line (Ingold 2019a: 350).



Figure 67: Taskship on board the *Wylde Swan*. Atlantic crossing.

An Ocean-Sky World: Seafaring Between Corporeal and Operative Attentionality

One of the main things you are invited to do when you get on board is to participate in the tasks of the ship, not only for the purpose of sailing but also for any kind of maintenance and adaptation to the boat in the process of inhabiting an ocean-sky world. An ocean-sky world does not stay still because its mother tongue, movement and the richness of its silence, makes attention existential.¹ Therefore, it is a world that opens all participants up to the possibility of being not just intellectually attuned but *kinetically* tuned to a common good by moving in concert with other human and non-

¹ The silence of movement is a silence that is non-verbally dynamic (Sheets-Johnstone 2016)

human beings.² As I mentioned in Chapter 2, for Giraldo Herrera, the postural sway we are continually performing on land but more remarkably once on board, conforms to our kinaesthetic feeling, similar to the muscular consciousness that Bachelard talks about (Bachelard 1969: 11).³ The postural sway as ‘our continual shift of weight from one foot to the other and from the front to the back during normal standing posture’ (Giraldo Herrera 2013: 138) is performed kinetically with the boat while moving in concert with it. And experiencing this movement on board, ‘entering into a continued skill-based creative and evaluative dialogue with one’s environment in the widest sense’, one takes pleasure in and excels at different aspects of the experience (Portisch 2010: S 77).

In this chapter, I will analyse this invitation to build a place on the move, exploring the way these experiences bring about transformation in the young sail trainees, improving the quality of their relationships within complex rhythmic resonances. Just as when getting on board, perceiving the landscape is remembering through a perceptual engagement ‘with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past’ (Ingold 2000: 189). That is to say, place is gathered in this environment with signs of human agency, reflecting aspects of attentionality, history, memory and identity (Phelan 2007: 5). Whatever is underwater and out of sight is perceived and remembered just as well as any memorial on land. There are no visible paths, but numerous sea-routes appear *impressed (inscribed)* according to Phelan)⁴ in the ‘memory’ of the sea: paths determined, for sailing boats, by the wind and current, not solely by human agency (Phelan 2007: 6). ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’ by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834)⁵ tells a similar story to the folk songs/ballads that Villy Sorensen (1959) narrates

² The analysis that Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (2017) develops in her article ‘Moving in concert’, suits perfectly the way to describe an ocean-sky world such as the one I experienced in my fieldwork.

³ See also the section ‘My First Experience’ in Chapter 2.

⁴ My preference for impression rather than inscription becomes clear in the following paragraphs when I explain that the impressions weaving the world at sea and the differently lived experiences leave drawings, stories and logbook notes that act as footprints, because none of them individually could explain anything were it not for the others recomposing and unveiling a common track of what was impressively lived.

⁵ The poem, ‘The Rime of The Ancient Mariner’, by Coleridge (1983: 122-139) is about how the Ancient Mariner’s ship sailed across the Equator, and how it was driven by storms to the cold regions towards the South Pole; from there she (the ship) sailed back to the tropical Latitude of the Pacific Oceans; how the Ancient Mariner cruelly and inhospitably killed an albatross, and how he (the mariner) was followed by many and strange distresses; and also how he returned to his own country.

from the Danish Middle Ages. Sorensen particularly focuses on pre-marital engagements. He writes about young people having to pass through woods, over water or other difficult passages to get to their beloved, future spouse. He writes about 'the fall', the crisis, in transition periods like puberty/adolescence, when transforming from child to adult. And Coleridge starts and ends 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' with the ancient Mariner speaking to a wedding guest, the effect of which is related at the end of the poem (Coleridge 1983: 139).

The mariner, whose eye is bright,
Whose beard with age is hoar,
Is gone: and now the Wedding-Guest
Turned from the bridegroom's door.

He went like one that hath been stunned,
And is of sense forlorn:
A sadder and a wiser man,
He rose the morrow morn.⁶

The wedding guest went home, like a man who had suffered a great shock, not being in his right mind. However, when he awoke next morning, he was a more earnest and wiser man than before. The passage implies that the moral of the tale of the ancient mariner is that the whole experience had had an extremely profound effect on his mind and soul.

Sailing is a different way of living life, in which paths performed on the water have particular characteristics. Kenneth Olwig (2008b) argues people do not occupy but inhabit their landscape, that they are hefted to it as are their sheep (2008b: 86), that their own lives are interwoven with it 'like a tapestry' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 8). The relation between knowledge and footprints is comparable to that between bodily movement and its impressions. If knowledge and footprints appear equivalent, it is because 'knowing is doing, doing is carrying out tasks, and carrying out tasks is remembering the way they are done' (Ingold and Vegunst 2008: 7). 'Footprints are then part of the weave' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 8), just as taskships are part of the same

⁶ The word 'morrow morn' means next morning, while the meaning of 'And is of sense forlorn' means that the wedding-guest has been forsaken by his power of judging; or, was out of his senses. <https://poemanalysis.com/the-rime-of-the-ancient-mariner-by-s-t-coleridge-part-vii-poem-analysis/>

weaving in an ocean-sky world, in which all the body and energy of the crew members is absorbed. However at sea, contrary to what happens on land with the landscape, our visual perception cannot distinguish all the paths (or footprints) of its people; they remain dissolved within the medium. Following a track implies reconstructing a story from bits and pieces of the lived experience, just as 'footprints' on land will unveil the track of someone or of an animal. Erwin, a new middle-aged trainee, who had been working all his life in cruise ships, but who, being in Portugal and visiting the *Wylde Swan* occasionally, had found the opportunity to cross the Atlantic with them, explained it like this:

You live in a small community, you are more on your own but in a small community, but you are surrounded by a beautiful environment, which is pure and clean. Everything on land can be also pure and clean, but with a lot of disturbances. Here you see the ocean, the skies and the sea, animals. It's like you are not looking at highways or skyscrapers, so I think it is a different energy at sea.

In their texture, their temporality and their literal embeddedness in an ocean-sky world of habitation, the crew members draw their stories in each of their voyages. I treat the drawn seafaring maps, the hourly notes in the logbook, and all other impressions of the voyage like footprints, like impressions rather than inscriptions, because not only the movement they register details the main successes that occurred during the voyage but also because even following a track, they are intermittent, as are our steps on the ground when walking. 'The sensory experience of such a *feeling* is commonly described as touch' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 8; here I have substituted 'feeling' for 'pressure' in the original). For this reason, a sailing texture is intrinsically linked to tactility in an ocean-sky world.⁷ In fact, once you are on board, the haptic perception or *kinaesthesia* dialogues with the *kinetic* perception of the others, including the boat:

Kinaesthesia is our sense of self-movement. Through *Kinaesthesia* we are aware of the *kinetic* dynamics that we create in moving, dynamics that ground our everyday movement habits (Sheets-Johnstone 2011: 118).

⁷ Tactility is a primary sense of modality, one that conjoins with movement in a double sense: we have tactile experiences of others and tactile experiences of ourselves, and this, from the very beginning of our lives (Sheets-Johnstone 2016: 8).

Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (2017) explains the difference between *kinaesthetic* and *kinetic* as dancers moving in concert with the others. Moving in concert requires their being alive to both the dynamics of their own movement and the dynamics of the movement of others, being fully awake and aware of the ‘tensional shadings, amplitudes, directional changes’, and the like, in the ongoing flow of movement (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 12). Based on recognition of how it can be said that animate movement has an interior and an exterior⁸, the qualitative dynamics that constitute movement are there, alive and present in both aspects. However, one can differentiate between the way both are experienced:

The interior aspect of movement is experienced *kinaesthetically* and is *felt* as an ongoing qualitative dynamic, while the exterior aspect is experienced *kinetically* and is *perceived* as an ongoing qualitative dynamic (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 12, original italics).

The difference between any understanding of ‘I’ and ‘Other’ movement relations are essential to moving in concert. Moving in concert while sailing in an ocean-sky world leads to attention to the richness, subtleties, and complexities inherent in the qualitative dynamics of movement that are not only ‘*kinaesthetically felt*’ once on board, but are also ‘*kinetically perceived with the movement of the others*’ (2017: 12 emphases from original), such as the boat or other non-human beings that are sharing the same rhythm. We will see, in this chapter, that the main goal on board the taskship is for one to adjust to the movement *kinetically* perceived while sailing. This is what Sheets-Johnstone (1999) describes as a way of communicating and learning ‘in our mother tongue, the movement’ (1999: 195).

In the same way, Jake Phelan (2007) notes that, at sea, there is a dialectical relationship between places and the bodies in them, ‘between corporeal and operative *attentionality*’ (Phelan 2007: 6, original with intentionality).⁹ It is only through the presence and perception of the people and their active engagement with the environment that memories on board are realised and released (Phelan 2007: 6). Therefore, seafaring story-maps differ from charts, because they contain vivid stories of those who draw them. Additionally, in the case of having a plot on the screen (not all

⁸ Following Edmund Husserl (See Sheets-Johnstone 2008: 194-196; Overgaard 2003).

⁹ ‘Just as there are no places without the bodies that sustain and vivify them, so there are no lived bodies without the places they inhabit and traverse’ (Casey 1996: 24).

the relationships on board are formed, a feature which the second noun, 'ship', hints at. Tomas reminded me of what the Sail Training community says about these experiences:

it is not about learning how to sail, but in doing it, trainees get involved in the community and they realise the presence of the others, starting to care for them as they feel the same correspondence from the others.

I would add here that the trainees also feel this sense of correspondence from the enriched ocean-sky environment in continuous movement.

The now well-established concept of 'taskscape', which became widespread especially amongst archaeologists, was first introduced by Ingold in his article 'The Temporality of the Landscape' (Ingold 1993).¹⁰ In a later reflection, Ingold (2017a) explains that he had dropped 'taskscape' in favour of 'landscape' in its original sense of shaping the land (taken from Olwig 2008a). Later, he began to think that every task describes a linear movement of some kind, and that together they weave what he called the 'meshwork'. A meshwork in an earth-sky world (Ingold 2011: 63-93; 2017a: 31). Having briefly introduced the term, let us now turn to analyse its meaning, and in particular how the new concept of 'taskship' that I wish to develop here can be applied to the organisational system I found in my fieldwork.

Kenneth Olwig (2008a) argues that 'scape' is derived etymologically not from the Greek *skopein* 'to look' but from Old English *sceppan* or *skyppan*, meaning 'to shape' (2008a: 31). Just as on land with customs, laws and ways of living, people also build landscapes at sea. At sea, what is continuously built and performed is the boat. As Jake Phelan puts it, on land, we might also talk of how paths, monuments and boundaries gather place around them as signs of human agency, reflecting aspects of intentionality, history, memory and identity, but at the same time asking: 'what is there for us at sea' (Phelan 2007: 5). Without all such landmarks, it would seem hardly deserving of the title 'place'. At sea, the shape is 'nothing but a boat, one's body and endless waves' (Phelan

¹⁰ Ingold's article 'The Temporality of the Landscape' is also published as Chapter 11 in his book *The Perception of the Environment* (Ingold 2000: 189-208)

2007: 5). In an ocean-sky world, the craft requires continuous maintenance and attention in order to be 'shaped'.

The difference between shaping and looking is well illustrated in the history of sailing in the move from tall ship to the ocean Liner. Whereas tall ships were pre-modern boats that spoke to the craft of skilled mariners, Liners were clearly fashionable monuments of modernity. At sea, as on land, the boat also offered a scopic perspective in which Liners presented an idealised form of the material world. Liners exhibited the power of states, cruise ships mirrored stratification and hierarchy, which together with the revolution of design and modern architecture, showed the monumentality of state empires.¹¹ The roots of this modern landscape aesthetic are evident in Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and are suggested by the image created by Abraham Bosse for the first edition of 1651, which was re-used on the front cover of *Olwig's Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic* (Olwig 2002). The image depicts an overarching power that is political rather than customary, as political as was the hierarchical structure of a Liner and the competition of states to have the greatest Liner and the control of the cruising lines. But tall ships, even having been the first boats that states used for colonisation, were a very different thing from Liners. And as places for building stories and facilitating enskilment at sea, they remain alive and very much valued, of course, by those that really appreciate their beauty.

The sailing boat is performing people's habitation of the sea. Their customs and emotions are bound together with the ocean-sky world. They are affected by the environment, when the sailing boat becomes an extension of themselves. Here there is no real boundary between them and the environment, only a zone of entangled relationships. In sailing we dwell together with the environment. We might here draw something of a comparison with architectural literature. The concept of taskships has a certain similarity to the idea of building, with the cosmological association that the architectural historian Kenneth Frampton (1995: 7) draws in his analyses of the traditional Japanese house. Here, as Ingold notes, 'the building is a marriage of earth and sky and a consummation of their union' (Ingold 2013c: 19). The process of building the boat as the only possibility through which to inhabit the open sea should be analysed

¹¹ Ocean Liners. Speed & Style at the new V&A Museum in Dundee. From 25th September 2018 to 24th February 2019.

as a way of living with other human and non-human beings, in which the quality of these relationships is crucial:

The voyage environment is contained within the physical characteristics of the vessel and is very much constant but it is affected by the ever-changing environment outside the vessel, such as the weather and sea state (Fletcher and Prince 2017: 182).

From an architectural point of view, on the boat, as Gottfried Semper (1989) states, 'proportionality and direction, constitute a unity of movement' (Semper 1989: 206).¹² On the ship, as in many works of the technical arts and architecture, the outstanding principle is one of directionality. A fact fully recognised in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance is that 'due to this capacity for movement, a particularly high level of artistic development can be given' (Semper 1989: 214). Boats become a nexus of materials in a world of ocean and sky in continuous process of building and, as captain Miquel Borillo told me, they become differentiated by their own lived experience once they leave the shipyard.

Life at Sea and the Sea Environment

The analysis of a life at sea needs to be framed in this particular environment. Within the definition of the ecology of life, Tim Ingold (2000: 20) establishes three preliminary points about the notion of environment.

- **The Environment in Relation to Me**

From a phenomenological point of view, my environment is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense, it came into existence and undergoes development with me and around me. Thomas Gladwin (1970), who did his fieldwork amongst the navigators from Puluwat, puts it like this: 'Life at sea is a good

¹² 'In works of architecture also belonging to the class of memorials but that have a front and rear, *symmetry* prevails; in others, the *proportional* authority dominates, as is the case of high domes, or still more emphatically with towers whose symmetry and direction are overmatched by the proportionality of the ascending forms. They are therefore significant as symbols of striving toward heaven' (Semper 1989: 214).

life, a life of contentment and self-realisation'. Similarly, amongst the participants in Sail Training, Erwin, who like Ruth, spends his life at sea, said:

Sailing is a way of moving in this beautiful world, planet, so it is a way of transporting yourself, a life experience for a different few. A lot of people spend their lives on land but you can also spend your life at sea, so you can experience that by sailing.

Catherine, a Canadian trainee on the *Blue Clipper* during the Atlantic crossing, spoke of just being a small part of the world:

From my time sailing, I learned how strong nature is, and how we need to work in harmony with it if we want to have a good time and, at certain points, survive. We need to know so many things about the weather, wind, currents, and our ship. How she works, how she feels the waves, how we set the sails and respect it. Why respect? Because we are so tiny at sea, and nature is so much bigger and more powerful.

The boat is exposed to an ocean-sky world in the open, which gives the sailor the feeling of being a tiny piece of it. Wiebe told me how he likes that feeling, of being small in a big world. The forces of the ocean medium together with the forces of the sky can really give you this feeling of astonishment. We are not used to such a world of movement; once you experience that feeling for the first time, you are impressed. I remember that feeling on *St-Iv* when sailing through 'my storm at sea' that lasted five watches in the Baltic Sea. And I also remember that feeling transmitted by Rafa, one of the youngsters I accompanied on the *Pelican of London*. Departing from *A Coruña*, after three days of being sick due to a storm when crossing the Bay of Biscay, he came up on deck. And he was completely astonished by the huge waves surrounding us. At that first moment, I thought that he would be sick again, but then he smiled, his eyes shone, and he said: 'Wow, that's wonderful! I've never seen anything like this, this is much more than what I expected!' In the last chapter, I referred to the boat as a shelter inhabited by the crew. As a shelter, the boat is open to an ocean-sky medium. This can be related to what Erwin is telling us: there are no disturbances like highways or skyscrapers while sailing at sea, and a different kind of energy. The paths are dissolved in the medium inhabiting the open.

Additionally, the boat as a holding shelter for its crew is a place where ocean and sky are brought together in the growth and experience of its inhabitants. The boat is *of* the sea and *of* the sky, not *on* the sea or *below* the sky. Vilém Flusser noticed that the tent wall is a woven fabric that gathers, holds and disseminates the lives of those who dwell within. The boat is like a tent, in that it is open to experiences and draws people in (Flusser 1999: 57). But how is the mutual permeability and binding between human crew members and the boat as a non-human being, together with other non-human beings from the ocean and the sky, possible? In distinguishing the landscape from the earth-sky world, Ingold states that in striving to rein in the forces of the elements, the mariner (an inhabitant of smooth space) is the precise opposite of the farmer (an inhabitant of striated space), who struggles to counteract an unyielding earth, ‘dragging himself and his equipment over the hard ground and inscribing tracks and paths in the process’ (Ingold 2013c: 26). In every case, environments are shaped by the material world of sensory experience. The difference between smooth and striated is not then a scopic one, as discussed in Chapter 3, but rather based on the relationships that emerge from such differentiated environments. Inhabiting the sailing boat, ocean and sky ‘meet in unison’ (Ingold 2013c: 26), or as Alan Watts puts it in one of his short reflective discourses, the ‘structure of this thing in cooperation with the existence of wind, enables it to move like an animal, but using the wind’s effort, not its own’. But the farmer, ‘like a person who rows a boat uses effort’, and ‘the man who puts up a sail, he lets nature do it for him, with the intelligence to use a sail’.¹³

In smooth space, the perception of things is overwhelmed by the ‘experiences of light, sound and feeling to which they open up’ (Ingold 2015b: 207). As Merleau-Ponty would say, here bodies are open and alive to the world, ‘immersed in the soil of the sensible’ (Merleau Ponty 1964: 160, in Ingold 2005b: 100). The perception of striated space is just as close-up, if not closer, than that of smooth space:

the difference between them lies in the extent to which practitioners’ perceptual engagements are with the surfaces of things or with the surrounding media, of earth, air and water (Ingold 2015b: 207).

¹³ Both last quotations in this paragraph are from ‘The Greatest Skill of All’ by Alan Watts https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-Zel_pAPJg

The problem is that with modernity, striation comes to be seen in terms of ratios and proportions, ‘abstract *lineamenta*’, rather than in terms of the scratching and furrowing that goes on in the farmer’s shaping of the land, or in the weaving of threads. (Ingold 2013c: 25; Ingold 2015b). The sea can also be experienced as a scape when voyaging on a merchant boat. However, setting sail, the mariner enters a world in which surfaces take second place to the circulations of the media in which they are formed. Indeed, there are no visible paths, but numerous sea-routes appear to be *impressed* in the ‘memory’ of the sea as Phelan puts it (2007: 6). At sea, space is felt and lived as an extension of our selves rather than as an image. Crew members inhabit the sea, and in doing so, they obtain a rather different experience of what is their already known habitation of the land. On a tall ship, all their efforts and energy are involved in making their paths inhabited.

Within an ocean-sky environment, mutuality amongst human and non-human beings provides a different perception from that on land. Like the experience of the dancers *moving in concert* described by Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (2017), at sea, the sailing boat, as a creative nest amongst two mediums that are continually performed and never end, enmeshes its crew in this extraordinary sentient world. It’s a matter of dynamics, of a felt sense of flow as in qualitatively shaped inflections, pauses, and furthermore, a matter of the dynamics of others who are there in performance with each other. It is not a question of language, but of movement, ‘of lines that are the dynamic lines of movement itself’ (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 9). Moving together creatively, the improvisation is self-contained. It resonates with its own pure *kinetic* dynamics and leaves no traces behind. Sheets-Johnstone adds:

we might experience ourselves not just as being alive but feeling that aliveness among a host of others whose aliveness is infectious and whom we trust, offers us moving and being alive to one’s movement, a dynamically unfolding *kinaesthetic* experience (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 10, original italics).

And this feeling alive by virtue of the improvised movement binding mutuality among human and non-human beings at sea, keeps our attention and awareness on board alert. In this respect, whereas attention on land is contingent, at sea it is existential. On board, you give more attention to the others, to the boat and to the environment *kinetically*,

but also, this is reflected in yourself *kinaesthetically*, being alive in an entanglement of correspondences with the environment.

- **The Environment is Never Complete: Wayfinding or Seafaring**

The second point regarding the environment is that it is never complete. If environments are forged through the activities of living beings, then so long as life goes on, they are continually under construction. In this respect, Ruth, who is now one of the captains on the *Wylde Swan*, told me that she learned to sail with a captain who did not explain a lot to her, but she remembers him as the one from whom she really learned to sail. During the night, they could be awakened by the same movement or sound. She learnt from him which noises or movements of the hull she had to be alarmed by.

At sea, you will always trust your wisdom from experience first rather than your technical knowledge! You can know such a lot in theory but if you do not recognise it when you are there, it doesn't have any meaning, so you need to be able to read the situation, making a continuous effort to be more sentient.

It seems that, in Ruth's words, she learned to sail from a captain who used few or no words, instead learning mostly by observing the captain's movements, and, through this, sharing her perception of the boat with this captain. This description strongly echoes the ways in which Micronesians learned to sail (Feinberg and Genz 2012; Lewis 1994; Genz 2014; Finney 1976; Thomas 1987). It is in this sense that David Turnbull holds indigenous knowledge to be different from science, because 'all knowledge is generated within a field of practices' (Turnbull 1989: 61). The conversion of native maps into cartographic maps was a benefit for cartographers, but this conversion obviated the need to recognise native maps for what they are: 'graphic forms representing a world view utterly different from that produced by European scientific cartography' (Belyea 1996: 6). Our Western interpretation lacks most of the knowledge indigenous peoples possessed of both their regions and the world in general. Similarly, when trainees draw a map stemming from their lived experience at sea, geographical references are not as important as the practices experienced with others during the voyage. This is the

difference between seafaring and navigating.¹⁴ Whereas Sail Training or seafaring on tall ships presupposes learning with the environment while undergoing, navigating means getting from one port to the other with technical devices in a fully equipped ship, in which technology, proven science and logic will transport us to the next destination as passengers.

Similarly, the *etak* system of the Micronesians, mentioned in the introduction, offers an important example of what happens to the knowledge of seafaring, when it is studied from a Western perspective. The *etak* system, the way in which indigenous seafarers travelled and moved at sea, was defined by Gladwin and others as: 'natives who spoke of moving islands'. However, a Western view interprets it by drawing the *etak* system into a two-dimensional scheme, in which the richness of its essence is lost by our inability to understand a world in movement. As David Turnbull argues, 'Pacific natural knowledge has been unable to withstand the advance of an economic order underpinned by a different knowledge system' (Turnbull 1991: 4).¹⁵

For the moment, what concerns Ruth, the first officer, about being more sentient has to do with her relationship with other living entities, such as the wind, the weather, the tides and the moon, the sun, the stars that continuously give the crew new inputs to which the boat and themselves must adapt. These non-human living beings are the ones with which the crew get involved and learn from in this ocean-sky world. In Ruth's words, 'you need to be able to read the situation' at sea. In this respect, Anderson (2000), as well as other anthropologists, speak about the relationships amongst humans and other living beings.¹⁶ I referred in the introduction to an approach through an animated world, going on in fieldwork 'to bring anthropology back to life' (Ingold 2011: 14). Inhabiting an open world with materials including earth, air and water, and 'considering materials as active living things rather than reducing them to matter' (Ingold 2011: 16), the relationships of the meshwork become extended to the sea and

¹⁴ Ingold (2000) differentiates seafaring from navigation in 'To journey along a way of life. Maps, wayfinding and navigation' (Ingold 2000: 219-242).

¹⁵ Inter-island canoe travel was banned under German colonial rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and by the Japanese in the Caroline Islands during the Second World War. It was still banned in Tahiti and discouraged in the Gilbert islands in the 90's (Turnbull 1991: 3).

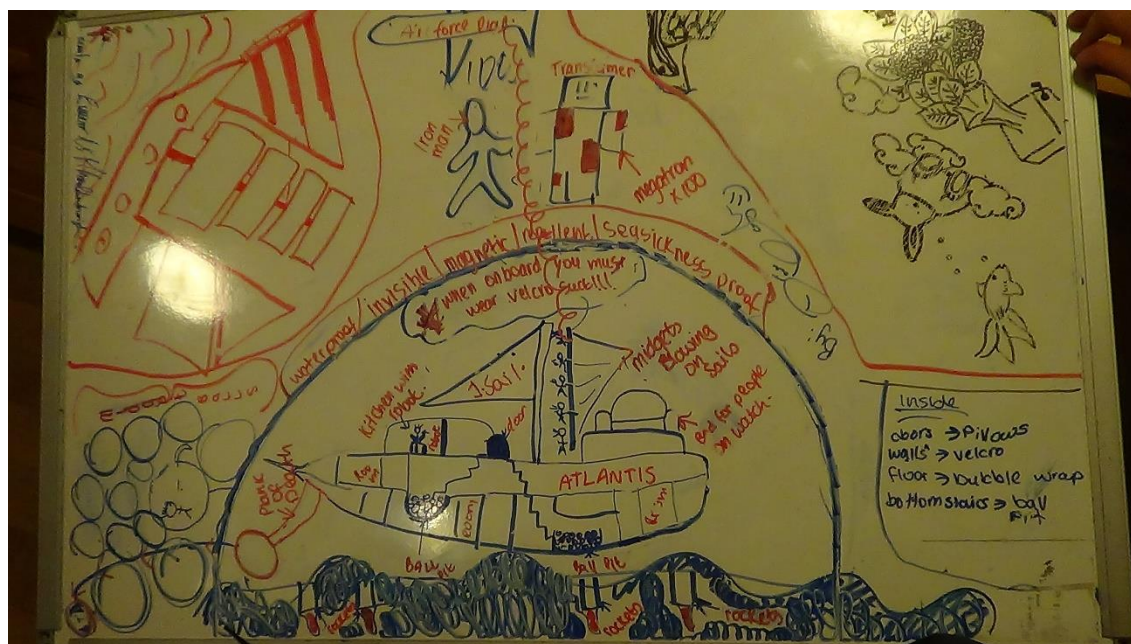
¹⁶ Anderson argues that 'the mutual interrelation of person and place construct a sentient ecology' (Anderson 2000: 116; Ingold, 2000: 25). For other research regarding more than human beings see Hallowell (1955), Cruikshank (2005), Haraway (2016), Ingold (2000, 2011, 2015a), Johansen (1954).

the sky and all its living beings. Ingold, inspired by Bateson (1972), tries in this way to break with the eternal dichotomy between nature and culture, focusing his interest on living beings, human or non-human, and their relationships and correspondence, for instance with concepts like 'the wind *is* its blowing' (Ingold 2007b: S30). In the same sense, the boat *is* the people who sail it, together with the skies and seas it crosses through. Likewise for the Ojibwa of the Berens River district near Lake Winnipeg in Canada, studied by Irving Hallowell, the sun, the moon and the winds, are all 'held to be persons of a kind' (Hallowell 1955: 91). Here, the meshwork is comprised as much of human as of non-human beings. Analysing people and their environments in an animated world is much more interesting than studying symbolic classifications, and keeps us thinking all the time about being in the world.

Let me continue with a further discussion of what differentiates seafaring from navigating (Ingold 2000) or how people moved about 'in completely new and unfamiliar environments' (Turnbull 2013: 9), drawing on what Turnbull (2013), in an unpublished paper, has called a 'performative and hodological approach to orientation, spatiality and temporality' (2013: 3). In another story-map, which emerged spontaneously on a whiteboard from the saloon of the *Pelican of London*, trainees drew following their experience of a three-day storm with no geographical references at all. We set sail for Dublin from *A Coruña*, Spain, crossing the Bay of Biscay, a Bay notorious for storms and bad weather. On this occasion the STI organisation delayed the start of the race until two days later, after which we set sail; and even then, most of the trainees were seasick.

On the fourth day at sea, when it became calmer, but we were still sailing through big waves, some trainees were together in the saloon where, while drawing, they shared their experiences. When I joined them, they were finishing off the drawing, and just conversing about it, what was necessary to add to the drawing, agreeing amongst themselves what the experience had been like, laughing now that calm was restored. The following is the story the trainees narrated to me...

Figure 69: A drawing as a way to narrate a storm at sea. Trainees on the *Pelican of London* 2012.



'When on Board, You Must Wear a Velcro Suit'

There was a ship inside a bubble, with the characteristics of being waterproof, invisible, magnetic, repellent and seasickness proof. The ship was called *Atlantis*. There was a door between the deck and the inside of the ship. The galley, saloon and dining room on the *Pelican of London*, the real name of the ship we were on board, were on the same level as the deck. They painted markedly, and in blue: the door, so as to highlight that there was a difference when they crossed from one side to the other. From the door, downstairs, you could access the bottom depicted as pits full of large, ball-like dots. The rooms were next to these, which means that the seasickness and the movement perceived at the bottom of the boat could be akin to being in a pit full of balls. It seems that the anchor was associated with a plank of death, because it was connected to the outside of the bubble, where there were some midget balls. That could mean that the midgets, crew or inhabitants on board (as drawn blowing to the sails up on the mast) had lost some of these balls from the safety bubble during the storm.

The crew were seen as midgets; that was their feeling after the storm, they were like tiny people who were together, organised with a shared attentionality, they were up on the mast, one below the other, just to blow on the sails. They needed the sails to be filled by the wind. The sail may act as an aerofoil, generating propulsive force as air passes across its surface, just as an airplane wing generates lift. Up on the mast, a spiral line which goes across the bubble was connected to an air force

plane. Out there, between the bubble and the air force plane, there is a *Megatron x100*, which is a Transformer-movie character. The original *Megatron* was the leader of the *Warlord Deceptions*, a fictional faction of sentient self-configuring modular extraterrestrial robotic lifeforms from the planet Cybertron. *Megatron* is usually depicted as having risen from being a lowly worker to becoming a champion in gladiatorial combat. Possibly, through *Megatron*, appeared just in front of him, an iron man. Had he been transformed? Had he survived being alive outside the bubble? Another story about *Megatron* says that he betrayed his creator, being sucked through a black hole into another dimension. The Fallen was not so fortunate, finding himself trapped in the *underspace* between dimensions. If we check out the deck further, we can see a Kitchen with a robot, probably due to the fact that being the cook is the hardest job among the crew. It is incredibly difficult to manage to cook for a crew of twenty-five three times a day at the scheduled times. All the crew depends on him in some way. If he doesn't get to have meals ready on time, the crew cannot eat and be ready to attend to the ship. There is also on the stern of the ship, where the duty watch normally has the helm, a bed for the people on watch who are not steering. This is probably mostly used during night watches when the weather allows for calm, just sail with the wind.

If we have a look under their feet, they drew a wavy and heaving surface, full of rockets, which together with the air blown on the sails by the midgets and the spiral line to the air force plane, sustains them inside the bubble; safe, protected and alive. There is also an inventory just on the right side of the drawing with extra characteristics, such as that the doors are pillows, the walls are made of Velcro, the floor is bubble wrap and again at the bottom of the stairs there are ball pits.

In contrast with the permanent crew, it seems that trainees for whom this was their first experience on board survive with and through their narratives. The socially shared cognition of the experience on board can be like what Thomas Widlok, writing of the Hai//om 'Bushpeople' of Namibia, calls a 'topographical gossip of multi-indexical categories' (1997: 324).

The topographical gossip makes little use of person- or body-centred terms but uses a widely shared system of landscape terms. These landscape terms are largely independent of the spatial positions of the people who are interacting. They are not

independent, however, of individual or socially-shared goal orientations (Widlok 1997: 325).

For instance, what can make up their story include intergroup relations with other trainees or permanent crew, memory of movement and fear perceived during a storm such as in the drawing above, memory of the boat and its crew during the voyage, memory of who was sick in the lower cabins (indexed by the pit balls), as well as non-indexical elements such as the technical knowledge of the permanent crew, or the readings of the GPS. The shared system of ocean-sky terms includes the different relationships the trainees establish with this environment: for them, an imagined bubble in which they all survived the storm was waterproof, invisible, magnetic, repellent and seasickness proof. As the band of midgets blowing the sails they said themselves to be, topographical gossip consists of 'getting somewhere socially', with 'established decision agreements between interlocutors' and the versatility of their ocean-sky environment (Widlok 1997: 324). When the trainees were recovering from their seasickness, what they were trying to do was structuring their story of the lived experience.

Trainees' drawings, like native maps, would never be framed (Belyea 1996: 6). Life is laid down along paths of movement, of action and perception. Every living being, accordingly, grows and reaches out into the environment 'along the sum of its paths' (Ingold 2000: 242). Wayfinding as understood by Ingold depends upon the attunement of the traveller's movements in response to the movements, 'in his or her surroundings, of other people, animals, the wind, celestial bodies, and so on' (Ingold 2000: 242). Kevin Lynch (1973) also defines way-finding as the way 'man's foresight and energy rule the universe and can change it' (Lynch 1973: 315).¹⁷ In the trainees' drawing, the anchor represents the plank of death, and it has a line going under the waves with the other midget balls, lost out of the bubble. In the switch from death to life, 'everything comes from nothing' (Ingold 2015b: 202). These sailing experiences, lived as a life paths of their

¹⁷ Kevin Lynch defined way-finding as the original function of the environmental image (I would add here, this being obtained by practice), and the basis on which its emotional associations may have been founded. But the image (or *experience*) is valuable not only in this immediate sense in which it acts as a map for the direction of movement; in a broader sense it can serve as a general frame of reference within which the individual can act, or to which he can attach his knowledge. In this way it is like a body of belief, or a set of social customs: it is an organiser of facts and possibilities (Lynch 1973: 302).

participants, not only transform the youngsters, they also become part of them as a 'time and site of extreme attentiveness' (Serres 1997: 27). At the moment that time is passed, as when the storm is over, it seems that something has taken root in one's being at 'an absent and unlocatable centre' which one has already abandoned, 'compelled by the arrows that depart from it' (Serres 1997: 27).

- **The Environment Continually Comes into Being.**

Thirdly, if we are enmeshed within a world, environments continually come into being in the process of our lives (Ingold 2000: 20). In this regard, it seems to me, Ruth's effort in being sentient was what life is about in an animated world. To inhabit an animate world is to experience the joy of sailing and of life itself. So, when I asked her if this was her joy while sailing, she replied:

Ya. But it makes you feel very tired. You are very alert to all these things all the time. I have always thought, I cannot really relax if I am on a ship. I cannot help myself noticing things in advance. This is part of the work itself, you enjoy getting that knowledge. And when you are on shore, you miss it. Yes, it is because on shore you can leave it. Of course, you can check the weather forecast, think of the people who are on the ship and how they are, you cannot totally let that go, so you check it, but sometimes I don't if I really need to relax.

Living on board means that all the crew members have to give the necessary attention to the boat, to the environment and the other crew members to keep on sailing. In this smooth space – a heterogeneous *mélange* of continuous variation, extending without limit and in all directions – the entangled trajectories of people and other phenomena wend their ways, following no predetermined direction but 'responding at every moment to locally prevailing conditions and the possibilities they afford to carry on' (Ingold 2013c: 23). Therefore, tasks on board are totally related to other living beings like the wind, the tides, the waves, the changing weather, the appearance of dolphins accompanying the boat, another boat on the horizon, to the seasickness of the crew members, to the lack of fresh water, and the like. The ever-changing weather and closeness to nature make this place on the move familiar when you notice the differences in the weather because you follow the same daily routines. Routines on board can seem systematic, however they depend on agreement within the

community that allows the crew to inhabit this world. On board, there is always something to do, something to take care of when you are living there. The holding shelter exists and cares for the crew only in so far as the crew pays constant attention to it. For life at sea then, taskship on board is the main purpose of each member of the crew.

The watch system, incorporated as an integral part of a taskship, goes together with the rhythm of the group and its mutuality with the boat and with the environment. With the different watches, the taskship involves everyone on board. This kind of organisation is necessary for this kind of environment. A small boat with eight crew members can have two watches but if there are nine or ten, they prefer to be split up into three watches, because it allows everyone to have more time to rest. On board, you are invited to dwell, therefore to build that place on the move. Ingold's concept of the taskscape (1993), quoted above, is pertinent here: 'a taskscape is a total ensemble of tasks in their mutual interlocking, that make up the pattern of activity of a community' (Ingold, 1993: 158; 1995: 9). Taskship as qualitative relationships shaping the boat are 'constitutive acts of dwelling', 'not only related to human beings' (Ingold 2017a: 30) but also with phenomena of environment that affect the boat and those taking shelter in it as a bundle of correspondences. With the suffix '-ship', the taskship becomes part of the entanglement of relationships that cannot be separated from the environment and all its non-human beings.

I discussed with the captain what dreaming on board is all about. Trainees normally say that they dream quite a lot more on board than on land. I was wondering if the dreaming was due to the feeling of relative weightlessness of the vessel in the ocean medium, like the 'being in a womb' that supposes a lack of gravity due to its aquatic properties. But then Fosse suggested that it is because there are not so many impressions, not so much input on board. He said: 'it is exactly the same every day!'

On land, you have lots of different things to come across and people to meet, but on board, there are no other exterior inputs, there is no news from land, you do not have to be ready for everything that can happen, you can relax, for instance, during the Atlantic crossing, we still have a voyage of another 10 days to come, probably with less wind than what we have had until now.

On board, he went on,

you sleep a bit lighter because your body is constantly moving against the waves, you hear these noises, you might wake up sometimes when somebody bangs a door and you are not aware that you almost woke up. Maybe we always dream that much without realising!

It is said that when you start to relax after a busy period, you dream more, or is it perhaps that when on board, you are just more aware that you do dream. At sea, when sleeping, similarly to what happens when on watch, one is constantly attending to the environment. In this regard, Jan Masschelein usefully differentiates attention from consciousness. He suggests that:

To be attentive is not to be captivated by an intention or a project or a vision or perspective or imagination (which always give us an object and catches or imprisons the present in a representation) (Masschelein 2010b: 282).

For him 'attention is exactly to be present in the present', making experience possible, as an opening for what presents itself as evidence (Masschelein 2010b: 282).

He also points out that in English attention also relates to 'attend', which offers a different concept of care. As he puts it 'being attentive is the opposite of being absent' (Masschelein 2010b: 282). According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, 'to attend' is defined as: 'to pay attention, to be present with or accompany, and in archaic, to wait for'.¹⁸ And finally, and very much in the vein of sailing, 'attention is a lack of intention', implying the suspension of judgement (Masschelein 2010b: 282). In the following section, we will consider what all these elements give to the taskship and the involvement and mutual correspondences with all the non-human beings which enliven us when following the same routines.

Characteristics of the Taskship

Only the smallest of things, the intrinsically dead point is timeless. When it becomes movement and line, that takes time (Klee, 1961: 357).

¹⁸ 'Attend', *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/attend> (accessed 3/1/2020).

In my analysis, trainees felt that a taskship has different characteristics such as:

- **Shared Responsibilities**
- **Tasks Synchronizing the Same Rhythm**
- **Time by Yourself**

The organisation on board, with the watch system, seems simpler than life on land, Johna (26-year-old) told me, because you do not have to worry about anything other than the established routine. In a way, life on board seems to give you time by yourself, because you have a group and shared responsibilities, so you do not have to attend to your individual stuff:

Well, life on board is so simple. You just have to know your schedule and then you can lie down, that's all you need; you do not need anything else. Yes, you can be lazy at sea, but you have to do your bit. On land, of course, you have lots of responsibilities, you have school, you have work, you have free time activities, you have to go shopping, you have to consider too that all of that incurs expenses. But when you are at sea, you just have to focus on being there, of course, you have to cook food there too, but you do not have to do it for just yourself, you have to do it for everyone.

But then, she added that tasks are always synchronised, if you haven't finished yet it can pose a problem for someone else! Entering into these dynamics means a change of personal rhythms, the responsibilities are shared but it seems at the same time that they are non-stop and synchronised for the taskship:

at home, you can leave the dishes to wash for another day, but on board, this is not possible. You must keep everything tidied up all the time because a mess on board can jeopardise the safety of the crew.

This is peculiar to life on board because it is in continuous movement and change; dishes or any other objects must be stowed in their place. Every task on board needs to be thought of as part of an entanglement of relationships within the environment as a whole.

Paradoxically, non-stop task-shiping allows trainees time for themselves. For instance, Johna also told me that she had time by herself on board, an added bonus to

the simplicity of the routines. Time for oneself, as Johna sees it, seems to suggest fewer responsibilities because they are shared. But then, she also remarks that due to environmental conditions, a certain organisation is required, like not leaving the dishes to wash later or things not stowed away that can fly about with a sudden movement of the boat. Ines (19 years old) gives further insight on time for oneself:

I would define life at sea as a disconnection, disconnection from the world on land, and I treat it as something completely positive, not negative. You are in another space, there is no communication, and if there is, we do not like to be connected... well, we didn't notice the lack, I did not get the mail, I did not get the news; people end up talking less. For example, there were thirty of us, but there was no talk of politics, I did not know why, you could talk about other things, but, I did not know why, you are disconnected, disconnected from what here on land strikes you. We talked about each other or we talked about gardening or we talked about neuroscience, it does not matter, let's say that about any subject but that each one left out what worried them during the year. This experience invites you to think about yourself and disconnect from what you've been doing all year.

And Edu (21-year-old) also told me: 'It is this priceless time that this voyage offers you!'

Eric and Diego were of the same opinion as Johna, Ines and Edu but for them, the first condition was getting over the effects of seasickness. Eric (15-year-old) defined life on board like that:

I think that life on board is totally different from elsewhere. I don't know, on board you feel more distant, incredibly peaceful, it is a very good moment to relax, to tell the truth, whenever there is good weather because the first three days I was seasick.

And Diego (17-year-old) added:

This happens, [seasickness] but in two days it's over...You have time to think about yourself... When you are working it is more or less a semi-automatic job, so that while cleaning you have the time to think about your stuff...

For the new trainees, there is a process they go through. In the first period, they feel that seasickness could make the experience unpleasant. These are the only instances, reporting of feeling unpleasant on board, in which I also had feedback about being closed in. For example, Yago felt that:

We had time to think about our life outside the boat especially when I was vomiting, then you say I want to go home now and make my life normal, have my everyday life. When you are on board for a while and you feel well, then you value being on board more than wanting to leave. But when you're seasick you feel miserable because you just want to get off. You sometimes miss being alone. I also missed listening to music because I did not wear my earphones and almost a week without hearing any music has been boring!

The same Yago, after his period of adaptation and seasickness, told me: 'At home, you can clean, but in peace!' And he added:

The people on board depend on you, if you haven't finished a task yet it can be a problem for others..., we always have to be very synchronised. A lot of teamwork, a lot of communication and do everything really fast, that's what I've learned to do!

During this second period of involvement, Gabriel also noticed: 'I was really afraid of screwing up, I was afraid I would be cleaning up and someone would scream at me. Such and such has happened!' He even joked about when he mentioned that: 'Someone said that once there was a guy who went home, which sounds like... really... Can you really go home?' In general, I did not get the feeling they had been disappointed by the experience, Yago was just telling me a kind of further feeling after the seasickness. That was for Yago and Gabriel a process going from homesickness, boredom due to not having his music, to an account of demanding synchronised responsibilities in an environment that presupposes staying together until the next harbour.

Sea versus Land: Impressed Memories of the Sea

During the process of getting your sea legs, being immersed in an unfamiliar environment, some discomfort is experienced by the trainees. The shared responsibilities and the taskship involved in synchronizing to the same rhythm can be experienced in a first impression as similar to working shifts in a job on shore. Charlotte, the volunteer doctor on board told me that this kind of organisation at sea was not so different from her shifts in the hospital. In both places, constant attention must be given: in the hospital to provide 24 hours' service, and at sea, to survive the changing environment in which the boat is immersed as a shelter. However, whereas the

permanent attention with work shifts in the hospital is part of the goal to offer a service and then go back home, the watches on board result in an adaptation to the instability of the medium. And in doing so, you become more sentient to the environment.

This is what makes the difference between work shifts in a hospital and watches on board. Watches on board give you the feeling of a different temporality, because they run together with the weather and the tides. They are performed in a full involvement with the environment, a mutuality that affects the whole group with a good mood when it is windy and sunny, and with a sense of alarm and caution when it is stormy. There is no control over changing circumstances. Even though the crew is ready for whatever will come, there is always an element of risk in getting underway.¹⁹ Perhaps it is more like the emergency service of the hospital, in which you have to be able to read the situation at the right moment, in order to react properly. However, even then, you can still go home after your shift. The watch system on board gives the impression that time on board is extended, the boat is a *time machine*, not only through the strength in bonding timeless relationships, but also in affording the taskship time, performed in the medium.

The performance of taskship is related to weather and seasonality. In this sense the watches also differ from the daily tasks, for example, of a farmer, which can be measured by the amount of land he can work per day, depending on the conditions of the terrain. For instance, in the flat low lands where I am from in Catalonia, a 'jornal', non-standard measure of land, is bigger than a 'jornal' in the Pyrenees area. The 'jornal' is defined as the extent of land that could be worked in a day. Its extension depended in olden times on the type of worker (person, mule, pair of oxen, horse), the type of place (field, wheat, meadow, vineyard) and the kind of activity to be carried out there (ploughing, sowing, harvesting, weeding, planting vines, etc). Even though it is not a standardised measure of land, it is still used nowadays amongst farmers, and one needs to know the local measure in every region if one is interested in owning land, because the size and characteristics of the field can be quantitatively and qualitatively different.

In this regard Olwig (2008a) states that the land, as the place of the people, is *scaped/shaped by* - or the creation of - its customs, organised as law. Customary law is

¹⁹ See 'Submission Leads, Mastery Follows' (Ingold 2015a: 138-142).

not formulated verbally, but 'lies upon the land' (Olwig 2008a: 31). This is not made visible through written texts or cadastral maps, but through customary community practice as manifested in its 'moral economy' (Thompson 1993: 185-351) and its 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977:16-22). Olwig links etymologically the material forms of the landscape shaped according to the principles of its law, its *shape*, with 'ship'. The suffix *schaft* (in *landschaft*) and the English word 'ship' are cognate, meaning essentially 'creation, creature, constitution, condition'. *Shaft* is related to the verb *schaffen*, to create or shape, so ship and shape are also etymologically linked (Oxford English dictionary 1971). If we make the same etymological association at sea, all of that comes together within the boat and its taskship, that is to say, with the organisation and responsibilities on board. It is not easy to put a price on one's own life when at sea: this is why, as I mentioned in the preface with reference to the text 'Customs of the sea', in the thirteenth century it was widely noted that fake agreements were made at sea where anyone without experience would promise 'a thousand marks of silver' to whoever would put them ashore (Fagan 2012: 15).

The organisation on board every boat reflects the presence of the boat by its customary practices, of which every crew member is proud. The quality of relationships and practices are the main aspects that will be reflected in the movement and body *hexis* of the boat itself. On board, to follow Pierre Bourdieu (1977) 'the essential part of the modus operandi which defines practical mastery is transmitted in practice, in its practical state, without attaining the level of discourse' (1977: 87). The fact that schemes are able to pass from practice to practice without going through discourse or consciousness does not mean that 'acquisition of the habitus comes down to a question of mechanical learning by trial and error' (Bourdieu, 1977: 87-8). Instead, 'body *hexis* is a durable manner of feeling and thinking' (1977: 93-4), in the form of a pattern of postures that is both 'individual and systematic' (1977: 87). To think and feel the movement of the boat, considering 'movement as the mother of all cognition' (Sheets-Johnstone, 1999: 128), is not to set up a relation of external contact with objectively given conditions. Edu is a wheelchair-user on board *Lord Nelson* (an adapted boat). He noticed that the boat becomes an extension of the body that we can perceive *kinetically*, giving us a better *kinaesthetic* feeling. Therefore, making its way through a world-in-

formation, in a movement that is both rhythmically resonant with the movements of others, whose journeys are shared and paths are crossed by its crew members, the boat, without having either a point of origin or any final destination, is an open-ended meshwork of entangled narratives of lives at sea.

On board, the characteristics of the boat, its size, the materials it is made of, the seas it sails through and the characteristics of its rigging and crew perform its different temporalities. The boat, like the land, is continually built and adapted to the environment by its crew. Along with the watch system, one of the requirements to register the shaping process at sea involves the use of the logbook. In the logbook, every hour, after a check of the deck and the engine, several other parameters are registered, such as the temperature, the force of the wind, the GPS position, the sails that are hoisted, the direction and degrees steered, the members of the crew on watch, plus any other significant event. So with the boat's logbook it is possible to 'decipher' what happened at any particular moment during the voyage.

Although the boat leaves no trace of past practices in the watery medium, in which (unlike footprints on land) they instantly dissolve, they can still be followed in the logbook. The logbook is written down for everyone on board but it is also taken and kept by the captain if something happens to the boat. Miquel Borillo, who first introduced me to my fieldwork, still treasures like gold the logbook of *Anne Dorthéa*, the boat he obtained in exchange for four years of work in a Norwegian shipyard. With that logbook, he knows the life of the boat before he owned it. Logbooks have long been completed on board: 'it is compulsory for each boat to have a logbook if they are over 24 metres long, however small boats also often have logbooks', captain Borillo told me.

Today, centuries-old ships' logs are actually proving to be key to climate research. As Rachel Becker announces in THE VERGE 3rd May 2019²⁰, volunteers are asked to take a trip through climate change history by transcribing historical weather data from the hand-written logs. Nowadays, sailing experiences for youngsters, normally funded by charities and by ERASMUS + programmes, are starting to emphasise a wider awareness and attention to an ocean-sky world with sustainable activities, such

²⁰ Review THE VERGE.

as collecting plastics from the sea or gathering water samples as data that can be used by research centres. For instance, the association of youth biologists *By the Ocean We Unite* (BTOWU) has been founded for this purpose.²¹ There is also a huge program with worldwide ambition, based in *Los Angeles Maritime Institute* (LAMI), for tall ships from America to provide opportunities on board to check, analyse, understand, observe, supervise and accompany whoever wants to become sensitised to the ocean environment. Mark L Friedman, from the education and curriculum department in LAMI, tries through his work to spread awareness and knowledge of the challenges of global climate change among young people, with a zeal and passion similar to that of young climate advocates such as Greta Thunberg.



Figure 70: Dolphins below the bowsprit. On board *Pelican of London*, 2012.

In an ocean-sky medium, the mutuality amongst crew, environment and the performing boat is like building a piece of art: it is a life experience in which the quality of relationships and whatever else you take from it cannot easily be quantified, but carries great value. Life is perceived together with the environment; the shared experience of confronting difficulties and adversity is something that one simply cannot buy. There is no stability in an ocean-sky world, rather the richness of the experience

²¹ See also Chapter 1 within the section 'Tall Ships: Races and Regattas Regarding this Study'.

lies in its permanent performance, moving in concert. Moving in harmony with others is a 'silent form of intercorporeity' in which, as Sheets-Johnstone puts it, persons involved are 'spatially, temporally, and energetically attentive both to themselves and to others' (Sheets-Johnstone 2016: 10). She defines:

intersubjectivity basically as a *kinetic intercorporeity*, a dynamic interrelationship encompassing movement and emotion, a fact that should hardly be surprising given the nature of animate forms of life (Sheets-Johnstone 2016: 16).

This way of learning within an animated world, in which attention is existential due to the instability of the medium, gives the trainees valuable time by themselves, opportunities to concentrate through their work and practices, and time to reflect on their lives and how to inhabit the world they are participating in.

The Quality of Relationships On Board: To Voyage in Place with Other Human and Non-Human Beings

When movement creates its own time and space, I would say that 'to think is to voyage' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). The voyage is full of different intensities with others and with the environment, instilling the presence during tall ship sailings. The fact that the boat is in an ocean medium, so that gravity has not the same pull as it has on land, makes the shared rhythms and mutuality amongst the crew, in relation to the boat and the sea, highly perceptive. The need to find another way of balancing and moving the body makes the body more attentive. It is not mainly sight we use on board, but *movement*, in concerted and tactile relationships with other human and non-human beings. This differs from other land-based experiences in multiple ways.

First of all, the shared rhythm of the boat establishes a 'microcosmos', as Jarkko said (see Chapter 2), in which everyone bonds very fast. This makes both the place and the people inhabiting it become familiar in only a few days. There is something very special provided by the environment, the rhythm of the sea, its tactility and movement that can never be felt the same way in any vehicle other than on a boat. I have experienced this effect under different conditions:

The North Sea had a dark blue colour in the sun, green-grey under the clouds. Its waves were enormous but very far apart:

you go up for a while and then down with a long wave. This is what Giraldo Herrera (2013) also described in his thesis where he noted that the Shetland fishermen started the engine to go up the wave and then turned it off to go down, trying to save fuel.

The Baltic sea has plenty of variability. When it is stormy, waves come one behind the other; to stay on course means to be pitching, due to the bow rising and falling again in less than a minute.

The Bay of Biscay is a mixture of those two, the waves are shorter than the ones in the North Atlantic but they are huge, and very intense. I sometimes felt that the *Pelican of London* was a kind of washing machine when crossing it. That could be also due to the fact that the top sail ripped. Watching some of the videos we made, if you watch someone at the helm, adapting their posture with the angle of his or her body more than 40 degrees, with a bending of the knee towards one side, you can capture the intensity of the movement, as well as the view of the sea behind: like an unreal background of seascape in motion. It really seems an unreal world.

The Atlantic was really flat during our crossing, I had the feeling that we were more attentive to the wind rather than to the waves on the Atlantic crossing. Maybe because throughout the voyage we were setting and dropping sails to catch all the wind possible (from my field notes).

That is how I felt about the four seas I have sailed across during the fieldwork.

On the other hand, the weather and the wind are dancing with you all the time. The sails, as a 'calming of the wind' (Flusser 1999: 57), are also part of the meshwork when preparing for the boat to get underway, as 'living beings' mingle, the wind forging its way through the meshwork. As Ingold puts it 'wherever there is life and habitation, the interfacial separation of substance and medium is disrupted to give way to mutual permeability and binding' (Ingold 2008b: 1803). This resonates with Alphonso Lingis' conception of the wind as a sensuous element in which we are all immersed, a 'depth... without surfaces or boundaries' (Lingis 1998: 13). In her thesis *Anthropology of the Wind* (2015), based on fieldwork in Caithness, Scotland, Rebeca Louise Senior observes, likewise, that the wind 'qualifies our movements, thus drawing our attention to a notion of life as continually regulated by the surrounding world' (Senior 2015: 108). Like the

‘canoe-bodies of the spider spirits’ (Lipset 2005: 132) that Lipset describes of the Murik, ‘where its pieces are tethered together’ (Lipset 2005: 117), on a tall ship, beyond any physical mobility or task, there is a ‘meshwork of relationships’ (Ingold 2015a: 3, 154), in which life and the voyage are one.

Time on board then, ‘intrinsic to the array of specific tasks that make up the pattern of quotidian activity of a community’ (Ingold 1995: 6), is defined by the opportunities that must be seized. In Ancient Greece the term *kairos* was used to denote the point where human action meets its natural rhythm (Vernant 1983: 295). *Kairos* comes from ‘the Greek *keirein*, which means to cut’.²² *Kairos*, a unique and unrepeatable moment-place when conditions are right for the accomplishment of a crucial action, is what makes this experience ‘present’: because every moment becomes decisive, an opportunity to set the best taskship or ‘a set of rules for success in each of the various spheres of activity’ (Vernant 1983: 283). The conditions of an ocean-sky world are materialised within the correspondences on the boat. During the voyage, agency in the ‘taskship’ is ‘distributed and modelled’ (Lipset 2005: 131). On board, through shared practices in a changing medium, the taskship is trustworthy, especially regarding the quality of familiarity in relationships. Whereas a task group is created instrumentally for a particular purpose, a taskship is about feeling, caring and growing:

The notion of journeying forth obviously puts our life on a line, a qualitative one that is unpredictable in advance and certainly not straight. It highlights and even intensifies the temporal nature of our lives (Sheets-Johnstone 2011: 123).

On board, impermanence reigns, even though with routines and the watch system we try to give ourselves a sense of permanence. The *time machine* effect can be understood in this sense as pre-scopic, or, with a slight play on words, post-shaped. Similarly, Sheets-Johnstone states that infants and their movements are not pre-linguistic, instead, it is better to admit that ‘language is post-*kinetic*’ (Sheets-Johnstone 1999, 2017: 3).

²² ‘Kairos’, *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kairos> (accessed 16/11/2019).

This rich environment is built not only by organising it with taskships and responsibilities but also with the value of individual and communal correspondences with the environment and other beings. It is explained powerfully by Fosse, the captain:

Because time at work is also time of your life. It's your time! Of course, then they should provide certain things that you ask for your own quality of life as well, and, the quality of life of the people around you.

And he went on to emphasise: 'It's not me, me, it's us, us. I see them every day as they see me, either way, I still think: we do it together'. For Ruth, when she was asked if she felt the ship was a family, she answered that the people whom she considers a family on board are those who take care of the boat by performing taskships. Performing attention to taskships as existential in this ocean-sky world improves the quality of relationships. This is shown by the crew's care of their boat:

For me, the family has to be those concerned about the ship. Once we are sailing, this becomes a community. When they catch on, you leave them to themselves.

What Ruth remarks on here is that through 'encouraging learners' own sensory-somatic engagement with the textures and qualities of the materials with which they work' (Portisch 2010: S76), the quality of performance in skills and relationships improves. In this same respect, when asked about being a family on board, Fosse answered:

That's the thing about being a family, you do not get a title out of it. A community; it is not about what or who you are. We all take part in it. We are all really busy trying to keep all our noses in the same direction!!

A home, as a *place on the move*, focuses on 'the process whereby features of the environment take on specific local meanings through their incorporation into the pattern of everyday activity of its inhabitants' (Ingold 1993: 152). On board, everyday life is about rigging and doing maintenance. It is all about a shared attentionality to take care of the boat. For the boat to stay afloat, everyone is needed. Fosse told us the way to do it:

The youngsters want to be here but they do not want to do the same thing constantly. So you also have to challenge them and yourself.

There are two ways of doing it: one is being a perfect person and the real example of how it should be. The other way is maybe just being human. And say at times, sorry, I made a mistake, I could have been a bit different, it was not really smart of me to do this. So you can do it a bit in a different way.

Building the boat together this way, a 'ship family' emerges. This does not mean that there are no problems amongst the crew, but Fosse encourages the trainees not to be afraid to say what they feel when faced with a new situation: 'I tell them, do not be afraid to say very directly what you think when we have a new situation'. As far as building this ship family or quality of relationships is concerned, Fosse feels very confident with his crew:

We also know that we can have all this fun but when something is happening, they know exactly what to do and how to do it. And that makes me comfortable playing it the way I do.

They built the boat together, and in doing so, they also built a 'ship family'. Home, in this sense, 'is that zone of familiarity which people know intimately, and in which they too, are intimately known' (Ingold 1995: 16). Words are not necessary on board to be aware of and to connect with other human and non-human beings in this ocean-sky world. All you need is movement, our mother tongue. You get to know them without being conscious of it, by attending to them, whilst entangled in a meshwork of relationships. For instance, you know who prefers their bread toasted for breakfast the same way you know which sail you have to tie down more when doing a deck check, you feel the movement while sleeping and a discontinuity in its feeling can alert you. You feel it; you do not have to think about it. Maybe it seems to you that you are not related to the others if you do not choose to be so, like when you are on shore, but on board, it doesn't work like that: proximity among the crew, the boat and its correspondence with the environment leave no hiding place for anyone.

The Effects of this Spatio-Temporal-Energetic Phenomenon

- **No Institutionalised Schooling On Board, Learning by Movement:**

It is true that having to deal with the instability of the medium can lead to situations such as the one Gabriel was joking about, allowing a youngster to go back on shore. That had happened once in my fieldwork. The crew on board may offer less attention to the new trainees if they have to deal with different groups in a short period. This is a sign of tiredness amongst the crews on the tall ships races in which I have participated. In a race, there are normally four changes of the crew in every boat during a month and a half period. That means leg stretches of a week or ten days, getting to know and having to explain all the boat mechanisms to a group of twenty or thirty. This may not seem a lot if you compare it to introductory classes in a high school or at university, but there, teachers or lecturers have students for one hour or two, not for the whole day and night with the attention they need.

In his 2002 thesis, McCulloch reports that in a case when a trainee wanted to leave, they had severe trouble in not allowing the youngster to disembark. At that moment and given the principle of the organisation he was sailing with, in which ‘the collective had priority over the individual’, they didn’t allow the youngster to leave and the trouble only increased (McCulloch 2002: 240-3). He paints the ship as an institution that didn’t allow the breaking of its boundaries: ‘the management of dissent in any Sail Training vessel lends support to the view that all Sail Training vessels can be understood as total institutions’ (McCulloch 2002: 248). That was the problem of an institutionalised model. Then again, could the boat become an institution? For McCulloch, the situation was so extreme that – drawing on Goffman (1968) – he felt justified in calling the boat a ‘total institution’. This is not what I found in my fieldwork, however. It has been challenged by other research²³, as well as by my own line of argument considering the boat as a shelter with which to inhabit the open.

I cannot deny that most research on Sail Training adopts approaches from Education or Psychology. I would argue that studies quantifying how much self-esteem, confidence, friendship and the like one can obtain in these experiences come close to

²³ See Fletcher 2017: 61-71, and the section ‘The Politics of Place’ in Chapter 3.

institutionalising the experience itself. Whenever you ask for tests prior to and after the experience, and then try to quantify the effects and apply methodologies, you are already assuming an institutionalised model of schooling, with its programmes and evaluations. This is still far from a total institution, but it comes with a kind of control in assuring that youngsters will learn something. Some boats such as the *Wylde Swan* have Winter programmes, and specialised teachers impart the high-school subjects on board. This seems like the perfect opportunity to achieve this kind of control. But then, the Captain told me: 'you have to explain to them what they are going to find here, otherwise, they will be disappointed after the experience!' This shows that something is wrong in an institutionalised system that it is working neither on land nor on board. The process of learning appears in the open rather than in institutionalised or enclosed environments with programmes to make youngsters learn. If the crew on board inhabits the open, as I am arguing in this thesis, our attention will be kept at an existential level, improvising movement both *kinetically* and *kinaesthetically*, and this makes all the difference in the processes of learning.

To return to the analysis of the taskship characteristics: insights from those living on board, or friendship with the youngsters accompanying them during the process, have allowed me to reflect on the quality of their experiences. For instance, Gabriel had these thoughts during his adaptation process:

I do not know, maybe I was afraid to be alone doing a job and doing it wrong and being unsure of what I was doing. Jesus, I'm screwing it up and what should I do? I'm all alone and what should I do? But that hasn't happened, partly because there was always somebody with me.

Taskship is part of the system of the organisation on board, and because of this, when youngsters become aware of the necessities and realities of sailing, they incorporate them as part of the shared duties within the meshwork. If we consider the work done especially by minors, displaced from their community and habitual family in an initially hostile space, with different languages, and with conditions that can become very adverse: for them, it is a whole ocean-sky world! The unique commonality lies in moving in concert, with movement as a mother tongue.

- **Magical Experience for Minors**

It seemed to me that the intensity of the impact is greatest among the youngest trainees – between 15 and 18 years old – because they are the ones who are most likely to be going through their first real experience of being away from their family for a significant amount of time. Ines told me:

Between 15 and 18 years... I spoke with Yago and Eric... what I said has come true: this experience has changed them... Anything like that at that age, instead of merely touching you or giving you the chance to touch it, it directly clobbers you... Experience just like that one hits you and it is not a bad thing, because you get a lot of things from it... There are other experiences such as parties and drunkenness on the beach that could be worse. On the other hand, for people over 23, it was the other way around: I needed it. They said that they needed to go on a voyage with people they didn't know. So for them, it is like a summer camp, ... and it ends once ashore. So for them, it has also been a very good experience but it is a different type of thing.

Getting over seasickness and being involved in life on board, minors are not only quite fearful and scared of the environment; they also feel quite pressured by the synchronisation of tasks and their implications within the meshwork. Eric also explained his feeling the first time he climbed the mast, emphasising to me how the real feeling, living it from the inside, contrasts with the image we got of them up on the mast:

The first time I climbed the mast, the truth is that I was quite overwhelmed, it was not a problem but the fact that the boat was moving got to me, because the movement you feel is triple up the mast and you can see everything below. You wear a harness but you are still scared, and you have to untie the knots to let down the sails...

And Gabriel said:

The truth is that I was a little afraid, well, not afraid, but I had respect for the sea. But I think I lost all that on the first day. Because fears really prevent you from doing things. You don't think about the sea when you are raising or untying sails.

Other shared fears that they had but that passed, from Yago:

I was initially very afraid of taking the wheel. It was night, a lot of big waves, I was going from one side to the other, I could not

get it right. I tried to stay on course but there was no way. Then the next day it came out fine.

He breathed.

And also one day it was four o'clock in the morning and they told me that I had to go up the mast to untie a sail and we were like when they started pulling on the ropes saying... please do not let us have any missing, please... don't let me leave any rope up there because if we leave one, then we have to go back up, and do everything again. Besides, I had just woken up.

To this end, and supporting the whole meaning of using taskship, not only focusing on tasks as human beings' capacities but as an entanglement of correspondences, what the ocean-sky environment really affords is a certain quality of relationships, rather than just the task itself. For instance, Gabriel told me that what struck him were all the things he had to respond to during his participation on board. Even as young as he was, just 16, he shared details about this special relationship in the interview with his mates:

I expected a lot more physical exercise but all in all it has been more mental, because on top of having to do all these jobs, then being on watch, and more than being there all day pulling and releasing ropes, which we have done too, but more than that all in all has been..., I don't know..., taking notice of others, getting up very early and being there, paying attention. Yes, you have to be there, you cannot be in the clouds, you have to be there, do everything, do it as fast as you can, finish it and the next thing and the next thing.

With this emphasis, I would also add that moving in concert affects one's whole body tactility, emotions and kinaesthetic memory, and whatever perception we have of it, it can never be understood as an effect of physical exercise, but as a way of learning or gaining wisdom through one's environment.

- **No Disabilities On Board**

I would like to conclude this section by highlighting the importance of the attention necessary for the mutuality of the meshwork, and how in this sense, not only do people with some disability feel able to engage in the experience, but also the 'ship'

component makes up for lack of autonomy that is both strongly marked and yet less recognised on land. Edu gave me an example:

It's like the guy who taught me to tie knots when he had less movement in his hands than me. Then it strikes you and you say to yourself, hey, he has less mobility in his hands and even so, he is teaching me to do something with his hands; maybe I could do more myself.

That experience shocked him. On board *Lord Nelson*, people with all kinds of disabilities can embark. They have everything adapted, platforms to go up and down from the main hold to the deck, lower bunks for the wheelchair users, a lower guardrail on deck, engraved surfaces on the deck floor for the blind. It seems that not so many adaptations are needed for the deaf because all the movement and proprioceptive or kinesthetic information they get from the tides and waves must be really enriching for them. One of these boats, *Lord Nelson*, was adapted more than 25 years ago and the other *Tenacious*, was built on purpose for any kind of disability, and both of them are owned by the Jubilee Sail Training Trust, in which the watch leaders are retired people. These two boats, like others in the fleet, are places where you can meet older people and not only youngsters from 15 to 25 years old. This is a condition for half of the crew only during tall ships races. Having said that, there are plenty of life stories in which a challenge such as a disability or the loss of a loved one, which can be difficult to get over on land, receives the attention and necessary care on board.²⁴ In this sense the quality of the relationships is raised to previously unknown and helpful levels. I have introduced the Jubilee Sail Training Trust and its special-purpose boats in order to understand the following examples. Edu had problems once getting on board:

The first or the second day of the voyage, they had to help me to eat like a five-year-old because I was not used to the boat's movement, so I could not put the spoon in my mouth without spilling everything.

Being a wheelchair user due to cerebral palsy that also affects his arms, Edu could not eat by himself on board, nor roll his cigarettes. Even though he can eat by himself on land, because his movement is more limited in his legs, he realised he needed some

²⁴ The short video *Sea Change* official film, from the Jubilee Sail Training organisation touches the theme <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FlcNR31wYXs> (15.50 min).

help once on board. The most fascinating thing of all about his story is that he did not feel disappointed about this. On land, and faced with a group of his fellows, if he had not been able to eat by himself, he would probably have avoided joining them. But on board he just thought how lucky he was to be able to eat by himself once realising that this was an achievement he had accomplished in life:

So at that time [when he realises that someone without fingers was showing him how to tie knots], you say, maybe I should be thankful because I am 21 years old and I can eat by myself. Perhaps just as I have learned to eat by myself I can learn to do many other things.

The environment on board and the crew relationships on *Lord Nelson* not only highlight the quality of the relationships but also provide real examples of going a bit further, being extended, looking in the mirror that the others (human and non-human beings) show you. Edu added:

I also saw a 98-year-old woman climbing the mast to the platform above, without any help eh... and others saying... I wouldn't even get halfway.

On board a tall ship, not only on *Lord Nelson* but also on any boat, you are together with a group of people that you do not know at first, or of whom you can get only a visual first impression. Visuality switches into hapticality once at sea. Sheets-Johnstone would say that moving in concert, as when sailing, helps to define in the most basic sense who we are:

animate forms of life with extraordinary possibilities of movement, and the capacity to become keenly aware of those possibilities (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 16).

Doris Humphrey and Merce Cunningham (1959), both pioneers of modern dance, also emphasised the relationship of *kinaesthesia* to emotions as an intimate tie between feelings and artistic expression. And the fact that movement is our mother tongue 'adds a *kinaesthetic* memory to its sensory correlate *kinaesthesia*' (Sheets-Johnstone 2017: 13-14). Shared rhythms with the crew, the boat and the sea afford different kinds of perception and movement (Ingold 2011: 115-126) as well as special kinds of relationships. The limits of mind and body are rather different on board, where perception is extended to the boat to inhabit the open. It seems that the ocean-sky

environment puts relationships in motion and open-ended correspondences of any kind, reminding us how animate we are or can be.

Conclusion

The ancient Greeks saw a close connection between travel and knowledge (Helms 1988), as the folk songs of Villy Sorensen in Denmark (Sorensen 1959) and the Rime of the Ancient Mariner (Coleridge 1983) remind us. Regarding these adventures and adversity at sea, Jake Phelan (2007) found that there is a figurative association between sailing and poetry in *The Odyssey*, a semantic similarity between sailing and song through the mastery of certain skills. Overseas journeys can be seen to be 'metaphorically implying poetic endeavours, a conflation of nautical and poetic skill and terminology' (Phelan 2007: 8). *The Odyssey* is a travel narrative that also describes 'a new way of conceptualising the relationship between travel and narrative' (Dougherty 2001: 62). This perhaps explains why many of the trainees would keep a diary once on board, where they could explain the story of the path lived together. Together with their diaries, trainees draw the stories they lived on board in maps, highlighting the main events of the voyage they have undertaken, as shown with the lived maps at the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, 'poetry', as well as personal diaries and narrative maps, 'like ancient Greek ships, must be well sewn together' (Phelan 2007: 9).

The eighteenth century saw huge interest in ocean voyage narratives. As the seas were charted and became 'knowable', they thus came to be seen as a 'more positive element' (Carlson 1986, see Phelan 2007: 10). With the Romanticism of the nineteenth century, the glorification of untamed wilderness and man's dominance over nature led to *scopic* views of the sea, while in literature, Joseph Conrad called the sea 'a place where people live' (Raban 2001: 20). But as Jake Phelan puts it, figuratively speaking, the movement of the sea, of bodies of water, 'has its own corporeal intentionality' (Phelan 2007: 11), that elicits certain responses of its own. While the land can hold us, (our bodies and perceptions), the support of the sea is never so stable. 'Our perceptions can find no similar support or roots' (Phelan 2007: 11-12).

In an ocean-sky world, change is the only constant, and the constant variability of the medium requires our full attention: we must be open to new possibilities and

experiences of any kind. Andreas Heide, captain and conservationist on the *Barba*, noted something similar when interviewed by Breanna Wilson from FORBES reviews on 17th April 2019. Asked if he could be considered a modern-day Viking, he responded:

Having spent a lot of time on the ocean you feel some connection with them. You understand them, because you use the same sailing routes, and if you read the old explanations of how they sailed to Iceland for instance, we follow the exact same route and see the same things as they would have seen, such as the bird cliffs of the Shetland Islands and Faroe Islands. Something that has taken me some time to understand that I read somewhere, was that a Viking would call their boats 'the seahorse'. I have never been so much on horses, but when you are sailing at night and sailing in somewhat rough weather, it feels like you are taming a beast or a wild stallion. You are cruising on the waves and you are feeling it shake, and you have to work it and feel it, and understand it. And I think the feelings you have being on that boat are very much the same today as they were in ancient times.

Andreas Heide sails the North Atlantic researching and diving with Orca whales. He remarked in the same interview that sometimes their research voyages take them into sailing in rough conditions and blizzards at night, navigating between breaking waves and rocks. These are extreme conditions that he keeps in mind while he is continuously improving the boat. Such knowledge, as Julie Cruikshank said,

must be demonstrated so that others can see how it is used in practice. Therefore, it is a relational concept, more like a verb than a noun, more like a process than product, and it cannot easily be construed as a written, formally encoded, reified product. Once it is, and once it becomes authorized in this way, it begins to accumulate different meanings (Cruikshank 1998: 70).

With the process of sailing, all crew members attend to one another whilst moving in concert, inhabiting the boat, experiencing an ocean-sky world while taking care of themselves and the boat. Mutuality is extended from the boat to the sea, and correspondingly, from the sea to the boat and each member of the crew. Taskships are not limited to living things, rather rhythms of human activities resonate with a whole host of other rhythmic phenomena. The boat, with its directionality and intentionality, becomes an extension of the bodies of all its crew members, voyaging in place.

Therefore bodies, like the boat, are continuously adapting themselves to changing circumstances, both *kinetically* and *kinaesthetically*. This process of inhabiting the boat as a place on the move is 'fundamentally temporal' (Ingold 1993: 157-161) and existentially impermanent. The youngsters are not aware of what they are achieving until some time later, as Yago states:

My limits are wider. I do not know how it has changed me, but it has changed me, it is not just sailing, it is much more, sailing is just what you think you are going to do.

They keep involved and participating with tasks on board even though they feel displaced at the beginning and with the fear of not doing it well. This becomes a big world for them. They can explain it like Gabriel did:

If someone asked me I would not say that it was just a positive experience but it was so complete that if I had just had a good time, it would not have been so rewarding. I have got rid of many fears.

The organisation on board, and in particular the creation of the taskships, must be seen as important habits established to enable trainees to survive without previous experience of a sailing voyage in an ocean-sky world. During this voyage, these habits and practices become part of the youngster's life experience, serving not just as a rite of passage but as a way of developing far broader skills with which to survive unpredictable occurrences. Life is continually regulated by the surrounding world and sailing becomes a learning experience in a place on the move, in which the only commonality is the experience of moving in concert, with hapticality and *kinaesthesia* as the mother tongue. To conclude, Keith Basso's statement is particularly pertinent:

In this convulsive age of uprooted populations and extensive diasporas, holding onto places, and sensing fully the goodness contained therein, is becoming increasingly difficult, and in years to come, it may everywhere be regarded as a privilege and a gift (Basso 1996: xvi).

CHAPTER 5. MUTUALITY OF SAILING: A KIND OF KINSHIP

It is because we dwell that we build (Ingold 2000)

Sail Training and Sea Culture in Different Environments

If we look at Sail Training in the Nordic countries, the stories of those who participate are often related to family traditions. On my first experience of Sail Training on board a Swedish ship, the *Constantia*, in the summer of 2011, I noticed that, for them, the ship was a meeting place for extended families, as Ole Rud Nielsen tells us in his article 'Family Sailing in the Archipelago, between Finland and Sweden' (2006). Sail Training as a youth experience in the North is both recognised as a tradition that goes from parent to child, and as one that can be done by volunteering in a nearby organisation that has a ship. In Sweden, there are many associations, foundations and even educational programs in public secondary education schools of this kind. Classic sailboats are highly valued socially, and besides organisations promoting these experiences for young people, it is common to go out for a sail during the weekend with the family.

In the Netherlands, Captain Fosse assures us, there is a big sailing culture, because much of the country is underwater or borders the sea, and also because of its history. He notes that while in the countries of Southern Europe, history reflects that religion and the state were major factors in promoting expeditions at sea, in the Netherlands both Protestants and the Jewish community used sailing and ship building for all kinds of trading. For instance, when Vasco da Gama set out from Lisbon to find the spice route to India in 1497, and when in 1519 Ferdinand Magellan embarked on the first world circumnavigation from Seville¹, the Netherlands was part of the Spanish empire.² But in 1581, the Northern Dutch provinces declared independence. A principal motive was the wish to practise Protestant Christianity, then forbidden under Spanish rule.

¹ See also *La Casa de Contractación* and the master template assemblage called *Padrón Real* in the section 'Skills of Navigation: This is the Point Between the Major and the Minor' in Chapter 6.

² In 1477 the Netherlands was united to Austria and its possessions passed to the crown of Spain by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy and the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick III (Blom et al. 2007).

Many Jews also migrated to the Netherlands in pursuit of religious freedom. There, they engaged in sailing and ship building, and undertook trading. Trading through sailing was seen as a way of life in this area. Much later on, after the First World War, when commerce was on the wane, many sailing boats from the North remained in the canals. And in the 1960's, a new movement to recover these boats started when some students restored them, organising charter voyages to pay their costs. Between the 1970's and the 1990's, some regulations were imposed and the running and maintenance costs increased, as this movement had expanded to 500 boats of 20 to 40 metres. A friend of Fosse's, the captain with whom I crossed the Atlantic, owned one of these boats, and took part in such events as regattas, and races. However, after some charter experiences in a bigger-luxury boat, they decided to start the *Wyldde Swan* Sail Training project. Many others did the same in the Netherlands, and many people had long and complex relationships with these boats, revisiting them throughout their lives. These ships were built together within an extended community: this can be seen in the example of the *Heraclitus*, the research boat I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis.

Looking at the stories of different Sail Training associations, it is evident that each country has different backgrounds in Sail Training as well as different options about the rewards of a sea culture. In the North of Europe, at least in Finland and Sweden, sailing serves as an important form of sociability that can be enjoyed after the winter season. When ice is melting, spring arrives and with spring comes the sailing. Sailing, in this context, means the companionship of those sharing the experience, in the words of the Association of Sail Trainees in Finland (SNUPU): *Kaikki paitsi purjehdus on turha!* which means: 'everything except sailing is pointless'! When together with the Atlantic crossing crew I was in Finland on the first weekend of April 2017, at a SNUPU mentor's weekend, I wanted to find out if sailing was something inherent in their culture.

These crew members explained to me that relationships and sharing with others are implicit in sailing. Jarkko said that there are more boats than people in Finland. Even though not all of these are sailing boats, Jarkko was highlighting a significant sailing culture, shaped by its geographical characteristics. Another crew member, Anni, told me that her grandparents had a summer place or cabin on an island. They used a sailing boat to get there

and her Dad used to participate in a training ship when he was young. Later on, he encouraged Anni and her brothers to join them too. For Anni, what happens on the boat is not that different from what defines Finnish culture. She says that what happens on board comes from a wider farming culture of people helping each other in the rather harsh weather conditions. Her grandparents had a farm in a village of ten houses, in the area of Lapua. The villagers first went to harvest one farmer's fields together, and then the next, and so on. Maybe it all took one or two days with the help of everybody. The houses provided lunch for the people helping them. They couldn't have survived without this teamwork.³ Anni said:

Nowadays, people are getting wealthier and wealthier, so everybody takes care of themselves, but still, Finnish people are quite eager to join some volunteer communities outside their ordinary work. People organise quite a lot of events, setting up group funding together because they enjoy it.

I think it is quite defining of Finnish culture, maybe it is a good way to do it because Finns as a nation can be quite shy and introverted, so this is a good way to do something together, and then you can still feel part of the community and do something with others.

I was struck by the short definition of Finnish culture and personality provided by Anni: like their environment, they stay silent and listen. During the weekend I got to know most of those participating in the Atlantic crossing, and other SNUPU members, most of them women. The Finnish Atlantic crossing crew was funded as a youth activity by the centenary of the independence of Finland, which was celebrated in 2017. The crew on board was interviewed by the local radio about their relationship with sailing, and both good and bad stories emerged. When asked about their first sailing memories, the answers they offered were fascinating (extracted from the local radio interviews):

Jonna answered that she kept an awesome photograph from the nineties when she was about four years old. She was sitting on the chart table of her family's Sea-Finn sailboat looking outside through the large windows of the cabin. It was the best place on the boat, she said, to watch for birds or for rocks with her Dad, when they were a bit off the shipping lanes. She had lots of sailing memories but only

³ Pitt-Rivers also mentions the system of cooperation between neighbouring farmers in the south-west of France, in which great stress is always laid on the absence of any accounting: '*je ne suis pas regardant*' but the helping hand (*coup de main*) of the neighbour is nonetheless a vital element in the economic system. It can be viewed as an insurance system and it is this which makes reckoning impossible and lays a premium on the value of goodwill (Pitt-Rivers 1973: 97-8).

one has stuck with her when her little brother slipped and ended up in the sea. Her Mum rescued him from the water, so the story had a happy end.

Anni, who was the promoter of the Atlantic crossing within SNUPU also had some bad memories of sailing in her childhood, such as being terrified of the wind while sailing too fast and of the boom because it could knock anyone off the deck at any moment!

Julia was seven years old when she joined the Sea Scouts⁴ although she really took an interest in sailing at the age of fifteen when her Sea Scout group acquired a new boat.

Sailing did not seem that common when two girls from inland were asked about it. However, in Finland, the environment offers its inhabitants a stunning spectacle. When they can see water, it means that spring is coming, and it is time to be together with others after the dark and lonely winter. In Jarkko's experience, his family had a summer cottage on an island, so 'every morning they go there to get potatoes and whatever from the farm and take them to the market on the other island'. For him 'that's the traditional way of doing it'. And he enjoyed giving me more details about it: 'they do it as long as they can until it is iced up and usually they go with the boat as long as the ice doesn't get so thick that they cannot move anymore'. Then they have a sledge on board the boat and when the boat is stuck they just leave it on the ice and continue with the sledge. And again in the spring time when the ice is thin enough, they go back to the boat again. It was obvious but shocking to hear that they have to reach their cabins by boat in summer, but that they can walk there in winter. There is not one way but many to go somewhere, and that goes for the country's people too.

This sailing past amongst the SNUPU group, related mostly to their geography, was also emphasised by Fosse as a factor regarding the sailing culture of the Dutch. In the Finnish and the Swedish archipelagos, as in the Netherlands, young people learn sailing practices 'in the company of others more knowledgeable than themselves, and hearing their stories, novices learn to connect the events and experiences of their own lives to the lives of

⁴ During my extended fieldwork, I got to know that there is only one group of Sea Scouts in all Spain: they are the Azimut's, in Barcelona. I got to know them because when organising the APV in Barcelona for the TSR 2016, they offered their house to the other young people coming from abroad. We all had the chance to do a workshop on board the *Far Barcelona* during the weekend (see figure 17 in Chapter 1).

predecessors, recursively picking up the strands of these past lives in the process of spinning out their own' (Ingold 2009b: 200).

The Kin Substance: Mutual Attention and Memory



Figure 71: Getting the ship's position with a bearing compass. Irish sea, *Pelican of London* 2012.

In the current chapter I shall highlight the concept of 'amity', explored by Meyer Fortes in his book *Kinship and Social Order* (1969). Amity is a property of the quality of the relationships between kin. Meyer Fortes introduced the term as a succinct rendering of the 'set of normative premises...focused upon a general and fundamental axiom, which Pitt-Rivers (1973)⁵ called the axiom of prescriptive altruism'. The axiom of prescriptive altruism is called into existence by the initial assumption that:

every man, individually or in solidarity with a collectivity with which he identifies himself, seeks his own interest and advancement, be it directly or through the medium of reciprocity, immediate or deferred, direct or by some system of exchange as complex and circuitous as the kula of the Trobriand Islanders and their neighbours (Pitt-Rivers 1973: 89).

⁵ This article by Pitt-Rivers (1973) 'The kith and the kin' to which I refer here, is quoted in its first edition. However it is also included in the collection of Pitt-Rivers' work edited by Da Col and Shryock (Pitt-Rivers 2017b).

Fortes ascribes 'the axiom of amity to the realm of moral values in contraposition to the realm of jural values ordered to the politico-jural domain' (Fortes 1969: 251). And within this moral domain, as happens within the mutuality of sailing, participants serve as sentient beings in relation not only to humans but also to non-human beings, whereas 'in the politico-jural domain, the actor is a right-and-duty bearing person' (Pitt-Rivers 1973: 96). Moral values are seated in the sentiments and conscience of the individual and they cannot be induced by coercion, for free will is their very essence. They:

cease to be moral once sentiments become subjected to jural concepts of right and obligation, and when the moral autonomy of the individual is subjected to the judgements of society' (Pitt-Rivers 1973: 96).

All these 'amiable' relations then, imply a moral commitment to feel, or at least to feign, sentiments which lead the individual to actions of altruism and generosity. The moral commitment is to forego self-interest in favour of another, 'to sacrifice oneself *for the sake* of someone else' (Pitt-Rivers 1973: 90). At stake here is the difference between morality as commitment and morality as obligation. The issue arises when the will, whose freedom we are talking about here, belongs to the individual not as a self-contained entity (in opposition to 'society' as a collectivity) but as a being constituted in and through its relations with others.

Therefore, within a meshwork of relationships on board, the inner feeling-for-one-another or moral commitment generates the affect without which the taskship could not function. Bereft of affect, no judgement carries practical or motivational force, as Fernando emphasised in remarks cited in the introduction (pg.25-26). For him, the boat becomes a work of art when, with non-financial exchange, ship associations depend on the willingness of people to stay on board in order to maintain it.

Within kinship relationships it is important to differentiate between what Ingold defines as the maze and the labyrinth: 'Kinship is a labyrinth, affinity a maze' (2015a: 154). Lines of kinship are in the midst of things, in a process of anthropogenesis, of the making-in-growing of persons, they run 'in-between' the points or nodes that affinity joins up. Affinity differs from kinship in that what it offers is strategy and choice between relationships; whereas the paths of kinship, of the 'in-between', are followed unconditionally as the only direction possible without coming to a dead end (Ingold 2015a: 154-5).

Kin persons attend to one another, in the sense of abiding with each other, caring for them and doing their bidding. As Sahlins notes, after Schneider, 'kinship consists of mutual relations of being, participation in one another's existence' (Sahlins 2013: 18). This mutual attention, or amity, is axiomatic:

which is to say that as an unconditional commitment to a life undergone with others, kinship holds in abeyance those particular interests that lie between others and the self (Ingold 2015a: 154).

On board, where life is lived with others, everyone carries a responsibility for the functioning of the taskship. But this responsibility rests on the responsiveness of members of the crew towards one another – that is, on the correspondence of the in-between – which is fundamental to any system of law and ethics (Ingold 2015a: 154-5).

The boat is a place on the move, and when sailing it creates its own bundle of relationships, not only in building the boat but also in gaining experiences from every voyage, reflected in the narratives and memories not only of crew members but also of the boat itself, for every boat owns the people who sail on it. As Anne Christine Taylor notes, drawing on her work with Amazonian peoples, memory 'is essentially linked to kinship' (Taylor 1966: 206). Indeed, in some sense it is 'kinship itself', as Vilaça observes for the Wari, who consider their body as constituted by affects and memories, such that the constitution of kin is based to a high degree 'on living alongside each other day-to-day and on reciprocally bestowed acts of affection' (Vilaça 2005: 449).

This affection or amicability, in turn, establishes relations of trust. Niklas Luhmann distinguishes between trust and confidence, on the grounds that 'trust requires a previous engagement on one's part', whereas in the case of confidence 'you will react to disappointment by external attribution' (Luhmann 2008: 97). Confidence belongs to the maze, to those exterior frameworks of society that one has to navigate but cannot control; and where confidence breaks down it is to these frameworks that blame is attributed. Trust, however, belongs to the labyrinth. It depends on expectations we have regarding the likely behaviour of others to whom we relate, who nevertheless retain the freedom not to live up to them (Gambetta 2008: 217-8). Relations on board are above all of trust rather than confidence.

The relationship with one's first Sail Training boat is rather special. After my first experience sailing with them, *Constantia* invited me to join them again on several occasions. Having refused four offers, I visited them in May 2012 for a sailing weekend in the archipelago near Stockholm. That time the boat was with a group of refugees who were spending the weekend on it. The refugee sail trainees were very reluctant to answer any of my questions when I said I was starting my research in anthropology. In fact, they advised me to leave Spain and move to Sweden, because there are fewer people living there and I would have a better life. It seems that once they had decided to become Swedish citizens, they couldn't return to their countries of origin. They were all youngsters, without any other family links in Sweden, apart from those from their refugee centres. I cannot say that I was doing proper fieldwork at that moment because they had not previously been advised of my presence as a researcher. I was just someone else in the 'ship family'. That weekend I got to know the owner of the boat, who also came for the sailing, and to play his accordion. We met other sailing boat crews in the archipelago. They were doing the same as us, enjoying the weekend. *Constantia's* crew became very excited when we were to moor on an island and *Ellen* was already moored there. *Ellen* is *Constantia's* sister ship.⁶ External similarities amongst boats attract the attention and interests of their communities. They enjoy sharing their experiences and adventures sailing with them, the whole building process and the creative solutions found. They are, in a sense, bonded too.

⁶ S/Y ELLEN The vessel was built in 1897-1898 by shipbuilder C. Bom at Thurø shipyard in Denmark. C. Bom and M. Petersen were owners and skippers until 1918. The ship was sold on March 28, 1918, to Albert Ch Rasmussen in Hundstrup. From there, the ship was sold to Sweden, on March 3, 1920, by the chief Johan Hjelm in Resö. At the change of ownership, William was renamed, Ellen. In 1969–1970 the vessel was sold and used as a leisure vessel from the port of Karlshamn. On June 12, 1992, the vessel was purchased by the foundation S/Y Ellen, which mainly consisted of parents at the Waldorf schools Ellen Keyskolan in Spånga and Kristofferskolan in Bromma. www.syellen.se

T/S CONSTANTIA was built in 1908 by Niels Hansen in Marstal, Denmark as a sailing cargo vessel without an engine. She was sold to Norway in 1916 and became a motor vessel. Sold to Sweden in 1921 and here she got her rig back. She sailed with cargo until 1968. In 1988 restoration was begun and since 1996 she has sailed as a Sail Training vessel. <https://www.constantia.se/>

Co-residence and Shared Resources



Figure 72: Preparing dinner on board *Vahine*, Atlantic crossing 2017.

In this section, ethnographies such as of the Pintupi by Myers (1991), of the Maori by Johansen (1954) and of the Trukese by Marshall (1977), in which co-residence together with the sharing of available resources for subsistence has been a condition of kinship, will help me to show how on board, kinship is about feeling, caring and growing with others.

Katty Smith, with whom I sailed on *Pelican of London* in 2012, and whom I met again as a crew member on the *Blue Clipper* during the Atlantic crossing in 2017, wrote:

I would say the thing I learned most is how simple life can be at sea. On land, we have so many options for things to do, people to see and things to buy, but when you're at sea you have limited things you can do with your time. You have a small group of people that you share the experience with and become very close to, and you don't have the opportunity to buy anything, so you make do with what you have and become very resourceful.⁷

This becoming resourceful through the relationships on board, with the shared taskship serving as an important focus of socialisation, can be extended to all the apparently

⁷ 'An emotional insight into how an ocean expedition can change your life', in *Wired for Adventure* website. Published on 25th January 2018. <https://www.wiredforadventure.com/biggest-lessons-learned-ocean-expedition/>

limited resources on board. My last period of the fieldwork was carried out during the Atlantic crossing, in which eight boats participated. Once we reached Bermuda and I interviewed the different crews, I realised that every boat had a different story about the voyage. The lack of fresh water was a problem on the *Jolie Brise*. *Jolie Brise* is a class B tall ship built in 1913, with a hull only 17 metres long. The weather during the Atlantic crossing was exceptionally warm and the wind very light, which meant thirsty people and more days at sea. Even though they had provided all parts of the boat with extra barrels of fresh water, they had to start serious restrictions on the use of fresh water in the middle of the Atlantic because there was a real danger it would not last until the end of the voyage. A young captain in his twenties had to deal with middle-aged women who were taking part in the experience as first-time trainees, and who were less sensitive than the minors to the possible lack of resources. The main discussion amongst the crew, in which they had to decide how to proceed with this lack, took place there, somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean.

Everyone became conscious of the necessity, but the crew members I interviewed afterwards said that it was not easy for everyone, because 'new trainees' such as the middle-aged women thought that it just could not be possible to be in a situation like that. The other crew members felt that these older trainees complained more than they helped finding a solution. For these older trainees, it was the fault of the boat organisation that they were not properly prepared. This is what happens when sailing, you are exposed to many new situations that question the way you understand life. It seems strange that a group of youngsters together with a young captain had to convince a group of middle-aged women who perhaps had the idea that a sailing experience would be more fun and pleasant. It is rare nowadays to find ourselves in situations like this, but at sea or in smooth spaces, where you are exposed to extreme conditions, it is quite possible. What strikes you most, being at sea and involved in situations like this, is not the situation itself but the way people react to it. On land, in the same situation, the women would have complained to the organisation to get them to supply more water. The idea of sharing the problem of what to do with others would not have arisen. We are used to complaining in everyday life, especially if those to complain about are a group of young people, and with young people in this case in charge, the complaint itself could even have been presented in terms of their being irresponsible.

More similarities about co-residence and limited resources can be found between the group of fellows on board the *Jolie Brise* who faced a lack of fresh water, and the way Myers speaks of the band among the Pintupi people of the Australian Central Desert.⁸ Pintupi bands, who live together, cooperate in the quest for food, and share resources, adhered to the concept of 'one countryman'. Pintupi life was made possible by a set of productive relations centred on the limited supply of fresh water, with rites of entry to control these resources, and with mobility among bands (Myers 1991: 71-102). Pintupi people travel, Myers states, to 'meet others at a water hole, accompany them for a while, then split off and travel on' (Myers, 1991: 94). This way of belonging to the same 'one countryman' influenced what was expected, which was to live and cooperate with a variety of persons and groups (Myers, 1991: 91). This is a system organised into bands, comparable to crews on tall ships. There is the specific band or group of fellows on every ship, (like a band that controls the same water source among the Pintupi), but people can also move between bands, just as they can among the Pintupi.

Denial of access is uncommon, but there is an access one has to ask for, as when I moved from *Blue Clipper* to *Wylde Swan* in Gran Canaria, as I explained in Chapter 1. For the Pintupi, 'country and owning groups overlap, and individuals are able to affiliate with more than one group, each defined by ownership of a commonplace' (Myers 1991: 90). They must 'ask', and 'one-countryman' links make it possible to do so. This process constitutes an etiquette of 'asking' to be admitted to the group and to its rights of resource use (Myers, 1991: 99). The composition of bands reflects various developmental processes in Pintupi social life as well as the constraints of resource availability. They move in relation to individuals' life cycles. Young men travel more and often reside with their wives' relatives; old men stay more consistently in their 'own country' (Myers 1991: 90).

People who want to join a group do not simply walk into its camp, no matter how close their relationships are. They announce their presence by lighting a fire at some distance from the camp and then waiting there for members of the camp to identify them and bring them into the camp (Myers, 1991: 99). To embark on a tall ship requires one to ask in the same way,

⁸ According to Stanner (1965) "'band" has been used to refer to an on-the-ground residential aggregation of persons for economic, land-exploiting purposes. These groups have been analytically distinguished from "clans" or "descent groups" of persons who own or control land as ritual property' (1965: 16-17).

because resources are limited on the boat just as they are in the desert, and a certain control is required to make those resources available to everyone. On the boat, the crew needs to know the number of people for whom to provide the food and fresh water necessary for a leg. I mentioned in Chapter 2 how the different crews, such as Latvians on *Spaniel* and Finns on *Vahine*, discussed and prepared in advance a proper diet calendar for the Atlantic crossing. What you do not procure on shore, you do not have at sea.

The boat, as a shelter, is a place in which people and resources need to be distributed. For this reason, I had more trouble switching boats, once the registration was completed, than if I had asked from the outset to sail on one boat. As mentioned above, in Gran Canaria, embarking for the Atlantic crossing for the last part of my fieldwork, the idea of asking for access was even trickier than before. My request to switch crews seemed to cause a big problem between the two ships' captains. Myers says of the Pintupi that access was freely granted, 'but people still must know how many persons were exploiting an area and where they were to plan suitable strategies of exploitation' (Myers, 1991: 98). I suspect that the strategies of exploitation were the problem in my case, because, on the *Blue Clipper*, on which I was originally supposed to embark, they had already informed the crew that I would be there for the crossing. However, it was really a last-minute decision to join the *Wylde Swan*, and as the captain of the *Blue Clipper* didn't agree to let me leave, there was a bit of trouble that had to be sorted out. It was finally solved with the agreement to restock the *Wylde Swan* with groceries in Bermuda in order not to reimburse the fee I had paid to be on board.

The interesting concept from the Pintupi is that of 'countryman': countryman are those who together allow access to the band. One man considered various people to be his 'one countryman' because they would travel together, even though their homelands may be separate (Myers 1991: 91). Janet Carsten reflects on this idea in her study with the Malays, in which those of the same hearth are kin. For this, she appeals to 'the sibling set' of their ancestors who came to the island sailing in the same canoe (Carsten 1995b: 223).⁹ The idea of countrymen or 'the siblings from the same canoe' allows this analysis to proceed into a further section about how kinship develops through co-residence. In this respect, J. Prytz

⁹ See Chapter 3, the section 'Inhabiting the Sea'.

Johansen explains that amongst the Maori, the kinship group is more than a fellowship, it is a unit. The power of this is apparent whenever revenge is taken.

In insult and revenge, it is not a question of one person confronting another, but of a kinship group confronting another kinship group [...]. The kinship group is one big 'I' (Johansen 1954: 37).

Of course, the Maori is not only a kinsman but also an individual. The important problem is the relation between these two aspects of the person. This relation is generally expressed in the word *manaaki*, which is the individual Maori 'I' that owes the kinship 'I'. In a way, it is an internal affair, which makes it impossible to tell whether a Maori shows *manaaki* for his own sake or for that of the others. He does so for the kinship 'I' (Johansen 1954: 38). Going back to my earlier discussion of Pitt-Rivers, Fortes and the axiom of amity, this 'I' is also the 'individual' whose will is constituted within a nexus of relations of moral sentiment, which in turn are the foundation for trust (rather than confidence).

The Pintupi concept of countrymen can be compared with the Maori Kinship 'I'; a parallel can also be drawn here to the agreement between the two boats to allow my transfer, as well as the solution for the different problems emerging amongst the crew.

Aboriginal people themselves emphasise the positive qualities of exchange, of increasing societal intensity by taking turns hosting larger groups, and of enabling greater overall efficiency of resource use (Myers, 1991: 96).

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, different backgrounds and nationalities on board are enmeshed in the maintenance of the boat; it is the care for the boat that unites them. Crew members themselves create a rich environment, complementing the 'ship family' and their successful sailing experiences with practices from different cultures and ways to do things differently. In Finland, when I attended the mentor's weekend, one of the three workshops was to discuss how to deal with possible friction the relationships on board.¹⁰ In other tall ships, like *Atyła*, they invite a coach who works with the whole crew every season, to make them aware of the process of growth of relationships. The safety of the group and the boat needs to be protected, and must not be overshadowed by trouble amongst the crew. So the coach on board, or the mentor in charge of solving day-to-day frictions, needs to find solutions in a

¹⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the other two workshops were those on 'meals' and 'environment'.

figure like the 'countryman' of the Pintupi. Once on board, you are one more member of the group, so that when friction arises, solutions need to be found within the group that work for all.

On board, there is a meshwork of correspondent relationships that makes the boat a ship 'family', a community of fellows voyaging together. Amongst members of the crew, solving difficulties is geared towards the common goal of attending to the boat and its sailing, as well as attending to the other boats nearby. For instance, the crew of *Jolie Brise*, who had a serious lack of fresh water in the middle of the Atlantic, had to deal with their own challenges until they could request help from other boats. On the ship I was on, we only heard about their problem once we had arrived in Bermuda. However, on the *Wylde Swan*, we got an emergency call from the *Blue Clipper*. They had a problem with the pump system, and we were closest to them and most capable of helping them. Our captain did not hesitate to tell us to back-track in order to help, but after one hour of sailing back the way we came, with that incredible lack of wind, they let us know that they had solved the problem!

It is widely accepted that this is the nature of life at sea, but its challenges were evident in the example of the middle-aged women on *Jolie Brise*, who encountered problems that would never have been expected on land. But if the boat needs to stop, whether to get supplies or to help someone else, as in the examples above, there is a breakdown of the actual way of living. Interestingly, examples of this kind of breakdown can be seen in life on land during circumstances when natural disasters occur, such as floods, earthquakes, fires or other extreme climatic phenomena.

The Boat and Its Extended Relationships: Womblike Hollowness

The name of the Finnish boat I sailed on, *Vahine*, is derived from *wahine*, a word that came into English in the late 18th century from the language of the Maori; it originally meant a Maori woman, especially a wife (introduced in 1773, Polynesian woman). The word also means a woman in Hawaiian and Tahitian, though spelled 'vahine' in the latter.¹¹ Additionally, Raymond Firth (1961) states that *Uri wahine* in Tikopia, or descendants on the

¹¹ 'wahine' *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wahine> (accessed 22 December 2019). As the surfing culture solidified in the mid-20th century, and as more and more girls and women grabbed their boards, 'wahine' took on the new meaning of 'female surfer'.

female side, can be contrasted with the *Uri tane*, descendants on the male side, as in the case of the corresponding terms in Samoa (Firth 1961: 582). In the case of marriage of a woman into another tribe, it is said 'the fire follows the woman' (*ahi tere wahine*). This is an allusion to the metaphor of the hearth as symbolic of land interests. When the land is occupied the fire is burning, it is the *ahi ka*. When the occupation is neglected, then the claim becomes *mataotao*, cold (Firth 1961: 583). The Malays studied by Carsten (2004) acquire the same 'blood' by living in the same house and eating from the same hearth, 'even when those who live together are not linked by ties of sexual procreation' (Sahlins 2013: 8-9). Here the analogy of the hearth to the boat as a home place is clear when she appeals to their sailing ancestors.

The boat as a shelter is experienced as a shared mobile home, in which the quality of relationships is analogous to flow. For example, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2002: 3) describes sailing as an optimal experience: 'the sailor holding a tight course feels the wind whip through her hair', therefore 'when the boat lunges through the waves like a colt; sails, hull, wind and sea are humming a harmony that vibrates in the sailor's veins'. It can also be compared with the feeling of a painter 'when the colours on the canvas begin to set up a magnetic tension with each other' and a new living form, a new thing 'takes shape in front the astonished creator'; or to the feeling of a father when 'his child responds to his smile for the first time' (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 3). Such events do not occur only when the external conditions are favourable:

People who have survived concentration camps or who have lived through near-fatal physical dangers often recall that in the midst of their ordeal they experienced extraordinary rich epiphanies in response to such simple events as hearing the song of a bird in the forest, completing a hard task, or sharing a crust of bread with a friend (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 3).

Anni also explained it as the two sides of the sailing experience:

In general, I remember the storms or maybe the feeling when the storm is over and how relieved you are or how much you can appreciate it like a piece of chocolate that you can finally eat when everything becomes normal again. However, when sailing, there is also the joy if you feel that the wind is just making the boat fly, and you gain speed, ya then you feel very happy.

Let us imagine the living boat, then, not as a self-contained object like a ball that can propel itself from place to place, but as an ever-ramifying bundle of lines of growth. The Sail Training community is extended around the world due to the narratives attached to the boats. In correspondence, these narratives are open-ended because communities are continually building their boats.

The boat represents a meshwork of open relationships amongst human and non-human beings that some captains define as a womb, which allows youngsters to grow up. The boat as an entanglement of relationships, a meshwork of peoples together with their environment, will never come to an end. From the perspective of Roy Wagner (Wagner 1977: 624), one might even consider the idea of an original 'analogue flow', an impulse to extend the ontogenic mutuality of being (that is, kinship) to all other beings. The boat as a womblike hollowness, never finished and always in construction, will contain open-ended lines: 'children of a union, who "knit together" as the biblical psalm has it, in the same "womb", are like lines that eventually go their separate ways' (Ingold 2015a: 20). Tying themselves with lines extending from other knots, they spread the mesh of kinship far and wide:

Perhaps the tragedy of kinship is that its lines, bound at source, can only grow apart; its promise lies in the discovery of other lines to bind with, and the new life that issues from them. Togetherness breeds otherness, amity alienation, and vice versa (Ingold 2015a: 20).

An explosive experience, similar to the spreading mesh immediately after the voyage, happened amongst the German crew of *Peter von Danzig* once they reached Bermuda. During the group interview, they told me that unexpectedly, once they reached Bermuda, after spending five weeks in the tiny place that was their boat, and mostly trying their best with the sailing, they needed to split up, and have some time away from the rest, to be by themselves.

On the basis of his research among the Iatmul, famously described in his book *Naven*, Gregory Bateson compared kinship relations to the rhizome of a lotus. Iatmul people saw their community not as a closed system, but as an infinitely proliferating and ramifying stock (Bateson 1958: 248-9). Iatmul 'assign kinship terms on the basis of extension from the family rather than of classification' (Bateson 1958: 249). Viveiros de Castro also presents us with a

portrait of Amazonian peoples who have, in his terms, a 'non-biological theory of life'¹² (Bamford and Leach 2009: 14). To redefine kinship in this manner allows us to understand it as a varied and locally constituted process. Amongst the Pintupi, kinship is determined less by blood and genealogy than by the places they share, i.e., the camps where they stay together:

the underlying idea is that co-residence in a camp is the spatial expression of a group of kin, shared activity constitutes people as related (Myers 1991: 92).

On board a tall ship, in the same way that Pintupi people are related as a locally constituted process, proximities are a characteristic when sharing and moving with the same rhythm while there are always duties to carry out together. Everyone participating in building the boat is considered 'ship family'. Even though not everyone has the same role and level of expertise at sea, so that some are better qualified than others to do certain tasks (as also happens among the Iatmul), there is a lack of chieftainship or hierarchy.

In his *Essay on the Gift*, Marcel Mauss (1954) compared human beings in society to 'octopuses and anemones in the sea: we see groups of men, and active forces, submerged in their environments and sentiments' (Mauss 1954: 78).¹³ To be immersed in the environment without being swept away, it is necessary to put out a line and to 'let it correspond with others human and non-human beings' (Ingold 2015a: 154-5). Following Bateson, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) likened the resulting bundle of lines to a rhizome, though Ingold prefers the image of the fungal mycelium (Ingold 2003: 302-306). Mycologist Alan Rayner, in his book *Degrees of Freedom* (1997), sets out an alternative biology of life in fluid space, in which boundaries are never absolute and nothing ever fully self-contained or modular; he analyses the mycelium as ever-ramifying and growing. Describing the dynamic relationship between trees and fungi, Rayner¹⁴ speaks of mycorrhizal fungi as sources of 'friendship' and 'parental care' which establish channels of communication between plants of the same or different species, or young and old, coexisting in a common underground network that supports each in communion with every other (Rayner 1997, 2009: 13, 15).

¹² Though of course, it is only 'non-biological' if you equate 'biology' with genetic inheritance rather than ontogenic development.

¹³ See also 'Octopuses and Anemones' in Ingold 2015a: 9-12.

¹⁴ Alan Rayner is based at the Department of Biology and Biochemistry at the University of Bath.

Likewise on tall ships, despite different levels of expertise and ways of performing taskship, all become equal on board, exchanging mutual protection and goodwill from which new relations emerge. Just as on the inter-island voyages described in ethnographies such as those of Malinowski (1922) and Munn (1977)¹⁵, the boat inhabits the in-between, and provides possibilities of transformation and growth as the captains of my fieldwork said.

The Boat is In-Between: Mutuality of Sailing

Born in Rarotonga as a sailor, and later having done research sailing with indigenous people, David H. Lewis decided to find out more about route-finding and spatial orientation. So he carried out extensive fieldwork with some Pintupi informants on 'land navigation' in the Western desert. The idea that people find their way around on land as at sea was not proved in his opinion, especially because he discovered that at night the Pintupi were unable to follow the terrain as navigators were able to find their way at sea, and that the stars played no role in orientation for them (Lewis 1976: 273). He goes on to say:

Detailed knowledge of the myth-reinforced geography of the Dreamtime tracks, with their 'camps' and nodal sacred sites, all real places whose physical features are often mentioned in the songs and stories, greatly expands their terrestrial horizons [...] By 'topographical gossip' then, and enquiries of people who have visited the area in question, or who live there, the generalities of Dreamtime lore can be rendered specific; above all, in terms of water (Lewis 1976: 274).

Therefore, even though Lewis himself supports Gibson's idea that 'being oriented requires, over and above the visual world, a frame of reference or a topographical schema' (Lewis 1976: 262, see Gibson 1950: 230), the fact is that the main topographical orientation system tested by him amongst Aboriginal people was enmeshed within kinship relationships. In fact, the term 'topographical gossip' - later coined by Widlok (1997: 325), and to which I referred in Chapter 4¹⁶ when describing the narrative maps created by trainees - comes originally from an article by Lewis (1976) in which he compares his navigational experience at sea with that experienced amongst the Pintupi in the desert. In their topographical gossip:

¹⁵ Referred in Chapter 3, in the section 'A Transformational Power'. See also Ingold 2015a: 121; Malinowski 1922: 124-145.

¹⁶ See the section 'The Environment Is Never Complete: Wayfinding or Seafaring' in Chapter 4.

the Pintupi sang the Dreaming of every rock outcrop, creek-bed or plain, hour after hour, all day as we drove through the country [...]. Constant reference was made, in every conceivable context, to the network of Dreaming tracks that criss-crossed the land, testifying, one would imagine, to the survival value to the nomad of that lore (Lewis 1976: 276).

James Leach, in his monograph *Creative Land*, explored how the Reite people of New Guinea's Rai coast incorporate 'places into bodies and bodies into places' (Leach 2003, iv). Leach notes that 'the constitution of persons and of places are mutually entailed aspects of the same process. Thus, kinship is geography, or landscape' (Leach 2003: 30-31). Turnbull (2013) draws a similar conclusion from the example of the *Wunan* as a collection of orientation practices which give the Gwion Gwion (an Aboriginal group of northwestern Australia) and other groups a sense of identity, connectedness and a direction in life, or in short, kinship (Turnbull 2013: 12). In an unpublished article on how people move in completely new and unfamiliar environments, Turnbull (2013) states:

Orientation in its broadest sense, not of facing east, but finding your bearings, is not just knowing where you are, or which direction you are facing, it is knowing who you are, where you are going and why, it's knowing what to do next, it's knowing how to tell your kin what you have been doing. Orientation is much more than wayfinding, it's knowing your place, knowing where you are in the world socially, culturally, topographically, environmentally, sensuously, aesthetically, spiritually, and linguistically (Turnbull 2013: 3).

When at sea, the boat acts as a womb, in which even though the crew are only a group of strangers when they first go on board, over time they become familiar. Amity is the substance of that in-between, due to the sheltering, the correspondences, the 'labyrinthic' ramifications of fellowship arising from the taskship. What appear to be separate bodies on land and above ground are joined together at sea and below the water; the hollowness of the boat as a home place becomes presence and memory. This reminds us of both¹⁷ Hau'ofa's (1993) view of Oceania as a Sea of islands, in which the islands that seem to be separated above sea level are peaks of a submerged mountain range, and Richards' (2008) idea of the habitual in-between-islands tracks of Polynesian navigators, revealed in the Hawaiki drawing (figure 3, pg. 32).

¹⁷ Both mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis.

It also brings to mind the history of migrations undertaken by sea in search of a new life or when people knew that embarking on the voyage was unidirectional, with no possibility of return to one's homeland. It is paradoxical that in history the first anthropologists went overseas to explore new societies, while today, the sea serves as a dangerous, and sometimes fatal passage towards a new life trying to cross the Mediterranean to get into Europe. The distinction that David Lowenthal (1985) draw between history and memory is worth exploring here. As paraphrased by Ingold:

If, as history, the past lies *behind* us, as memory it remains very much *with* us: in our bodies, in our dispositions and sensibilities, and in our skills of perception and action. In the first sense, the past seems *alien* to present experience, in the second it appears to be *generative* of that experience (Ingold 1966: 164, see Lowenthal 1985).

The title of Lowenthal's book (1985), *The Past is a Foreign Country: They Do Things Differently There*, is inspired by the famous first line L. P. Hartley's novel (1953), *The Go-Between*. Seen in this way, life at sea is not about the past, but about the going-between from which experiences come into an environment that provides other ways of becoming enmeshed in relationships.

The sea as a pathway through the water can also be compared to roads on land. In her article 'Narrating the Road', Tanya Argounova-Low (2012) recalls that the lost connections between the two native Siberian villages of Olenek and Yessei, also called 'kin or marriage roads', signified a journey without return for the daughters of the herdsman who married herdsman of the other village. 'Associated with departures and displacement; roads mean in the area close attachment between two settlements' (Argounova-Low 2012: 202). Catherine Allerton (2004) also describes the paths of marriage of young women from Manggarai (Eastern Indonesia) as a transformational voyage. The women's crying, on leaving their villages, can be compared with the trainees' experience of vomiting and homesickness on setting sail from the harbour. The same can be said of the sailors from Denmark that Villy Sorensen (1959) describes in his folk songs, or of the migrants from Scotland that Paul Basu (2001) describes, for whom the homeland was always on their minds after the Clearances.

This one-way movement of life and memory, which appears to offer no possibility of return, does not however presage the end of life. On the contrary, it establishes the possibility

of a new beginning. The children of women who have moved to another community can return to their maternal communities; migrants who have left their homelands in one generation can return in the next. From the perspective of natural inclusion, according to Alan Rayner, death does not end life but nourishes it by opening up the possibility of renewal (Rayner 2009: 15). Life is not a competition in which to succeed at the expense of others, but a gift of natural energy, to be accepted and passed on in a continuous relay. In this, boats are no exception. As Kobyliński (1995) notes for prehistoric and medieval Scandinavia, the ship was connected to fertility cults, whereas the fertility cult was probably connected with sacrificial bogs. The association of boats and ships with fertility is implicitly confirmed by other significant fertility symbols, which often occur together with them in burials or in pictorial representations, for example, cauldrons and horses (Kobyliński 1995: 16). Other contributors to the same volume such as Anne Stine Ingstad note that the fact that the ship was buried in what was practically a bog in Norway, Sweden and Denmark is reminiscent of an ancient sacrificial practice: 'sacrifices to the deities of water and of fertility were buried in bogs' (Ingstad 1995: 146).¹⁸ Additionally, Inger Hendengran argues that what seems to be communicated in many 'visual messages' traditionally identified in terms of 'ships with crew' in Southern Scandinavian Rock art is that death was not the end but the beginning of a new life, transmitted by that truly powerful spiritual being that presents itself to man in the form of a snake (Hendengran 1995: 81). Thus, the boat is considered a transgressive animal travelling from life to death, but also from death to life, to which Flemming Kaul also adds that prehistoric ships seem to have been equipped with large figureheads in the shape of sometimes fantastically stylized horse-heads, birds' heads or large spirals (Kaul 1995: 67).

Womblike Hollowness: The Story of the *Wylde Swan*

Among the Kwakiutl of the North-West coast of North America, Boas (1895) states that canoes were made out of cedar trees that represented their ancestors (Boas 1895: 320). Among the Murik in Papua New Guinea cosmic (i.e. collective) spirits seen as spiders are distributed in canoe bodies (Lipset 2005: 135), so that voyaging on them is a metaphor 'for moral personhood in society and history' (Lipset 2014: 13). There is also a womblike

¹⁸ When the Germanic tribes sacrificed to the goddess Nerthus, the victims were first hanged, and then buried in a bog. As a rule, such a votive bog-offering included objects connected with horses, and objects representing women's work (Ingstad 1995: 147).

hollowness in the way Olwig (2008a) describes the landscape as a place for the assembly or *Landsting* of medieval northwest Europe. The *Landsting* was empty, but it marked a place where people could gather to constitute something more than a collection of individuals; the group became a polity. The site of the *Landsting* was a powerful place by virtue of its emptiness, waiting to be filled and given meaning when needed. Nothingness was attributed to the qualities of a deity, a *chora*, to which 'Plato gave a prominent role in cosmology as the vessel-like, feminine place from which the cosmos is born' (Olwig 2008a: 33).

Fosse's drawing of his relationships on board leads us to reflect on the insight that: 'Nothing has to be something as something can be nothing'. The 'thing', as referred to in Chapter 3, is an empty space in Heidegger's work, a gathering, a jug, a holding vessel (Heidegger 1971: 166-7), which when it is let into its *presencing*, makes a place. Indeed, for Pieter, who was on the *Wylde Swan* because his parents had met there twenty years before, the boat was the beginning of his family story, as a meshwork or bundle of relationships.

The boat is a womblike hollowness, a possible beginning of everything for young people: migrants, travellers, refugees. It is a bundle of relationships that emerges from nothing, as Fosse's message in his drawing shows:

'NOTHING HAS TO BE SOMETHING AS SOMETHING CAN BE NOTHING'

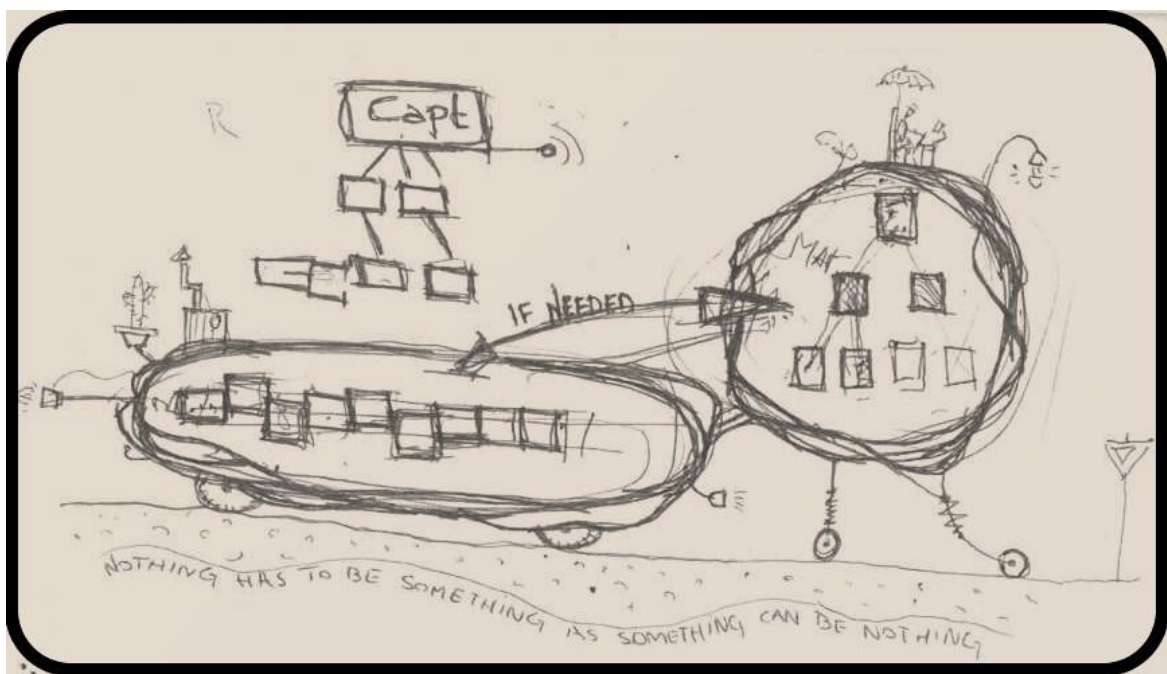


Figure 73: Fosse's drawing of the relationships on board.

The *Wylde Swan* is a Sail Training boat in which I did the last part of my fieldwork, the Atlantic crossing. She was built as a steamship in Germany, starting her working life in 1920, as a 'herring hunter' in the Shetland Islands. Ruth notes that:

It was a fishing boat and in 1920 it was already built with an engine. But at that time they didn't have separate designs for sailing boats and motorboats. So this is a very nice sailing hull. It was built some years ago and it has a very fast hull. It was built for speed. Wilhem bought it around 2000 and then they spent time refurbishing it until 2010, because it was just an empty hull. There is a beautiful picture of it. And then everything was redesigned, the rigging and the inside of the boat.

The owners started the project with its predecessor, the *Swan Fan Makkum*, on which Pieter's parents met, built as a new ship in 1993 to be the largest brigantine in the world and sold in 2006. After this first trial, the purpose with a second boat, the *Wylde Swan*, was for it to become a two-masted schooner, with international recognition to be used for Sail Training. The owner of the ship, Hinke de Vries explains it like this: 'Our dream was to build a tall ship that is optimally suited for Sail Training for youngsters and team building for professionals. *Wylde Swan* is our dream come true'.

This explains why its main hold is like the traditional boats: with all the bunks situated around a central table and benches to stow the participants' belongings as I described for *Constantia*, my first tall ship.



Figure 74: *Wylde Swan* empty hull.
From <https://www.wyldeswan.com/>



Figure 75: *Wylde Swan* in construction (2007-2010).

From <https://www.wyldeswan.com/>

The intention behind the decision to keep the structure of a traditional boat was to uphold the social effect of the boat, promoting good relationships and bonding amongst the crew. However, her crew called it an 'Ikea' boat, designed in the modern style.



Figure 76: Main hold of the *Wylde Swan*.

From <https://www.wyldeswan.com/>

Once she was built and was being used in Sail Training, her crew, those who have inhabited and sailed her, have kept on modifying the *Wylde Swan*, adapting her to the necessities and voyages they do together. The building never ends. For instance, in 2017, before the Atlantic sailing, they cut down the mainmast:

We lowered the mast and we took out three meters of the course sail. Otherwise, the sail would be touching the deck with that lower mast. Actually, it makes us faster because the balance between the sails improved. The mainsail and the fisherman didn't change but the course was reduced because then it's much easier when you decide if you will set the course or not. And with some reduced sails, we have

more choice combining settings. We can play around more, so we become faster.

Another adaptation they had made previously was to divide the Schooner sail, which was a big one in the middle of the boat, into two smaller sails: the mainsail and the fisherman.¹⁹ ‘Smaller sails can be set far more quickly, and also be divided into two sails, they are much more manoeuvrable when playing with the wind’, Ruth told me, so:

We also cut the mainsail, yes and that was because we had to shorten the mast. We already did that before, because it was such a big sail. The first year, we never sailed without a reef in the mainsail because it was too big. So we cut it out. The *Swan* is one of the longest boats with only two masts. I think it has to do with aesthetics first because if you put three masts on a ship it’s like a clipper, and this is a lugger, a herring lugger. Sometimes the luggers are smaller than the *Swan*, but the typical lugger has two masts. So I think Wilhem, who built it, wanted to hoist sails to be bigger and bigger. So it was a question of pride, a project showing what you can do, which is something that is not always very practical. If you are not very experienced, as in our sailing voyages with youngsters, it is safer to sail with three masts.

The continuous process of building that happens on board a tall ship evinces open-ended bundles of lines not only amongst human beings but also with non-human aspects of the marine environment. In fact, it was precisely because of these interactions with non-human beings, such as the weather and the ocean, that they shortened the mast and reduced the sails. The boat was ready to sail the North Atlantic, and now that it is normally used for Atlantic crossings to the Caribbean during the Winter programmes, it has been adapted to do so.

¹⁹ See drawing with the name of the sails in Chapter 6 (Figure 105, pg.283).

Figures 77: Old version drawing, with longer masts, bigger main sail and a Schooner sail. From a *Wylde Swan* wall picture.

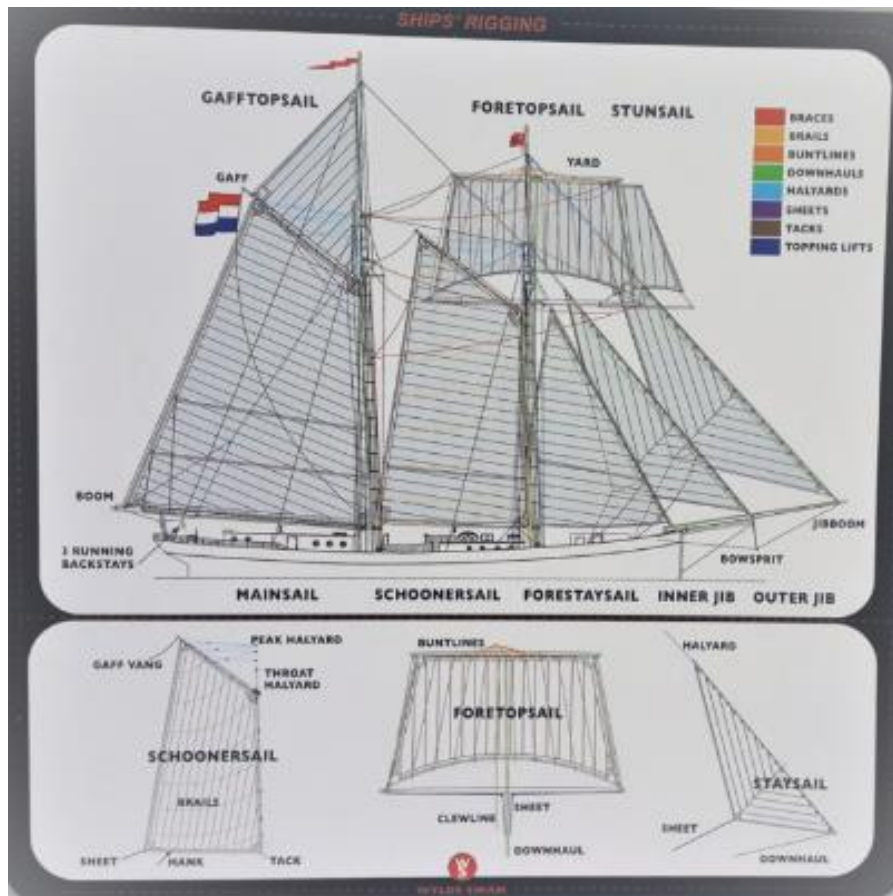


Figure 78: In today's photo, the Schooner sail is divided into the staysail and the fisherman.



Mutuality Beyond Individuality

There is a strong relationship between the people living on board and their environment. That is to say that on the ship there exists a kind of social relationship that creates strong ties amongst the participants and with the marine environment. These relationships could be called 'primordial' in the same sense as kinship relations, community relations and ritual relations are. They are relationships in which everyone participates with one other, the boat and the environment, in which kinship involves an internalisation of difference. In his exploration of kinship Marshall Sahlins (2011a, 2011b, 2013) refers to the same mutuality that I have reflected upon in the case of the boat's relationships with the environment and its crew members. What the boat offers is a place under certain conditions of intimacy, flexibility and equality, from which differentiation emerges. Thus, if everyone on board works for the same purpose, there is shared attentionality (rather than intentionality)²⁰, in which in the words of Michael Tomasello 'the perspective of the other is assumed while one realises that the other is doing the same with oneself' (Tomasello 1999: 93). This mutual feeling, wherein one comes to see the other as an attentional being, is described by Johansen (1954: 34), reflecting on relationships among the Maori, as 'an inner solidarity of souls'.

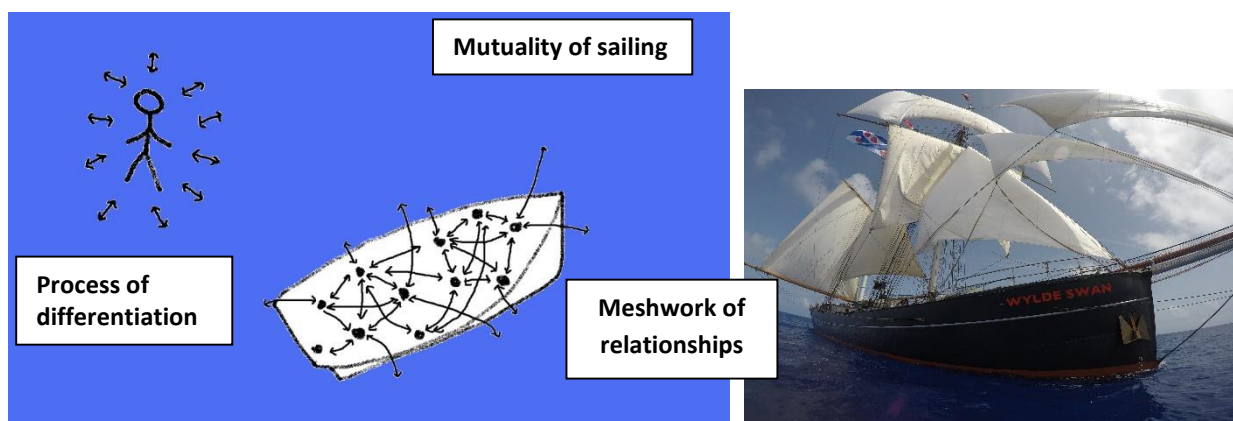


Figure 79: Draft of the relationships on board.

Figure 80: *Wylde Swan* during the Atlantic crossing 2017.

The *Rona II* crew offers an example of kinship, understood as the incorporation of others into oneself, and of the sociability that can emerge from sharing. The crew comprised

²⁰ Attention does not require intention or volition. Attention is related to 'attend, take care of'. See Masschelein 2012 and the section 'The Environment Is Never Complete' in Chapter 4.

22 girls and a male captain, on a 20.57 metre class D boat²¹. They normally run the different legs of the races with a single-sex crew, as they did in the Atlantic crossing regatta, but here this was not possible due to the lack of a female skipper in the association. It was very surprising to hear that a crew of 22 in total was sharing such a reduced space! I asked where they all slept: 'All the bunks and hammocks are our beds and we share beds in order to sleep on the leeward side'. This means that when one watch is over, they occupy the still-warm bunks of those who are taking over. As the boat is small and the angle at sea can be rather steep, they try to sleep on the leeward side, to avoid falling out of a tiny bunk. This also means that anyone on *Rona II* has not one single part of the boat as their own space, not even the bunk; everywhere is a shared space. The female crew of *Rona II* took care of each other, sharing fears, helping one another and learning from other women; that is to say, participating in each other's lives; as we have observed, even sharing warm beds.

The world when one is at sea is totally focused on the environment of the ship and its people; there is no outside or inside. It is a break, an interval of everyday life in a hostile space in which you have been invited to work. As you become involved in it, you begin to take responsibility for tasks and to understand their importance for the good of the group. Once this progress begins, there is really no going back: you become an integral part of the ship and its crew. Edu defined a tall ship like this:

A Sail Training boat is a place where you're starting a voyage with 40 strangers and you come back with 40 friends who are like brothers and family. It is a boat where you will live an experience that can break down many schemes that you have in your head. It broke down a few of them for me. The ship in this environment is a home, a refuge. And the people you have there, family. It is a very strong term to call the people you know for a week family... but when you're there it is like that.

The striking effect on the young trainees can be the result of the 'being-in-the-open' properties of the boat in the ocean medium, where you can feel everything from the inside. The ocean medium affords the movement and perception of the crew in an outside world that could not be inhabited were it not for the shelter of the boat. However, the non-human phenomena of the environment also have lives of their own. As co-participants in the

²¹ Modern rigged vessels (i.e Bermudan rigged sloops, ketches, yawls and schooners) with a Length Overall (LOA) of less than 40 metres and with a waterline length (LWL) of at least 9.14 metres not carrying spinnaker-like sails.

lifeworld, human persons do not so much share them as share *with* them (Ingold 2005a: 173). The realm of the social is extended across the lifeworld as a whole – a world without objects.²²

Born from mutual help in adverse conditions, sometimes sharing only a little food and water, there emerges the true feeling of kinship comparable to the Trukese concept 'my sibling from this canoe' (Marshall 1977: 647).²³ People in hunter-gatherer communities, as on board a boat, depend on one another for food and for a variety of everyday services. These exchanges may be the surface expression of a deeper concern with companionship, characterised by Tom Gibson as 'shared activity in itself' (Gibson 1985: 393), when he notes:

a relationship based on companionship is voluntary, freely terminable and involves the preservation of the personal autonomy of both parties (1985: 392).

This autonomy of both parties involves differentiation: as mentioned above, 'perhaps the tragedy of kinship is that its lines, bound at source, can only grow apart' (Ingold 2015a: 20).

For Lévy-Bruhl, participation is already given as a condition of existence: 'Participation, then, is not a fusion of beings that lose or retain their identity at the same time', but is part itself of the constitution of these beings. Participation, for Lévy-Bruhl, 'is immanent in the individual' (Leenhardt 1949: XVI). In the same vein, Diego, a 17-year-old trainee, defined a tall ship:

as like a big house where nobody knows each other and in the end, there comes a time when all end up connected, because they have to work together, do everything side by side with each other, everything is communal, like a form of brotherhood.

To which Eric, a 15-year-old trainee, added: 'I would say that it is like an anthill ... everyone so close to each other and everyone playing their little part so that everything goes well'. This kind of experience is a close encounter with strangers, not only from different backgrounds, ethnicities, cultures, ages, but also different species such as the non-human beings of the ocean-sky environment with which trainees become familiar.

²² See Ingold (2013b: 213).

²³ Mac Marshall (1977) is quoted in Chapter 3 and is used by Janet Carsten to develop her idea of the hearth as a place of kinship amongst the Malays.

To sum up, the boat is construed as a meshwork of relationships which bring it into being and sustain it. This mutuality has a great importance in the constitution of the person in communities in which the self, as Roger Bastide states (referring to communities in Melanesia) is a 'node of participations' (Bastide 1973: 33). In these situations, the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will participate even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 4). Besides, as Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi notes:

in the long run optimal experiences add up to a sense of mastery, or perhaps better, a sense of participation in determining the content of life, that comes as close to what is usually meant by happiness as anything else we can conceivably imagine (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 3).

The opportunities that this presents for learning, through skillful concentration will be explored in the next chapter.

The Experience of Mutuality by the Trainees and Their Diagrams of Relationships.

Taskship is an enmeshed mutuality amongst the crew, the boat and the environment, all of whom are continually performing their paths in the ocean medium. Arguably, however, there are two levels of analysis, around the crew and the boat, usefully compared in terms of the contrast, suggested by Myers, between the individual 'I' or the man of the Pintupi, and the kinship 'I' or the countrymen.

In this section, I will show drawings from my interviewees that represent their immersion in the in-between of the environment. Since the third stage of my fieldwork, I asked the young people who had bonded together during this experience to draw diagrams of kinship during interviews both before and after the voyage. My aim in doing so was to obtain additional materials to describe the strong ties created on board. The idea to draw diagrams of kinship stems from the methodological approach known as *charts of kinship*, pioneered by Elisabeth Bott (1990) in her study of the social networks of families in London (1990: 37). Kinship charts provide a lot of information, with respect not only to kinship but also to wider social organisation. For this reason, they have been systematically applied when it comes to studying aspects of social life in which kinship plays a significant role (Comas

d'Argemir 2010: 145). In a sense, these kinship charts are interested in the labyrinth, whereas our Western society remains perpetually trapped in the maze.

A chart of kinship normally requires a minimum of two in-depth interviews, with the additional chart-diagram, in which the interviewee draws the people whom he or she considers kin, without taking into account if they are genealogically bonded or not. The analysis consists of comparing the chart-diagram with the genealogical diagram in order to find different ways people understand kinship and in what sense they are bonded. In the interview before the voyage I only asked for a kinship diagram, but for the interview after the voyage I requested a drawing of relationships on board. Without knowing very much about the effect of asking for the drawings, I gathered some interesting materials from them. I compiled all the drawings together, so my comments will follow now, while the drawings can be consulted later in the following pages.

The ship is like a kinship community where you stay, where you belong from harbour to harbour, where you nurture and are nurtured. Just as someone is taking care of you, they ask you to do the same for others and for the boat. Diego, 19-years-old, said:

The first three days you feel bad, then there is the time you get used to the rhythm of the ship and finally you have time to enjoy it... although for some people the adaptation to the process is slower or faster than for others; I would stay there as long as they let me. Life at sea is completely different from life on land. A day at sea is like three and a half days on shore because, as you have to do night watches, you lose track of time: meals as well are at 7: breakfast, 12: lunch, 18: dinner, so the day becomes very long.

On the voyage, the tasks on board would be eating, sleeping and sailing, with the particularity that for sailing what is needed is a stable-like routine organisation such as the watch system and a sense of physical balance different what we have on shore. On board, hapticality and *kinaesthesia* are much more sensitive, they are processes of feeling the others in oneself. In the first 3-4 days, apart from breaking with old routines, trainees started to compare this new environment with home and their usual everyday life. Building the ship, some of my interviewees stated, means that life on board involves living simply. However, for those trainees participating for the first time, it can represent a striking break. Going on board for the first time means opening yourself up to new ways of doing things. As Ines, a 19-year-old trainee said:

The experience starts to work on day 4 [before that, you are seasick], so I would say that you must be there for a minimum of two weeks. Between 2 and 3 weeks. There are many people who might be stressed, living on board because they have little space, less activity, and they probably need a beer and a shower... so I think the experience should take the necessary time for people not to burn out; that's all!

On board, everything is shared. As Ines commented: 'I haven't done any activity alone, just about didn't shower alone, apart from my 15 minutes of the day to read...' Then, contrasting the size of the boat with its sharing effects, she added:

I think that on a small tall ship the experience is very different because even on one the size of mine the experience is also very different from the big ones, when you change the number of people, the way of working already differs greatly. I believe that the simple number of people changes the experience because I guess on a small boat the group ties are still stronger. There you are really living for two weeks with a person in a tiny space. Probably there you cannot have even 15 minutes to read. On the other hand, I think that on the big, big tall ships the experience also changes. On a boat like mine, even those that can be excluded by their own choice, I know, for example on my boat there was a girl who did not speak English very well and was 15 years old and the first 5 days she decided not to talk, then she got over it, but even that person who can be excluded for reason X, ends up being essential because they are part of it, and the ship is not big enough for you to be invisible. On a bigger tall ship, you have to divide the group more or they can also end up forming closed groups and that probably no longer gives the feeling of great unity.

This level of intimacy with shared attentionality is *kinship*. In the Amazonian understanding of kinship, 'relationships are reflected in the bodies, making them chronically unstable' (Vilaça 2005: 445). This instability, an intrinsic aspect of the internal relations of a local group or society,

can be resolved by the neutralisation of its potential for transformation by means of kin-making and through a continual experiencing of one's own soul from the viewpoint of the other, in surrounding entities through memories of acts of care and affection (Vilaça 2005: 457-8).

The boat embodies an extra mutuality that can be stronger than the individual one, like the notion of *soul* that Maurice Leenhardt (1979) once suggested to a New Caledonian elder, chief Boesou, who instantly replied that they had always had the soul and that the new thing the whites had brought them was the body. This new body was the Western body

insofar as the notion of an individualised body had been completely alien to Canaque thought until then (Leenhardt 1979: 164).

It seems that the ship, as its etymology suggests, in its role of building and sustaining quality in relationships, is itself a meshwork, being alive to a world without objects (Ingold 2013b). Animism in this sense is not only a way of thinking about the world but also of being alive to it. This world without objects is characterised by:

a heightened sensitivity and responsiveness, in perception and action, to an environment that is in perceptual flux, never the same from one moment to the next (Ingold 2006: 10).

When it comes to comparing their *diagrams of kinship*, most participants thought of the ship as their family: they not only repeat the family structure (see figures 83-84, 85-86, 87-88), replacing the names of their families with those of their shipmates, but also in their drawings they often presented themselves as a ship (see figures 91-92, 93-94), showing the ship as the living being, or the soul, that to them corresponded with mutual caring at sea, as if the ship moves the way the people sailing it do.

Even though the experience disrupts their routines when they go to sea, participants reflect on and often incorporate the memories of their existing kinship bonds in these experiences to make sense of, and deal with them. They invoke relatives and parents in these moments of loneliness; they remember what they were most content with, what they shared with their parents and families, while resisting the activity on board because it is simply too much for them.

The boat, as mentioned in Chapter 4, gradually becomes an extension of their bodies. The boat is the shelter that allows them to be in this environment. Without the boat, the experience of the voyage would not be possible, and the perception and the effects of the environment on everyone would not be the same. Meanwhile, their parents, as I had noticed during my third part of the fieldwork when I was not on board, check the weather forecast, the boat's position and course in the Marine Traffic, and imagine the story their sons and daughters are living during their voyages. In a sense, they live it as vividly as their daughters and sons do at sea.

On the other hand, when I asked for the second drawings from participants who were interviewed as a group after the voyage, their representations of the structure of relationships within the ship were somewhat hierarchical (similar to a genealogical diagram),

with a captain at the top and the different watch systems (Figures 81, 82). In groups, they drew the organisation of the boat from an on-land point of view, hierarchically established as an institution, with a captain, a permanent crew and a watch system (normally of three groups) to deal with the tasks. This structure had no meaning to me since it was not compared with the individual drawings. No one in his or her individual drawing did anything similar to the group drawings. In the individual drawings no one drew any watch system or placed the captain in a hierarchical position over the rest of the crew.

In the process of sailing, trainees must become familiar with the unfamiliar. Unfamiliarity comes from the environment as much as from the other people on board; everything is new, and they must get their own sea legs. It is similar to how Vilaça (2005) speaks of the instability of the body among the Wari, and Anne Christine Taylor (1996) speaks of unstable selfhood among the Jivaroan Achuar. The Achuar deal with this instability through so-called *arutam* visions. These visions are guided by shamanic cures or through a private ritual involving isolation and drug ingestion, in order to receive a message or vision relative to one's future existence. 'The *arutam* experience is directly linked to those situations and interpersonal relationships most heavily fraught with unpredictability' (Taylor 1996: 208). Here, as on board, there is an element of risk, as in the examples I have already offered of the experience of storms. Such experience brings a great deal of importance and even reward, both communally and individually.

Trainees are separated from their usual ties and therefore can begin to see them differently, when it comes to having a vivid experience. Bonding on board is normally intensified during and after storms. The boat and its voyagers form a web of social relations, making remote places close and familiar. The voyage itself, as a path, is a thing of relationships, as with the road described by Argounova-Low (2012) or the pathways, also called 'emotional resonant trails', analysed by Allerton (2004: 354).

The ship is shown as a mutual living being, regarding the correspondences of care and attention it shares with its crew. The boat, then, is experienced as a body with its own personality, full of movement and highly adaptable to the changing environment. This is the case with Yago, Gabriel and Alicia (Figures 89-90, 91-92, 93-94 respectively). We can see participants' names on a small boat and their ties to other participants. It seems that the instability of a body constituted by kinship relationships, as we have learned from Vilaça (2005), or of selfhood as we have seen from Taylor (1996), has its equivalent in the

unpredictability of the boat which, laden with the sufferings and adventures of its crew, is the counterpart of the soul.

Anne Becker (1995), based on her fieldwork in Fiji, tells us that the state of the body of a Fijian person reflects the successes of those who are caring, as 'the place of the interests created by the community' (1995: 59). A body, amongst Fijians, is the responsibility of the micro-community that feeds it and cares for it. Thus, the individual body is a social fact insofar as it is created by the acts and concerns of a community of relatives, to which the body must serve in a kind of kinship practice. As a consequence, morphology is sociology, since constituting the form of the body is a task for the community as a whole (Becker 1995: 59).

Similarly the boat, in this variable environment and with the establishment of a structured watch system, is always transformable for those who live and sail with her. Correspondingly, the trainees are also transformable and touched by the experience. As Vilaça says of the body and Taylor of the self, as a creator and creation of kinship, its main characteristics are instability and the quality of being mindful and relational (Vilaça 2005: 447). In it, 'notions of affect and memory reappear' (Taylor 1996: 206).

This conception of the body as a site of differentiation breaks apart the Western dichotomies of ideas and practices, nature and culture, and so on. The identity of the boat as a field of participation is never the product of individuality. Ines' diagrams are interesting, especially the post-voyage diagram (Figures 95-96), because she presents an arm representing the permanent crew that becomes bifurcated with two hands holding a navigational chart with the trainees. Finally, the triumph of the mutuality of sailing comes when entering this world of shared rhythms: here, everyone on board gets involved, and a bigger entity than the individual, the '*ship family*', emerges as in Diego's post-voyage drawing (Figure 97). Whatever happens and whatever you do, you will always be part of the '*ship family*'.

Group Diagrams

Figure 81: Group from A Coruña diagram, who sailed on tall ship *Santa Maria Manuela*.

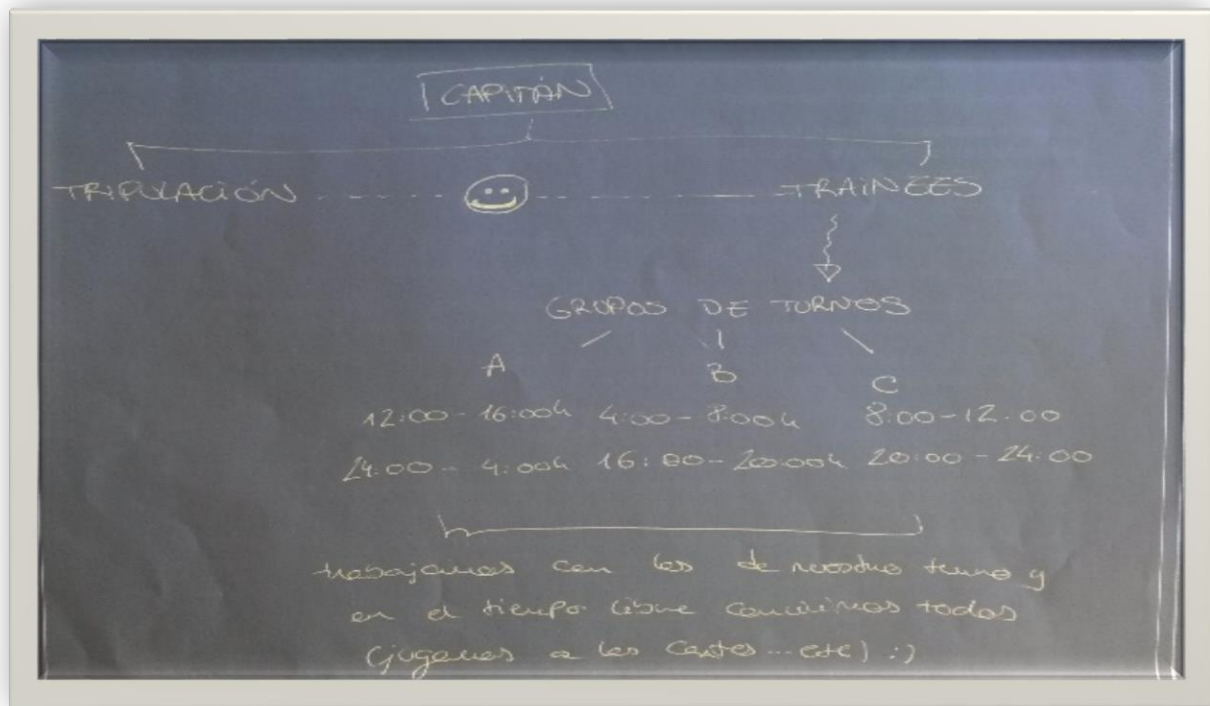
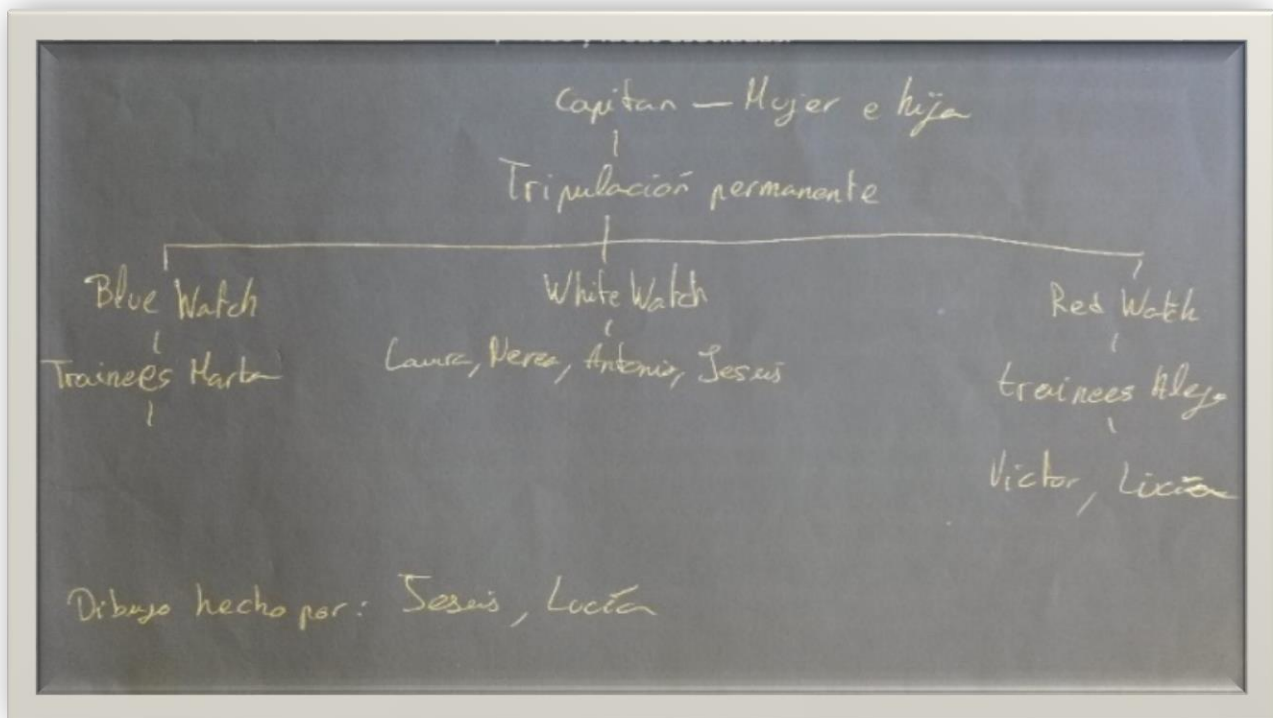


Figure 82: Group from Cádiz diagram, who sailed on tall ship *Morgenster*.



Keeping the Same Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams (1).

Figure 83: Alex's previous diagram of his family relationships.

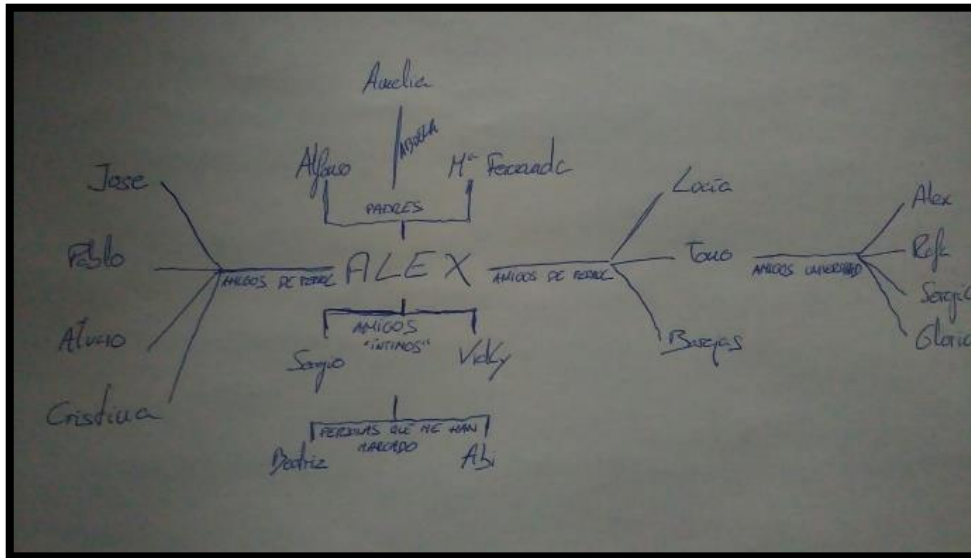
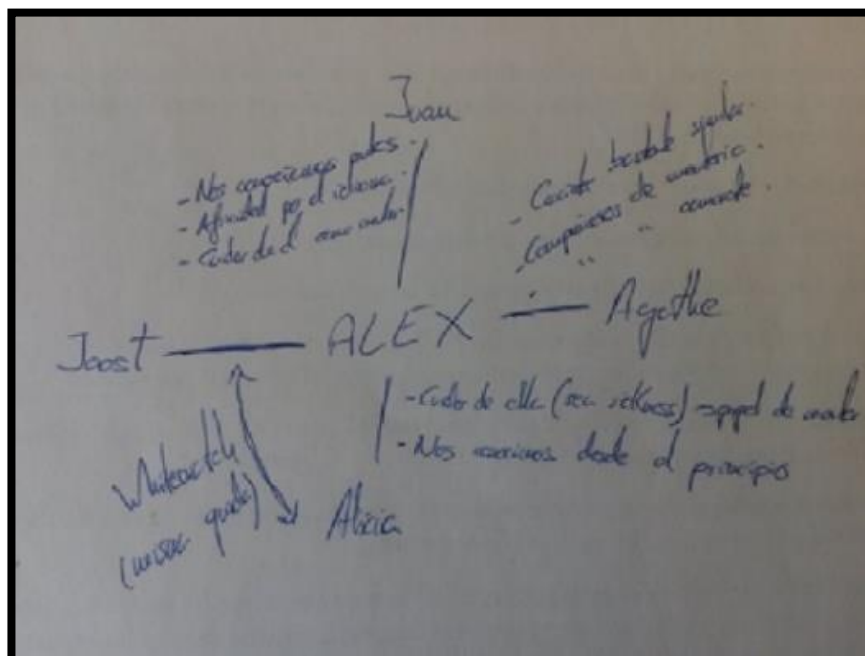


Figure 84: Alex's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.



Keeping the Same Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams (2).

Figure 85: Edu's previous diagram of his family relationships.

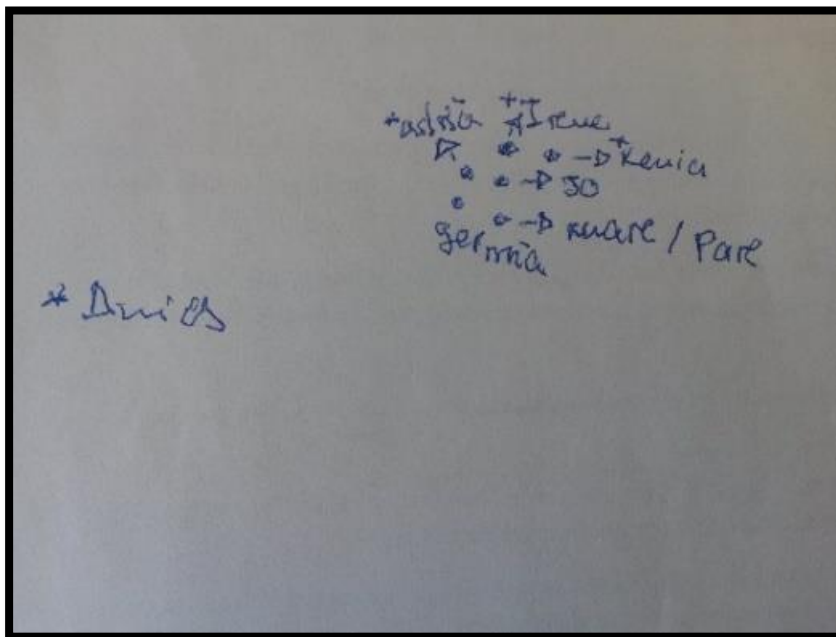
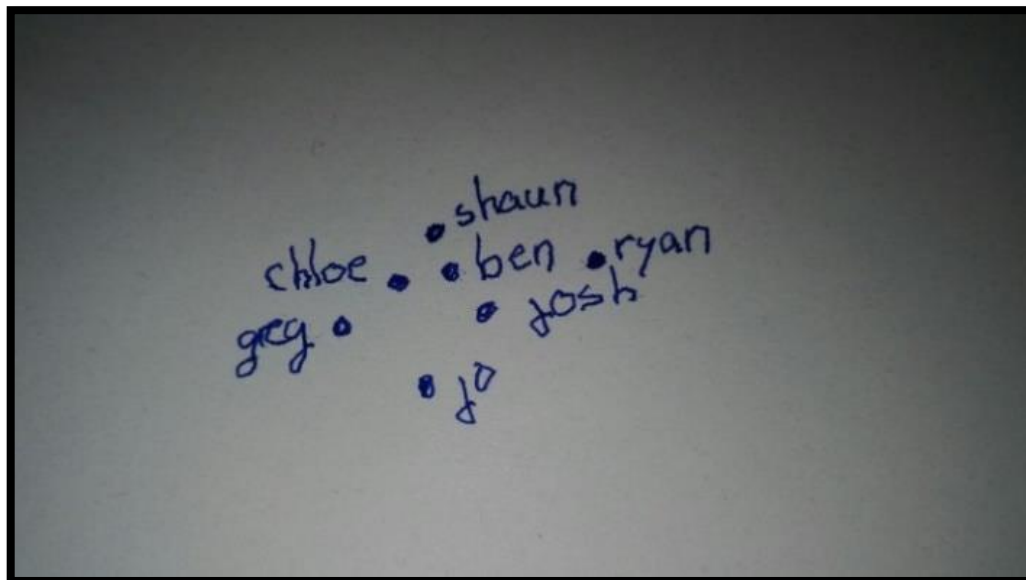


Figure 86: Edu's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.



Keeping the Same Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams (3).

Figure 87: Eric's previous diagram of his family relationships.

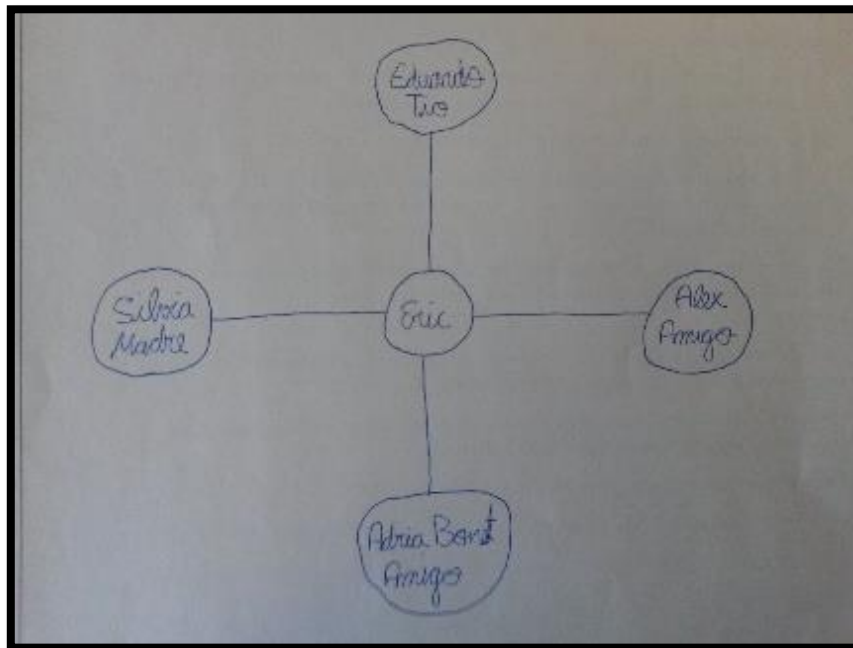
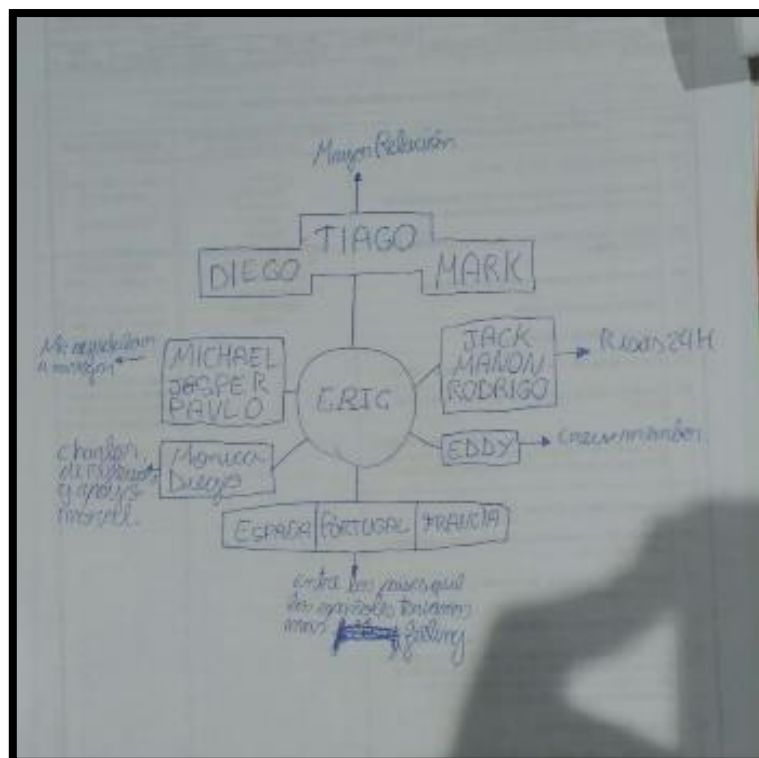
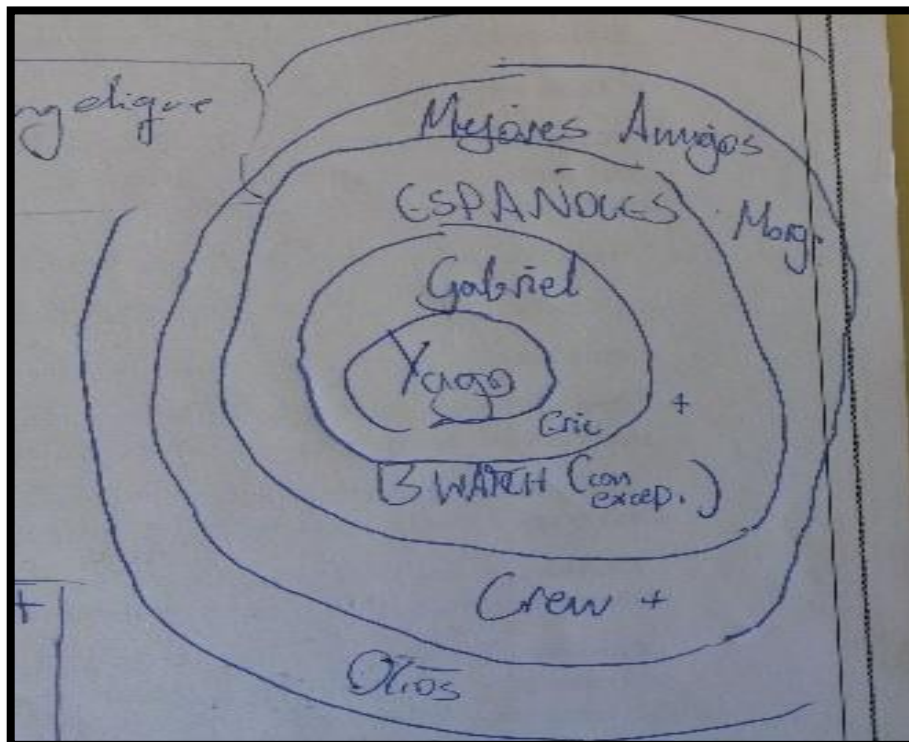
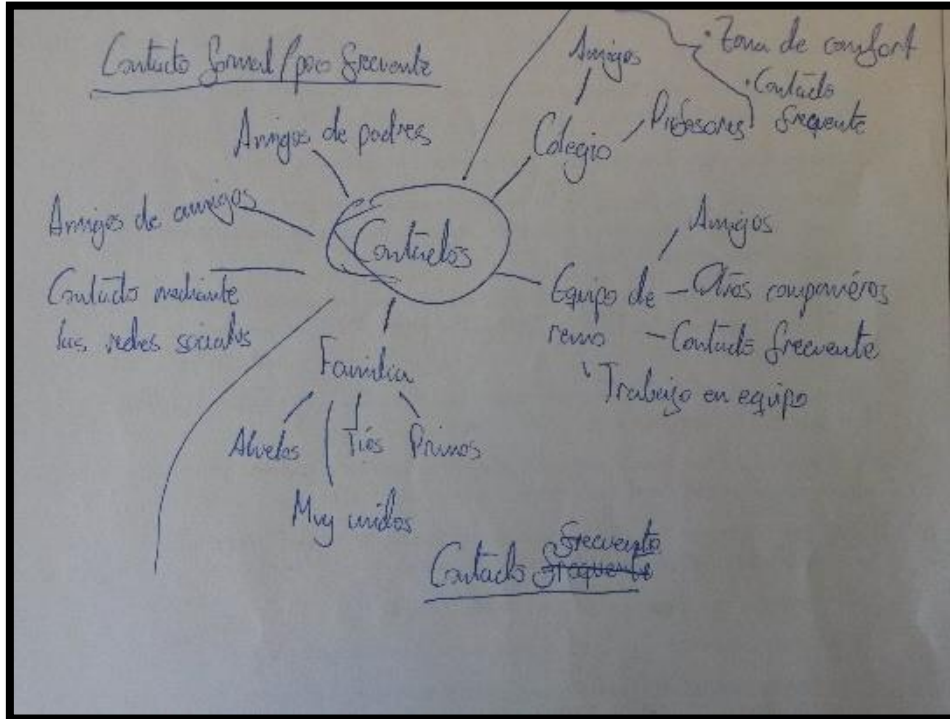


Figure 88: Eric's post-voyage relationships on board diagram.



Transitional Structure in Pre and Post-Voyage Diagrams.

Figure 89 and figure 90: Yago's diagrams are a mixture maintaining the family structure and circular layers which are different levels of participants in the diagram of the relationships on board.



Drawing Themselves as a Boat in Post-Voyage Diagrams (1).

Figure 91: Gabriel's previous diagram of his family relationships.

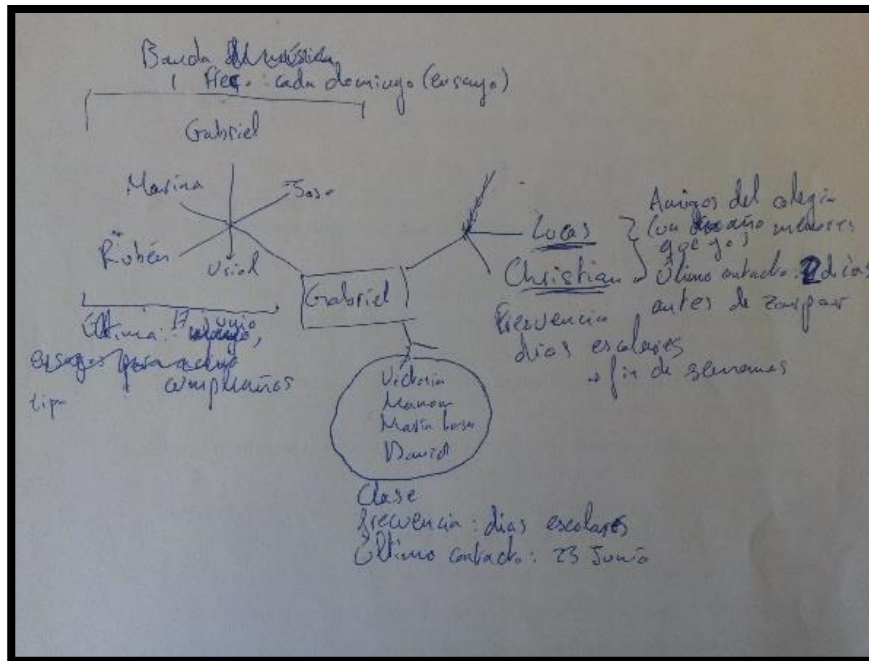
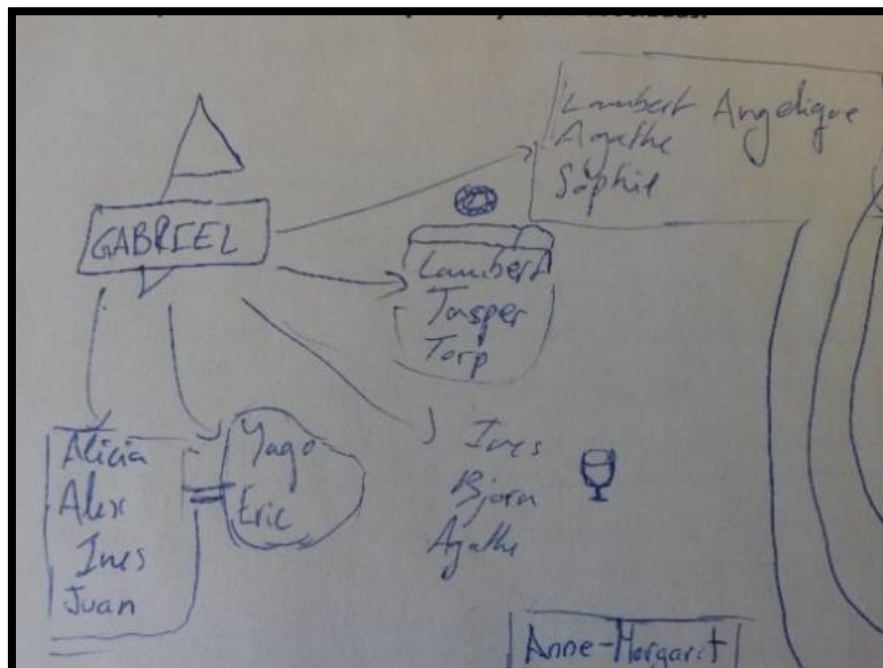


Figure 92: Gabriel's post-voyage relationships on board diagram.



Drawing Themselves as a Boat in Post-Voyage Diagrams (2).

Figure 93: Alicia's previous diagram of her family relationships.

Figure 94: Alicia's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.

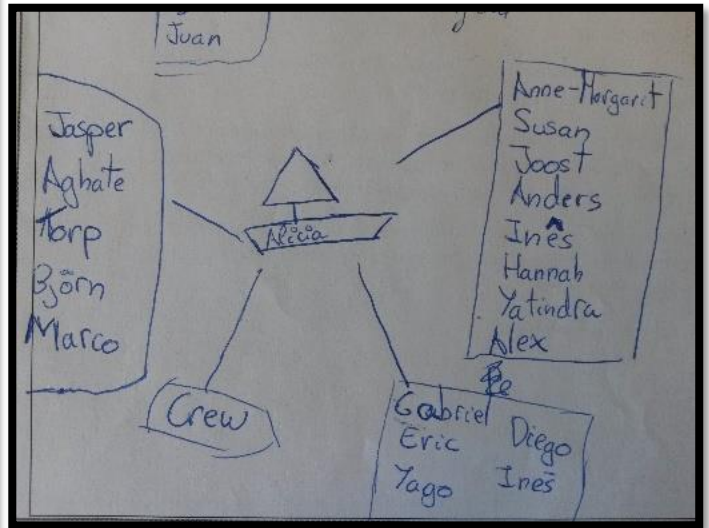
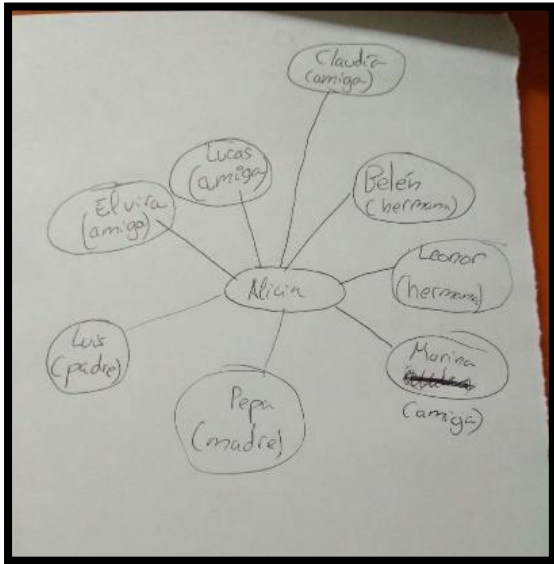


Figure 95: Ines' previous diagram of her family relationships.

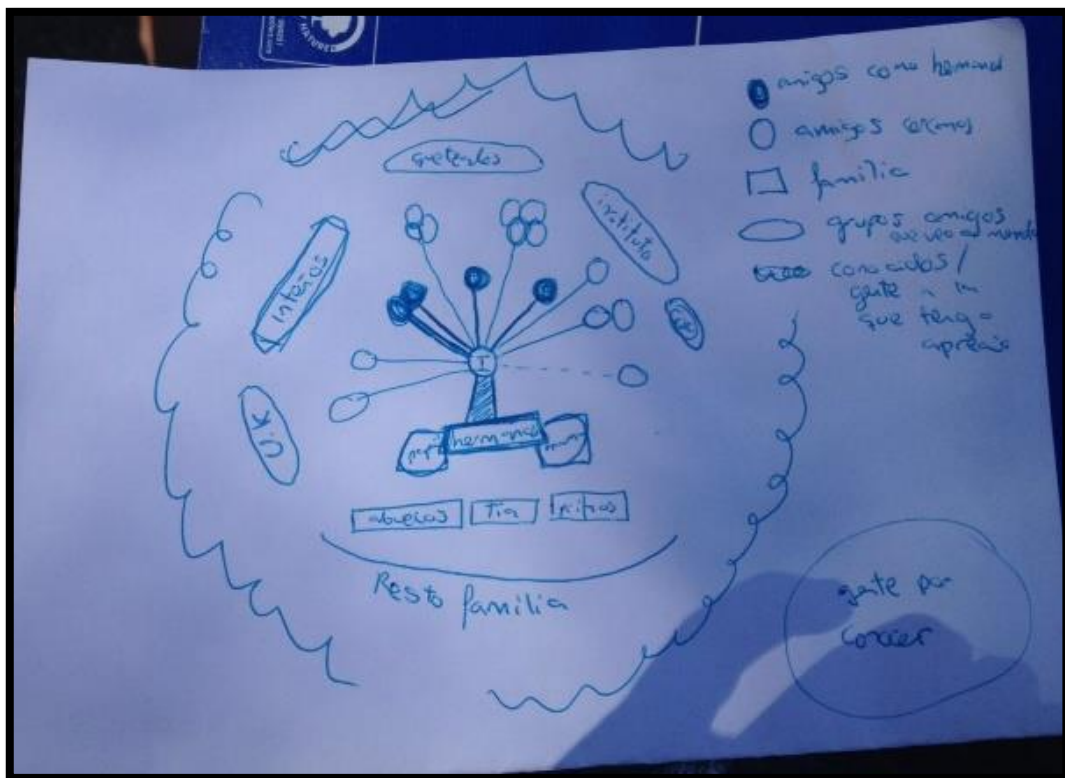


Figure 96: Ines' post- voyage relationships on board diagram.

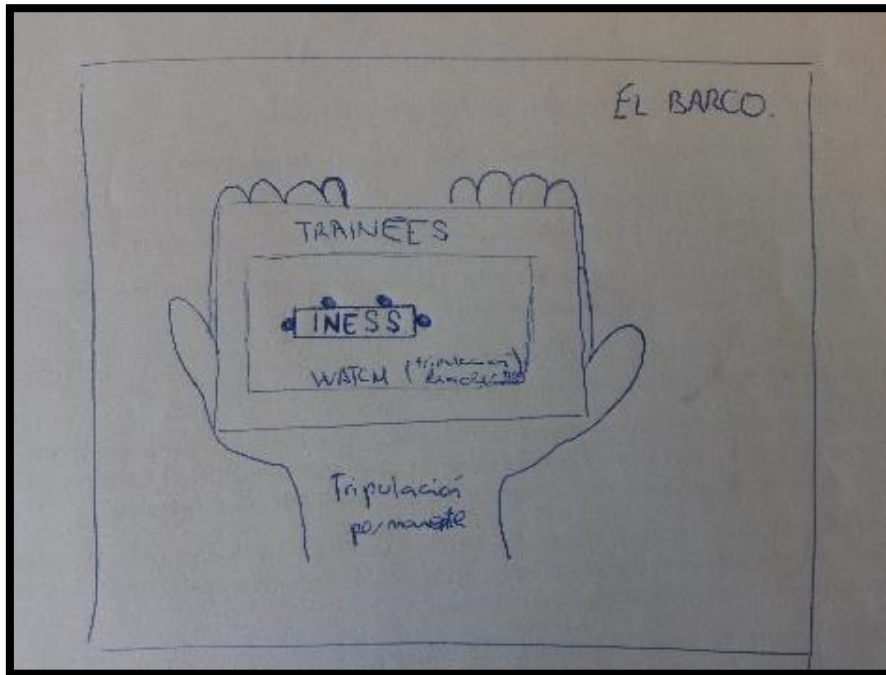
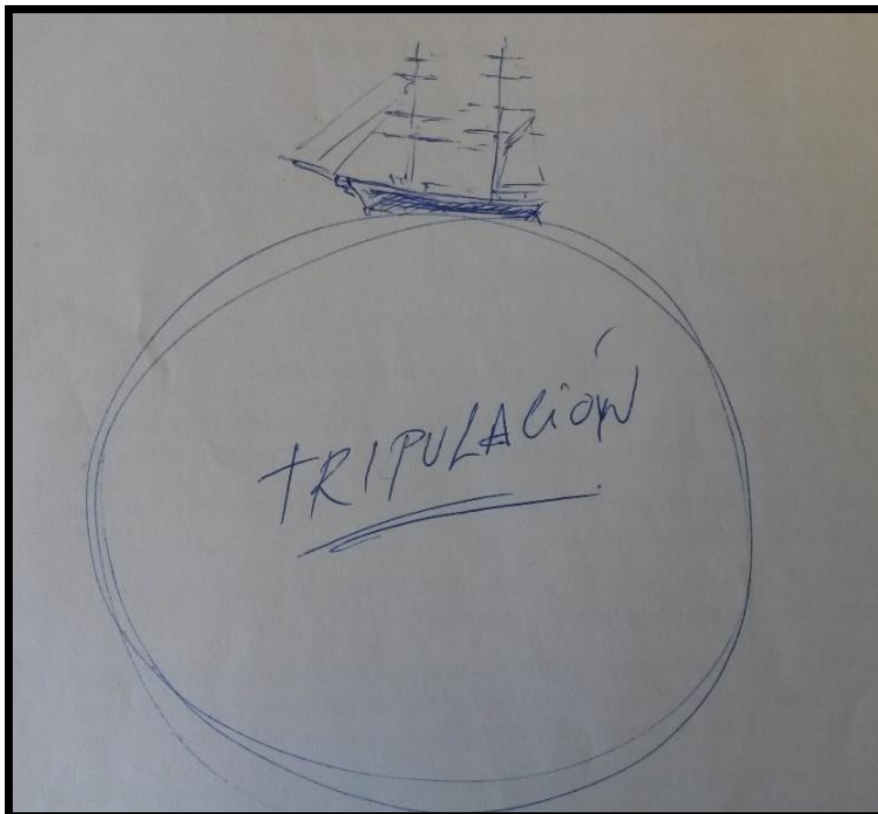


Figure 97: Diego's post- voyage relationships on board diagram.



‘Ship Family’ with *Mana* and Honour of Work

In the group drawing, there was an institutional structure marked by a permanent crew where there is a captain, officers and a division of a watch system. But needs change once at sea, so that titles, positions, names or other merits become irrelevant and mutuality cuts across institutionalisation. The captain will have far more expertise than the trainees, just as a Maori leader has more communion, more command and more occasions for kinship than followers, with a privileged relationship with an ancestor. Strathern notes a similar inequality and asymmetry in the mutuality between son and mother, in her discussion of the socialisation of children in the Highlands in New Guinea (Strathern 1988: 90).²⁴ On board, as in a family, there are experts and novices. However, what differentiates them is not a classification into rank or strata but rather the degree of *mana* or *amity* they share.

Literature on the Maori notes that it is through *manaaki*’ing people that the *mana* is maintained. Provisionally this may be translated as: ‘By loving and honouring people a communal life has created a community in strength’ (Johansen 1954: 30). By honouring people, *mana* endures. Thus *manaaki* means ‘to create *mana*, fellowship’: to *manaaki* is to give out of one’s own life (Johansen 1954: 91). *Mana* gives a picture of the Maori community because it denotes life in it. All free men have *mana*, i.e. they participate in the fellowship. Likewise, according to Sail Training participants, in particular the minors, their experience was most fulfilling them when they felt equal with the crew. Eric said:

Yes, you meet a lot of new people, but you also get to know them very intimately. It’s a community because although the crew is sending you off to do things, everyone ends up playing their part because if you do not do your work, in the end, everything is disorganised and everything goes wrong. And even though the crew order the trainees to do all the worst jobs, they also have their own tasks.

It could be said that everybody has a say in the matter according to his *mana*, that is his share in the fellowship. Trainees from different crews usually share their experiences on board when they meet in harbours; they compare ships, attitudes, organisations. Diego answered Eric:

²⁴ Marilyn Strathern (1988) notes: ‘the child recognizes that his mother needs firewood for the fire as well as that the mum provides him with the food’. There is a light of mutuality in what is otherwise an unequal, asymmetrical relationship (Strathern 1988: 90).

They work even more than us... but it also depends on the ship... in our case because the captain was a softie, everyone moved around, there was no problem, ...but if I had been told to leave while the whole crew was talking as happened on other ships, that would have been annoying! Because on *Morgenster*, when they were talking about manoeuvres or whatever I was listening to them... just to see what to do... so that yes, for me the crew has been a community, which is more like a brotherhood...

The captain on board is far from being an absolute ruler, but the *mana* he contributes will always give him a corresponding influence (Johansen 1954: 92). The secret of *mana* is that the 'fellowship' in communal life permeates all the people even into their innermost hearts (Johansen 1954: 93). The kinship group is not a fellowship but a unit, and so they find it wherever revenge is taken. The kinship group is one big 'I' (Johansen, 1954: 37). Johansen clearly describes a person as a sense of participating and sharing (in activities and in conditions) and having something in common, being part of a community of interest. He wrote 'the "I" that lives through the years, "the I kinship", is communion in contrast to the life of the individual' (Johansen, 1954: 149). In this, Johansen anticipates the extraordinary synthesis of kinship, magic and the exchange of gifts, which we have since learned from Amerindian cosmologies (Viveiros de Castro 2009), as modalities of participatory influence.

The first requirement is to adjust, to get over being seasick, and when this is achieved one can start working together with others for the good of the group. This is the most important goal faced by permanent crews dedicated to taking young people to sea. They can then convey what their life is like at sea and send them away with lasting memories of these experiences. Another two opinions from the trainees about the permanent crew came from 15-years-old Yago, who said:

At first, I looked up to them but then we got together and we became friends. You realise that they are human and you think: I could be this person within 10 years. Yes, you realise that they have a life and you are surprised by some other things too!

This seems to be a breaking of hierarchical positions. Gabriel also added that they were sharing such constrained conditions, that they were all the same on board, in a community:

Then when you had to work you see that yes, there is rank within the permanent crew but still... between them and us was like... in the end it was like we were all the same, it was like you look up to them because they know more. But there were some trainees who had

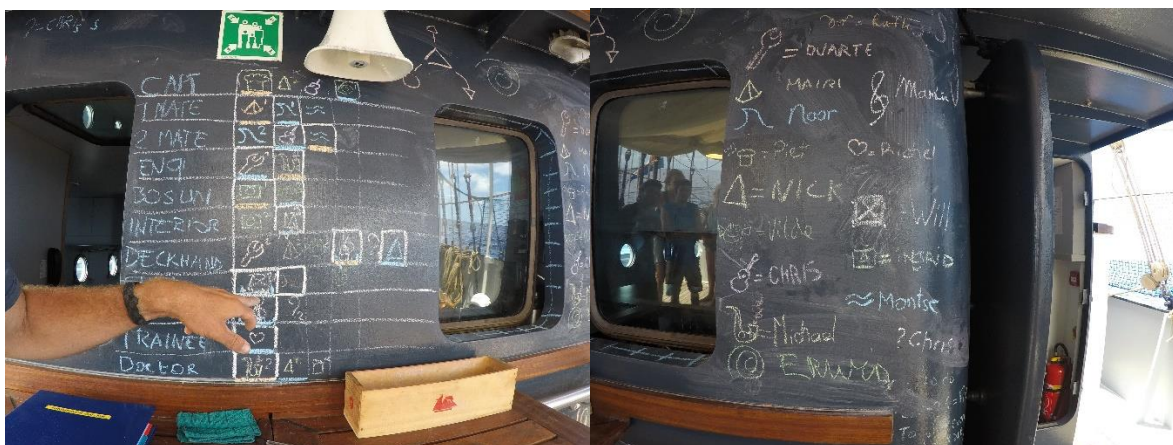
already sailed before so they knew the ship and we also asked them about it. But we have been in such a mess!!! If I saw these people in their daily lives, I would not recognise them. Maybe I would also look very different dressed in my school uniform there...

As Ingold argues, knowledge that grows from the crucible of lives lived with others, in the in-between of the boat in an ocean environment, consists of the skills of perception and capacities of judgement that trainees develop. These skills are developed in the course of direct, practical and sensuous engagements with the others on board, with natural phenomena and with the boat with whom and which they share their lives (Ingold 2015a: 157).

Thinking too about what Marcel Mauss wrote about *mana* and the Polynesians, there is a similarity between the concepts of *mana* and honour (Mauss 1954: 36). Halfway through our voyage on the *Wylde Swan*, Fosse, the captain made us write with chalk on the main deck the different tasks we should think about if we were in charge of the boat. What emerged from the group was:

DISTANCE, WEATHER, SAILS, FUEL, FOOD, FRESH WATER, WATCHES (rest, knowledge, night orders), ROUTE, MAINTENANCE, DRILLS, RISK ASSESSMENT, COMMUNICATION, SPEED, LOCATION, LENGTH, TOWING LINE, PSC (Port State Control).

Following this attention to what we should be aware of, he asked us to write down which of the roles taken up by the permanent crew we would feel comfortable doing, and whether we would feel capable of managing the boat.



Figures 98, 99: Blackboard in the fore cabin wall with the list of roles for a new permanent crew in charge of the boat. Atlantic crossing 2017 on *Wylde Swan*.

The interests of every one were taken into account, regarding more than one option, and that was followed by leaving us to manage the boat by ourselves, prefaced by this talk about the *honour of work*:

Here you must take a step back, control your eagerness and solve the problems or at least put them aside, so at least you can guarantee the safety of the ship for each other. The most important thing is that we are heading towards the same goal. In other words, it means that we are all here because we like the ship, we love sailing, so we find it very important that we have the best time together that we can, and respect each other for what we are. Maybe Jonathan is gonna have short hair; I have long hair, but it doesn't mean that I think he also should have long hair.

Honour on board consists of controlling your eagerness in favour of the safety of the rest of the crew. Pitt-Rivers said that 'honour is granted according to criteria that depend on a given community's identity as well as their particular view on the world' (Pitt-Rivers 2017a: 110). In this respect, honour can have other meanings in different environments, such as the one it has at sea or in an ocean medium. Among sailors, the concept of honour as mentioned by Captain Fosse has a different use on board than on land. On land:

approval or misgivings conjured by a person's conduct in everyday life give rise to all those notions of honour that, eventually, will be articulated by moralists and lawmakers and incorporated into social mores (Pitt-Rivers 2017a: 110).²⁵

It is the same with honour as with genealogy or knowledge; whenever it is pre-established it conditions our approach to it. If a system of values is pre-established, people can go further with it, institutionalising it for everyone as a way of behaving. But if you leave it open, so that it is seen by everyone according to his or her understanding of any lived situation, then honour is not a condition of being. In the open environment of the sea, the concept of honour shaped in these experiences would be closer to the idea of *mana* to which Mauss refers.

Following Fosse's talk about the honour of work, he went on: 'So we have to respect each other a bit. By the way, Jonathan, how many months have you spent on board?'

²⁵ The way this concept was appropriated on land, as Pitt-Rivers stated, was ridiculed in Spanish literature and Golden Age theatre, also recurrently known as 'the theatre of honour'. Picaresque novels such as *El Lazarillo de Tormes* shed light on the fragility of the honorific value system (Pitt-Rivers 2017a: 116-7).

Jonathan answered: 'Almost two years'. And Fosse replied:

For us, most of our time is spent here. Sometimes you can just contemplate your work as a job, go to work, and then you go home, where you have fun. Your work can be just like a job to go to, or on the contrary, you can say: - Hey! This is my work; why don't we enjoy it? See if we can find a way altogether, a way in which we can enjoy our time where we work. That's what we try to do here all the time.

In this vein, Erwin, spoke of the boat as a theatre for life, in which everyone can play a role that they think will suit him or her for life and embellish it. By that I mean that the difference in the meaning of honour in this environment is that on board, within a community of fellowship, honour can be played as a theatre for life by everyone, whereas on land, the theatre of honour is established by a few, as suggested by Pitt-Rivers (2017a).

Within a community caring for you – that is to say, a 'ship family' – honour will occur in every lived moment. There is individual honour and group honour. Normally, regarding the feeling for the boat, everyone tries to focus their eagerness on its well-being. Fosse spoke about honour this way, with respect to the relationships on board, because there is always some trouble within the 'ship family'. In similar vein, Myers states that 'the value placed on compassion, as well as the opportunity to reciprocate at some future time, inclines people to share resources' (Myers, 1991: 96). In the name of a bigger entity, the boat, as with the concept of 'one countryman' among the Pintupi or the kinship 'I' among the Maori, becomes a much larger entity for everyone when you are at sea. This brings us back to the idea of kinship as memory. Alex, 23-years-old, a Spanish mentor in TSR 2016 told me:

The fact that you have to take care of other people is not just confined to those fifteen days, but it connects you to other times in your life when you have had to take care of others. What makes this experience unique or that will help you is that it can distract you when you are going through a bad time, but also you have to try to make other people see you in a good light. As a mentor, you feel the responsibility that this represents. This was an additional task.

With the concept of womblike hollowness I approach kinship not only as a form of mutuality but also as a matter of memory. What is lived together, in correspondence, is memory. As Frances A. Yates noted of the work of Ramon Llull in the middle ages, it was an 'art of memory' (Yates 1966: 175-196). This can be understood as indigenous peoples did, that they were dialoguing with their ancestors. For instance, amongst the Kwakiutl, the cedar of the hull used to build the boat was understood to be the ancestors' voice (Boas 1895). To

cite another example: anthropologist Ben Finney at the University of Hawaii and designer, illustrator and author Herb Hawaiian Kane from the University of Chicago wanted to recover the vanishing art of traditional sailing and navigating in the Pacific. During the 1970's they built the *Hokulea* boat, to sail in it with those who still retained navigational skills that had been passed down to them orally. In the words of Hawaiianui:

What intrigued me was to see, if by building this canoe and putting it to active use and taking it out on a cruise throughout the Hawaiian islands, introducing it to the Hawaiian people, training Hawaiians to sail it, if this would not stimulate shock waves or a ripple effect throughout the culture – in music and dance and the crafts. And we know it did.

Oral transmission among kin is indeed another art of memory. Walter Ong observes that the past in oral cultures 'is not felt as an itemised terrain, peppered with verifiable... facts or bits of information'; instead 'it is the domain of the ancestors, a resonant source for renewing awareness of present existence, which itself is not an itemised terrain either' (Ong 1982: 98).

As I have shown in the introduction of the thesis, the art of memory as defined by Lull, in which boundaries between mind and body, or between humans and animals or other beings such as ancestral spirits or other environmental phenomena, can be crossed without rupture, is about *humanifying* rather than *humanising* (Ingold 2015a: 117-8). Living in a world experienced as things, gatherings and intensities, without boundaries, give way to differences within bundles of vital relationships. And in the sharing of *mana* or amity lies the difference between the labyrinth and the maze. Whereas the maze is humanising, the labyrinth is humanifying.

Conclusion

Not only does he discover the relationship, but the unity of the one with the whole (Klee 1961: 17).

Donna Haraway stated in her book *Making Kin in the Chtulucence* that making 'kin', for her, means something other, and something more, than linking entities by ancestry or genealogy. For her, 'kin-making' is making persons, not necessarily as individuals or as humans. She talks of Chtulucence or Chtonic ones:

Chtonic ones are not safe; they have no truck with ideologues; they belong to no one; they writhe and luxuriate in manifold forms and

manifold names in all the airs, waters, and places of the earth (Donna Haraway 2016a: 2).

For Taylor (1996: 451), writing of the Jivaroan Achuar, the human form is no guarantee of humanity. Leenhardt (1979: 27) similarly reflects upon the same phenomenon among the Canaque, remarking on the uncertainty about what kind of person is actually next to you. In her writing on the Chtulucence concept (Haraway, 2016b: 11), Haraway conflates the Greek *chthonios*, which means of, in, or under the earth and seas, like the fungal mycelium mentioned by Alan Rayner (1997), with the suffix *kainos*, that is a '-cene', which signals the new, recently made, a beginning, such as in *chora* or womblike hollowness:

Chtulucence entangles myriad temporalities and spatialities and myriad intra-active entities-in-assemblages, including the more-than-human, other-than-human, inhuman, and human-as-humus' (Haraway, 2015: 160).

There is nothing inherent in times of beginning that insists on wiping out what has come before, or, indeed, wiping out what comes after. *Kainos* can be full of inheritances, of remembering and memory, and full of comings, of nurturing what might still be. Therefore, Haraway states that she hears *kainos* in the sense of thick, ongoing presence, with hyphae infusing all sorts of temporalities and materialities (Haraway 2016a: 2), like the meshwork proposed by Ingold (2015a).

From the womblike hollowness, a *chora* in the sea emerges when sailing, a kind of kinship with other human and non-human beings, as shown in my interviewees' drawings. It draws something from nothing, which makes it relevant, in which change is the only constant. Here it is appropriate to recall what the captain of *Atyla* told me: 'The sea is isolation; this is a fundamental difference in comparison to other kinds of residential educational activity'. One can feel more company, proximity with others than ever on a sailing boat, not only proximity with the other crew members, but also with the various other living beings with whom and with which one shares the environment. In this apparent emptiness there is a great sense of bonding with the various inhabitants of the sea. These interactions are not only momentary experiences, rather they are fully involved in the lives of all concerned: their memories, all that they are, a bundle of relationships.

Alan Villiers (1971), in his book *The War with Cape Horn*, emphasises how much inhabitants of the sea need the sea and wish to spend their lives there. Seamen, he states,

'were not documented before the First World War, and not overmuch then'; therefore, being elderly people who might not be eligible to go on board, they changed their age. 'How old they were nobody but themselves knew, for many went by fictitious ages for years' (Villiers 1971: 124). Villiers notes that it was a relatively common practice in those days for older masters to transpose the numbers of their age, 'for instance, at seventy-six, they would switch back to sixty-seven by convenient "error"' (Villiers 1971: 126) so that they could continue to go onboard. This way they could spend all their life at sea: 'there was no retiring age for masters', 'no retiring age for anyone' (1971: 127), and some casualties on board were not due to bad weather conditions but were simply elderly people dying of natural causes because the 'ancient mariners had stayed at fifty-five or sixty for a decade or two' (Villiers 1971: 130).

On the other hand, casualties amongst apprentices were common at sea (Villiers 1971: 127). At sea, as in the desert, there is the same lack of fresh water, and in both milieus, the politics are not of land or sea ownership, but of autonomy (Myers 1991: 101). When youngsters were not sufficiently aware of the different risks at sea, they suffered accidents because security drills were not like those of today. On board, as amongst the Pintupi, knowledge of resources, people, and their whereabouts provides the basis for local organisation, suggesting where groups can go next and allowing them to assess the current relationship between the group and its resources (Myers 1991: 100). Within the community, one learns about 'friendship', the acquisition of intimate social feelings and the ability to express or manage these in social relationships. It is where you learn and continue practising the way of 'being social'. Gabriel, one of the trainees, said that:

This experience gives you confidence and you also have to learn to trust others. The most important thing is to believe everyone will play their part. To believe the best of people because you have to learn to have faith in people because people, in the end, have to have faith in you. People in the end always give; of course, it's not just words but facts.

Being on board exposes those who sail to a life that in continually running ahead of itself, leads by submission. In the combination of attentionality, leading by submission and doing-in-undergoing lies the essence of correspondence (Ingold 2015a: 156). This combination is exemplified in sailing. It generates trust, which in turn leads to a higher likelihood of cooperation, the deeper it is (Gambetta 2008: 223).

I have argued that the *mana* of the 'ship family' can be compared to the idea of honour. Both can be experienced during extended times at sea. This *mana*, together with a sense of kinship, created equality amongst novices and experts of different ages or backgrounds. If we look again at Fosse's drawing, there are two kinds of bubbles, one in a horizontal perspective and the other vertical, and an arrow between them saying: 'if necessary'! This gives the idea of combining community (horizontal) and institution (vertical). However, having known Fosse on board, I imagine that verticality better indexes a kind of 'Maori chief with more *mana*'²⁶ than an officer of superior rank, such as captain.

In 'The genesis of the individual' Gilbert Simondon (1993) writes:

atomism describes the genesis of the complex unit, such as a living body, enjoying only a precarious and transitory unity; it is considered to be the result of a purely chance association, one that will break up into its original elements when overtaken by a force more powerful than the one currently holding it together as a complex unity (Simondon 1993: 299).

This precarious and transitory unity corresponds to the 'instability of the selfhood' described among the Achuar (Taylor 1996: 208), or the 'metamorphic capacity' that Vilaça finds as a central aspect of humanity among the Wari (Vilaça 2005: 452). This capacity for metamorphosis is one of the key aspects of being a person (Ingold 2000: 91). Simondon called it transduction, or organic individuation, adding that 'it is the course taken by the mind, an intuition, on its journey of discovery' (Simondon 1993: 313).

To conclude with Simondon, we consider individuation to be a process of life, in which knowledge is built by the orientation of the living being along lines through which it passes (Simondon 1993: 309). However, the tension between what we need and what we believe may be so strong as to generate irrational, fideistic responses (Gambetta 2008: 223-4). This conclusion leads us to the next chapter, in which I examine how this kind of knowledge is shared on board with those without previous sailing experience, who find themselves in a completely unfamiliar environment. The sharing of oral wisdom is an integral part of the process whereby this collection of individuals turns into a ship family, giving rise to ways of wayfinding or seafaring like those in olden times, and humanifying all involved.

²⁶ This is what the Romans used to call '*primus inter pares*': 'first among equals'. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/primusinterpares> (accessed 15/2/20).

CHAPTER 6. WISDOM AND SKILLS AT SEA

It is a serious relation, that in which man stands to his ship. A ship is a creature which we have brought into the world, as it were on purpose to keep us up to the mark. In her handling a ship will not put up with a mere pretender (Conrad 1906).

Yes, your ship wants to be humoured with knowledge. You must treat with an understanding consideration the mysteries of her feminine nature, and then she will stand by you faithfully in the unceasing struggle with forces wherein defeat is no shame [...]. She has her rights as though she could breathe and speak; and indeed, there are ships that, for the right man, will do anything but speak, as the saying goes. A ship is not a slave. You must make her easy in a seaway, you must never forget that you owe her the fullest share of your thought, of your skill, of your self-love. If you remember that obligation, naturally and without effort, as if it were an instinctive feeling of your inner life, she will sail, stay, run for you as long as she is able, or, like a sea-bird going to rest upon angry waves, she will lay out the heaviest gale that ever made you doubt living long enough to see another sunrise (Conrad 1906).¹

Hoisting Sails to Get Underway

There is nothing strange in the trainees' saying that to be on board is to be alive. The sailing boat is a perfect example of what life consists of. With the wind, its sails are filled, as our lungs are when we breathe, and this is the main source of energy propelling us forward, just as air breathes life into us. While sailing, crew members, sheltered by their boat, are immersed in the fluxes of the medium, in the incessant movements of wind, weather and ocean. Life is borne on these fluxes in which, when breathing, permeate the boat's entire being, allowing us to inhabit the world of the open. In this open world, the currents of the medium mix with the sails, creating a meshwork of human and non-human beings.

This chapter had its origins in a conversation with Ruth during the process of writing my thesis. She was the first mate on the *Wyld Swan* when I crossed the Atlantic. I thought she would enjoy reading about my theoretical connections with the fieldwork I had done on board because, apart from becoming captain some months after our Atlantic crossing, she also has a degree in philosophy. During our meeting, we discussed what makes the boat a

¹ Both quotations by Joseph Conrad (1906) are from Mason, Greenhill and Craig (1980).

living being: the source of its energy, what setting and pulling the sails down means. Even though we were just sitting in the cafeteria where the Sail Training Conference in Seville was held in November 2018, her voice and her body language were transported while speaking about this, just as if she had been back on board for the conversation:

All the time on board is spent playing around with the sails. What else can you play around with on the boat? This is the main game!

For those involved in life on a tall ship, it is necessary to do a deck and engine check every hour. The trainees on the watch are in charge of this. First of all, trainees are asked to check in the company of a crew member or volunteer who already 'knows the ropes'. The ropes need to be tightened; trainees must get to know which sail they are connected to, as well as which sail they are adjusting when tying or releasing a 'line'.² Once on board, during the several deck checks that must be carried out, everyone is at pains to remember which rope is which; however, this is impossible even for those with a good memory. As with the Kazakh carpet patterns that Anna Portisch describes, the lines are 'irresolvable' visual compositions (Portisch 2010: 573). It is necessary to check them again and again. To manage this, some crew members try to give an overview by drawing the sails, their names and their function on the deck with coloured chalk.

The minimum time one needs to spend aboard in order to become minimally skilled – by which I mean that one knows what the line is for and where it is located on deck – is the time an Atlantic crossing takes: between five and six weeks without going ashore. As Pieter remarks, youngsters joining the experience normally do that during a tall ships race, and sometimes ten days is already quite a lot for them. In this chapter I further explore the concept of wisdom and skills at sea, with the Atlantic crossing as a longer experience. Pieter's reflections provide a starting point for this exploration:

Just the first week we went over all the lines, different tactics, different sails, reasons for raising sails, taking down sails, pulling different lines, adjusting sails, trimming them. During the last trip we didn't learn this, we couldn't really go over it, maybe because it was a shorter trip, but I feel that on this trip I learnt far more than I had on the previous one. The last trip I went on, only lasted 10 days and it was from Kristiansen to Denmark, and on that trip

² From here onwards, I will use interchangeably the terms 'rope' or 'line'. We normally call every line by its own name, but they are also called lines, more often than ropes, by the crew.

we really didn't do that much Sail Training, I didn't really learn any of the ropes. I learned the sails but not the different ropes, or tactics or navigating. I don't think I steered the ship at all.

I began this chapter with an epigraph illustrating the personality and character that Joseph Conrad attributed to the boat: 'a ship is a creature we have brought into the world on purpose to keep us up to the mark' and it 'will not put up with a mere pretender' and I continued a discussion of how the boat breathes and its being alive. When I met Ruth with my field notes and my drawings of the lines and sails, I had a question for her: 'Why do I have so many notes about how to pull each sail down and yet so many videos of the crew setting the sails?' No sooner had I asked the question than I had the answer. For setting sails we were never in a hurry, meaning that we were not participating in an extreme competition in which every second counts. As Ruth also confirmed, when setting sails, one can wait for the time when the next watch or shift group comes on deck, because that moment of overlapping shifts means there are more people on deck at the same time. Setting sails in a tall ship often needs the combined effort of more people than there are in one watch, as is the case for the mainsail, which can only be set by many people hauling on the line.³

Figure 100: One of the two teams ready with the peak halyard of the main sail. Atlantic crossing on the *Wyld Swan* 2017.



³ This was the normal manual method for setting the mainsail on the ship, however it would be possible to set it with fewer people with the help of winches.

Sometimes the captain takes some time to explain to everyone what the next step will be: which sails are going to be set due to the wind coming from one direction or another, or just to take a new course based on our navigation preferences or the weather forecast. Of course, these predictions can be modified as time passes because that is how life is at sea. When setting the sails, I also had the time to go to my bunk or to the office where I had my Go Pro camera, as others also did, in order to record the group setting a particular sail, as every sail requires its own procedure when being set and pulled down.

On the other hand, everyone can be required on deck in an instant when the wind changes quickly in intensity or direction, or any other meteorological phenomenon affects the sails, such as rain. 'All hands on deck!!' means to hurry up on deck to assist because we are in a risky situation. That moment, when sails normally need to be pulled down, is when everyone tests their ability to go where they are needed, releasing lines and keeping optimal coordination in their action with the rest of the crew so as to avoid any damage or injury. There is no time to think, rather you must react to the situation with your experiential knowledge, or what I shall call *wisdom*. From then on, you become far more aware of what is at stake in setting and pulling sails down: for your own safety, for the safety of the group and for the care of your boat.

Returning to the movement of animate life, one of inhalation and exhalation, passion and action, weather and lines, the boat and all its crew become immersed in sentience. As Ingold argues, such immersion means that 'perceivers become one with what they perceive' (Ingold 2015a: 86). On board, the crew join with the movement of the boat. In a sentient and animated world, there are no objects and subjects of perception, rather, perception is a creative movement of emergence. In the words of Merleau-Ponty:

it is a spectacle of something only by being a 'spectacle of nothing',
by breaking the 'skin of things' to show how the things become
things, how the world becomes world (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 181).

To perceive things, then, 'is simultaneously to be perceived by them: to see is to be seen, to hear is to be heard', and for the boat to be experienced, we could add, to move is to be moved (Ingold 2015a: 84). Merleau-Ponty describes this reversible perception, exemplified by the unity of the crew's bodies with the boat, as a 'coiling over' (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 140). There are two sides to this. There is action of setting the sails, adjusting them to the finest conjunction for maximum effect, and then there is the feeling of sliding or flying on the water.

‘Setting sails’ can be analogous to the inhalation of breath, the boat moving within a medium which allows the wind to fill the sails. The feeling of slicing through the water or simply being underway, can be compared with exhalation.

This mutuality of perception is a correspondence between the filling of the sails and the forward movement of the boat, similar to the kinaesthetic and kinetic perception that Sheets-Johnstone (2017: 12) describes when moving in concert. And the giving, receiving and reciprocating that Marcel Mauss speaks of in his essay on the gift (1990: 50) is akin to the relationship of mutual love that Joseph Conrad advised us to maintain with our boat. ‘You must never forget that you owe her the fullest share of your thought, of your skill, of your self-love’, Conrad writes. In return, ‘she will lay out the heaviest gale’.

The Difference Between Lived Correspondences On Board and Re-Presentations of Knowledge.

Later on, I will explain step by step, with drawings and explanations, what the various spaces of the boat are, the names of the sails, what kind of lines there are to set or adjust the sails. At the very end of this explanation, in the section ‘Skills of Navigation: this is the point between the major and the minor’, I present a drawing of the deck, which all of us on board deal with when getting to know the mesh of lines we are faced with. This drawing is like a map, but as a map, it means nothing. Once on board, one ends up knowing the lines as they are represented in this sketch, not only by memorising them in every deck check, but also through the natural process of these lines becoming meaningful by way of experiences and events that happen on board in relation to that line. In other words, there is a narrative associated with a particular line that helps us to remember what it is for.

In the course of the different deck checks, trainees continue to imitate the other crew members who seem to be more expert. When they feel ready to do it by themselves, they try, by learning from their own mistakes or following the others going through the same process. As Pieter said:

As a trainee you have more responsibility as well. You have to kind of take part and help to sail the ship, because you have to work as a team. Even the crew by themselves, they can sail the ship but it is definitely a lot easier for them to have help from the trainees. And it is nice for them to have this kind of help to complete what they wanna [sic] do as a whole to sail the ship.

On deck, each of the lines is matched to an equivalent line on another part of the boat that will cause the reverse action of the first line, which means that when tying one, another must be released. Conversely, one line must be released for another to be pulled. As captain William Sabatini mentioned in his presentation in Seville⁴, on a ship, everything is interconnected, including not only lines but also materials and every single part of the boat. So if you change something, such as tighten a line, it will affect the rest of the boat, and you need to be conscious of the resulting effects when doing it.⁵ What Sabatini meant by his explanation is that lines are not joined up but joined *with* the boat and all its material components. That is why I use the term '*correspondence*' instead of '*connection*'⁶ for the 'coiling over' experienced on board.

Playing with the lines as a process of experiencing the movement of the boat, mediated through the sails, involves the interest of the whole crew. That is what Ruth meant when she said that this is the main game on board. And this game is so engaging for everyone because it is lived *with* the others, *with* the environment and *with* the boat. Sailing is a way of understanding life because, in the process of seafaring, the boat becomes a meshwork of relationships, a place on the move in an animated world of lines. And the difference between, on the one hand, understanding this world in movement, lived and integrated in experience, and on the other hand, re-presenting (that is, presenting *again*) this experience and the wisdom that comes from it by means of *drawings*, is at the heart of the argument I develop this chapter.

We can find an analogy to this contrast between *correspondences* on board, and their *re-presentations* in drawing, in societies like the Tanimbarese studied by Susan McKinnon (1991). The Tanimbarese perform dance rituals that 'anchor' the people of the village with a stone boat placed in the village centre, which re-presents the wooden boat that men actually sail. The weighty stone anchor, made heavy through the gathering of people and wealth, counterbalances the mobility of the sailing boat. In this case, the contrast is gendered. In the

⁴ William Sabatini is executive director and fleet captain of Flagship Niagara League. I attended his presentation at the annual conference of Sail Training International that was hosted in 2018, in Seville.

⁵ The spider's web with which Ingold (2011: 89-94, see also footnote 11 in Chapter 3) describes his meshwork offers a nice analogy to the ship's rigging. As with the rigging, the lines of the web constitute a mesh in which altering the tension in one line affects all the others. Neither the lines of the rigging nor those of the web connect points, but both set up a trap of a kind. One traps wind, the other traps flies.

⁶ See Ingold 2015a, especially 154-158, but correspondences emerge throughout his book *The Life of Lines*.

past, each crew of men that went on a sailing expedition was ‘anchored’ by a crew of women, confined in the captain’s house, each with their own ritual responsibilities towards their respective ‘boats’ (Schneider 2012: 96-7).

The contrast between weight and lightness, immobility and mobility, is a dynamic one, construed in more ways than just the pairing of boats, and is central to Tanimbarese thinking and action in the world (Schneider 2012: 96-7).

As I argued in Chapter 3, rather than being a located place of occupation, the boat is an inhabited place on the move. In the past, those in charge of skills at sea were the pilots. According to *The sailing directions of Pierre Garcie*, one of the key early books, dating from 1521, explaining how the sea was explored by pilots (reproduced in Waters 1967), following what were known as ‘route books’ or *rutters* (in French *routtier*, Portuguese *roteiro*, Spanish *derrota*, Italian *portolano* [literally ‘port book’], Dutch *leeskaart* [literally ‘reading chart’] and German *Seebuch* [‘sea-book’]). ‘Pilots’ are those in charge of the study of the art of navigation, as is made clear in the etymology of the word:

Pilot: 1510s, ‘one who steers a ship’, from Middle French *pillote* (16c.), from Italian *piloto*, supposed to be an alteration of Old Italian *pedoto*, which usually is said to be from Medieval Greek **pedotes* ‘rudder, helmsman’, from Greek *pedon* ‘steering oar’, related to *pous* (genitive *podos*) ‘foot’, from PIE root **ped-* ‘foot’.⁷

‘Pilot’ was also used among the Phoenicians and the Greeks as reported by Taylor (1971 [1957]: 43). And Henry C. Taylor reports in the foreword to *The Rutters of the Sea* (Waters 1976):

In 1581 Michiel Coignet called pilotage the ‘common navigation’ as opposed to ‘la navigation grande’ by which he meant celestial navigation. [...] Pilotage consisted of using ‘no other instruments than experience, the compass and the lead’ (Waters 1976: VII).

To this, Taylor adds:

Pilotage has always seemed to me more important than navigation. One can make an error in one’s celestial navigation but then one has a chance to correct it some hours later when the next

⁷ ‘pilot’, *Cambridge Etymology dictionary*, <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=pilot> (accessed 27/12/2019)

sight is taken, whereas in piloting, an error may land one on some hidden danger with no chance of correcting the error that stove a hole in one's ship (Waters 1967: VII).

Additionally, if we look again at the etymology, what one discovers is that long before 'pilots' and 'navigators' there were sailors, seamen and mariners:⁸

Sailor: c. 1400, *sailer*, agent noun from sail (v.). Spelling with 'o' arose 16c., probably by influence of *tailor*, etc., and to distinguish the meaning 'seaman, mariner' from 'thing that sails'. It replaced much older seaman and mariner.

Seaman: 'a sailor', Old English *sæmanna* (plural); see sea + man (n.). Similar formation in Dutch *zeeman*, German *seemann*, Old Norse *sjomaðr*.

Mariner: 'seaman, sailor, one who directs or assists in navigating a ship', mid-13c.; from Anglo-French *mariner*; Old French *marinier* 'seaman, sailor', 12c.; from Medieval Latin *marinarius* 'sailor', 'of the sea, maritime'; from Latin *marinus* 'of the sea', from *mare* 'sea, the sea, seawater'. Earlier and long more common than sailor.

The terms 'navigator' and 'pilot' seemed to gain currency with the rise of science and technology, and the charts and instruments that were being developed at the time, whereas people of the sea in their various crafts were previously called 'mariners'.⁹ Even before developments in science and technology, mariners were aware of the passing of time as well as being oriented to the sea while sailing, which is not much different from the way amateur trainees become skilled nowadays, or the way Pacific navigators learned to sail and became skilled in it.

The work and skills of navigators from Oceania have frequently been used as examples by cognitive anthropologists (e.g., Gladwin 1964, Hutchins 1983, 1995) to prove that a kind of cognitive map in the mind precedes and underwrites experience at sea. Harry Heft (2013) argues against this view, suggesting that charts and other devices are used

⁸ 'sailor', 'seaman', 'mariner' *Cambridge Etymology Dictionary*, <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=sailor>, <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=seaman>, <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=mariner> (all accessed 27/12/2019).

⁹ My discussion of the etymologies of terms such as navigation and pilotage owes much of the work of Henrik Vigh (2009). However, Vigh's argument, that the idea of social navigation is based on movement, is poorly examined etymologically as well as in its reference to Ingold's work. He sees Ingold's work as operating with a static model. To be precise, he states that the wayfinding for Ingold is 'a GPS version of navigation', noting that this version for him means 'terrestrial, sedentary' and assumes it is 'underlying stability' (Vigh 2009: 429).

situationally, to work things out as you go along, not to represent the entire problem of space in advance. According to him:

Material tools ... that have been designed to assist an individual or group in addressing some concrete problem situation can themselves subsequently transform thinking in similar contexts (Heft 2013: 284).

As noted in Chapter 5, Ingold (2000: 219-242) uses 'wayfinding' to describe the way in which we go along paths of life, by way of the places we collectively inhabit. Navigation, by contrast, is about plotting a course from one location to another, as defined on a map, independently and in advance of actually following it. Thus map-using or navigation, of the kind described by anthropologist and sailor Edwin Hutchins (1995: 12-13), 'is as strange to ordinary practices of wayfinding as is cartography (or mapmaking) to ordinary practices of mapping' (Ingold 2000: 236).

The acquisition of experience transforms one's way of thinking, rendering one capable of responding in similar environments through 'background corrections' (Portisch 2010: S76). This manner of responding is not so much about *cognition* as about *concentration* (Ingold, forthcoming). There is a continuous reflection during the process of enskilment that allows for the growth of expertise and transformation. Ever since sailing began, masters and pilots have always prided themselves on knowing the 'feel' of their ship and how much way she is making (Taylor 1971: 52). When what is to come is always unexpected, and not under the direct control of any agency, concentration is essential, 'involving a continual dialogue with one's environment' (Ingold, forthcoming, see Portisch 2010: 71-3). In considering the different terms given to the explorers of sea throughout history, it is apparent that two ways of living are at stake, shaped by conditions, respectively, at sea and on land. The skills that humans have developed to travel in-between these two environments have not been fully appreciated or understood by thinkers in either science or technology. The depth of these skills is exemplified in the work of the pilots and their *rutter* books, in which, as with songs or sailing practices in illiterate societies, experts instruct novices, creating a concentrative atmosphere of wisdom and growth in which novices can fully live their learning.

Knowing From the Inside¹⁰



Figure 101: Steering and having breakfast on the aft-deck. Atlantic crossing on the *Wylde Swan*.

If we board the *Wylde Swan* by the gangway, we find ourselves standing on the deck between two cabins. Turning towards the prow we will find the **fore cabin**¹¹, where the entry to the **pantry** is, where one can find refreshments and two big tables where the meals are eaten. Just across the pantry room, there are stairs leading down to the **main hold**, where all the **bunks** are distributed around both walls, with two big tables in the middle as the old sailing boats used to have. The **galley**, where the cook and some volunteers prepare the meals, make the bread and wash the dishes, is midway down the stairs from the pantry to the main hold. In the main hold, next to the galley, are the **laundry** and the **dry-foot storage**. On the opposite side of the main hold, there are more bunks and **heads** and **showers**, and another stair-way leading back up on deck, and from there to the **aft cabin**. We find the **officers' mess** on the fore-deck of these stairs, and two crew cabins, one for the engineer, next to the engine room. Once you go out on deck through its side doorways, in the same aft cabin but with only one entry from the aft, in front of the **helm**, are the **navigation room** and the **skipper's quarters**. There are some benches on the aft-deck, inside which there are

¹⁰ The story of the *Wylde Swan* is told in my previous chapter. She was built in 1920 and although not originally built to sail, she has a beautiful hull for sailing and was completely rebuilt from the inside between 2000 and 2010.

¹¹ Some words are in bold in this chapter to help the reader not to get lost with the many new terms used on board that I introduce.

harnesses available for climbing the mast, and other benches on the sides of the aft cabin, with life jackets, and the tools to clean the deck.

On deck, the **rigging** is made up of many lines, the **sails**, the **braces** and the **two masts**: the **main mast** and the **fore mast**. There is a place on deck, between the two cabins, just before the entry to the pantry, and where you normally have access to the boat through the gangway, where there is a bell. When the **bell** rings, it means that a meal is ready, or that everyone must gather on this deck-centre place or around the helm on the aft-deck for a meeting. The bell can also ring in very rough weather, when the boat is heeling more than usual to one side. If we continue towards the prow, we will find another small place, in front of the fore mast and before reaching a third cabin, in which there is the **bosun's locker** on the port side and an entry to the first mate's cabin and to other crew cabins or quarters on the starboard side. This corridor also connects through to the galley. This third cabin is built into the prow, where the **bowsprit** and its net are. The bowsprit is a wooden spar extending forwards from the prow of the boat. It provides an anchor for the forestay sail, allowing the fore-mast to be stepped farther forward on the **hull**.

Under the galley floor, there is a tiny room with access only kneeling or crouching down, where the engineers have the **heating** and **air conditioning** and the **desalination systems**. The aqua system is designed for cold water climes, for sailing mostly in the North Sea, but often the ship spends a long time in the Caribbean, where the water is too warm to use. The two young engineers working on board are always busy with this machinery. At the same time as the deck check, there is an engine check. Every hour, one of the crew or trainees must go down to the engine room to check that everything is working well. There is always some machinery operating on board, and the skills involved in these mechanical aspects were shared amongst everyone in the crew. We spent two afternoons with the engineers getting to know how the whole system worked, with diagrams on deck. Those trainees most interested in these systems endeavoured to help the engineers, working alongside them and learning by doing. The *Wylde Swan* actually has some of the most advanced technology available, especially with its desalination system. It was therefore the most comfortable vessel for crossing the Atlantic.

Figure 102: Checking the life suits on deck. In the background, sanding and varnishing a pantry table. Atlantic crossing on the *Wylde Swan* 2017.



Figure 103: One of the engineers explaining the mechanical system of the boat to those interested on deck. Atlantic crossing on the *Wylde Swan* 2017.



On board *Vahine*, the interest before the crossing was in installing solar panels on deck to generate the necessary energy in order not to have to start the engine to generate what was necessary for life on board. They did this before leaving Sines. Sustainability lies behind these experiences; it would make no sense not to take these steps, for then sailing would

become just a mere adventure. In our ordinary lives, we are not conscious of the waste of energy and the impact of our practices on the environment, such as when being at sea.

Of course, under the floor of the main hold, there is a storage space, every single part of the boat is used to store something. Under the hull of the boat, a long keel ends under the aft hull. The keel is the part of the boat that is usually supporting the frames of the hull but also, by extending below the bottom of the boat, is counteracting the boat's tendency to heel over with the force of the wind filling the sails. This projected ridge or fin on the bottom of the hull of a boat functions as though it were an underwater wing, defined by Johna, a Finnish mentor, as: 'The invisible balancing force that has always had a special place in [her] heart'. The keel prevents the boat from being pushed downwind and from tipping over. The sailing boat is dynamically a balance of forces in which wings above and below water drive the boat forward. What propels the boat is the balance between the force of the keel and the force of the sails. Probably that is why it is so rewarding to climb the mast on tall ships. When climbing up through the shrouds, more than any other perspective of the boat, what engages participants is the feeling not only of flowing, but of flying.

Figure 104: Up on the mast in the middle of the Atlantic. *Wylde Swan* 2017.



One becomes a wing extension of the boat, and that makes people happy. There is an airy and weightless feeling in which the deck disappears and the movement of the hull over the water is performed in the air by those up on the mast like a dance. In this regard, as Alan Watts states, sailing a boat is ‘the greatest skill of all’¹², in which sailors let nature do it for them, allowing themselves to be carried by the wind. Similarly, Nelson asserts of the ‘groove’, that it has ‘a certain habitational quality... that is difficult to point to as someone would point out coordinates on a map’ (Nelson 2012: 102).

Sailing is an experience of transformational power, that opens us up to new experiences and therefore, to new ways of thinking. It is known that if you get seasick, it is better to move to the aft-deck, which is more stable; that is where the saloon was on the *Pelican of London*. Additionally, the aft-deck is normally the location of the captain’s cabin, for many good reasons, as Ruth put it:

When you are sleeping you also gain a lot of knowledge from the boat. This is why the captain is on the aft-deck. There, of course, you can be woken up very quickly but also, when you are sleeping you are there. You are hearing, steering, feeling the water flowing along the hull and this tells you whatever is happening.

When being sentient with the environment becomes so existential on board, even when you are sleeping, you are gaining a lot of knowledge from the boat. Being more aware of your dreaming, an invisible balancing force holds your attention. Inspired by Gibson’s idea of the ‘education of attention’ (Gibson 1979: 254), Ingold argues that in learning:

each generation contributes to the next not by handing on a corpus of representations, or information in the strict sense, but rather by introducing novices into contexts which afford selected opportunities for perception and action, and by providing the scaffolding that enables them to make use of these affordances (Ingold 2000: 354).

The novice’s bodily movement in the world and attention to others, grounded in the observation of accomplished practitioners, and in the imitative coordination of these observations (Ingold 2000: 353), results in the knowhow that novices need for seafaring.

¹² This poem by Alan Watts has already been mentioned in Chapter 4 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b-Zel_pAPJg

Following the balance on board while opening their attention to all the forces, movements, changes and other beings, enables young trainees to feel their way forward.

Getting to Know the *Wylde Swan*:

There are many ways to know and to be with and of a tall ship, and when it comes to learning the detail of how a boat sails it becomes as much a lexical journey through traditional maritime terminology as it is a listing of ropes and sails. That terminology is part of the construction of taskship.

a. The Sails

The *Wylde Swan* is a 'class A' ship in the tall ships classification mentioned in Chapter 1, which mostly means that its rigging has square sails.¹³ To fill the square sails to get underway, the wind must come from the aft and as mentioned in Chapter 3, the apparent wind on deck is like a breeze when using them. There can be a certain range of manoeuvres with the braces to control the angle of the sails presented by the wind, but in a square-rigged boat is not the kind of boat that can sail into the wind. However, the *Wylde Swan* combines the square sails with Latin sails, which can be used when sailing close to the wind, although when a boat has only square sails it is considered a 'fully rigged' boat.

The most important sail on the *Wylde Swan* is the **main staysail** because it is a small sail. It's a sail you can use all the time; it is a very thick sail, to use in heavy weather. The main staysail is practical and easy to handle. The **fore staysail** is also very important. Both follow the line of the stays. The main staysail follows the stay of the main mast and the fore staysail follows the stay of the foremast. A **stay** is a line that holds a mast and supports it against fore and aft forces. And the **shrouds** support them against sideways forces. The crew climb up the masts by way of the shrouds. We need them to balance the masts out. It is necessary to have some sails behind and some in front, otherwise, the ship will keep turning into or away from the wind. Additionally, using the fore sails, the centre of gravity of the boat shifts forwards.

¹³ **Rigging:** All the lines and their fittings on a vessel. The standing rigging supports the mast or masts. The running rigging raises, lowers and controls the sails.

Rig: The arrangement of a vessel's masts and sails.

Square sail: A four-sided sail hung from a spar called a yard.

Spar: A mast, boom, yard or other support for sails, originally of wood.
All from Liberman's glossary, 1989: 188.

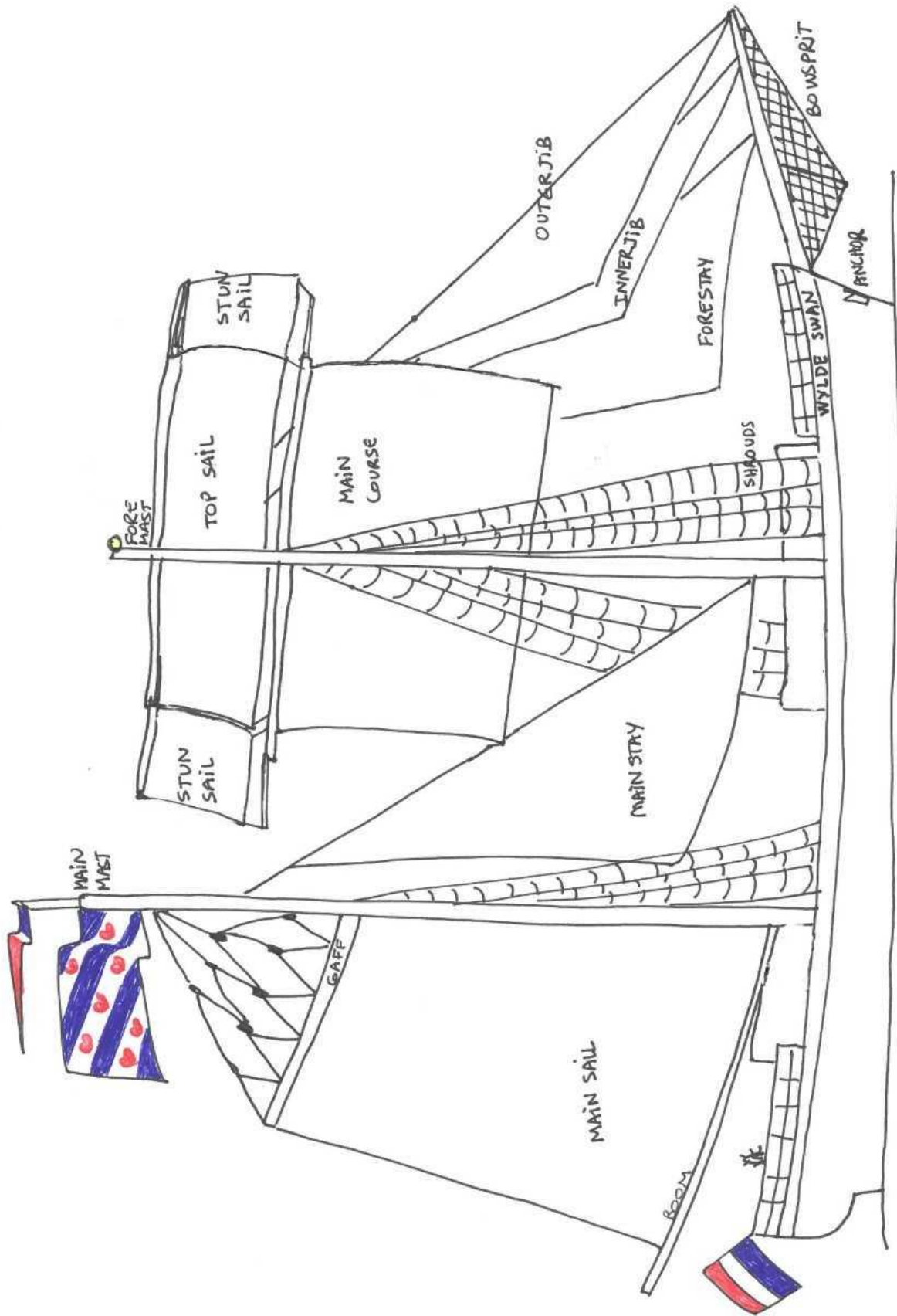
With these two sails, *Wylde Swan* can be balanced so that if you use the wheel to steer in the optimum direction you can keep moving along efficiently. Then if you want to further increase speed, you can put up the **fisherman** sail. The fisherman is hung 'upside down' which means that there is a greater sailing area at the top. This means the higher it goes; the more wind it catches. This is not such a big sail, therefore it's easy to take down and it gives you more speed for sailing closer to the wind; in addition, the fisherman sail can be used to trap more air when there is light wind. The *Wylde Swan* previously had a schooner sail, but that part of the rig is now divided into two: the mainstay and the fisherman.¹⁴ When it had a big sail, it was a problem to stow it away, especially if it had to be taken down quickly.

Another good combination is to be sailing with the **main staysail, forestay, the inner jib, and the fisherman**: this is a very stable combination and if a squall is coming, the fisherman or higher sail area must be taken down. But, with this combination of mainstay, forestay and the jib, you have a flexible range of options. In a storm you need some sails up to give the ship its balance, otherwise, it can lose stability. With these essential sails, you can experimentally adjust the settings. If there is a good wind, you can very quickly put up the **mainsail** because it is large. It is important to take this into account because if you start to set some jibs, something needs to be done afterwards to balance the boat or it will be forced away from the wind all the time. The mainsail is hard to set; it is a heavy job because you have to hold up the **gaff**. You need two teams, one with the **peak halyard** and another with the **throat halyard**.

After this first drawing of the boat with all the sails (figure 105), I will go on to show more illustrations, one only with the Latin sails (figure 106), and another with the square sails (figure 107). Besides, I will give the names of the ropes and explain their function. For instance, the line to pull the sail up is called a **halyard**, the line to take it down is called a **downhaul**; and the line to adjust the wind into the sails is called the **sheet** of the sail.

¹⁴ It can be seen in Chapter 5, figures 77 and 78, when comparing the photograph with the previous drawing of the sails (pg. 240).

Figure 105: Illustration of the main sails on the *Wylde Swan*.



b. Parts of a Latin Sail:

Throat, upper hole in the sail, from where the halyard sets the sail.

Tack: Interior corner of the sail.

Clew: Exterior corner of the sail.

c. Names, Settings and Actions of the Lines:

- **SHEETS**: all the sails have a line called a sheet. They are to control the sail better, you use them all the time to control the wind filling the sail. They are:

The **outer jib sheet / inner sheet / forestay sheet/ mainstay sheet / the stun sails** have an **inner sheet** and an **outer sheet/**

Topsail sheet: there are sheets but not tacks in the topsail, because it is lying attached to the main yard.

The **course sheet**: the sheets of the course (the square sail) work together with the tack lines to set the angle of the sail.

The **mainsail sheet** is tied to the end of the boom and goes through the blocks to the winch behind the helm.

- **DOWNHAUL outer jib/forestay/inner jib/stun sails/mainstay/ mainsail**: They help to pull down the sails.

The **downhaul of the main sail** is used only if there is some problem pulling the sail down.

The **downhauls of the stun sails** are together with their inner sheets on the fore roof before the bowsprit, therefore harnesses are needed when being there on setting the sail.

- **TACK course, outer jib**: The tack fixes the forward bottom corner of the sail. For the **course**, they are used together with the sheets to get the right set of the sail. For the **outer jib** the tack is only used to adjust the bottom corner of the sail. The **inner jib** and the **forestay** do not have a tack; they are fixed in a line.

- **HALYARD outer jib/forestay/inner jib/ mainstay**:

The halyard is a line to pull the head of the sail up.

All the sails have a halyard line, **except the course**.

The main staysail halyard attaches to the main mast, but the **downhaul of the staysail** is in the foremast. There are sheets, but no tack is fixed in the fore mast. The mainstay is called that because it is the mainstay line that fixes the main mast. The downhaul line of the mainstay pulls the same way as the mainstay.

Top-yard: line to pull the yard of the topsail up.

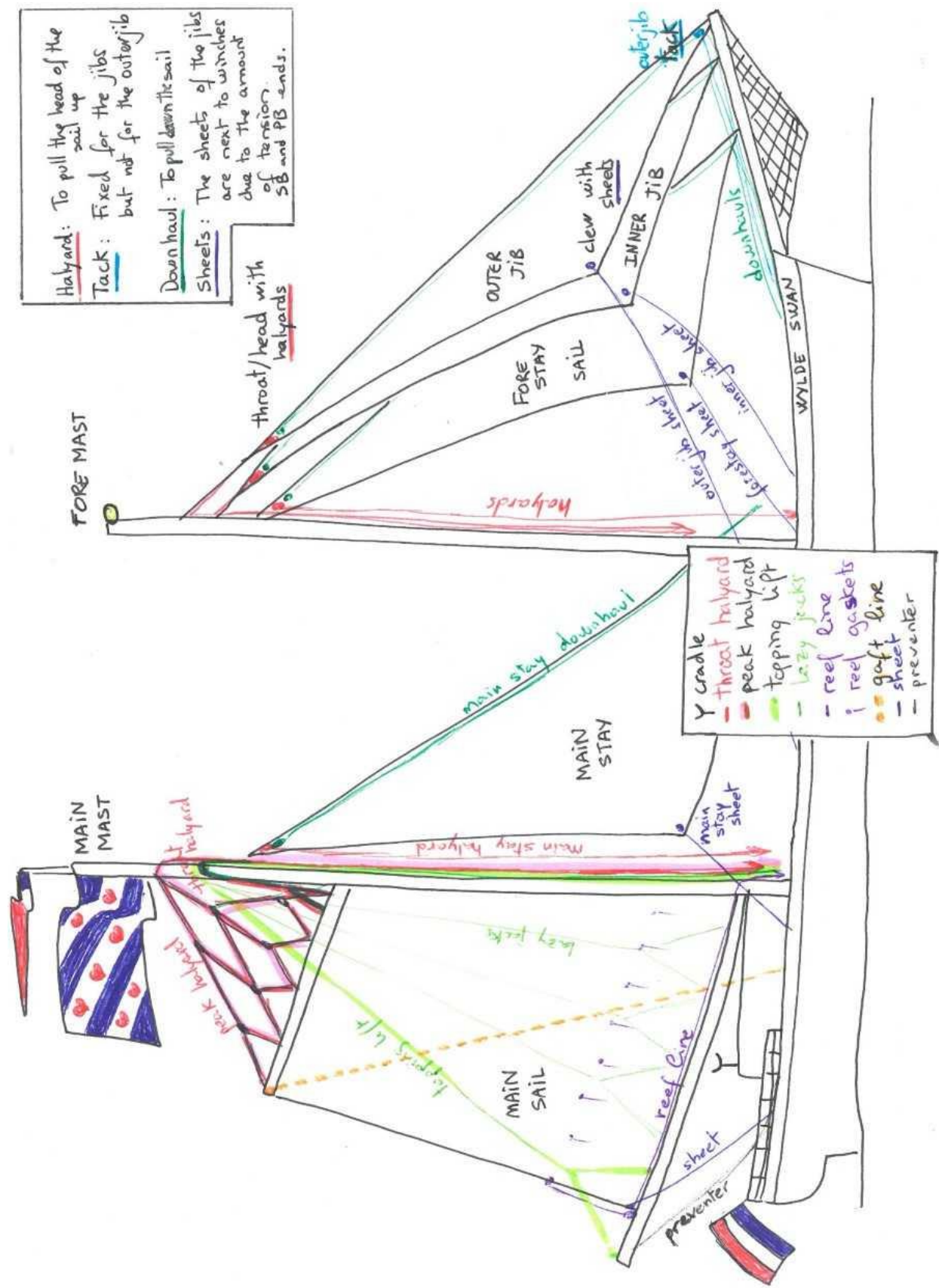
The peak halyard line of the main sail pulls up the peak of the gaff. This line provides the force when using the 'Barry' sail to hold the gaff up in a coming example (see a later jury-rigging).

Throat halyard mainsail: this line pulls up the throat of the mainsail attached to the main mast.

- **BACKSTAY windward/leeward:** When tacking, you need to consider whether to have the backstay on the windward side, or to change it to the other side. Someone has to release the windward and tighten the leeward. After tacking, this leeward will become the new windward. We only change them when we tack or gybe. They are only on the windward-aft side because they must support the pressure on the main mast when the main sail is in use and thus putting extra strain on this mast.
- **REEF LINE mainsail:** it is a line used to shorten the mainsail by pulling the outer side down to the boom and then tightening the sail with the **reef gaskets**¹⁵ in order to use less sail.
- **LAZY JACK:** is the line that holds the mainsail in place or to control it when pulling it down. This prevents the main sail from falling during the process of pulling it down.
- **TOPPING LIFT:** It is the line used to hold up the boom. Mainly when the mainsail is lowered. Not when sailing.
- **BOOM PREVENTER LINE/ PREVENTER MAINSAIL:** This line is used to stop the boom swinging into the wind.
- **GAFF LINE:** to control the gaff yard. Located to windward.
It could be a gaff preventer to leeward.

¹⁵ Gaskets are lengths of rope or fabric used to hold a stowed sail in place. This term is used on tall ships. On yachts, they can be referred as 'sail tails'.

Figure 106: Illustration of the main lines of the Latin sails on the *Wylde Swan*.



Other lines of the MAIN SAIL:

Other lines:

- **FLAG LINE:** It is used to hold up the flag of the country in which the boat is registered or the small welcoming flag of the country to visit.
- **WORKING LINES:** they are spare lines, with no special purpose: they could be used for a jury rig or to lift tools or food up to the ones working on the rigging.

d. Square Sails

The type of sails that can be classified as the sails that go across the ship are called **square sails**. The next illustration (Figure 107), only with the foremast and some more line names, follows this explanation.

The **topsail** is the one higher up on the mast, which means that it always catches the wind. It's quite large but not as large as **the course**. The topsail catches a lot of wind, and it is easy to take down quickly. It is very effective and it's not very dangerous to have it set.

However, **to set the course** means that you know you are going to have some stable weather for some time. It takes at least a quarter of an hour to take the course away and sometimes you do not have that time when the weather is changing, so you have to be sure about the upcoming forecast before setting it.

- **BUNTLINES topsail/course:** they are used to gather the square sails up to the yard, to secure them when it is not set yet and then they are released when we want to set/drop the sail.

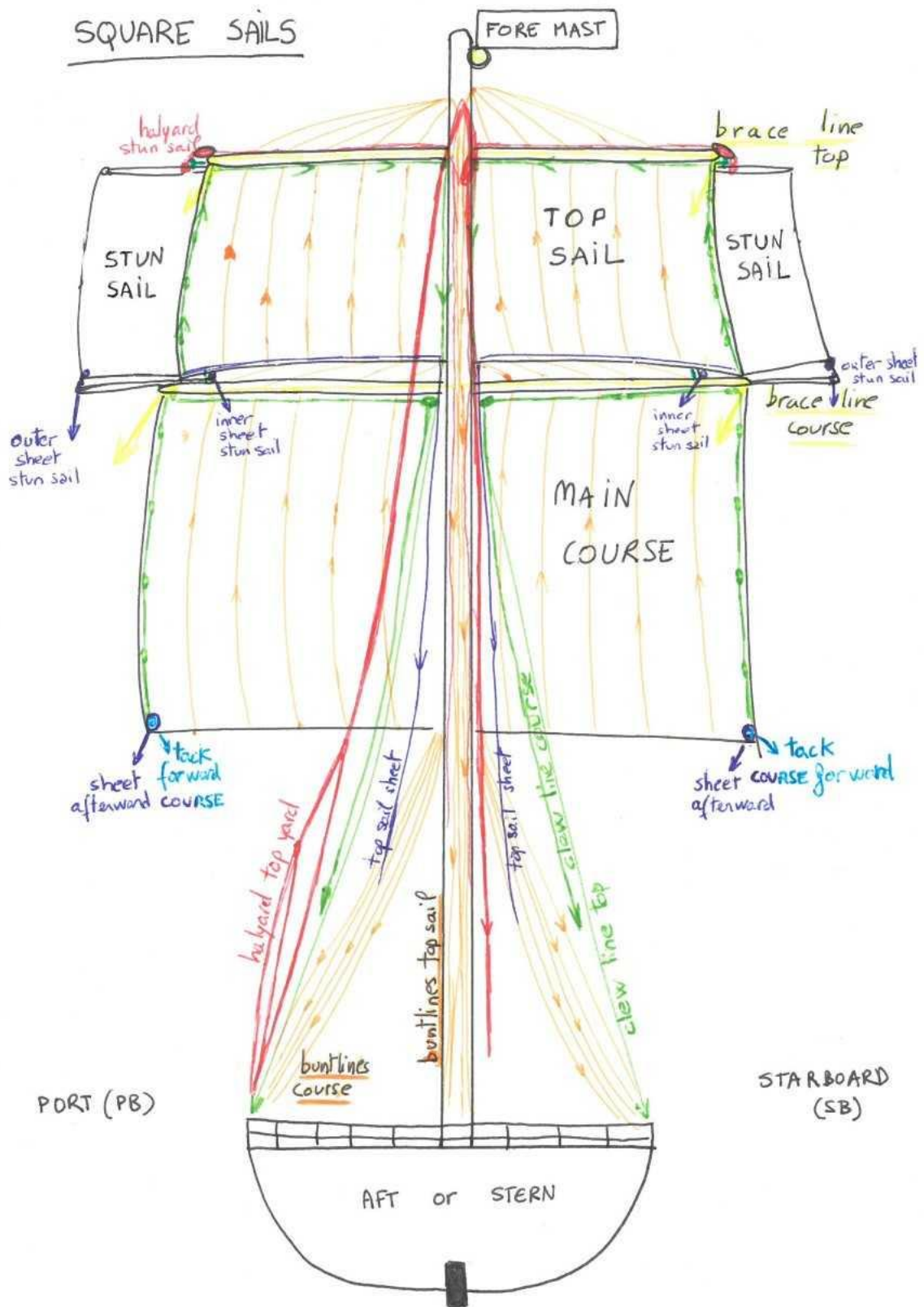
At least two people are needed to pull these lines.

- **CLEW LINE topsail/course:** they are stronger than the buntlines in the outer corner of the square sails. They pull up the square sails. In the case of the **top sail**, they are used to set the sail, whereas when we pull the clew lines of **the course**, it is to drop the sail.
- **BRACE LINES topsail/course:** These lines are used to adjust the angle of the yards one line from each side of the yard.

e. Other Elements on Deck:

- **WINCHES:** They are drawn on deck next to the lines (Figure 108). They are devices that give you mechanical advantage to pull or to adjust the tension of the ropes. They are used for lines under great tension, such as the sheets of the jibs, mainstay, mainsail, course and then for the backstays, and for the peak and throat halyards of the mainsail. The winch shared between the outer jib sheet and backstay is used to leeward for the outer jib and to windward for the backstay.
- **BLOCKS:** They are single or multiple pulleys. They give you advantage when pulling or directing a line. They are normally in the halyards (reducing the force needed when pulling them), and for the sheets.
- **A THIRD HAND:** Composition of blocks and lines set up in a pulley system. It gives you extra strength when the rope goes through these blocks and it is easy to pull / to hold a line if some work has to be done on it. For example, it is used with the topsail halyard or to move a set line to some other place.

Figure 107: Illustration of the main lines of the square sails on the *Wylde Swan*.



Being Creative with the Rigging: A Game of Correspondences

The *Swan* is one of the longest boats with only two masts. It's a very big two-masted boat. This is primarily because of aesthetics: if you put three masts on a ship, it's like a clipper; the form of the *Swan* is a lugger, a herring lugger, although sometimes luggers are smaller than the *Swan*. The typical lugger rig has two masts and Wilhelm, who built it, in Ruth's opinion, wanted to have maximum sail area and so the individual sails were large. Had there been three masts, the sails would consequently have been smaller. As a consequence, it was necessary to shorten the mast and take out three metres of the course. This decision was taken to make the boat faster and with a better balance between the sails.¹⁶ Ruth explained:

For a Sail Training vessel, particularly the first plan was very ambitious, because if you want people participating in the experience and learning something, it is much safer to do it on a smaller ship. What I mean is that this setup is not always very practical because if you are not very experienced, it is much safer to sail with three masts and smaller sails.

The course was reduced because then it is much easier when you have to decide if you set it or not. With the course a little bit smaller, there are more available choices. Ruth noted:

Oh, I am going to put this sail with that one... We can play around more, so we became faster. We also cut the mainsail, yes and that was because we were to shorten the main mast. We have already done that before. When sailing the first year with the old main mast, we never sailed without a reef in the mainsail because it was too big. So we just cut it out.

Through their sailing and design decisions, the crew continuously builds the boat to their needs. Additionally, the play with the sails while sailing can continue with extra sails, being creative with the rigging:

- **The stun sails** are used when there is little wind. The wind needs to be behind us. They have halyards, and downhaul and sheet. We pull up the sail with an improvised yard. You have to take care not to roll it when setting the sail because all the lines, the yard, and the sail are pulled up from the deck to the top yard to set them. The people in control of the downhaul and the sheet (the ones I said above who needed harnesses),

¹⁶ This was mentioned in Chapter 5 in the section 'Womblike Hollowness: The Story of the *Wylde Swan*', the reason was that they are doing a lot of Atlantic crossings, so this is a safety measure for this kind of voyages.

have to be aware of this arduous process. We set the stun sails several times during our Atlantic crossing due to the lack of wind.

- The **jury-rigging** is provisional; it is the rigging for the day. On the *Wylde Swan*, there are some sails, part of this provisional rigging, that have nicknames. As Ruth said:

if we want to sail close to the wind, towards where the wind is coming from, and there is still too much wind, we have a jib to put up. It's called 'Barry'. If you have a heavy wind 'Barry' makes sure that you can sail closer!

As the Jury rig is provisional, always improvised at the last moment for an upcoming necessity, 'Barry' was also used in another setting. When the *Wylde Swan* sailed back from Canada to Europe in 2017¹⁷, as the mainsail had been ripped, it was replaced by a provisional system of sails. The peak of the gaff was elevated to form an angle that divided the area in which there was the mainsail in two parts, and then two extra sails were used, 'Barry' and another one, as substitutes for the mainsail.

These explanations and definitions illustrate the sheer number of transformations and creative performances that can arise just to get underway. And Ruth continued with passion:

If you want to set the mainsail without the jibs, the boat will constantly turn into the wind, and you have to use the rudder a lot to keep going on one course. It's not natural for the boat at that moment to follow that course, because it is not balanced, you do not gain much speed because the rudder is constantly at an angle in the water and it acts as a brake. So you want to have the sails balanced properly to go in the direction you want, with the least possible rudder angle.

All the time on board one is playing around with these things. The other thing you can do is to ask a trainee, Ruth said:

Are you watching what I am doing here? Then do it yourself. Just let them experience it for themselves.

But when you allow trainees to take on roles, even with smaller things, they are afraid – for example, when going to do a deck check on their own for the first time. So when they are done, the crew ask them what they have looked at. Normally, they have checked what is

¹⁷ That was the round trip across the Atlantic, and it is part of the story of the voyage that everyone involved knows. For me, I got to know it from Mairi, with whom I sailed on the outward leg and who stayed on board on the homeward one.

necessary to check, but always an additional explanation can be given by the permanent crew, outlining the possible consequences of their actions. For example, Ruth said:

if I see that the foresails are not really tight on the foredeck; a trainee has to check the foresails, and he probably would check the halyard, but I would also check the backstays because if the backstays are slack, then of course the sail is hanging.

In this meshwork of relations, everyone grows in wisdom while shaping the boat or 'taskshipping'. As Portisch puts in, in her discussion of mastering a craft 'it is part of a "formative" process in a wider sense that involves situating oneself within a particular group of relatives and community in a socially recognised manner, and developing a certain status in virtue of one's skills' (Portisch 2010: S68).

If all goes well, the crew on board will be pleased and confident of the relationships they are building with amateur members, and *vice versa*, as crew members are not so different from the trainees. As William, another trainee, put it:

They are almost like trainees but with much more experience than us. They are our friends as well, not only teachers, but also teachers of course, I have been practising a bit of language with them, and additionally, everything I know about the ship comes from them!

He said of Jasper, one of the engineers:

I learned quite a bit about navigation with Jasper, he is quite knowledgeable about the instruments in the navigation room and I just kept asking so I learnt quite a bit from that and he didn't mind at all. He just passed the time as well.

Speaking about Ruth as First Officer and Jonathan as a Second Officer he said:

I had Ruth for a little bit and Jonathan, I learned a bit from both, more about navigation, different tactics and courses that we took, because that's the main thing they are in charge of, to catch as much wind as possible to make the best speed while staying on course.

About Fosse, the captain he said:

Fosse is really cool, he can be very playful and extremely knowledgeable and knows a lot about everything on board, just sailing in general.

Being creative with the rigging is only possible when everyone is participating, and when the bundle of relationships or meshwork is performed at every moment, adapting the materials available on board in each occasion.

Skills of Navigation: This is the point between the Major and the Minor

Some of the essential social aspects of Pacific navigation and education are made clear in resources like the film *The Last Navigator*,¹⁸ along with the eponymous book by Stephen D. Thomas (1987), who was adopted and mentored by traditional navigator Mau Pailug from the island of Satawal in 1983. The establishment of a kinship relationship, later becoming a *palu* or man in the community, was a precondition for Thomas's instruction in navigation, as well as for the approval of the elder to ensure that it would not offend the ancestors.¹⁹ Learning the language, together with the navigation skills, even though he was an American sailor, took him more than two years. Pailug thought that if his own people did not want to learn the art, then why not to spread their knowledge to an American like Thomas who wished to do so? What is striking about the film is that they keep singing their songs whenever they are learning, for instance when setting sail, showing respect for the suffering of those staying on shore until their return.

The way to become a Pacific navigator in oral cultures is through practices that involve what Lyndsay Farrall (1981) calls 'non-verbal mnemonic devices'. These devices such as knots, marks or notches on sticks, stones, and other commonly available materials have been used to learn to re-present the annual calendar in the Gilbertese Islands or the star compass in the Caroline Islands (Farrall 1991 [1981]: 56). Ward Goodenough and Stephen D. Thomas also reported some games to memorise the stars like the 'Sea brothers', naming groups of sea lanes with the same coordinates; or the 'Coral Hole Stirring' that imagines a parrot fish hiding in its hole in the reef jumping in and out of the dip net to the next island; or the 'Breadfruit Picker Lashing' that uses as a metaphor the pole for picking breadfruit, with a short stick lashed to its end at an angle to follow star courses and tacks (Goodenough and Thomas: 70-71). In these cultures, 'learning in groups helps members of the group to check each other's

¹⁸ Singer, Andrew (1983) *The Last Navigator*, Royal Anthropological Institute.

¹⁹ In Satawal custom, the canoe is the mother because it holds the food and the crew, whereas the navigator who distributes the food to his sons is the father (Thomas 1987: 163).

memory' (Farrall 1991: 54). On board *Wyld Swan* we used similar techniques (and also working in groups), learning the lines of all the sails and where they were located on deck, as well as which ones need to be eased or tightened for every sail adjustment.

When one tries to memorise the lines in every deck check, drawings on deck with chalk of different colours help, however learning where every rope is and being able to draw the following scheme or re-presentation (Figure 108) is only possible because we spent some time experiencing it, repeating it and even sometimes failing when it was necessary to pull the sails down quickly. We learned in a group, experiencing together the diverse upcoming moments, each one different from the previous one and therefore unrepeatable. This process of enskilment, of making-in-growing, was transformational in its effects. Learning as a social participation, as Étienne Wenger asserts 'shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do' (Wenger 1998: 4).

If someone had provided a map of the position of the ropes on deck in advance, we wouldn't really have been able to interpret it until we had physically experienced it. Nor can you, as a reader of this chapter, be expected to grasp the meaning of all the sails and lines, and their relations to one another, merely from the descriptions and diagrams I have provided here. In practice, you remember where the backstay is because in one of the gybes you were on the aft-deck and you were in charge of coordinating that responsibility with the rest of the crew. Before the experience, everyone can repeat that there is a backstay there, but this has very little meaning until one actually touches it in practice. And normally, like the songs or any other non-verbal mnemonic ways to remember in oral societies, that are practiced in concert with others, you remember a line when something shared happens in relation to it. To craft, as Miriam Gibson puts it 'to forge a relationship with an item that, like any relationship, is woven from a multitude of emotions and shared experiences (Gibson 2019: 30).

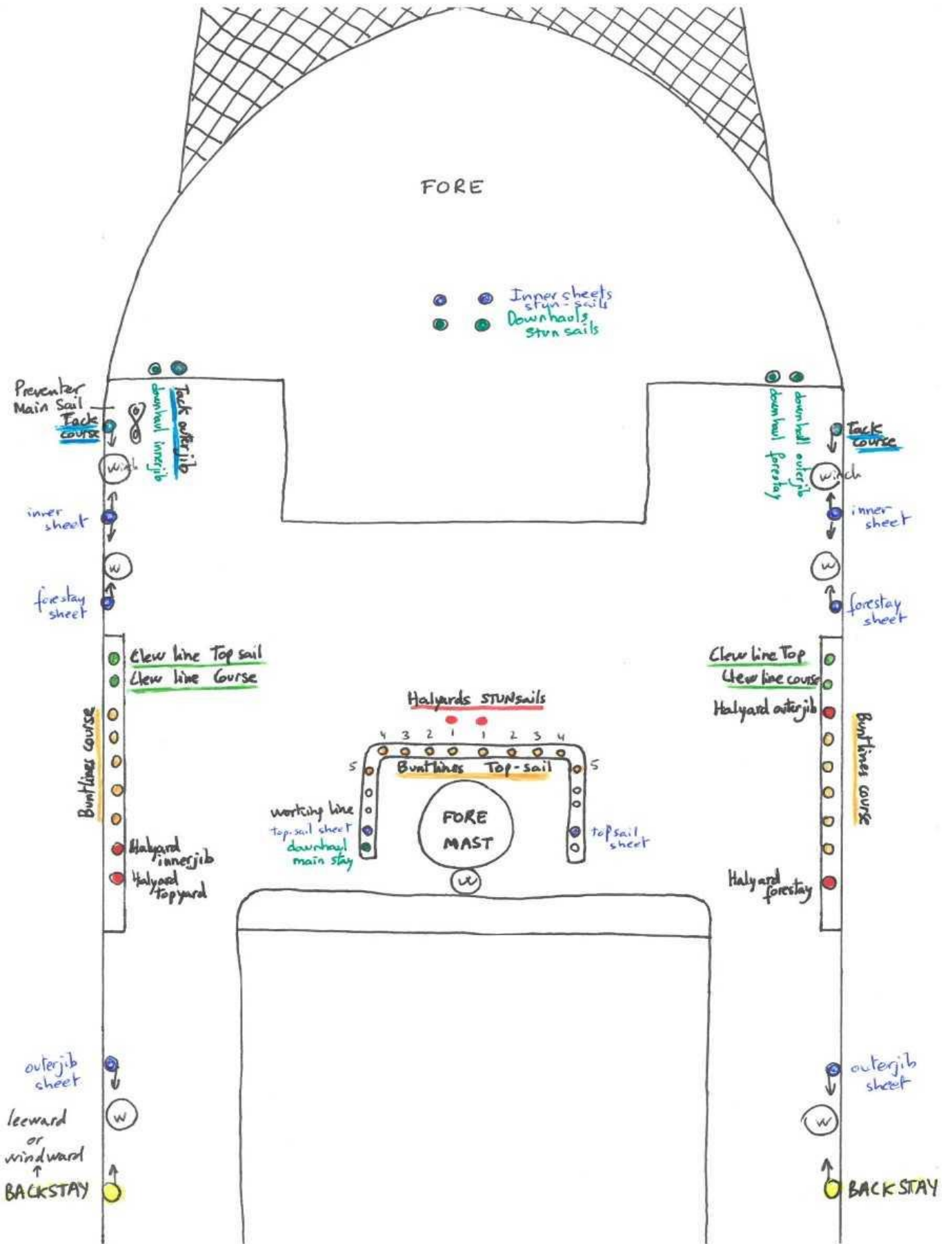
Learning the ropes by fixing bits of narratives to bits of ropes exemplifies a technique, known as the *method of loci*, that has been in use since the Middle Ages (Yates 1966: 22-23). Storytellers would train their memory by imagining themselves walking around a cathedral and associating every column with an incident in the narrative. The preference was always for features that were irregularly placed, or asymmetrical, as these were more easily distinguished from the rest.

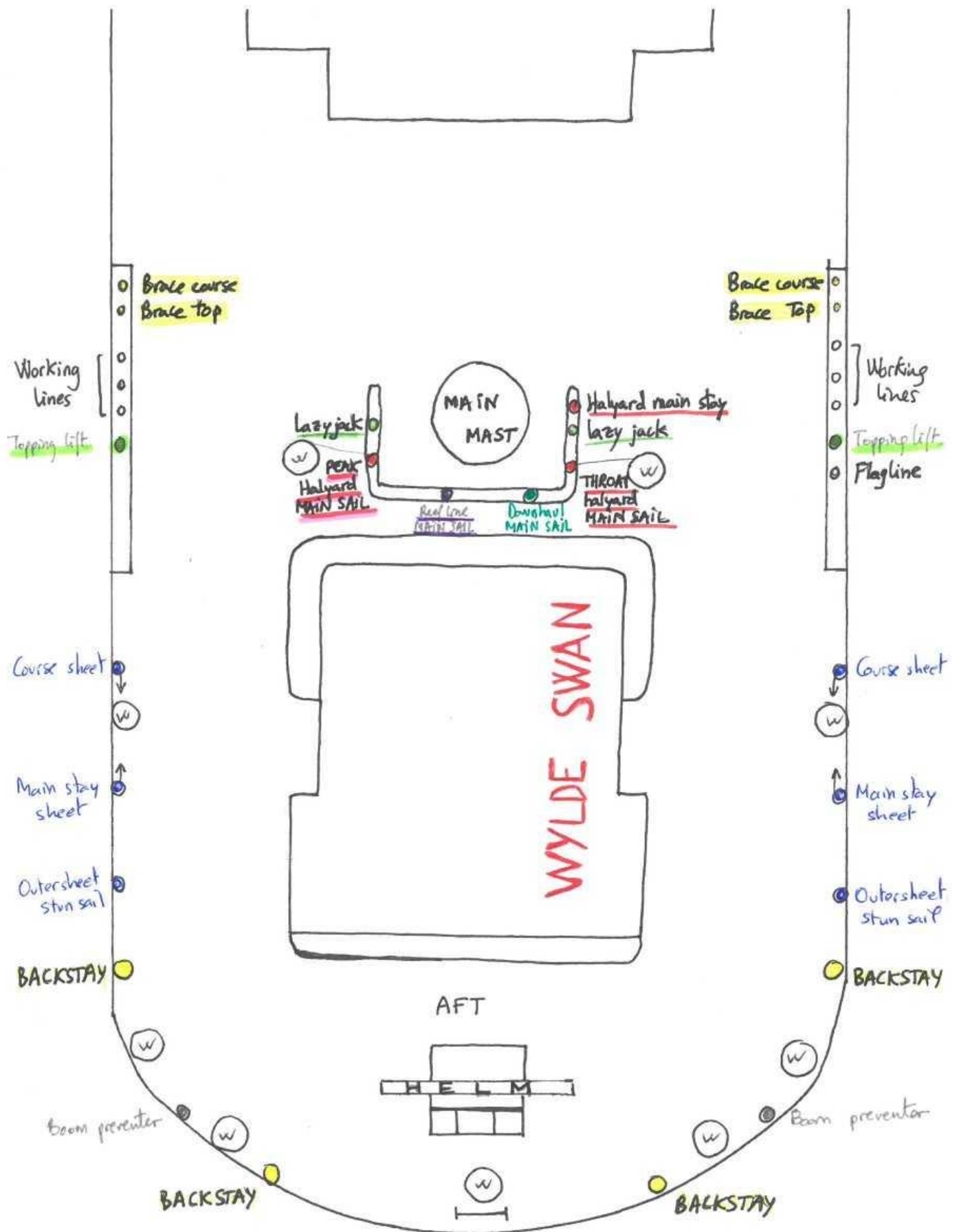
This art of memory, as Mary Carruthers observes, was ‘specifically an aid for speakers, not for learners, for composers, not for readers’ (Carruthers 2008: 194). This kind of memory is not a ‘separate’ mental process composed of rules and representations; instead, ‘reflection and assessment are integral to the practices’, involving an ‘increasingly detailed and complex understanding of the whole production process’ (Portisch 2010: S76).

Given what we have said about learning in practice and the art of memory, with my previous explanations and an initial idea of the lines on the boat, looking at this drawing is a completely different experience for an ex-crew member. What emerges in their encounter with the drawing is a passion, a change of tone when remembering the experience aboard. This happened when I revisited this drawing with Mairi, a Scottish friend of mine whom I met on the *Wylde Swan* Atlantic crossing. While I was in Scotland, in my writing-up period, I met up with her and shared these drawings; during that time, we both rapidly went into ‘shared experience aboard’ mode.

With the drawing (figure 108), all the unexpected events on board came back. Every line was a path to an entanglement for a sail to be filled with the wind and its correspondent moment, in which Mairi realised how that little part of the mesh was working. Just talking about it was like going back to living the experience once again. We followed one line until that path was explored by our dialogue, then we continued with another one, we even discovered new things about the boat in our conversation, things that one of us had realised but not the other. That was a reason why the conversation was interesting: how much of the meshwork we understood and what was still there. The drawing then, is a valuable source of concentrative experience, an enjoyable piece of the woven world for us, but it can never really convey any part of the experience itself to others. Learning on board is learning in a place of risk, where risk means unpredictability, not-yet thought. It means: being afloat and open to a multiplicity of forms in continuing variation.

Figure 108: Map of the deck on the *Wylde Swan* with the correspondent lines.





Long ago, Alfred North Whitehead observed that there are two ways of apprehending living things: 'from the outside, as the embodiments of evolved design, or from the inside, by joining materials and forces with the generative movement of growth and formation' (Ingold 2018a: 115, paraphrasing Whitehead 1925: 465).

The same distinction can be applied to learning, such as on board a sailing ship. Learning from the outside implies programmes, containment, the institutionalisation of the knowledge, map-making, whereas learning from the inside deals with immanence, full participation in the relations and processes in the creation of new forms, as when once at sea the responsiveness of seafaring kicks in. For Deleuze and Guattari, this corresponds to the distinction between major (or 'royal') and minor (or 'nomad') science (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 398). Major science wants to have everything under control, but it is in the minor, as Ingold states (Ingold, forthcoming), that 'one is truly moved by the experience'. As Pieter said:

You become more attentive to everything on board, to the people around you, as well as to what you are doing, as well as to what the ship is doing; like paying attention to different ropes, different sails and going up to work with others to trim the sails, to make decisions for the sails as fast as possible.

From Mapmaking and Assemblages to Correspondences

One way to explain the difference between the two kinds of science, major and minor, is through the history of mapping the world. Let me return to the distinction between seafaring and navigation, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Hutchins defines navigation as map-using (1995: 12-13), which is rather different from seafaring, where anyone follows and decides what is to come, but where there is no pre-established programme for doing it. It could be said, in reference to trainees' drawings discussed in Chapter 4, that 'all wayfinding is mapping, however not all mapping is wayfinding' (Ingold 2000: 232). To practise the science of the minor, from the inside, as I did in drawing (re-presenting) the deck with the lines (Figure 108) is a matter of *wayfinding*, following the art of memory, whereas what the science of the major, from the outside, tries to do with mapping is *mapmaking*. The map in mapmaking, as Denis Wood asserts, is designed and deployed 'in the name of science and civilisation, the state and human progress' (Wood 1993b: 6). In another context, Wood states:

all maps incorporate assumptions and conventions of the society and the individuals who create them. Such biases seem blatantly

obvious when one looks at ancient maps but usually become transparent when one examines maps from modern times. Only by being aware of the subjective omissions and distortions inherent in maps can a user make intelligent sense of the information they contain (Wood 1993a: 90).

Major science looks for cognitive maps in studying native knowledge. David Turnbull, for instance, although he distinguishes native knowledge generated within a field of practices from science (Turnbull 1989: 61) nevertheless argues that knowledge is organised in native minds by way of 'a dynamic cognitive map which serves to integrate a wide range of heterogeneous information rather than as a method of dead reckoning, i.e. calculation of position' (Turnbull 1997: 556).

Central to Turnbull's thesis is the idea of the 'motley', by which he means a creative assemblage, a collection of practices, instrumentation, theories and people. The term originally referred to a 'Fool's Cap' map or a jester's costume. The costume is 'an assemblage of heterogeneous components', suggesting that all seemingly universal truths, all apparently trustworthy knowledge or authoritative maps, are partial and untrustworthy, concealing a hidden social ordering (Turnbull 2000: 91). The jester's costume confirms the king's power through mocking him. Turnbull borrows the term 'assemblage' from Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 90), to connote 'an active and evolving practice rather than a passive and static structure'. Most importantly, the term suggests the 'contingency of a collage in its capacity to embrace a wide variety of incompatible components' (Turnbull 1995: 11). For Turnbull indigenous knowledge is a motley assemblage in this sense.

Indigenous knowledge, as a science of the minor, bears a striking resemblance to the practical knowledge of sailing. It is creative, and open-ended. Taking this approach, the world is built while one inhabits it, whereas the science of the major simplifies existing complexity, framing multiple programmes for learning. Turnbull tries to find a third space²⁰ in which local knowledge traditions can be reframed and decentred, and in which the social organisation of trust can be negotiated. Such an interstitial space, he argues, is crucially dependent on the re-inclusion of the performative side of knowledge (Turnbull 1997: 560).

Turnbull recalls the example of the Pacific navigators and how they were able to live in that environment, sailing long distances in their canoes. In his effort to map a world in the

²⁰ He refers to a conception of a third space in Tambiah 1990: 122.

mind, from the navigators' perspective, Turnbull is wary of boundaries and divisions, as he is of the idea of a great divide between traditional knowledge and science (Turnbull 2000: 91), stressing examples where there was no science involved or where science failed, such as in the Polynesian colonisation of the Pacific.²¹

With particular reference to the Polynesian colonisation of the Pacific, he notes that at sea, there is an integrating framework that enables the navigator to be constantly aware of his position and orientation (Turnbull 1997: 556). The star compass makes it possible to take a direction from all the heterogeneous inputs from the sun, stars, winds, waves, reefs, birds, weather, landmarks, seamarks, and sea life (1997: 556). Like the 'rose of the mariners' of the early Middle Ages (Frake 1985: 262), the star compass provides 'conventional but invariant directions' (Turnbull 1997: 556). Combined with the *etak* system²² 'the navigator's knowledge of rate, time, geography and astronomy can be integrated to provide a conveniently expressed and comprehended statement of distance travelled' (Turnbull 1997: 556). To this, Edwin Hutchins adds that having compensated for the effects of the current, drift, wind and speed, the length of travel is actually estimated in units not of distance but of temporal duration (Hutchins 1995: 205; Hutchins 1983).

Ingold, however, is critical of the theory of assemblage. It is 'too static, and it fails to answer the question of how the entities of which it is composed actually fasten to each other' (Ingold 2015a: 8). For example, sailing paths across the sea are entanglements of lines of movement in the lives of those experiencing them. Duarte is a young Portuguese trainee who decided to study marine engineering after his first Sail Training experience. He told me:

Every little ship is different in one way; everyone has different sails or a different way to sail. I like to sail in different boats to learn how to hoist the different sails. It is all conjugated, learning sailing skills and interaction with the others. On board, everyone has each role, but everyone works together. Otherwise we cannot go anywhere.

²¹ He also mentions 'the building of Chartres Cathedral without a plan, without an architect, without an understanding of structural engineering, without any sophisticated geometry, without even a standard form of measuring' (Turnbull 1997: 554-5).

²² The *etak* system has been introduced in Chapter 4, section 'The Environment Is Never Complete', as well as in the Introduction of the thesis.

This perhaps illustrates why Ingold rejects ‘assemblage’ in favour of correspondence, which he compares to ‘lines of polyphonic music, whose harmony lies in their alternating tension and resolution’, and whose knowledgeable parts are ‘bound in sympathy, through interstitial differentiation rather than external accretion’ (Ingold 2015a: 23).

From Western Skills of Navigation to Maps

The story of Western navigation includes many other examples in which practical experience resembles the techniques of the Micronesian navigators. One comes from the printed sailing directions and practical guides or *rutter* books intended for the use of seafarers, which appeared in northern Europe in the fifteenth century. A remarkable surviving example is the sailing directions of Pierre Garcie²³, to which I have already referred. Specifically, in the second edition *Le Grant Routtier* by Pierre Garcie (1521), there is an inventory of wooden templates representing each town along the Atlantic coast of Northern Europe. For each, the template matches a recognisable landmark. Below I provide an example, juxtaposing an image of *San Vicente de la Barquera* from a modern pilot’s manual with a woodcut template from Garcie’s guide (figures 109 and 110).²⁴

Another device used historically is the sounding lead, dating back to the first half of the second century on the French Mediterranean coast, and mostly recovered from classical wreck sites. The sounding leads have a cavity to sample the seabed, with a weight of 4-5 kg suitable for depths down to 50 metres or 13 kg for depths circa 100 metres (McGrail 1998: 276). The sounding lead reminds me of the way the fishermen whom Penny Howard worked with explore the ground of the West coast of Scotland, feeling the sea ‘underfoot’ from the vibration of the wheelhouse wall when the hoppers of the net bump along the sea floor (Howard 2012: 50).²⁵

²³ Reproduced in the book *The Rutters of the Sea* by David W. Waters (1976).

²⁴ Template: piece of wood cut to that shape, as we can see, the two main rocks in the image from the modern pilot, *Peña mayor* and *Peña menor*, are represented by the forms of the template in the lower picture.

²⁵ See also the section ‘The Boat as an Extension of the Body’ in Chapter 2.

Figure 109: *San Vicente de la Barquera* from the north, from a modern pilot (Waters 1976: 407).

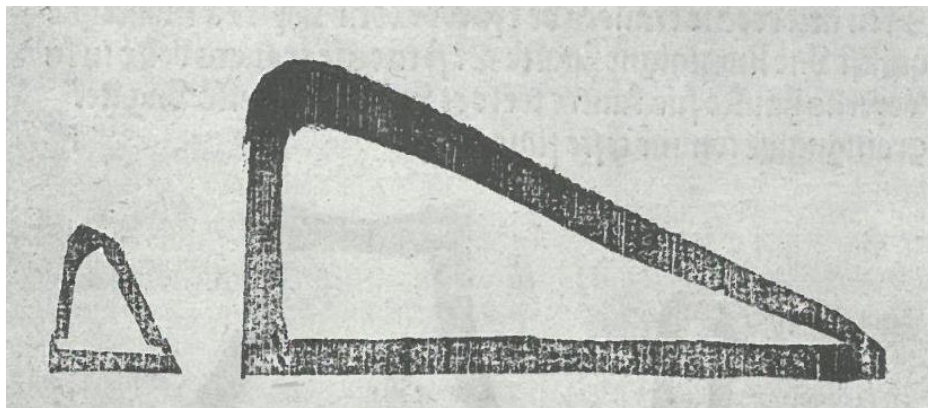
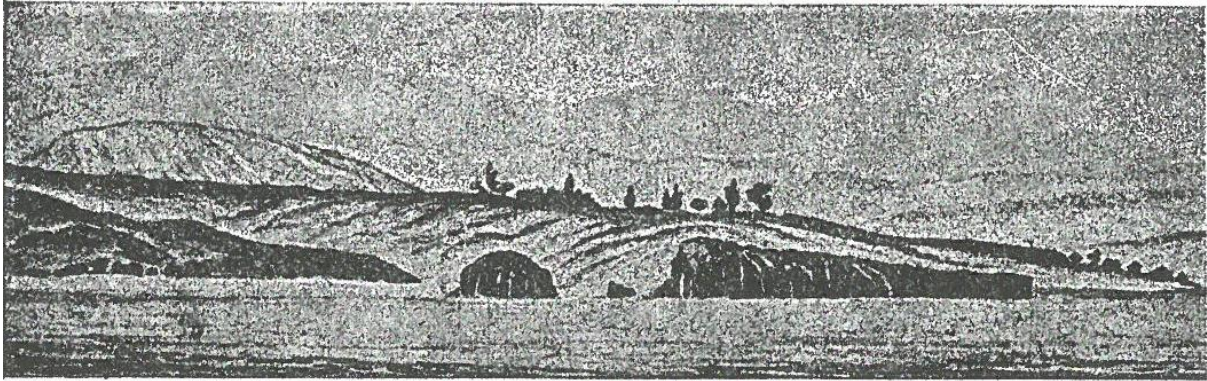


Figure 110: *Peña Menor* and *Peña Mayor* of *S. Vicente de la Barquera* Cut XXXI, G17 Pierre Garcie: 63) (Waters 1976: 267).

Charles O. Frake (1985) suggests that the rose of the mariner's compass was a cognitive device for correlating lunar with solar time and for memorising the lunar-tidal regimes of each port (1985: 254). Geoffrey Chaucer's writing about shipmen (dated from 1143, see Robinson 1957) speaks of his contemporaries sailing along the coasts of north-western Europe, not only facing rough seas and miserable weather the whole year, but also poor visibility and a wide force of tidal currents and tidal range. As Eva G. R. Taylor (1971: 14-20) also remarks, discussing 'signs in the sky' amongst the Greeks and the Vikings the influence of the moon's phases on the tides was known, as were the sea conditions associated with certain weather sequences, and the directions from which predominant winds blew were used as reference bearings to produce the 'wind-rose'. Additionally, Sean McGrail notes that in North West Europe the alignment of certain megalithic structures in Britain, France and Scandinavia suggests a knowledge of the sun's movements and possibly those of the moon and stars (McGrail 1998: 276).

When sailing across the Bay of Biscay, as we did with the *Pelican of London*, one learns how important the tides and the currents are in the North Atlantic. They are normally marked on the maps for the exact time of the day and date of the year. I remember checking the direction of the current in order to sail through the area. Even with the charts we had on the boat, it was incredible to come up against such variation of currents and tides depending on the time of the day and the date. We faced a diversity of the currents and tides in the North Atlantic, which Frake (1985) describes as a challenge that medieval sailors in the area were also aware of:

The basic principle of tidal behaviour is that the cycle of the rise and fall of the tides is geared to the passage of the moon. At any locality, when the moon is in a given position, the tide will always be at the same stage. And the tide will be at the same state when the moon is in the diametrically opposite position. Consequently, in one apparent rotation of the moon around the earth, a solar time of 24 hours and 48 minutes, there are two high tides and two low tides. The interval between two tides, about six hours ten minutes in solar time, was, for the medieval sailor, a unit of lunar time (Frake 1985: 260).

Then there are the currents. A current may continue to flood for a period after the tide has begun to fall. Medieval sailors measured this period in lunar time as a fraction of a tide. In English *rutter* books this observation was known as 'undir Rothir', under other, as though one current were flowing under the other (Waters 1976: 15).

Without going further into the tides and currents around the British Isles and along the European Atlantic seaboard, with few exceptions their characteristic rhythms result in their being termed semidiurnal or half-day tides. The regular interval between high water and low water, with close agreement between the heights of successive tides (Waters 1976: 422), was of interest for the first pilots, who listed the 'establishment of the ports' in the area with their calculations in the medieval sailing direction books (Waters 1976: 426).

All that knowledge was regional, as were the first Portolan maps²⁶, which were meaningful for those with experience of sailing the region but could not be generalised, along

²⁶ The first was the Catalan map, as I stated in the Introduction of the thesis. The Portolan charts were characterised by rhumb lines, lines that radiate from the centre in the direction of wind or compass points that were used by pilots to lay courses from one harbour to another. The charts were usually drawn on vellum and embellished with a frame and other decorations.

the lines of major science, as standardised knowledge. Therefore, the wisdom obtained in a region through mariners' relationship with the environment must be placed in the realm of minor science. This wisdom is a movement opening to experience, to becoming and to differentiation; in other words, it is a process of interstitial differentiation (Ingold 2018a: 121) that comes from living along paths of life. As Michel de Certeau puts it, 'the journey is not the map' (de Certeau 1984: 120), the journey is wayfinding, it is the process and all the relationships involved while living it, whereas the map is a 'totalizing device' (De Certeau 1984: 121). When Duarte, the Portuguese trainee, was asked about the difference between life on board and life on land, he answered me with great passion about how life on board, as a voyage, was extremely rewarding in this sense:

I really like you asking me about that. Life on board is different from life on land. In Sail Training ships, you always get the strongest ties with people in such a short time, so that is the main thing I love about ships, is that being on board is like living itself. You have other people next to you, talking or sleeping, and these people have their own ways of being. While on land it would take you a long time to get to know them, but on board you can do it quickly, and I love to learn from that. I write my diary every day on board and I have never done this before. I hope to show it to my kids and my grandkids, because even if I am not going to meet these people ever again, I got to know them, and for me that's what life is all about.

Duarte describes the voyage as a kind of topographical gossip, which emerges while seafaring 'labyrinthic lines'. The voyage is not plotted across geographical space, as if through a maze, but is rather lived as a unique part of one's own life experience.

The progression from wayfinding to map-minding has been noted by many scholars. As John Brian Harley puts it, 'art' no longer exists in professional cartography, as it did in the drawing of Portolan maps (Harley 1989: 2-4). Turnbull (2000) argues that 'the first attempt at map assemblage' occurred in Spain and Portugal early in the sixteenth century when they established the *Casa de la Contractación* and the *Casa da Mina*, in Seville and Lisbon, respectively. These institutions held the *Padron Real*, a master template map, on which 'all the knowledge of the New World was to be assembled' (Turnbull 2000: 105). Portolan charts were mnemonic devices, 'too local' and based on 'non-official sources' (Turnbull 2000: 107). It took 121 years of arduous labour, undertaken by vast numbers of people, to accomplish what 'Enlightenment cartography illusion' presented as authoritative representations

(Turnbull 2000: 119), followed by difficulties in setting longitudes after linking the Paris and Greenwich observatories (Turnbull 1997: 558-9). This is a good example of the trajectory of major science, its power and aim to control the world with its knowledge.²⁷

From the Modern Educational System to Learning Skills of Navigation with the Minor Gesture on Board

Minor is the gestural force that opens experience to its potential variation (Manning 2016: 1).

In the modern educational system, there are boundaries and divisions into subjects of knowledge, just like the divisions we have made while mapping the world into territories. This was announced a long time ago by the educational philosopher John Dewey (1966):

As societies become more complex in structure and resources, the need for formal or intentional teaching and learning increases. As formal teaching and training grow in extent, there is the danger of creating an undesirable split between the experience gained in more direct associations and what is acquired in school (Dewey 1966: 9).

The main aim of Sail Training, to be a life experience for the young people involved, cannot be fully captured by any map or educational programme, despite the fact that literature and research in Sail Training or outdoor education seek to do so. As shown in Chapter 4, learning by experiencing transformation with movement in a dynamic ocean-sky world cannot be institutionalised, not even by specialised teachers with extensive teaching experience, such as those in the *Wylde Swan* winter programmes (*Wylde Leren*). The rhythms of the environment go together with the performance of the taskship, not as physical training for sailing, but rather so that this experience might touch the very core of what it is all about: weaving human beings into a meshwork of relationships. It is in the midst of the medium that trainees lose their normal frames of reference, for example after sailing through a storm, as the drawing in Chapter 4 shows. Manning, likewise, argues:

the ineffable felt experience of the more-than is a kind of thinking, a kind of knowledge in the making, and it changes the experience (Manning 2016: 31).

²⁷ An enjoyable book on the long process to obtain longitudes has been written by Dava Sobel (1998), which with the version illustrated by William J.H. Andrewes, immerses the reader in the topographical gossip of the Western story at sea during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Figure 111: Using the sextant to discover the exact position measuring the angle between the sun and the horizon. *Wylde Swan*, 2017.



My drawings of the lines on board would never have the same meaning as a lived experience for someone else. These drawings are from the voyage I went on during my fieldwork, and their meaning merges with those who were also there, living in their memories as it does in mine. Other drawings might be done by new trainees while shaping sailing experiences in their lives, but that is not the same kind of learning process that these young people would encounter in their high schools. In some of the interviews the comparison emerged between the wisdom the participants gain on board and what they gained from their education system on land. This was clear when Pieter commented:

My education system is just academic, like specific subjects, but on board, a lot of the things that you learn are like part of real life preparation and different ways to solve problems as well as acquiring many life skills, while experiencing and travelling to many ports and different countries and cultures.

William, comparing learning different skills on board with his university education, had this to say:

It is about a different approach, here you are not sitting in a classroom, its more hands on; you are not looking at the board and

learning that way. It is a lot more hands-on, you know you have to learn how to do it by doing it, not necessarily the theory of it, which is nice. I always prefer more hands-on learning.

In some of my interviews on board the *Wylde Swan*, the question about the kind of knowledge obtained, especially in relation to their winter programmes (*Wylde Leren*), raised the same problem, as when Jonathan, the second mate on the *Wylde Swan*, states:

The schools are very hesitant to allow the kids to go off for half a year when they are already in the school. The problem is that what the kids are learning here is not put down on paper with a number or mark, a grade, so then that's not important for the government.

My follow-up question was what happens when parents interested in their winter program ask for this time out from the school, and Jonathan replied:

Exams of what the kids do here are not official. They do the exams, they inform the school, they do the homework, but the schools don't really like it. And what they learned most cannot be assigned a grade, you cannot tell the school, okay this guy got an 8 for personal development. Schools don't care about that. They care, but they cannot show the government that these kids have good grades in initiative, it is not something that you can put a grade on; you know what I mean? So for us it is very difficult to convince the government to support these kinds of projects and say yeaah...okay, take the kids and you are a learning institution. So that's a problem in general with the schooling system. They care about math, marks and grades.

As Masschelein notes, the school system is an institution for 'recognition and validation', that is to say, 'a proof of qualification certifying outcomes and acquired competencies' (Masschelein and Simons 2012: 20). The kind of wisdom acquired on board, however, comes from submitting youngsters to varied practices, knowing that mastery will follow in several areas of knowledge, and not only in some specific discipline.

Skills of navigation are an important source of wisdom. Geoffrey Irwin (1989) recognised that sailing upwind minimises waste of resources, time and human life for the Pacific islanders inhabiting their 'oceanic region'. The islanders are able to find patterns in ocean swells, the flights of birds, cloud formations, and reflections on the undersides of

clouds, and to take into account the chain formation of the islands at the edge of crustal plates (Turnbull 1997: 556). Sailing against the wind and up the latitude on the outward journey, ensured an easy return (Irwin 1989: 184).

Another remarkably similar skill that works on the same principle is the *volta* that John Law (2012) attributes to the Portuguese. The *volta* was the circle the Portuguese found when, having being carried south by the Canaries current, they were able to use these initially unfavourable currents and winds to sail back from the African coast to Lisbon heading first to the north-west, and then east. This was possible thanks to the skills they gained at sea, together with the adaptation of their ships and navigational techniques, in a manner appropriate to the characteristics of the region.

The wayfinding techniques of both the Pacific Islanders and Portuguese voyagers exemplify the principle that ‘submission leads and mastery follows’²⁸, possible at a time when the environments of a region were well-known to their inhabitants. This wisdom cannot be explained by science, but arises from undetermined and unpredictable circumstances. As Law states, for mariners to acquire the skills to do the *volta* they needed ‘some means of determining a heading’ and ‘an appropriate dose of courage’ (Law 2012: 236).²⁹ In this case, as was said of the Puluwat by Gladwin (1970), when sailing among the different Pacific islands, by ‘dead reckoning’³⁰, wisdom arises from unpredictable circumstances.

However, making history – from the perspective of major science – requires scientific approval. In major science, we have ‘discoveries’ whereas in the minor there is traditional knowledge. The Pacific navigators lived with their wisdom from prehistory until the Europeans colonised them, whereas the Portuguese used their discoveries in the 15th and 16th centuries to sail further south until they had established commercial shipping in the Indian Ocean under their domination (Law 2012: 248). Likewise, the Portuguese are said to have been the first to develop the technique of sailing into the wind, as a discovery dating from the 15th century, but that is how the major version of history wants to explain it. The discovery of

²⁸ See ‘submission leads and mastery follows’ in Ingold 2015a: 138-141.

²⁹ According to Law, ‘so long as one has an appropriate vessel, some means of determining a heading, and an appropriate dose of courage, it is much easier to return to Lisbon or the Algarve this way than by the coast. The vessel sails on a north westerly heading, close-hauled against the north easterly trades’ (Law 2012: 236).

³⁰ Dead reckoning: *d’ed* or deduced reckoning, which is the calculation of one’s position based on direction and boat speed, making allowance for drift and current (Turnbull 1991: 12).

the United States of America is attributed to Amerigo Vespucci, but did the Vikings not sail there first?

To put it another way, as Erin Manning (2016) argues, major movements have a form that can easily be recognised as *volitional*, whereas in minor science movement is *decisional* in the sense that it goes along with the action itself, and is capable of altering the course of the event during the event (Manning 2016: 19). In major science, as we have seen with maps and discoveries, knowledge can be encapsulated and marketed, whereas in the minor gesture, *actual occasions*³¹, coming as punctual moments, are the coming-into-being of indeterminacy where potentiality passes into realisation (Manning 2016: 2, see Whitehead 1978: 29).³²

This is why *re-presenting* pictures of all the lines on deck is so rewarding for those who have had the experience of sailing. It registers with skills and wisdom already acquired on board. Having acquired sailing skills, when they suddenly felt a change of the wind or saw a squall coming, everyone was required on deck to pull down the sails. If someone asked them to ease the sheet of the inner jib, they were *decisional*, helpful, meaning that they knew exactly what to do and where to go. Being *decisional* is not a question of volition, it's a way to prove your wisdom, a way to realise that one is becoming skilled. It marks an *actual occasion* in which one uses the experience one has acquired while living to react in improvised situations.

Of Tacks and Gybes: Differences on the Character of the Relationships.

Two well-known manoeuvres for a sailing boat are 'tacks' and 'gybes'.³³ In both of these manoeuvres the ship changes direction so that the wind moves from one side of the ship to the other. In tacking, the bow of the ship is turned through the wind and in gybing it is the stern that is turned through the wind.

The reason for bringing this up is that the differences between the tack and the gybe can be compared with differences in the character of the relationships I was analysing

³¹ 'Actual occasion' is defined by Whitehead as 'actual entities' that are the final real things of which the world is made up (Whitehead 1978: 18). Actual entities are extensive, since they arise out of a potentiality for division, which in actual fact is not divided (Whitehead 1978: 77).

³² See also punctuated process, anthropogenesis and making-in-growing in Ingold (2015a: 121-124).

³³ Thanks to Mairi Osborne in her comments regarding technical details.

in Chapter 5: as between the maze and the labyrinth. The change of direction comes in both manoeuvres, the tack and the gybe, but depending on the wind and the new direction to take, one might be better than the other, and, especially when the wind comes from behind, gybing is indeed your only course of action.

The tack is a manoeuvre of the ship that consists of sailing into the wind until the Latin sails start flapping, and then moving the lines of the sails for the wind to fill them from the opposite side. Leeward becomes windward and vice versa. The same result is achieved by way of the gybe, but not in quite the same way. The gybe is technically and relationally rather more complex and risky. The manoeuvre of changing direction with the wind coming from behind requires more people, and much more art, being a highly attentional movement, especially if the boat has stun sails hoisted, as we had during the Atlantic crossing.³⁴ Things can go wrong in tacking if it's not coordinated properly, but there isn't such a risk from the huge movement of the boom as you get when running downwind and gybing.

The steps followed when gybing are: first, it is better to have the mainstay sail dropped. When it is already dropped, some trainees step on the pantry cabin roof, where it lies, and move the sail manually to the opposite site from which it has been dropped. Trainees are required to work on the brace lines. Someone with expertise should be at the helm. While the one on the helm tries to keep the course following the wind from behind, trainees on both sides of deck respectively pull and ease the brace lines. So the boat is sailing whilst the rig is moved carefully. On the aft deck, the main sail preventers stop the boom from swinging back over the ship and causing an accidental gybe. The preventer line holds the boom tight on the downwind side when the wind is coming completely from behind. Meanwhile the front rig yards are moved to a right angle position with the hull, whilst the one on the helm is trying to follow the wind with the hoisted squared sails as mentioned above.

During this manoeuvre more people are needed on the backstays lines and the winches with the preventer lines. The backstay lines support the mast from behind on the

³⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 3, there is a difference between Latin sails and square sails. Traditional tall ships provide a much more relaxed flow, when the sails are filled by the wind coming from behind and the perception on deck of the apparent wind is more pleasant, compared with the cold wind sailing into the wind with Latin sails.

windward side, which means that they need to be carefully switched from the upwind backstays to the downwind backstays, to which the boat will sail after the gybe. They are tightened through the winches, so when the winches upwind are freed from the backstay lines, they will be used for the preventer. The manoeuvre needs to accompany the movement of the boom of the main sail to the opposite side, from windward to leeward. This is extremely dangerous if people on the aft deck do not know what will happen once the gybe starts: the boom movement needs to be controlled by the sheet of the main sail and the preventer lines, but even so, when the main sail is filled by the wind and the boom begins to move under pressure, it can crash into and seriously injure anyone in the way. Then the preventer is fixed and tightened on the new downwind side when the boom has moved over, to stop it swinging back again. If the wind is very light, then you might need to use the preventer on the new downwind side to help move the boom across.

The captain or another officer starts gybing, tightening the sheet of the main sail, and the preventer line from leeward and easing the one from windward to allow the movement of the boom of the main sail to the other side. As soon as the boom goes to the other side, the one at the helm turns it (the helm) fully to windward. This is a moment of suspense, we are not propelled by the wind anymore, we are only drifting on the water, hoping that everyone on each of the lines is doing what they are supposed to, that the one at the helm will be ready to keep the square sails filled by the wind. It is indeed a key decisional moment, an actual occasion lived by the whole crew, in which we are all at risk.

When gybing, the entire crew goes through an incredible moment of tension, everyone is attentive to the manoeuvre. When the square sails are almost perpendicular to the boat, with the wind filling them from behind, it is the moment to ease the sheets of the jibs (normally only the fore jib) from windward in order to tighten them from leeward. The moment can only last a short while because the more stabilising sails are not working, so the boat is only propelled from behind by the wind on the square sails. In tacking, by contrast, you do have a period of time when the boat has only its own momentum to carry it forward.

With these detailed explanations I have wanted to emphasise that the character of the two manoeuvres is rather different. Whereas the tack comes as a more intentional event, and is particularly tied to sailing with more speed, the gybe with a tall ship is a complex set of correspondences that puts everything in a situation of tension. Whereas the tack could be

compared to changing course in a maze, as for instance, in a competition³⁵, for the boat to do the same with a gybe would imply more cooperation, experience at sea and trust amongst crew members, as if seafaring through a labyrinth, where there is only one possible direction to take (Ingold 2013d: 8).

Within these moments of growth that Jonathan called ‘personal development’, skilled wisdom is what allows one to realise what one can or cannot do: this is why trainees say they are more confident after the experience. That’s the point of the difference, as one *Statsraad Lehmkuhl* trainee states: ‘I am more capable of what I can do instead of what I think I can do’. Duarte was assertive about his experience in different boats: ‘Learning skills... is a job that needs everyone together... you have to pay attention to others all the time... it is an important job to do it...’ After his explanation, I asked if he was able to take more decisions by himself, to which he replied:

When I am on a different ship, I always like to ask first... If you do not ask, and you do something wrong, you can compromise the safety of the whole group.

Similarly, the *Spaniel* crew told me:

You have to take care of yourself, because any little thing can spoil your life at sea. You have to prepare everything in advance.

Attention to the character of the relationships is existential on board, and this is what makes it different from being on land. On board, everyone gets involved in the taskship for the wellbeing of the group, and as Pieter noted:

You are in so many different things on board. Like, how to fix different parts of the ship, different jobs that need to be done as well as raising sails and different tactics steering, navigating... The crew kind of explain most of the steps of what they are doing, the projects they are working on. We are now fixing the throats for the ladders for climbing up the mast, before, we took apart some of the winches, greased some tools, just a whole bunch of different jobs. Every day a different job.

³⁵ In the maze, action is intentional, a mind is at work, operating from within the actor and lending it a purpose and direction beyond what the physical laws of motion would alone dictate (Ingold 2013d: 9).

William, another trainee on the *Wylde Swan*:

My coiling began to improve, I am rather faster now, and the same with the ropes... But I think that has to do more with practising than anything else. I did a bit of cooking a week ago and that's kind of something that I enjoy and I needed to build on too. So I was a little bit in that. I think it's a lot of work working with the lines, you know the ropes adjusting sails; a lot is about adjusting. Going with the wind, we put a lot of sails up and down as needed.

On a tall ship you can not ever be lost or 'hidden' because correspondences are always facing you. Responsiveness or variation in response to the conditions at hand is essential (Ingold 2018d: 161). To inhabit this mesh of lines and get to know the correspondences between human and non-human beings, such as the sails and the lines, what you need is a massive understanding of *difference*. This is something to be careful about, and respectful of, in each different boat. Like learning skills, each one is different, but one must remember that they are a 'part of the whole all the time' (Portisch 2010: S73). For example, Sintija, from the *Spaniel* crew, told me that this capacity for differentiation in the making enabled her to redress her lack of harmony when sailing, feeling the boat as a united soul:

Out at sea gives you space for yourself and then you can start with energy to do other things... once it saved me from being burnt out. In this setting of different people, I always discover something about myself, you travel geographically but also inside yourself. There are different watches and different people, but even the captains are different. That influences how all this process happens a lot, and the emotional atmosphere. The crew is the soul of the boat, the ship is at every moment our skin, because there are ten different personalities, the skin is diverse, but then the soul is just the same for all.

On board there are correspondences, not assemblages, labyrinthic lines seafaring under the same soul, there are interstitial differentiations of peoples, emotions, perceptions, in the making of taskships. As Sintija said, the skin of the boat is differentiated, as the etymology of the word skill indicates, with its roots in the Middle Low German *schillen*, 'to make a difference', and in the Old Norse *skilja*, 'to divide, separate, distinguish, decide' (Ingold 2018a: 121).

This is also true for people living with disabilities, as I showed in Chapter 4, because disabilities are only forms of the major, whereas in the world of the minor there are only differentiated human beings. The practice of its correspondence in the unexpected circumstances of life at sea provides wisdom, in which *'the soul is just the same for all'* within a bundle of relationships. But skills are differentiated as participants are. This explains what members of the *Atyla* such as Duarte experience once back to land. They note that what is missed most of all once back on land are the people filling the meshwork on board, or how it made them feel in their soul. As they told me in the *Atyla* group interview:

You never know what is going to happen next here, every day is an adventure, a different day, you learn a lot of skills, and you miss this when not on board.

But when you are back home the thing you remember the most is the people you have met here.

Conclusion

I can't change the direction of the wind, but I can adjust my sails to always reach my destination. Jimmy Dean.

Life is like sailing. You can use any wind to go in any direction.
Robert Brault.

Skills can often be seen as maps, something that major science can provide uniformly to everybody: that can not only be acquired, but also evaluated. However, skills are very close in meaning to wisdom as a movement open to experience, to becoming, to differentiating. Similarly, sailing can often be seen as navigating a maze instead of seafaring a labyrinth. Wisdom is fundamentally *attentional* and continually 'wells up from within the continuum of affective relations that animate the soul' (Ingold 2018a: 121), in the labyrinth. As Michel Serres argues, 'our ancestors searched for this mysterious place where the body is knotted to the soul, for the bonds and folds of this knot' (Serres 1997: 17). This is a process of personal development that cannot be evaluated, in which responsiveness goes together with interstitial differentiation. As Serres continues, in this mysterious place, the sense of sensation is transmuted into the sense of signification, ... solitude opens up, ... freed attention becomes productive, ... laughter will be mixed with tears, ... rigor is refined into beauty (Serres 1997: 18).

I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of couple more skills that are extremely rewarding when sailing on a tall ship, and of their effects on personal development. The first is climbing the mast. During the Atlantic crossing, when we had good weather and appropriate sea conditions, we as trainees tried to climb the mast. I especially remember Chris from my watch, his legs shaking, taking his first steps on the shrouds. He told us beforehand that he was scared of heights. The same was true for Mairi, who, accompanied by Claire, went up to fasten her short line and long line alternately.³⁶ As new trainees asserted in Chapter 2, movement up there is multiplied. But once you are there, if you can stand it, you are opened up to the world. It is like the summary of the whole thing, you feel like a bird, flying in the sky. It is gigantic, you can have the feeling of losing yourself. You can stand it or try again at another moment if, as a perception, it is too overwhelming – as it can be, especially in the middle of the Atlantic. Chris decided at the very last moment to take part in the experience, coincidentally because he was picking up his girlfriend who sailed on the *Wylde Swan* from Greenwich to Sines. He told me:

When I thought of not seeing land in a month, the first thing that came to my mind was claustrophobia. But I do not feel limited here, I love the boat, the sails are a complement of the wind and the hull a complement of the water...

Up on the mast there is such an expansive space not spoilt by people... I feel the boat as a symbol of freedom, but when I go up the mast and I can see even more of the never-ending ocean, I feel even better.

Freedom, as Manning argues, ‘doesn’t go together with volition’ (2016: 25). Freedom is transversal to the human: ‘it cuts across human experience but is not defined by it, it occurs in the dynamic intensity of the event’s unfolding’ (Manning 2016: 25). Or as Bergson writes, ‘the process of our free activity goes on, as it were, unknown to ourselves, in the obscure depths of our consciousness at every moment of duration’ (Bergson 2001: 237-238).

For Mairi, whose mother (aged 92) was happy to see her up on the mast given her fear of heights, this Atlantic crossing was an opportunity she had missed for a long time. When Mairi was seventeen, she sailed on a tall ship but had never had the chance to go back to one,

³⁶ In the harnesses on board, there is a short line of security and a long line, both ended with hooks that you use to fasten on the ropes as well as on the hard structure of the shroud. You must fasten them alternately, never allowing yourself not to be fastened to a line.

due to family and work demands. Now that she is in her 60s, close to retirement, she participated in the whole outward and homeward voyages across the Atlantic. She visits her mother often in Ullapool, where she got to know the *Wylde Swan*, which for several years now has been sailing around the Hebrides at the end of the summer.

The second skill I want to highlight is steering. Steering a tall ship is literally a turn towards slowness and simplicity, which as Ingold argues, seem to be 'intrinsically linked' (Ingold 2018d: 162). Steering has to do with being sensitive and precise: the helm is not a simple plank connected to the rudder, rather you have to establish a relationship with the boat through the helm. The first thing one does is to follow the course that the last one at the helm said he or she was steering for a while, because that is how the swells, together with the setting of the sails, have been felt during the last steering shift. As William told me:

I actually prefer being at the helm, seeing what different courses do, so maybe you try this course and it wavers, so you try a little bit higher and it works differently. For example, the other day we wanted a certain destination, about 300, but the wind was much better at 310, so you bring it up to 310 and then bring it around to 300 as it goes. As the 310 was better we gained speed, so that was very cool.

Trying to do your best following the course set with the compass, as trainees mention, can be very stressful. So, as you get skilled at the helm, you learn, reliably and non-consciously, to feel it. You can look at the sails, if they are really filled by the wind, you can follow the direction to a star on the horizon to steer during the night watch, you can feel the keel under your feet, especially if you are with bare feet, you can dance with the movement of the boat that always keeps balancing itself. The point is that to be harmonious in the dance, you have to achieve the best and most precise movement of the helm to sustain this balance of the boat sliding across the water.

The whole boat and its meshwork with the environment turns to starboard so, after some time, you turn the helm to port. This action does not have an immediate effect, rather what happens when you have that huge body in your hands is that you become unsure that the boat will turn to starboard, since it takes a while to move the boat with the rudder. With this uncertainty, you keep moving the helm to port. This is the scariest thing you can do, because then, suddenly, when the whole boat turns to starboard, the movement becomes as abrupt

as the turns to port you have made with the wheel. The sails can then lose the wind and the boat can drift.

Steering is a wonderful metaphor for life: you need to make slow and precise movements, without wanting an immediate effect, you have to stand at the helm of your life, being attentive, and being responsive to upcoming variations, being sensitive and precise with your adjustments to all kind of differences. Life along a path, or art as a way of memory – as in the Middle Ages (Carruthers 1990: 156-7) – becomes ‘the intuitive potential to activate the future in the specious present, to make the middling of experience felt where futurity and presentness coincide, to invoke the memory not of what was, but of what will be’ (Manning 2016: 47). While steering, in short, you are following your soul, your own path of life.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Sailing is memorial, as we are drawn to reflect on what come before us and what defines us from past experience; but it is likewise imaginal, as the pure possibilities, the spiritual lifting of a life yet to be lived, lies before us (Nelson 2012: 81).



Figure 112: Stowing the jibs, being attentive to the view of land and of dolphins in the right side of the photo. Reaching Bermuda. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

Sailing does not leave anyone the same because the boat but also its crew members go through an ocean-sky world in which there is no possibility of being hidden. Everyone is affected by a kind of education, attending the correspondences between human and non-human beings during the experience. In this world attention, care, patience and love are both existential and adaptable to constantly changing ocean and weather phenomena. A process of concentrative enskilment, for better fluency or groove in sailing, becomes as transformative as the environment itself.

A taskship pattern of relationships is built during the voyage with different rhythms, ways of understanding, cultures, ages, a tying together of responses to the moving experience to which everyone needs to adapt. The character of this pattern of relationships results in the quality of trust aboard. If we compare the character of the relationships at sea with those in hunting societies, in which one finds relationships of trust and not of domination with prey, on a sailing boat we also find a mutuality that

evolves into trustworthy relationships. Even though domination had been the major factor in colonising other lands or in establishing Liners, or merchant or cruising lines upon a chartered sea, what is common aboard sailing boats is the development of hapticality in an ocean-sky world of impressions and wisdom in the minor key.

The sheltered crew need to hold on to each other and on to their boat, to sail day and night through the ocean. This is an experience that forces participants to mesh themselves with the substances and materials of the environment that enliven themselves with the constant movement, as much as the environment becoming animate when it is perceived within this mutual interdependency. As John Masefield said of sailors in the poem 'The Ship and Her Makers', at the beginning of the twentieth century:

We, who were born on earth and live by air,
Make this thing pass across the fatal floor,
The speechless sea; alone we commune there
Jesting with death, that ever open door.
Sun, moon and stars are signs by which we drive
This wind-blown iron like a thing alive.¹

Inhabiting the sea world in a mesh of holding relationships makes the boat a home place, a refuge to care for and to love as an extension of its sailors. A rich body of narratives emerge about each tall ship, with a name and a character that defines it, a united soul of different people and manners with shared stories that, 'using imagination and memory as a means of reestablishing lost rhythms', convey a more authentic and empowering approach toward life in general (Nelson 2012: 80). It's a line of thought also suggested by Masefield in addressing 'the ship':

I march across great waters like a queen,
I whom so many wisdoms helped to make;
Over the uncruddled billows of seas green
I blanch the bubbled highway of my wake.
By me my wandering tenants clasp the hands,
And know the thoughts of men in other lands.²

¹ From the Poetry Foundation. <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/148817/the-ship-and-her-makers>.

² From the Poetry Foundation. <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/148817/the-ship-and-her-makers>.

On board we seem to dream more but that only means we are more attentive to our dreams. At sea, a holding environment of care awakens the dormant bodies of the land that have, until then, been protected, secured and embodied in the intentional forms of modern life. As Nelson notes, ‘the love of wisdom does not come without contemplation, patience, and most importantly joy’ (Nelson 2012: 79), but this simplicity seems difficult to find outside of our intimate relationships with others, whether human or non-human. The bundle of relationships enacted to build the boat are considered to comprise a ‘ship family’. And these qualitative and trustworthy relationships become existential correspondences when the genuine value of amity is what they appreciate the most.



Figure 113: Main hold in the evening: those not on watch are reading in their bunks or resting. Wylde Swan 2017.

The process of becoming skilled on board as an enriching experience for life is not about acquiring a passive understanding or appreciation of the work of others but is, rather, implicated in continuing to learn and expand one’s own skilled practices (Portisch 2010: S76). Getting to know people closely, touching the relationship as it touches the environment, is learning within the mutuality that allows one to experience difference. On board *Lord Nelson* that was obvious when the Catalan trainees were sitting all together with Manu, they were all colleagues, they were all the same, *as one*.

Given the quality of friendships that for the most part developed amongst people on board, it is clear that had it not been for this experience they would never have had the chance on land to meet such different people. Differentiation is what allows them to be responsive to and creative with every single change, when they become more *decisional* within this field of practices.

Comparing two personalities introduced at the beginning of the thesis, Claire, and Jonathan, I would say that as the more 'intentional' traveller when I met her, Claire was:

wrapped up in the space of her own deliberations, [...] absent from the world itself. She must perforce decide which way to go, but having resolved upon a course, has no further need to look where she is going (Ingold 2013d: 9).

Whereas Claire was more *volitional* than decisional, more intentional than attentional, Jonathan was for most of the time decisional, learning by the experiences he had in all his job positions, and always deciding in the very moment of living it, attending to his path. The difference comes down not of the kind of lines, which can switch from one kind to another in every one of us, but of the kind of *linearity* we are living with. As Ingold puts it: 'the danger lies not in coming to a dead end, but in wandering off the track' (Ingold 2013d: 8).

The path-follower has no objective save to carry on, to keep on going, and that is the difference between wayfaring and navigation, between presence and absence, and between the two senses of education, epitomised respectively by the labyrinth and the maze (Ingold 2013d: 9). Seafaring, like walking, is not about *educare* (teaching, intilling readymade knowledge), but about *e-ducere* (Masschelein 2010a: 44) or 'exposition'. 'Being pulled away from a position' (Ingold 2013d: 10), the seafarer or walker waits upon the world, attending, waiting for 'it' to emerge, until a good groove appears with the upcoming wind. This is what Masschelein calls 'poor pedagogy' (Masschelein 2010a: 49). While short on content to transmit, it is open to the world, unblinkered by preconceived knowledge. 'Knowing little of the world, one sees the things themselves' (Ingold 2013d: 11).

The sailing boat provides a slowing down of our lives within these ever-performing bodies, the tall ships, which with their square sails and old fashioned rigs, make a place to play, try out, explore and discover, adhering to the nature of the weather world with its own rhythms, a bundle of shared responsibilities that respect time for everyone. This time is equivalent to the 'free time' which, according to Masschelein and Simons, defined the *scholè* of classical Greece (Masschelein and Simons 2012: 9). This is a freedom, not as we might understand today, for individual leisure, outside of school regulations, but a freedom to set aside the determinations of the social order and find in *scholè* a space for growth and transformation. As such, as Masschelein and Simons say, it has 'the *potential* to give everyone, regardless of background, natural talent or aptitude, the time and space to leave their known environment, rise above themselves and renew (and thus in unpredictable ways) the world' (Masschelein and Simons 2012: 10).



Figure 114: Pancake day! The cook has the day off. Even though both trainees in the picture are not Dutch, they are helping their Dutch friend to cook pancakes. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

Trust versus Confidence

The boat becomes a familiar place, a home at sea, a shelter in the open ocean medium, in which the major protection or holding lies in the relationships arising from the experience of trusting both the others and the boat itself. Casey notes that 'a dwelling is characterised less by its architecture than by the quality of life that is sustained in it' (Casey, 1996: 27). Even though safety is important, the protection that comes from each other's holding on board better describes the idea of *meshwork* that I use to describe what it means to inhabit the boat. In Chapter 3, with the concept of the boat as a home on the move to inhabit the sea, I argued that with the boat as a home place, crew members, as in nomadic societies, have no need of a house, challenging the idea that the house is necessary for human life. What is fundamental for humans to inhabit different environments, I argue, is not the house but the shelter.

The questionnaires I designed to complement my findings from the qualitative fieldwork also produced some reactions that I was able to discuss during the group interviews I conducted once we arrived in Bermuda. Among those who reacted especially to two of the items, safety and protection, were the *Spaniel's* crew. In the group interview, they told me what they had discussed amongst themselves in response to my questionnaires:

These items required a bit of thought. It seems as if you asked us the difference between protection and safety. After discussing it: for us, as far as safety could be a physical sensation on board, we think that protection is more related to a psychological feeling, so it requires more bonding and relatedness among the participants.

These were their observations. The results from the 76 completed questionnaires were that, overall, 94% of trainees and permanent crew felt safe on board. In addition, 76% of participants felt protected too. These quantitative results reinforce data from the interviews about the ship as a meshwork. In general, the rating was higher when they were asked about how safe they feel on board. However, participants noted that they also felt protected on board, with a rating of 76%. In response to the issues raised by the *Spaniel's* crew, I can say that protection is a feeling

more tied to relations with others, such as the fellowship or mutuality created on board, while safety is more related to emergency drills, physical security, inspections or any kind of measure in this regard.

As an example of the *meshwork*, I highlight a remarkable contrast in the questionnaires, which supports the idea that the better quality of the feeling of protection, of each other's holding, is what makes this experience more complete. Something happened in Las Palmas with the Finnish crew with whom I sailed. They had been preparing this voyage for a year. They had one captain, Stefan, for the leg I sailed with them, and then, in Las Palmas, they had to change three of the trainees and the captain. My berth also had to be replaced in Las Palmas because I moved to the *Wylde Swan*. Once we reached Las Palmas, the previous captain, Stefan, was back in Finland. The new members of the crew and the new captain were there, but the captain was unable to do the Atlantic crossing because of a personal issue. On the day of departure, the crew, having discussed it for three or four days, got together and decided that if everyone agreed, they would set sail for Bermuda without the captain. They had all sailed before, one of the trainees had a license to be the first mate, and the first mate we had from Sines, Jarkko, trusted the group to commence the Atlantic crossing, so he could be the substitute captain. This was not an easy decision for the group, or for Jarkko. They had to explain their agreement to Sail Training International (STI) because they had to have permission to do this.

The discussions lasted one whole day, but in the late afternoon they were able to set out on the Atlantic crossing with 11 crew members on board, one fewer than expected – in this case, the captain. I found this a remarkable process and was struck by the egalitarian way they discussed every single thing, and the way they took into account of everyone's opinion because if only one of them had said that he or she was not feeling safe enough without the captain, they would have rejected the option. I would say that this process was transformative for the whole group, especially given the situation, in the face of an Atlantic crossing that they were apprehensive about. They were prepared for the unforeseen, but at the last moment everything changed, and they had to make a crucial decision: to do it by themselves or not at all!

Relationships or familiarity on board, like those of kinship or amity, provide a protection that is based on trust. Safety, by contrast, is more tied to confidence in a proper safety drill. When sailing in an ocean-sky environment, the *other* is the 'holding', an otherness of correspondence lived in the attention required, as existential rather than contingent, as *familiar*. Trust, as has already been noted, is an attitude that allows for risky-decisions (Luhmann 2008: 103).

To conclude this section, I would like to let you know that from the Finnish crew, I got an inversion of the two parameters. Only in their questionnaires, which I classified between crews, they all rated that they felt even more protected than safe. This was a particularity in their questionnaires, if coincidence or not with the decision they made together, only they know the path shared amongst themselves during the Atlantic crossing!

Education at Sea

Jonathan was especially critical of the educational system, whenever it tries to evaluate young people with marks and grades. On the other hand, what Fosse intended to provide with the trainees on board was to accompany them in their personal development, which entailed time by themselves, within a milieu of familiarity and with the luxury of an egalitarian place for them to participate and to make decisions by themselves. Fosse always emphasised the *with*, and never the *of*. The transformative effects of this experience are always in the air, no-one has ever studied what makes them tick. The rewarding example of the Finns can help us to understand the power of the meshwork when it is built together, entailing a process of transformation. The boat as a womblike hollowness, a creative nest that has the ability to care while allowing growth, is a gathering suspended temporally with the risk of education.



Figure 115: Scrubbing the deck as routine on the morning watch. It's important to clean the deck because the crew are in bare feet most of the time on board. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

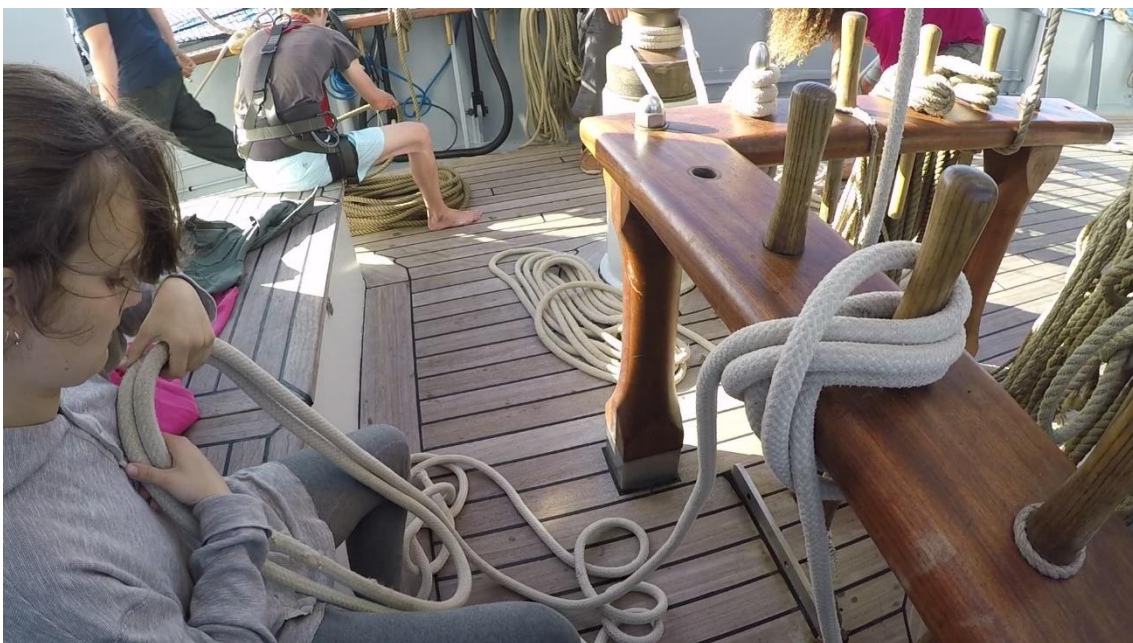


Figure 116: Dealing with coiling the ropes nicely. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

For this reason, the Sail Training voyage cannot be treated as a mere rite of passage or steps crossing from phase to phase, as between different levels of knowledge in schools. These are all contingent elements of the experience, just as there were contingencies inherent in Gladwin's efforts to prove that the problem of 'poor' children

with bad results in United States schools could be solved studying Puluwat children, who even though they are not considered poor in their land, were seemingly poorly adapted to the demands of Western intelligence tests (Gladwin 1970: ii-iii). Treating enskilment at sea as a complex system of practical knowledge compared to intelligent schooling methods not attainable for the poor, as happened in United States, gives us only an insight into how the Western world has destroyed innumerable practices of growth in different societies throughout history.

Enskilment in societies such as the Puluwat depends on offering their youngsters experiences so that they can make decisions and survive in life. As Gladwin states, 'no style of thinking will survive' if these conditions are not provided (Gladwin 1970: 232). So the problem is not only that colonisation destroyed human wisdom by forbidding skilled practices, but also that wisdom has been impoverished when reduced to knowledge from schooling. This is why Ingold argues for the need 'to rejoin the farmer, the herdsman, and the mariner' in engaging 'the material grain of the world's becoming and in harnessing its forces and energies', for us to recover the feeling of being together in one world (Ingold 2015b: 207). An inhabited world is not framed in the detached optic of a ready-made aesthetic regard, but intertwined in the workshops of life, constituting one world in which, when harmony comes, life beats in beauty (Ingold 2015b: 207).

Modern ways of schooling have nothing for old ways of instruction to be envious of, because what they latter offer is a set of experiential practices necessary to be physically able to survive in particular environments. These practices, which involve a continuous process of shared reflectivity, have a massive impact on human personal development, allowing young people to be able to read whatever situation they will have to overcome in life. Sailing Training is a life experience that will remain in the memory of those who have shared and lived it: they have been personally skilled by this experience. Like the art of memory in the Middle Ages, this kind of experience in a community of practice frees its participants both 'of the potential burden of their past and of the potential pressure of a mapped-out future' (Masschelein and Simons 2012: 36). In this, the way of art is akin to seafaring (Manning 2016: 14).

Given the tensional forces of life on land, young people on board are being educated, not in a time or place outside of society, but in a freed and transformative

time for them through ‘the simple and profound acts of (temporary) suspension and profanation’ (Masschelein and Simons 2012: 39). By this I mean that the experience of the trainees embarking on a tall ship is similar to the experience of being suspended in different fieldwork environments, with their respective ‘cultural shocks’ or processes of getting sea legs, living as crew members with pleasure but also with discomfort. From that first step, then, comes a road to life that in anthropology consists of spending time understanding and enhancing sentient voices from fieldwork, including that of the anthropologist: first as an observer and analyst, *in-between*, but afterwards, without any doubt, as part of the study itself.

Something from society is brought into play in this sea world, like the game of lines which everyone breathes on board. The boat as a work of art is a concentrative place from which new and creative lines will emerge. Crew members, whether experts or novices, young or old, will live this experience as a way of understanding life, being differentiated within a bundle of narratives lived together. This orientation for life will imply a break from a previously established future or past, from which every participant can sail away, in multiple directions. For the young trainees these directions are towards what they are good at, or what they wish to try by themselves, but are not designed by parents or schools.



Figure 117: Sharing time in the pantry. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

Having been an amateur on board means that with the basics of a process of enskilment built during the experience at sea, crew members might be able to solve other problems regarding their previous sailing experience through intelligent attention and shifting conditions. Past experience provides the very foundation, through practice and training, for present skills (Ingold 1996: 165). Amateurs are the ones who ‘for the love of it, motivated by a sense of care, personal involvement and responsibility’, engage their lives in the world with rigour and risk (Ingold 2018b: 372). At sea, they are curious enough to take care of the boat and of the ocean-sky environment. As Anna Badkhen notes: ‘In the sea, not knowing is part of being. Life is so’ (Badkhen 2018: 10). Being freed of land, what the sea offers is living what you can carry by yourself.

A World of Perception and Movement

The way the boat extends our body shows how important it is to work on and shape our environment to become ‘one world’. With all the taskship we have not seen a ‘spaced landscape’ around us, but a kind of second skin – the boat – in which differences are felt as part of oneself. Different skills can be understood, then, paying attention to them and allowing time to find their own rhythm. We are in the open, because experiencing this second skin means we are no longer enclosed, but rather more sensitive to the ocean-sky medium, in which we are fully and perceptively immersed in a world of correspondences.

And in the process of seeking the unforeseen, correspondences become existential; we are learning how important is *attention* to understanding the immediate effects that a lack of response can have, not only on everyone, but on the safety of the group. Correspondences are our holding at sea, the feeling of the wind, where it comes from, being sensitive to the sliding of the keel through the water, of the friction when looking for the best setting of sails – all of these spring up, reflected in our personal world of relationships like an explosion of our inner selves. Getting underway without planning while sailing is a risk towards the unpredictable, towards our apparent dreams. In attending to them with vivid experiences, memories will last forever.

We are comprised of relationships, with the other human and non-human beings in our environments. On board, being in the open, relationships with the non-human environment engage participants in being responsive to others. The shared rhythms of the boat with the sea and its continuous dialogue, with the adjustments the crew make to generate the precise tension in the lines for the boat to keep sailing: these are all correspondences. Moving in concert, we become more aware of our kinaesthesia because of this kinetic ocean-sky environment. Sailing, as an example of what Manning calls the 'minor gesture', is the 'forward-force capable of carrying the affective tonality of non-conscious resonance and moving it toward articulation, edging into consciousness, of new modes of existence' (Manning 2016: 7).

On board there is harmony when the sails breathe with the wind and the hull slides on the water. As Gladwin says, 'it is a sense of calm in which all around is in movement' (Gladwin 1964: 171-2). There are no moving islands, but a concentrative reflectivity towards our world of correspondences; we become one with the world, and that gives us harmony.

Trainees come from their lives on land, pre-equipped with 'neurotypical concepts of individuality'.³ They are absolutely divorced from the idea that relations are actually what our worlds are made of (Manning 2016: 6). This is something I have demonstrated with some of the interviewee's statements, in which they recognise being surprised at their own reactions when a storm blows up and are faced with a loss of 'their own control', a 'loss of reference' in their holding. This loss of reference could be compared to the way Manning describes 'an autistic perception':

Autistic perception is the opening, in perception, to the uncategorised, to the unclassified. This opening, which is how many autistics describe their experience of the world, makes it initially difficult to parse the field of experience (Manning 2016: 14).

³ This term is used by Erin Manning in her book *The Minor Gesture*. For her, 'neurotypical' is a central but generally unspoken presumption in identity politics, indicating a wide-ranging belief in the independence of thought and being attributable to the human, and in the 'better-than-ness' of our neurology (Manning 2016: 3).

One realises that life is only a 'holding meshwork' when the ocean medium involves all our senses in a storm, when our emotions, at the very limit of our person, are flowing adrift and out of control (as seen in the storm drawing in Chapter 4).

Like the keel of the boat that is invisible but has been always there, our strength and past life experiences, which remain dormant to our ordinary lives, are wiped out in this kind of improvised situation. No-one can know what to expect, what his or her reaction will be to such a demanding occasion. For instance, on my second voyage, a tiny sweet English girl was supporting a huge tall Irish guy who was crying when the weather was rough. I noticed that being adaptable to different situations means being responsive and sensitive to otherness. When I asked my interviewees what came into their minds when reflecting about their sailing experiences, the answers, of course, were diverse.

Here are some of the answers I received about their feelings during these extraordinary events, for example when facing a storm, or of complete happiness and flow, or astonishment for the ocean wildlife, or with a clear view of the constellations in the sky at night. Nicholas, who was from Bermuda, told me: 'Because you can only see the starts like that here'. To him, being from Bermuda, I replied: 'Not even from Bermuda?'

No, nothing like this, this is incredible. No lights in a thousand miles in every direction, this is in the middle of nowhere. You can see the Milky Way across the horizon... and of course all the nature, dolphins... every single day!

Richel, who is only 19 years old, and a member of the *Wylde Swan* crew, said of the time when she was experiencing homesickness, that she remembers the flow within the meshwork, the feeling of being surrounded by fellowships as a gorgeous experience in her life:

One night, I wasn't even drunk or anything but I was just on the mid-deck, and everyone was standing there and there was techno playing, and I had a smile that you cannot just wipe off your face, it was just pure happiness being around such beautiful people. So that moment of pure smiling and happiness comes

back to my mind, sometimes when I am in bed. Sometimes once I am on board I feel I want to be at home because I haven't been there for a long time and then, I start thinking how much fun I am having here and how important that is for me, thinking at that moment relieves me.

For Pieter, attention and responsiveness gave him good, fun memories: 'From this trip, catching the tuna with the fishing line in the middle of the Atlantic, that was very cool!' After catching the fish, as can be seen in this photo, the crew got to know how to cut and prepare it, thanks to the fishing experience of Fernando.⁴



Figure 118: A tuna caught with a fishing line in the middle of the Atlantic, and the emotion and participation of everyone involved. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

And on my last trip, we set up a slag line across the main deck, we could walk across, and we tightened the rope then also in the harbour. In Denmark, we set up a swing from the top yard that had two different seats. You should wear a harness, but it was suspended 10 meters off the ground, just swinging back and forth!

I did not understand what he was referring to during the interview: a swing hanging from the top yard over the concrete?

Like a swing. Just from the top yard, we had the ropes on the mast and then, it just hangs over the concrete and you could climb up and then there were two planks, like one was lower and the other a bit higher, and two people could sit on each plank

⁴ Giraldo Herrera (2013: 158) also explains the art of cutting the cod in detail in his thesis.

and we could swing back and forth. The lower plank was 5 meters above the ground and the top 10 meters above the ground.

But then, I finally understood once in Bermuda, because he asked to do this again!

For Anni, it was the storm she faced when she was a 19-year-old, which I comment on in Chapter 3. How tiny one feels oneself to be when going through the storm, like the midgets blowing the sails drawn by the trainees, how much one seeks for one's own holding on when sailing, how much 'Velcro' is needed to fix what is moving around. With the risk of the unpredictable, kinship relationships become more than human. As Jesús Ilundáin notes:

Compared to safe, lacklustre dry life, for many sailing is much more than a sport, vehicle, or metier: it is one of the most beautiful, daring, jubilant ways to literally and philosophically sail our existence's familiar and uncharted possibilities (Ilundáin-Agurruza et al. 2012: 120).

Particularities of Human Life Inhabiting an Ocean-Sky World

On the ocean, each of us is a mystic and a jester, and nothing ever is what we imagine it to be (Badkhen 2018: 287).



Figure 119: Sewing a piece of sail to make a cover for the base of the mast. She does it with a big needle that is pushed with a leather hand protector – normally called 'Palm' in English, containing a piece of iron inside to push the needle.

The particularities of human life inhabiting an ocean-sky world are such that there is no division between life and death. There is not a world of living beings and another world of dead people, we are all in-between: and that is what an ocean environment offers. It is a world full of experienced memories, made of the relationships that we form while living it, as Fosse told me when asked what always comes back to his mind about his experience at sea. He said, everything: 'Every smell, every light, every movement, every place ... is etched in your memory'.

The movement of the sea leads the boat and its sailors to be immersed in a weather-sky medium that enmeshes its currents into the sails to create whirls of air with different pressures, carrying the boat forward. The wind is the movement of air masses caused by the difference in air pressure that create the weather. The air pressure differences generate currents of wind, whereas the ocean medium causes seasickness, with horizontal and vertical movements below of a kind that are not experienced on land. The exploration of a range of experienced movement, from postural sways to muscular consciousness, opens crew members' perceptions to a boundless world of possible relationships. The wind is a primordial phenomenon on which sailors depend at all times, and to observe how it can be transformed into energy, from nothing to something, gives them an idea of what life is for everyone.

Modern sailing is not about being pushed by the wind as it is for tall ships, but of going into the wind, using aerodynamics in the sail like an aeroplane wing to carry the boat forward. When sailing on a square-rigged tall ship, the process of transformation goes slowly, as in earlier times. Participants in this experience have the time to establish a kinetic relationship with the movement of the boat, which provides them with an enriched kinaesthetic perception.

In suggesting that sailing evokes a world of movement in which kinaesthesia is enriched and our postural sway and muscular consciousness are performed in different and boundless ways, I am not only referring to physical improvements of perception in our bodies as a result of the sailing experience, but also to how this world in movement opens us up to a world of relationships during the process of enskilment performed on board.

Considering movement as the mother language for every living being, Sheets-Johnstone gives us a clue to the formation of the meshwork of relationships among human and non-human beings. Movement is then as transformative of the relationships among living beings as wind is transformative of the weather by its currents and low-pressure circulations. It drives a powerful transformation, and even though it could be understood as an aerodynamic principle for the wind, very little has yet been studied about its effect on the relationships among living beings.

Ever since modernity divided bodies from minds, and treated nature as the object of culture, we have been prevented from perceiving how emmeshed they are, and how one affects the other in a world of correspondences, such as in sailing. Harney and Moten, in *The Undercommons*, speak of 'the brokenness of being' as a debt (Harney and Moten 2013: 8). They also argue that we must make common cause with the desires of 'being together in homelessness' (Harney and Moten 2013: 11), appealing to 'the hold in the slave ship' like the hold we have on reality and fantasy. They ask us to relinquish the hold on us and 'the hold we decide to forego on the other, preferring instead to touch, to be with, to love' (Harney and Moten 2013: 12).

Traditional sailing boats provide an opportunity for their participants to experience by themselves the transformational power that nature offers us, when we are not limited by the protection we have established for human life on land. On land, the striation – the control over lines of life – is extreme. It is a world of lines upon lines, not of lines open to environmental phenomena, but of lines enclosed in paved cities, mechanical devices of every kind, and technological and virtual relationships that lead to a division of worlds. In these divided worlds, transformation is impossible because skills are not available to share as they used to be. As I have shown in Chapter 6, over the course of maritime history innumerable seafaring skills have been mechanised, mapped and disconnected from the world of human relationships.

A Sea of Opportunities

Experiencing the boat as a home place makes us think of all the constructions of modern life as prostheses that can disappear from time to time, for example when natural disasters take everything away with floods or tornadoes, many as a result of our impact on the natural rhythms of the earth. As sailing provides experiences of decision-making and responsiveness for those who take part in it, what I got from the Sail Training community was an open-ended experience of hope in a sea of opportunities.

With bands of fellows so closely bonded, built in intimacy, flexibility and equality, there are a lot of opportunities still to be explored by younger generations. But for now it remains to honour another of the things produced in the flow of the experience of seafaring: singing. Shanties are the traditional working songs of sailors, considered a lost art of the British Cape Horners.⁵ Work was a ‘hard slog on deck or aloft there all the time, aided by brace-winch and halyards winches and such things’ says Alan Villiers in the foreword of *Shanties of the Seven Seas*. As the author of the book, Stan Hugill notes:

To the seamen of America, Britain, and northern Europe a shanty was as much a part of the equipment as a sheath-knife and pannikin. Shanties were always associated with work, and a rigid tabu held against singing them ashore (Hugill 1994: 1).

Nowadays, there are many shanty revival groups, including a group called ‘Storm Weather’ from Norway, that can be heard live, especially when the tall ships visit Norway. I met them in Stavanger. While singing, they adapt their lyrics to the moment, with an improvised chorus written on a big cardboard sheet so that the public can join in. So sailors’ songs are just like their practised sailing skills, made in the undergoing.

To conclude, as can be seen in the snippet below from a Bermuda local newspaper, we formed a music band while crossing the Atlantic on the *Wylde Swan*. It was improvised at the very last moment, first because the captain, who by then had crossed the Atlantic twenty-two times, and knowing that there would be plenty of free

⁵ This is in reference to tall ships or traditional rigged sailing boats that sailed south around Cape Horn before the Suez Canal was opened, with the consequent steady improvement of the economy and performance of deep-sea steamships as excellent traders (Villiers 1971: 139).

time during the crossing, had been into a Music shop in Gran Canaria and bought some ukuleles, an electric piano, and harmonicas. Later, we got to know that Chris, who in his everyday life works as a music-sound manager, had the ability to write lyrics and direct a band. Martin, already retired, was working as a guitar teacher, so he spent lots of afternoons with every one of the crew who wanted to learn how to play the guitar or the ukulele. Rens, a young trainee from the permanent crew, had his saxophone aboard, because he was trying to learn to play it. But it turned out that another youngster from South Africa, Michael, was very good on the saxophone, and he joined the voyage to sail to Boston, where he had been selected as one of the best young saxophone players in the world. I still remember listening to him playing the saxophone during the sunsets. Other crew members knew how to play the guitar or the piano, but the most rewarding part of the experience was that when wishing to learn or to become skilled, we were fully equipped for it because we were sharing in the *common wisdom*.

Though they were not shanties, we performed four songs with adapted lyrics, and we made our public debut when we were interviewed by the local newspaper in Bermuda.



Figure 120: Snippet from a local newspaper in Bermuda. *Wylde Swan* 2017.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acheson, J. M. 1981. 'Anthropology of Fishing'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 10: 275-316.
- Allen, J.R, and Anderson, J. 1903. *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. (2 vol. reprint.).
Balgavies, Angus: The Pinkfoot Press.
- Allerton, C. 2004. 'The Path of Marriage; Journeys and Transformations in Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160 (2/3): 339-362.
- Allison, P. & Pomeroy, E. 2000. 'How shall we 'know'? Epistemological Concerns in Research in Experiential Education'. *Journal of Experiential Education* 23(2), 91–97.
- Allison, P., McCulloch, K., McLaughlin, P., Edwards, V., Tett, L. 2007. *The Characteristics and Value of the Sail Training Experience*. University of Edinburgh.
- Allison, P., Veevers, N. 2011. *Kurt Hahn. Inspirational, Visionary, Outdoor and Experiential Educator*. Sense Publishers: Rotterdam.
- Allison, P. Hearn, J. Marshall, A. 2019. 'The Question of Significance: Tall Ship Sailing and Virtue Development'. *Journal of Moral Education*.
DOI: [10.1080/03057240.2019.1650732](https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2019.1650732)
- Allison, P. 2020. 'Influences on Anglophone Approaches to Outdoor Education'. In Allison, P., Parry, J. *Experiential Learning and Outdoor Education. Traditions of Practice and Philosophical Perspectives: 28-36*. London and New York: Routledge Focus.
- Allison, P. Marshall, A., Ramirez, M.J., Statt, T. 2020. 'The Long-term Influence of Expeditions on People's Lives' in Allison, P., Parry, J. *Experiential Learning and Outdoor Education. Traditions of Practice and Philosophical Perspectives: 91-111*. London and New York: Routledge Focus.
- Ammarell, G. 1999. *Bugis Navigation*. New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph 48.
- Anarson, A., Vergunst, J. 2012. 'Introduction: Routing Landscape: Ethnographic Studies of Movement and Journeying'. *Landscape Research* 37 (2): 147–154.
- Andersen, R. 1980. 'Hunt and Conceal: Information Management in Newfoundland Deep-Sea Trawler Fishing'. In Tefft, S.K. (ed.) *Secrecy: 205-28*. New York: Human Sciences Press.
- Anderson, D. 2000. *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia. The Number One Reindeer Brigade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, D., Wishard, R., Vaté, V. (eds.) 2013. *About the Hearth: Perspectives on the Home, Hearth and Household in the Circumpolar North*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

- Argounova-Low, T. 2012. 'Narrating the Road'. *Landscape Research* 37 (2): 191-206.
- Astuti, R. 1995. *People of the Sea. Identity and Descent among the Vevo of Madagascar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bachelard, G. 1994 [1958]. *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Spaces*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bachelard, G. 1971. *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language and the Cosmos*. Boston, Ma.: Beacon Press.
- Badkhen, A. 2018. *Fisherman's Blues. A West African Community at Sea*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Bamford, S., Leach, J. 2009. *Kinship and beyond. The Genealogical Model Reconsidered*. Oxford: Berghahn books.
- Barker, L. 2016. *Learn to Sail. From Princess to Pirate*. Hampshire: Angel sailing.
- Barth. F. 1966. *Models of Social Organization*. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Paper 23.
- Bastide, R. 1973. 'Le Principe d'Individuation'. In *La Notion de Personne en Afrique Noire, Colloque International du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 544: 33-43. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Basso, K. H. 1996. 'Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Land-Space'. In Feld, S., Basso, K.H. (eds.) *Senses of place*: 53-90. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Basu, P. 2001. 'Hunting Down Home: Reflections On Homeland and The Search for Identity in the Scottish Diaspora'. In Bender, B., Winer, M. (eds.) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*: 333-348. Oxford: Berg.
- Bateson, G. 1958 [1936]. 'The Eidos of Iatmul Culture'. In *Naven. A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View*: 218-256. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Becker, A. E. 1995. *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Belyea, B. 1996. 'Inland Journeys, Native Maps'. *Cartographica* 33 (2): 1-16.
- Bergson, H. 1998. *Creative Evolution*. New York: Dover.
- Blanc, A., Domenech, J., Zucchitello, M. 2010. *Barcelona i la Vela Tradicional. L'Escola de Navegació Tradicional, les seves Embarcacions i les Rutes*. Barcelona: Consorci el Far.

- Blom, J.C.H., Fuks-Mansfeld, R.G., Schöffler, I., Pomerans, A. J., Pomerans, E. 2007. *The History of the Jews in the Netherlands*. Littman, Library of Jewish Civilisation: Liverpool University Press.
- Boas, F. 1895. *The Social Organisation and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*. Canada: University of Alberta Libraries.
- 1985 [1928]. 'Introduction'. In Mead, M. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: Morrow.
- Bonner, A., Ripoll Perelló, I. 2002. *Diccionari de Definicions Lul·lianes. Dictionary of Lullian Definitions*. Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- Boss, S. J. 2013. 'The Nature of Nature in Ramon Llull'. In Dansart, P. (eds) *Living Beings: Perspectives on Interspecies Engagements*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Bott, E. 1990 [1957]. *Familia y Red Social. Roles, Normas y Relaciones Externas en las Familias Urbanas Corrientes*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradley, R. 2000. 'Walking on Water: A Case Study from Bronze Age Scandinavia'. In *An Archaeology of Natural Places*: 132-146. London: Routledge.
- Butcher, A. 2014. *Tall Ships Handbook*. Stroud, UK: Amberley Publishing.
- Capurso, M., Borsci, S. 2013. 'Effects of a Tall Ship Sail Training Experience on Adolescents'. *International Journal of Educational Research* 58: 15-24.
- Carbonell, E. 2014. 'Memories of the Seafaring World in Catalonia and Its Transformation into Cultural Heritage: Notes for a Debate on the Theory and Practice of Maritime Heritage'. In J.L Alegret, J. L. and E. Carbonell (eds.) *Revisiting the Coast: New Practices in Maritime Heritage*: 201-210. Girona: Institut Català de Recerca en Patrimoni Cultural. ISBN: 978-84-9984-245-5
- Carbonell, E.; Doñate, M.; Romero, P. 2011. *Ser o No Ser de Mar. Arenys: Història, Patrimoni i Antropologia Marítima*. Girona: Institut Català de Recerca en Patrimoni Cultural.
- Carlson, P.A. (ed.) 1986. *Literature and Lore at Sea*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Carpenter, E., Flaherty, R., Varley, F. 1959. *Eskimo*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Carpenter, E., McLuhan, M. 1960. 'Acoustic Space'. In *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*: 65-70. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Carruthers, M. 2008 [1990]. *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. (2nd edition). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Carsten, J. 1995a. 'Houses in Langkawi: Stable Structures or Mobile Homes? In Carsten, J. and S. Hugh-Jones (ed.) *About the house: Levi-Strauss and beyond*: 105-128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1995b. 'The Substance of Kinship and the Heat of the Hearth: Feeding, Personhood, and Relatedness Among Malays in Pulau Langkawi'. *American Anthropologist* 22 (2): 223-41.
2004. *After Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carsten, J., Hugh-Jones, S. (ed.) 1995. 'Introduction'. In *About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond*: 1-46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Casey, E.S. 1993. *Getting Back into Place. Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
1996. 'How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time. Phenomenological Prolegomena' in *Senses of Place*: 13-52. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Place.
1997. *The Fate of Place. A Philosophical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cleland, R. 2011. *Travelling to Transformation: Assessing the Impact and Key Aspects of Transformation in an Experiential Sea-Based Travel Program*. Master's Degree of Arts in Environmental Education and Communication. Royal Roads University.
- Coleridge, S.T. 1983 [1798]. 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' in Opie, I. and P. (eds.) *The Oxford Book of Narrative Verse*: 122-139. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comas D'argemir, D., Pujadas, J. J., Roca Girona, J. 2010. *Etnografia*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya.
- Cresswell, T. 2006. *On the Move. Mobility in the Modern Western World*. Oxon: Routledge.
2011. 'The Vagabond: The Curious Career of a Mobile Subject'. In Cresswell, T., Merriman, P. (eds.) *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*. Surrey, England: Ashgate.
- Cruikshank, J. 1998. *The Social Life of Stories. Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska press.
2005. *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters and Social Imagination*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Csikzentmihalyi, M. 1974. *Flow: Studies of Enjoyment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2002 [1992]. *Flow. The Classic Work on How to Achieve Happiness*. London: Rider.

- Cunningham, M. 1968. *Changes: Notes on Choreography*. Ed. F. Starr. New York: Something Else Press, Inc.
- D'arcy, P. 2006. *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Davidson, L. 2001. 'Qualitative Research and Making Meaning from Adventure: A Case Study of Boys' Experiences of Outdoor Education at School'. *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership* 1(2): 11–20.
- Davydov, V. 2011. *People on the Move: Development Projects and the Use of Space by Northern Baikal Reindeer Herders, Hunters and Fishermen*. Thesis presented for a Degree (PhD) in Social Anthropology. University of Aberdeen.
- De Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. California: University of California Press.
- Deleuze, G., Guatari, F. 1987 [1980]. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Del Marmol, C., Frigolé, J., Narotsky, S. 2010. *Los Lindes del Patrimonio. Consumo y Valores del Pasado*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Dewey, J. 2011 [1966]. *Democracy and Education*. Hollywood FL: Simon & Brown.
1997. *Experience and Education*. New York: Free Press.
- Dougherty, C. 2001. *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination in Homer's Odyssey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elias, N. 1950. 'Studies in the Genesis of the Naval Profession'. *The British Journal of Sociology* 1 (4): 291-309.
- Escobar, A. 2001. 'Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization'. *Political Geography* 20: 139-174.
- Fagan, B. 2012. *Beyond the Blue Horizon. How the Earliest Mariners Unlocked the Secrets of the Oceans*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Farrall, L. 1991 [1981]. 'Knowledge and Its Preservation in Oral Cultures'. In Turnbull, D. (ed.) *Mapping the World in the Mind*: 52-66. Victoria: Deakin University Press. Or in Denoon, D, Lacey, R. (eds.) 1981. *Oral Tradition in Melanesia*: 71-86. Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
- Feinberg, R., Genz, J. 2012. 'Limitations of Language for Conveying Navigational Knowledge: Way-Finding in the South-eastern Solomon Islands' in *American Anthropologist* 114 (2): 336-350.

- Feixa, C. 2011. 'Past and Present of Adolescence in Society: The Teen Brain Debate in Perspective'. In *Newrociene and Beobehavioral Reviews* 35: 1634-1643.
- Finkelstein, J. & Goodwin, S. 2005. *Sailing into the Future: Final Report on ARC Linkage Research Project*. Sydney: Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Sydney.
- Finney, B. 1976. *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. Auckland, New Zeland: The Polinesia Society.
1979. *Hokulea: The Way to Tahiti*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.
1996. 'Colonizing an Island World'. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 86 (5): 71-116.
- Firth, R. 1961 [1936]. *We the Tikopia. A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Fletcher, E. 2017. *Exploring the Sail Training Voyage as a Cultural Community*. Thesis presented for a Degree (PhD) in Education, School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences, University of Newcastle and University of Durham.
- Fletcher, E., Prince, H. 2017. 'Steering a Course Towards Eudaimonia: The Effects of Sail Training on Well-Being and Character'. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* 17 (3): 179-190.
- Flusser, V. 1999. 'Shelters, Screen and Tents'. In *Shape of Things. A Philosophy of Design*: 55-57. London: Reaktion books.
- Folch i Camarasa, J.M. 1981 [1910]. *Les Aventures Extraordinàries d'en Massagan*. Barcelona: Ed. Casals.
- Fortes, M. 1969. *Kinship and the Social Order: The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.
- Frampton, K. 1995. *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Frake, C. O. 1985. 'Cognitive Maps of Time and Tide Among Medieval Seafarers'. *Man* 20 (2): 254-270.
- Fried, M.H. 1967. *The Evolution of Political Society. An Essay in Political Anthropology*. New York: Random House.
- Gambetta, D. 2008 [1988]. 'Can We Trust Trust?' in Gambetta, D (ed.) *Trust. Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*: 213-237. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

- Gammon, S., Elkington, S. (eds.) 2015. *Landscapes of Leisure: Space, Place, and Identities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Genz, J. 2014. 'Complementarity of Cognitive and Experiential Ways of Knowing the Ocean in Marshallese Navigation'. *Ethos* 42 (3): 332–35.
- Germann Molz, J. 2006. 'Watch us Wonder: Mobile Surveillance and the Surveillance of Mobility'. *Environment and Planning A*38: 377-393.
- Grétry, A.E.M. 2019 [1801]. *On Truth. What We Were, What We Are, What We Ought To Be*. Transl. Tom Moore. Florida: Pendragon Press
- Gibson, J. J. 1950. *The Perception of the Visual World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press.
1979. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Gibson, M. 2019. 'Crafting Communities of Practice: The Relationship Between Making and Learning'. *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* Vol. 29 (1): 25-35.
- Gibson, T. 1985. 'The Sharing of Substance Versus the Sharing of Activity Among the Buid'. *Man* (N.S.) 20: 391-411.
- Giraldo Herrera, C. E. 2013. *Sweet Dreams Rocking Viking Boats: Biocultural Animic Perspectivism through Nordic Seamanship*. Thesis presented for the Degree (PhD) in Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, University of Aberdeen.
- Gladwin, T. 1964. 'Culture and Logical Process'. In Goodenough, W. (ed.) *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology. Essays in Honour of George Peter Murdock*: 167-177. New York: McGraw-Hill book.
1970. *East is a Big Bird. Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Goell, K. (ed.) 1970 [1626]. *A Sea Grammar. Captain John Smith*. Surrey, England: Unwin Brothers. [This book comes as a long version of the initial book called *An Accidence for Young Seamen*].
- Goffman, E. 1968. *Asylums*. London: Penguin Books.
- Goodenough, W.H. 1953. *Native Astronomy in the Central Carolines*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Goodenough, W., Thomas, S.D. 1991. 'Sailing direction exercises'. In Turnbull, D. (ed.) *Mapping the World in the Mind*: 69-71. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- Gordon, S., Harcourt-Smith, K., Hay, K. & Priest, S. 1996. 'Case Study of Blue Watch on STS Leeuwin'. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership* 13 (1): 4–7.

- Green, R.C. 1966. 'Linguistic Subgrouping within Polynesia: The Implications for Prehistoric Settlement'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75: 7-38.
1991. 'Near and Remote Oceania Disestablishing "Melanesia" in Culture History'. In Pawley, A. (ed.) *Man and Half: Essays on Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology*: 491-502. Auckland: Polynesian Society.
1995. 'Linguistic, Biological and Cultural Origin of The Inhabitants of Remote Oceania'. *New Zealand Journal of Archeology* 17 : 5-27.
- Grocott, A. C. 1999. *Sailing and Self-Esteem: The Effect of a Ten-Day Developmental Voyage at Sea on the Multidimensional Self-Concept*. Master's Degree, University of Otago.
- Guattari, F. 1980. 'Que es la Adolescencia? Entrevista con Felix Guattari'. *El Viejo Topo* 43: 47-50.
- Guriewicz, A. 1976. *Kategorie Kultury Sredniowiecznej*. Warszawa.
- Hallowel, A. I. 1995. *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hamilton, J. 1988. *Sail Training: The Message of the Tall Ships*. Northamptonshire, England: Thorsons Publishing Group.
- Haraway, D. J. 2015. 'Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin'. *Environmental humanities* 6: 159-165.
- 2016a. *Staying with the Trouble. Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, USA: Duke University Press.
- 2016b. 'Tentacular Thinking: Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Chthulucene'. *E-flux journal* 75:1-17 Available at: <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/75/67125/tentacular-thinking-anthropocene-capitalocene-chthulucene/>
- Harley, J.B. 1989. 'Deconstructing the Map'. *Cartographica* 26(2): 1-20.
- Harney, S., Moten, F. 2013. *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study*. New York: Minor Compositions.
- Hartley, L. P. 1953. *The Go-Between*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Hau'ofa, E. 1993. 'Our Sea of Islands'. In Hau'ofa, E., Naidu, V. and E. Waddell. *A New Oceania. Rediscovering our Sea of Islands*: 1-17. Suva, Fiji: The University of the South Pacific.
- Hau'ofa, E., Naidu, V., Waddell, E. 1993. *A New Oceania: Rediscovering our Sea of Islands*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.

- Heft, H. 2013. 'Wayfinding, Navigation, and Environmental Cognition from a Naturalist's Stance'. In Waller, D. and L. Nadel, *Handbook of Spatial Cognition*: 265-294. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Heidegger, M. 1971. *Building, Dwelling and Thinking from Poetry, Language, Thought*. Translated by Albert Hofstadter. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- Helms, M.W. 1988. *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hendengran, I. 1995. 'The Shipwrecked and their Rescuer'. In Crumblin-Pedersen, O., Munch Thye, B. (eds.) *The Ship as a Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*: 76-85. [Transl. Gillian Fellows Jensen et al.]. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Henderson, B., Vikander, N. (eds.) 2007. *Nature First: Outdoor Life the Friluftsliv Way*. Toronto, Canada: Natural Heritage Books.
- Herva, V-P. 2010. 'Buildings as Persons: Relationality on the Life of Buildings in a Northern Periphery of Early Modern Sweden'. *Antiquity* 84: 440-452.
- Hetherington, K. 1997. 'In Place of Geometry: The Materiality of Place'. In Hetherington, K. and R. Munro (eds.) *Ideas of Difference*: 183-199. Oxford: Backwell.
- High, H. 2009. 'The Road to Nowhere? Poverty and Policy in the South of Laos'. *Focaal* 53: 75-88.
- Hillier, B., Hanson, J. 1988. *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hiroa, T.R. 1954 [1938]. *Vikings of the Sunrise*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Hirsch, E. O'hanlon, M. 1995. *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Howard, P. M. 2012. *Working the Ground: Labour, Environment and Techniques at Sea in Scotland*. Thesis presented for the Degree (PhD) in Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, University of Aberdeen.
- Hugill, S. 1994 [1961]. *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs used as Work-Songs from the Great Days of Sail*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport.
- Humphrey, D. 1959. *The Art of Making Dances*. Ed. B. Pollack. New York: Grove Press, Inc.
- Hunt, R. 2016. *Huts, Bothies and Buildings Out-of-Doors: An Exploration of the Practice, Heritage and Culture of 'Out-Dwellings' in Rural Scotland*. Thesis presented for the Degree (PhD), School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, College of Science and Engineering, University of Glasgow.

- Husserl, E. 1980. *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy: Book 3 (Ideas III)*, trans. KLEIN, T.E., POHL, W.E. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hutchins, E. 1983. 'Understanding Micronesian Navigation' in Gentner, D., Stevens, A.L. (eds.) *Mental Models*: 191-225. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
1995. *Cognition in the Wild*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Ilundáin-Agurruza, J., Gagliardini Graça, L., Jáuregui-Olaiz, J.A. 2012. 'On the Crest of the Wave: The Sublime, Tempestuous, Graceful, and Existential Facets of Sailing'. In Goold, P. (ed.) *Sailing: Philosophy for Everyone. Catching the Drift of Why We Sail*: 109-121. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Ingold, T. 1993. 'The Temporality of the Landscape'. *World Archaeology. Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society* 25 (2): 152-174.
1995. 'Work, Time and Industry'. *Time and Society* 4 (1): 5-28.
1996. (ed.) *Key Debates in Anthropology*. London: Routledge.
2000. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill*. Oxford and New York: Routledge.
2001. 'From the Transmission of Representations to the Education of Attention' in Whitehouse, H. (ed.) *The Debated Mind: Evolutionary Psychology Versus Ethnography*: 113-153. Oxford: Berghahn.
2003. 'Two Reflections on Ecological Knowledge'. In Sanga, G., Ortalli, G. *Nature knowledge: Ethnoscience, Cognition, Identity*: 301-311. New York: Berghahn.
2004. 'Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet'. *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (3): 315-340.
- 2005a. 'Time, Memory and Property' in Widlok, T., Gossa Tadese, W. (eds.) *Property and Equality. Ritualisation, Sharing, Egalitarianism*: 165-174. Vol. I. New York and Oxford: Berghahn books.
- 2005b. 'The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather'. *Visual Studies* 20:2: 97-104.
2006. 'Rethinking the Animate, Re-animating Thought'. *Ethnos*, 71 (1): 9-21. DOI: 10.1080/00141840600603111.
- 2007a. *Lines: A Brief History*. Oxon: Routledge.
- 2007b. 'Earth, Sky Wind and Weather'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)*: S19-S38.

- 2008a. 'Anthropology is *Not* Ethnography'. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154: 69-92.
- 2008b. 'Bindings Against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World'. *Environment and Planning A* 40: 1796-1810.
- 2009a. 'Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge'. In Wynn Kirby, P. *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*: 29-43. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- 2009b. 'Stories Against Classification: Transport, Wayfaring and the Integration of Knowledge' Bamford, S., Leach, J. 2009. *Kinship and beyond. The Genealogical Model Reconsidered*: 193-213. Oxford: Berghahn books.
2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. Oxon: Routledge.
- 2013a. *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- 2013b. 'Being Alive to a World Without Objects'. In Harvey, G. *The Handbook of Contemporary Animism*: 213-225. Durham: Acumen Pub.
- 2013c. 'The Conical Lodge'. In Anderson, D., Wishard, R., Vaté, V. (eds.) *About the Hearth: Perspectives on the Home, Hearth and Household in the Circumpolar North*: 11-28. Oxford: Berghahn books.
- 2013d. 'The Maze and the Labyrinth: Walking and the Education of Attention'. In Long, R., Cardiff, J. *Walk On: 40 years of Art Walking*: 6-11. University of Sunderland: Art Editions North.
2014. 'The Creativity of the Undergoing'. *Pragmatics and Cognition* 22 (1): 124-139. DOI: 10.1075/pc.22.1.07ing.
- 2015a. *The Life of Lines*. Oxon: Routledge.
- 2015b. 'The Shape of the Land'. In Ánarson, A., Ellison, N., Vergunst, J, Whitehouse, A. (eds.) *Landscapes Beyond the Land: Routes, Aesthetics, Narratives*: 197-208. In association with EASA. Vol. 19. Oxford: Berghahn.
2016. 'On Human Correspondence'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 23: 9-27.
- 2017a. 'Taking Taskscape to Task'. In Rajala, U., Mills, P. *Forms of Dwelling: 20 years of Taskscapes in Archaeology*: 16-27. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2017b. 'Surface Visions'. *Theory, Culture & Society* 34 (7-8): 99-108.

- 2018a. 'Evolution in the Minor Key'. In Fuentes, A., Deane-Drummond, C. (eds.) *Evolution of Wisdom: Major and Minor Keys*: 115-123. Notre Dame, IN: Center for Theology, Science, and Human Flourishing/Pressbooks.
- 2018b. 'In Praise of Amateurs' paper presented in the Duncan Rice Library at the University of Aberdeen the 6th of December 2018. Also in 'A Concluding Response'. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 43 (3-4): 372-378.
- 2018c. *Anthropology and/as Education*. Routledge: Oxon.
- 2018d. 'Five Questions of Skill'. *Cultural Geographies* 25(1): 159-163.
- 2019a. 'At home on the waves? A Concluding Comment'. In King, T. J., Robinson, G. (eds.) *A Home on the Waves: Human Habitation of the Sea from the Mesolithic to Today*: 349-356. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.
- 2019b. 'Afloat on the Ground'. Unpublished paper. In press: 'Are we Afloat?'. In *Correspondences*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press.
- 2019c. 'Shelters'. In Knowles, T. *The Howff Project*: 66-70. Bristol: Intellect.
- Forthcoming. 'Of Work and Words'. In Wiggers, N. (ed.) *A Companion to Contemporary Craft*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Ingold, T., Vergunst, J. 2006. 'Fieldwork on Foot'. In Coleman, S., Collins, P. *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*: 67-85. Oxford and NY: Berg.
2008. *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ingstad, A. S. 1995. 'The Interpretation of the Oseberg-find'. In Crumblin-Pedersen, O., Munch Thye, B. (eds.) *The Ship as a Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*: 139-147. [Transl. Gillian Fellows Jensen et al.] Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Irwin, G.J. 1980. 'The Prehistory of Oceania: Colonisation and Cultural Change'. In Sherratt, A. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archeology*: 324-332. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press: Cambridge.
1989. 'Against, Across and Down the Wind: A Case for Systematic Exploration of the Remote Pacific Islands'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 98: 167-206.
- Jirásek, I., Turčová, I. 2020. 'Experiential Pedagogy in the Czech Republic'. In Allison, P., Parry, J. *Experiential Learning and Outdoor Education. Traditions of Practice and Philosophical Perspectives*: 8-18. London and New York: Routledge Focus.
- Johansen, J. P. 1954. *The Maori and his Religion in Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects*. Kobenhavn: Ejnar Munksgaard.

- Johnson, I. 1929. *Around Cape Horn Aboard The Peking*. Documentary film. Mystic: Mystic Seaport.
- Kaul, F. 1995. 'Ships on Bronzes'. In Crumblin-Pedersen, O., Munch Thye, B. (eds.) *The Ship as a Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*: 59-70. [Transl. Gillian Fellows Jensen et al.]. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Kern, S. 1983. *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Klee, P. 1961. *Volume 1 Notebooks. The Thinking Eye*. London: Lund Humphries.
- Kobyliński, Z. 1995. 'Ships, Society, Symbols and Archaeologists'. In Crumblin-Pedersen, O., Munch Thye, B. (eds.) *The Ship as a Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*: 9-19. [Transl. Gillian Fellows Jensen et al.]. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Lakoff, G. 1993. 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor'. In A. Ortony (ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*: 202-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G, Turner, M. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lave, J., Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Law, J. 2012. 'Technology and Heterogeneous Engineering: The Case of Portuguese Expansion'. In Bijker, W.E., Hughes, T.P., Pinch, T.J. *The social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*: 105-127. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Leach, J. 2003. *Creative Land: Place and Procreation on the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea*. New York: Berghahn.
- Leenhardt, M. 1949. 'Préface' in Lévy-Bruhl, L. *Les Carnets de Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, v-xxi*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- 1979 [1947]. *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World* (trans. B. Miller Gulati). Chicago: University Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1961. *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Criterion Books.
- Lewis, D.H. 1976. 'Observations on Route Finding and Spatial Orientation Among the Aboriginal Peoples of the Western Desert Region of Central Australia'. *Oceania* XLVI (4): 249-282.

- 1994 [1972]. *We, the Navigators. The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Liberman, C. & P. 1989. *The Mystique of the Tall Ships*. New York: Galahad books.
- Linebaugh, P. Rediker, M.B. 2000. *The Many Headed-Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston MA: Beacon Press.
- Lingis, A. 1998. *The Imperative*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Lipset, D. 2005. 'Dead canoes. The Fate of Agency in Twentieth-Century Murik Art'. *Social Analysis* 49 (1): 109-140.
- Lipset, & R. Handler (eds.) 2014. 'Introduction'. In *Vehicles. Cars, Canoes and Other Metaphors of Moral Imagination*: 1-17. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Llull, R. 1985. *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*. Volume I, ed. and trans. Bonner, A. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lohr, C. 1992. 'The New Logic of Ramon Llull'. *Enrahonar* 18: 23-35.
- Loovers, P. 2018. 'Lines of Procurement'. Unpublished paper. EASA Conference. Stockholm, August 2018.
- Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The Past as a Foreign Country: They Do Things Differently There*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Loynes, C. 2010. 'The British Expedition: Cultural and Historical Perspectives' in Beames, S. (ed.) *Understanding Educational Expeditions*: 1-15. The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Luhmann, N. 2008 [1988]. 'Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives'. In Gambetta, D (ed.) *Trust. Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*: 94-107. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Lynch, K. 1973. 'Some References to Orientation'. In Downs, R.M., Stea, D. *Image and Environment. Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behaviour*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Mack, J. 2007. 'The Land Viewed from the Sea'. *AZANIA, Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 42 (1): 1-14.
2011. *The Sea. A Cultural History*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
1967. *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Mallart Guimerà, Ll. 1992. *Sóc fill dels Evuzok. La vida d'un antropòleg al Camerun*. Barcelona: La Campana.

- Manning, E. 2016. *The Minor Gesture*. Georgia: Duke University Press.
- Marshall, M. 1977. 'The Nature of Nurture'. *American Ethnologist* 4: 643-662.
- Mason, M., Greenhill, B, Craig, R. (eds.) 1980. *The British Seafarer*. Hutchinson/BBC in association with the National Maritime Museum.
- Masschelein, J. 2010a. 'E-ducing the gaze: The Idea of a Poor Pedagogy'. *Ethics and Education* 5 (1): 43-53.
- 2010b. 'The idea of Critical E-ducational Research: E-ducing the Gaze and Inviting to Go Walking'. In Gur-Ze'ev, I. (ed.) *The Possibility/Impossibility of a New Critical Language in Education*: 275-291. Leiden, ND: Brill Publishers, Educational Futures 44.
- Masschelein, J., Simons, M. 2012. *In Defense of the School: A Public Issue*. Transl. by Martein, J. Leuven: ACCO.
- Mauss, M. 1954. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mazzullo, N., Ingold, T. 2008. 'Being Along: Place, Time and Movement Among Sami People in Northern Finland'. In Baerenholdt, J.O., Granaas, B. (eds.) *Mobility and Place: Enacting European Peripheries*. Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate.
- Mccarthy, L., Kotzee, B. 2010. 'Comparing Sail Training and Land-based Youth Development Activities: A Pilot Study'. Unpublished Pilot Study.
- McCulloch, K. 2002. *Four Days Before the Mast: A Study of Sail Training in the UK*. Thesis presented for a Degree (PhD), Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh.
2004. 'Ideologies of Adventure: Authority and Decision Making in Sail Training'. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* 4(2): 185–197.
2007. 'Living at Sea: Learning from Communal Life Aboard Sail Training Vessels'. *Ethnography and Education* 2(3): 289–303.
- McCulloch, K., Allison, P., McLaughlin, P., Tett, L., Edwards, V. 2010. 'Sail Training as Education: More Than a Mere Adventure'. *Oxford Review of Education* 36 (6): 661-676.
- McGrail, S. 1998. *Ancient Boats in North-West Europe: The Archaeology of Water Transport to AD 1500*. London: Longman.
- McKinnon, S. 1991. *From a Shattered Sun: Hierarchy, Gender and Alliance in the Tanimbar Islands*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Melville, H. 1972 [1847]. *Typee: Narrative of a Four Month's Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands; or a Peep at Polynesian Life*. London: John Murray.

- Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962 [1945]. *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
1964. 'Eye and Mind'. In Edie, J. M.(ed.) *The Primacy of Perception, and Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*: 159-190. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
1968. *The Visible and the Invisible*. Lefort, C. (ed.) Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Moliné Brasés, E. 1914 [1494]. [Written in a hand of the 14th century, on paper of that century] *The Maritime Customs of Barcelona Universally Known as the Book of the Consulate of the Sea*. Barcelona
- Munn, N. 1977. 'The Spatiotemporal Transformations of Gawa Canoes'. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 54-55 (33): 39-53.
- Myers, F. 1991. *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nelson, J. P. 2012. 'The Art of Sailing: An Exploration of Memory, Imagination, and Place'. *Environment, Space, Place* 4 (1): 79-105.
- Neuman, J. 2000. *Turistika Sporty v Prirode*. Prague: Portal.
- Nielsen, O. R. (eds.) 2006. 'Family Sailing in the Archipelago Sea, between Finland and Sweden'. Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi University.
- Norris, R. M., Weinman, J. A. 1996. 'Psychological Change Following a Long Sail'. *Personality and Individual Differences* 21 (2): 189-194.
- Olwig, K. 2002. *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- 2008a. 'The Jutland Cipher: Unlocking the Meaning and Power of a Contested Landscape'. In Jones, M., Olwig, K. (eds.) *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging in the Northern Edge of Europe*: 12-49. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- 2008b. 'Performing on the Landscape versus Doing Landscape: Perambulatory Practice, Sight and the Senses of Belonging'. In Ingold, T., Vergunst, J. (eds.) *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*: 81-91. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Ong, W. J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Methuen.
- Overgaard, S. 2003. 'The Importance of Bodily Movement to Husserl's Theory of Fremderfahrung'. *Recherches Husserliennes* 19: 55-65.

- Pallasmaa, J. 1996. *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses*. Sussex, UK: John Wiley.
- Pálsson, G. 2016. *Nature, Culture and Society. Anthropological Perspectives on Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phelan, J. 2007. 'Seascapes: Tides of Thought and Being in Western Perceptions of the Sea'. Goldsmiths Anthropology Research Papers. Goldsmiths University of London.
- Pijoan, M. 2011. *Confraria i Pescadors de Sitges. Perspectives des de l'Antropologia Político-Jurídica*. Not published.
- Pitt-Rivers, J. 1973. 'The Kith and the Kin'. In Goody, J. (ed.) *The Character of Kinship*: 89-105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2017a. 'The Malady of Honour'. In Da Col, G., Shryock, A. (eds.) *From Hospitality to Grace. A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*: 105-118. Chicago: HAU Books.
- 2017b. 'The Kith and the Kin'. In Da Col, G., Shryock, A. (eds.) *From Hospitality to Grace. A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*: 121-139. Chicago: HAU Books.
- Portisch, A. O. 2010. 'The Craft of Skilful Learning: Kazakh Women's Everyday Craft Practices in Western Mongolia'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16, Making Knowledge: S62-S79.
- Raban, J. 2001. 'Introduction' in Raban, J. (ed.) *The Oxford Book of the Sea*: 1-34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. 1957. *A Natural Science of Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Rajala, U., Mills, P. 2017. *Forms of Dwelling: 20 years of Taskscapes in Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Ramella, A.L. 2018. 'Finding One's Rhythm: A "Tour de Force" of Fieldwork on the Road with a Band'. In Estalella, A., Sanchez Criado, T. *Experimental Collaborations. Ethnography Through Fieldwork Devices*: 71-93. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Rayner, A.D.M. 1997. *Degrees of Freedom: Living in Dynamic Boundaries*. London: Imperial College Press.
2009. Notes for a Presentation on the 30th June 2009 in the Main Lecture Theatre of the Linnaean Society, Burlington House, London on 'The Dynamic Relationship of Trees and Fungi: Symbiosis and Pathology'.
- Rediker, M. 1987. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Reusch, M. 2012. *Allermannsretten-Friluftslivets Rettsgrunnlag*. PhD: University of Oslo.
- Richards, C. 2008. 'The Substance of Polynesian Voyaging'. *World Archaeology* 40 (2): 206-223.
- Ritchie, A. 2011 [1999]. *Govan and Its Carved Stones*. Scotland: The Friends of Old Govan.
- Robinson, F. N. (ed.) 1957. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rogers, C. J. 2004. *An Evaluation of the One and All Youth Development Sail Training Program*. South Australia: Flinders University.
- Rogoff, B. 2014. 'Learning by Observing and Pitching into Family and Community Endeavors: An Orientation'. *Human Development* 57: 69-81.
- Rowe, N. (ed.) 2014. *Tall Ships Today. Their Remarkable Story*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Sahlins, M. 2011a. 'What Kinship Is? (Part One)'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, n.s., 17: 2-19.
- 2011b. 'What Kinship Is? (Part Two)'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* n.s., 17: 227-242.
2013. *What Kinship Is-And Is Not*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sarró, R. 2016. 'Island and Mountain. Reflexions on Utopia as a Point of View'. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford-online. Special Issue on Ethnography and the Mutualizing Utopia. Afterword*. VIII (2): 274-282.
- Schneider, K. 2012. *Saltwater Sociality. A Melanesian Island Ethnography*. Oxford and NY: Berghahn Books.
- Schift, M., Allison, P. Von Wald, K. 2017. 'Sail Training: A Systematic Review'. *Journal of Outdoor Recreation, Education, and Leadership* 9 (2): 167-180.
- Scott, C. 1996. 'Science of the West, Myth for the Rest? The Case of James Bay Cree Knowledge Construction' In Nader, L. (ed.) *Naked Science: Anthropological Inquiry into Boundaries, Power, and Knowledge*: 69-86. New York: Routledge.
- Semper, G. 1989. *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Senior, R. L. 2015. *Anthropology in the Wind. People, Power and Environment in Caithness, Scotland*. Thesis presented for the Degree (PhD) in Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, University of Aberdeen.
- Serres, M. 1997. *The Troubadour of Knowledge*. Ann Arbor, USA: The University of Michigan Press.
- Sharp, C. A. 1956. *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*. Wellington, NZ: Polynesian Society.

1963. *Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
- Sheets-Johnstone, M. 1990. *The Roots of Thinking*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
1999. *The Primacy of Movement*. Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
2008. *The Roots of Morality*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
2011. 'The Imaginative Consciousness of Movement: Linear Quality, Kinaesthesia, Language and Life'. In Ingold, T. (ed.) *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines*: 115-128. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.
2016. 'Foundational Dynamics of Animate Nature'. In Eberlein, U. (eds.) *Zwischenleiblichkeit und Bewegtes Verstehen, Intercorporeity, Movement and Tacit Knowledge*: 51-68. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
2017. 'Moving in Concert'. *Choros International Dance Journal* 6: 1-19.
- Sheller, M., Urry, J. 2006. 'The New Mobilities Paradigm'. *Environment and Planning A* 38: 207-226.
- Shirley, R. 1982. 'Epicthonius Cosmopolities: Who Was He? in *Map collector* 18: 39-40.
- Shotter, J. 1986. 'A Sense of Place: Vico and the Social Production of the Social Identities'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 25: 199-211.
2012. 'Bodily Way-Finding our Way into the Future: Finding the Guidance We Need for our Next Step within the Taking of Our Present Step'. *Tidsskrift for Psykisk Helsearbeid* 9 (2): 133-143.
- Simola, H., Rinne, R. Varjo, J., Kauko, J. 2013. 'The Paradox of the Education Race: How to Win the Ranking Game by Sailing to Headwind'. *Journal of Education Policy* 28: 612-633.
- Simondon, G. 1993. 'The Genesis of the Individual'. In Crary, J., Kwinter, S. *Incorporations*: 297-319. New York: Zone.
- Singer, A. 1983. *The Last Navigator* [Film]. London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
- Sobel, D. 1998 [1995]. *The Illustrated Longitude. The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of his Time*. New York: Walker & Company.
- Solnit, R. 2015 [2001]. *Wanderlust. Una Historia del Caminar*. Madrid: Capitán Swing.
- Sorensen, V. 1959. *Digtere og Dæmoner: Fortolkninger og Vurderinger (Poets and Demons)*. Kopenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Stadler, M. 1987. *Psychology of Sailing: The Sea's Effects on Mind and Body*. Cadem, Maine: International Marine/McGraw-Hill Press.

- Stanner, W.E.H. 1965. 'Aboriginal Territorial Organisation: Estate, Range, Domain and Regime'. *Oceania* XXXVI (1): 1-26.
- Stoller, P. 2009. *The Power of the Between*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Strathern, M. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Synnevåg Løvoll, H. 2020. 'Experiential Learning in the Outdoors: The Norwegian Tradition'. In Allison, P., Parry, J. *Experiential Learning and Outdoor Education. Traditions of Practice and Philosophical Perspectives*: 19-27. London and New York: Routledge Focus.
- Smith Wyatt, S. L. 2012. *Stories of Arctic Wonder: Exploring Transformative Environmental Education*. BSc. Degree (Honours), Royal Roads University.
- Tambiah, S. J. 1990. *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, A.C. 1966. 'The Soul's Body and Its States: An Amazonian Perspective on the Nature of Being Human'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* N.S. (2): 201-215.
- Taylor, E.G.R. 1971 [1957]. *The Haven-Finding Art: A History of Navigation from Odysseus to Captain Cook*. New York: Abelard-Schuman Ltd.
- Terrell, J. 1986. *Prehistory in the Pacific Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas, S. D. 1987. *The Last Navigator*. London: Hutchinson Ltd.
- Thompson, E.P. 1993 [1991]. *Customs in Common*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.
- Thoreau, H.D. 1999. *Pasear, los Pequeños Libros de la Sabiduría*. Barcelona.
- Tilley, C.Y. 1994. 'Space, Place, Landscape and Perception: Phenomenological Perspectives'. In Tilley, C. Y. (ed.) *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*: 7-34. Oxford: Berg.
- Tomasello, M. 1999. *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Trilling, J. 1995. 'Medieval Interlace Ornament. The Making of a Cross-Cultural Idiom'. *Arte medieval* 9 (2): 59-86.
- Turnbull, D. 1989. *Maps are Territories: Science is an Atlas*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.
1991. *Mapping the World in the Mind*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.
1995. 'Rendering Turbulence Orderly'. *Social Studies of Science* 25: 9-33.

1996. *On with the Motley: The Contingent Assemblage of Knowledge Spaces*. PhD Thesis. University of Melbourne.
1997. 'Reframing Science and Other Local Knowledge Traditions'. *Futures* 29 (6): 551-562.
2000. *Masons Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. Routledge.
2002. 'Performance and Narrative, Bodies and Movement in the Construction of Places and Objects, Spaces and Knowledge: The Case of Maltese Megaliths'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 19 (5-6): 125-143.
2013. 'How did People Move in Completely New and Unfamiliar Environments? A Performative and Hodological Approach to Orientation, Spatiality and Temporality'. Unpublished paper presented in the Victorian Eco-Innovation Lab (VEIL), Architecture Faculty, University of Melbourne for the *Local Intermediaries in International Exploration Conference*, Canberra.
- Turner, J.S. 2000. *The Extended Organism: The Physiology of Animal-Built Structures*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Turner, V. 1982. *From Ritual to Theatre*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Urry, J. 2003. 'Social Networks, Travel and Talk'. *British Journal of Sociology* 54: 155-176.
- Van Gennep, A. 1960 [1909]. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Vergunst, J. L. 2017. 'Phenomenology and Place, or: Feeling that You Live Somewhere'. In *Where We Live Now. Perspectives on Place and Policy*: 4-7. London: British Academy. Available from: https://www.britac.ac.uk/sites/default/files/WWLN%20Perspectives%20on%20place%20and%20policy_web.pdf
- Vernant, J.P. 1983 [1965]. *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Vigh, H. 2009. 'Motion Squared: A Second Look at the Concept of Social Navigation'. *Anthropological Theory* 9 (4): 419-438.
- Vilaça, A. 2005. 'Chronically Unstable Bodies: Reflections on Amazonian Corporalities'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* N.S. (II): 445-464.
- Villiers, A. 1971. *The War with Cape Horn*. London: Pan Books.
- 2006 [1937]. *Cruise of the Conrad*. Suffolk, UK: Seafarer Books.
- Viveiros De Castro, E. 1998. *Simon Bolivar Lectures*. Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge.

2009. 'The Gift and the Given: Three Nano-Essays on Kinship and Magic'. In Bamford, S., Leach, J. (eds) *Kinship and Beyond: The Genealogical Model Reconsidered*: 237-268. New York: Berghahn.
- Wagner, R. 1977. 'Analogic Kinship: A Daribi Example'. *American Ethnologist* 4 (4): 623-642.
- Ward, R.G., Webb, J. W., Levison, M. 1972. 'The Settlement of the Polynesian Outliers: A Computer Simulation'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 82 (4): 330-342.
- Waters, D. W. 1967. *The Rutters of the Sea. The Sailing Directions of Pierre Garcie*. A study of the first English and French printed sailing directions. With facsimile reproductions. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertheim, A.H. 1998. 'Working in a Moving Environment'. *Ergonomics* 41 (12): 1845-1858.
- Whitehead, A.N. 1925. *Science and the Modern World*. New York: Macmillan.
1978. *Process and Reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Widlok, T. 1997. 'Orientation in the Wild: The Shared Cognition of Hailom Bushpeople'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3 (2): 317-332.
2008. 'Landscape Unbounded: Space, Place, and Orientation in Akhoe Hai//om and beyond'. *Language Sciences* 30: 362-380.
- Wood, D. 1993a. 'The Power of Maps'. *Scientific American* 268 (5): 88-93.
- 1993b. 'Maps and Mapmaking'. *Cartographica* 30 (1): 1-9.
- Yates, F.A. 1999 [1966]. *The Art of Memory*. London: Routledge.