

Opportunities and Contradictions in Maritime Heritage and Small-scale Fishing – A Case Study of Catalonia

Eliseu Carbonell

Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Girona, Catalonia, Spain

ABSTRACT

Much has been written in recent years about the crisis in fisheries caused by the critical reduction in catches and about the strategies developed by local communities of fishers in response. The aim of this article is to demonstrate that the use of maritime heritage can also be considered part of these strategies. Like fishers elsewhere, Catalan small-scale fishers face severe threats to their professional survival. Recently some of them have become involved in activities related to maritime heritage as a strategy to draw the attention of policy makers and the general public to their problems, a strategy not without clear contradictions. But beyond these contradictions, the article points out the opportunities that use of maritime heritage offers to fishers in Catalonia as well as elsewhere.

Key words: *maritime heritage, small-scale fishing, traditional vessels, shore seine, open outcry fish auction, Catalonia*

Introduction

Catalonia is an autonomous region in northeastern Spain with 7.5 million of inhabitants and more than 500 kilometers of coast. It has its own language, Catalan, and its own history and culture. During the medieval period Catalonia was an important naval power in the Mediterranean. It also played an important role in the commerce with America in modern times. Traces of those times still can be seen on the coast in the architectural style of the »Americanos« houses. With the loss of the Spanish colonies in the 19th century, maritime activities declined. Only some small shipyards and a local fishing industry remain from the region's seafaring past¹. However, small scale fishing has been declining from the 1980s until now, when, as we will see, the sector is undergoing a severe crisis. According to Breton Renard², the differentiation between artisanal or small-scale fishing and industrial fishing emerged in Catalonia during the decade of the 1970s in a context of strong industrialization. Competing for the same resources, small-scale fishers are at a disadvantage to industrial fishing, since they have a much lower level of production³.

According to Driessen⁴, maritime anthropology has had a marked tendency in recent years to focus on the

study of governance and management of marine resources by communities of small-scale fishers affected by global crisis, leaving aside other ethnological approaches such as symbolic and cultural dimensions of the relationship between people and the sea. However, as I will try to show in this paper, the symbolic and cultural aspects, such as those contained in the use of maritime heritage, can also be related to the management of marine resources by small-scale fishers. Small-scale fishing are now facing major challenges, including the gentrification of their communities and especially the alarming decline in catches^{5,6}, due to several factors, including overfishing and water pollution⁷.

An initial descriptive definition of maritime heritage could be the set of tangible or intangible items linked to human activities that relate to the marine environment and resources, whether developed in the past or in the present^{8–11}. This set of elements can also be called maritime culture as part of cultural heritage. The main feature of elements in this set we generically call maritime heritage is that they are recognized by social groups and are organized according to different geographical or cultural areas. Following Laurajane Smith¹², I consider that

cultural heritage is a cultural process rather than a static element. Maritime heritage is used in Catalonia as a strategy to call the attention of politicians and the public to the problems of small-scale fishers, despite the contradictions that this process entails, as I will try to show in this article.

This happens in the context of an economy clearly oriented to coastal tourism, both domestic and foreign. The relationship between tourism and cultural heritage is evident^{13–16}, but it is not without points of contention. In the Mediterranean, has often been criticized that tourism development has dominated over the conservation of cultural heritage^{17,18}. On the other hand, as stated by Santana^{19,20}, the conversion or adaptation of cultural heritage to tourist uses often involves the perversion of the original values of that heritage. This is also of maritime heritage, a form of cultural heritage. For example, Knafou²¹ discusses the case of the legendary Queen Mary, one of the largest examples of America's floating material heritage because of its importance in the history of navigation and its size, which was profoundly transformed to become a hotel. Thus, the use of maritime heritage for touristic purposes involves, on the one hand, production of wealth, which creates the basis for conservation of the ship, but, on the other hand, also implies forgery. The same has been mentioned in relation to the conservation and tourism use of military ships in France²². In short, as stated by Bernard²³, »the relationships established between tourism and maritime heritage rest on the ambiguity of reconciling preservation with tourism exploitation of heritage«. But, as we will see in this article, maritime heritage can be exploited not only by coastal tourism but also by small-scale fishing.

This article is based on ethnographic research in a very specific area, the north coast of Barcelona known as El Maresme (see Figure 1). More specifically I will focus on the fishing port of Arenys de Mar and the small town of Sant Pol de Mar, which has an important past as a fishing village, the most important in the area before the port was built. But the construction of the Port of Arenys in the 1950s, at only 6 kilometers of distance, plus the massive influx of tourists from the 1960s, forced the fishermen to leave Sant Pol de Mar and go to Arenys de Mar. Fifty years after this process, we observe how the traditional fishing and sailing come back in the form of mari-



Fig. 1. Map.

time heritage: fishing boats with lateen sails, demonstrations of former fishing methods and recreations of abandoned fish auctions.

I conducted ethnographic research in El Maresme for two years (2009–2010), although the phenomenon described in this article is quite general throughout the Catalan coast. I confirmed this through systematic data collection of data conducted in 2011 about maritime heritage activities in all the communities of the Catalan coast through online consultations, interviews and phone calls to all the towns councils and cultural associations. This work was done in the context of the research project PESCUM mentioned in the acknowledgements. I benefited from the valuable collaboration of Marta Pinsach, research assistant at the Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, 45 town councils and the nearly 150 local entities (cultural and sportive associations, museums, archives, foundations, schools, fishermen organizations, yacht clubs, etc.) consulted.

The main goal of the ethnographic research (2009–2010) was to study the making and social uses of maritime heritage in the coastal area, specifically the activities related to cultural heritage carried out on beaches, maritime promenades, seaports and other elements of the coastal landscape, including the seaside and the sea. I conducted this ethnographic fieldwork using participant observation, informal conversations, interviews and life histories. After this research was completed, I began to coordinate the research project PESCUM (2011–2013), which intended to study and compare the uses of maritime heritage in four Spanish regions: Catalonia, Andalusia, Galicia and the Basque Country. I am not going to deal with that project in this paper except to mention its first step (2011), which consisted in systematic data collection, as mentioned before, to learn: 1. what cultural activities related to maritime heritage are being organized in the region during the year and their main characteristics (description, context, place, date, periodicity, price, attendance, etc.); 2. who is promoting these activities; 3. who is organizing them; 4. who is sponsoring them; 5. who are the users or participants; and 6. what conflicts can be observed. All this information has been included in a database. In this paper, I draw on some of the project's data from Catalonia.

This article reflects on opportunities and contradictions that maritime heritage offers to cope with the challenges affecting small-scale fishermen nowadays, both in Catalonia and elsewhere. I will start by briefly introducing the fishermen's organizations, or Confraries, and the recent evolution and current situation of artisanal fishery in the area under study. Then I will introduce two local cultural organizations funded and chaired by two fishermen and the activities they organize in the field of maritime heritage. I will focus on three aspects: demonstrations of artisanal fishing, representations of traditional fish selling and, finally, traditional fishing boats and their use not only to reclaim cultural values, but also to call the attention of policy makers and the general public to the problems of artisanal fishery. Lastly, I would

like to show some contradictions that appear in this process, as well as the possibilities that the activation of maritime heritage offers to artisanal fishermen to protect their livelihood and promote sustainable fishing.

The »Confraria de pescadors« of Sant Pol de Mar and the Maritime Heritage

Confraria in Catalan, or *Cofradía* in Spanish, is the name given to traditional and ancient fishermen's organizations in Spain. They began during the Middle Ages as religious organizations that evolved, in the modern era, into *Gremis* – guilds – of craftsmen organizations. Both Confraries and *Gremis* were created under the protection of a Patron Saint. According to Alegret²⁴, the confraries de pescadors in their origins were fishermen organizations with friendship, mutual protection and co-operation aims. In the 18th century, they evolved into organizations co-managed with the State. In the second half of the 19th century, under the influence of capitalist liberalism, guilds were abolished and different kinds of organization were created. But during the Franco dictatorship they were re-imposed as public organizations with some cooperative functions with the State. Presently, the confraries maintain their status system of co-management, despite the aim of the European Union (EU) of transforming it into Producer Organizations (POs), and in competition with new Owner's Associations and the few Fishers Unions created recently.

Sant Pol de Mar is a town of 5.000 inhabitants on the central Catalan coast, located in Barcelona Province, in which fishing was the main economic activity from the 18th century until the 20th century. It has a notable seafaring past. Evidence shows that fishing and navigation represented a significant part of the town's economic activity in the 18th century²⁵. A local historian²⁶ considers that fishing was at its peak in the mid-19th century, when Sant Pol's fishermen travelled as far as the waters of the Bay of Cádiz and the Bay of Lion. In the 1940s, when the town had a population of 1.600 inhabitants, around 300 men worked in fishing, and over 20 small trawlers, as well as other vessels, operated from the beach. According to Alegret and Nadal²⁵, at that time »the beach of Sant Pol had more fishermen than any of the other surrounding beaches.«

However, this activity gradually diminished with the emergence of tourism in the 1960s. This coincided with the construction of a fishing port in Arenys de Mar, a neighbouring town of 15.000 inhabitants. Until the 1950s the seaport of Barcelona was the only infrastructure on a densely populated coast. From Barcelona to the next seaport to the north in Sant Feliu de Guíxols there were 37 nautical miles without any protection for vessels until the 1950s, when the Port of Arenys began to be operative, although works were not finished until 1961. In all the towns of this region, the fleets operated from the beach until they moved little by little to the seaport of Arenys. To do that, the fishermen were forced to replace their old wooden vessels, which do not resist being in the

water permanently, with new ones. In the sixties the touristic uses of beaches, added to the obvious advantages of operating from a seaport, pushed most fishermen of this region to finally leave their beaches and go to the port. In Sant Pol de Mar, for example, the last fishing boat operated from the beach until summer 1985, when its owner retired. The Confraria de Pescadors de Sant Pol still exists today, even though all its members are based outside the town in the Port of Arenys. It has just 20 members, all of whom work in small-scale fishing: long-liners, trammelers and a small trawler.

Some fishermen of the Confraria de Pescadors de Sant Pol are involved in activities related to local maritime heritage. In particular, two fishermen have founded two cultural associations, A Tot Drap and Grup Llebeig. The association A Tot Drap, which means full speed ahead with sails unfurled, is dedicated to the conservation and dissemination of Sant Pol's maritime heritage. Its president, a man born in 1960, is also the president of the Confraria de Pescadors de Sant Pol. However, not all the members of this association are fishermen, but people in this town with different trades such as architects, electricians, computer programmers, businessmen and so on. They are mainly men and also some women, mostly in their fifties. It has approximately 40 members, of whom 8 or 10 are very active. They have restored several small fishing boats (7 to 9 metres), called *llaguts* in Catalan. These are usually small motorized fishing boats built in the mid-20th century. The group installs the equipment needed for lateen sails, a triangular sail which was traditionally used in the Mediterranean until motors were introduced. Thus, the group converts the boat into a so-called traditional vessel, despite being just motorized fishing vessels equipped with lateen sails rather than real fishing boats with such sails. In fact, the category of »traditional vessel« is disputed in Spain, especially by Apraiz, Aguirre and Böell²⁷ and Apraiz²⁸. These authors call into question whether the category of traditional vessel can be applied to vessels substantially different from the old models. As stated by Apraiz (2007: 234), »Instead of investigating our maritime memories we are reinventing: Replicas of originals that have never existed, sizes and designs of sails never used, Latin or Breton gears (in Basque boats), oversized paddles, maneuvers never conducted, etc, etc, etc.«

In addition, the association A Tot Drap has restored a small building that was constructed on the beach in 1932 to house the engines used to tow boats out of the sea and up the beach. This building has been made into a small museum that explains the town's fishing past. Finally, the association has constructed a sardinal, a typical fishing boat for catching blue fish from the French and Catalan Mediterranean coast used in the 19th century for long fishing trips from Catalonia to the Atlantic coast of Andalusia or the Gulf of Lion. This boat emerges as important later in the analysis.

A Tot Drap also organizes many activities related to maritime and fishing heritage, including traditional boat events, mainly involving *llaguts* with lateen sails, and

demonstrations of traditional fishing methods. These events and demonstrations are organized in the context of the many festivals that are held on the coast, mostly during the long summer holidays. In 2010, I recorded 11 demonstrations of small-scale fishing during the year in Catalonia, nine of which involved a system known as *artó* or »shore seine«, in which nets are hauled in from the beach. It was widely used by small-scale commercial fishing fleets in the Mediterranean, including Spain, Italy and Greece²⁹, where it was employed extensively until it was banned in 1994 by the European Council (Council Regulation (EC) No 1626/94). In fact, in the past, this fishing system could be found all over the world, and still is used in some countries such as Ghana^{30,31}, Benin, Mozambique, Togo, Perú, India and Sri Lanka³², although it is in a decline in most cases. It was prohibited in Spain for environmental reasons, as it damages marine bed habitat, particularly in reef and seagrass areas. It is specifically banned in the EU's sustainable fishing regulations: »Fishing with trawl nets, dredges, purse seines, boat seines, shore seines or similar nets above seagrass beds of, in particular, *Posidonia oceanica* or other marine phanerogams shall be prohibited.« (Council Regulation (EC) No 1967/2006 of 21 December 2006 concerning management measures for the sustainable exploitation of fishery resources in the Mediterranean Sea, amending Regulation (EEC) No 2847/93 and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1626/94). Nevertheless, it is now used in Catalonia in the context of public festivals as an example of traditional fishing, which is presented as more environmentally friendly than modern industrial fishing, as we will see later.

The other cultural association in Sant Pol de Mar I wish to discuss is called Grup Llebeig. It is named for one of the 8 winds of Catalonia associated with the cardinal and intermediary directions, that organizes and participates in festive events related to the sea. When I asked to its president, a fisherman of the Confraria de Pescadors de Sant Pol born in 1966, why they chose the name Llebeig for their association he replied: »The Llebeig is a wind coming from the 3rd quadrant, between Garbí (SW) and Mitjorn (S). It blows from sea to land, like the transfer of knowledge we do, from sea to land. Besides, it is a rare wind, but when it blows it is quite intense« (Personal communication, Ramon Tarridas, 19.10.2010).

Grup Llebeig takes part in several cultural events. For example they participate in a food fair called »Sea Fair« (Firamar) held in Sant Pol de Mar every year in the summer to promote maritime culture: artisans, fish cooking, folk music, etc. Among other activities, Grup Llebeig involvement consists in organizing a *Subhasta cantada a l'antiga* or »Traditional open outcry fish auction«, which is a Dutch auction. A Dutch auction is an auction in which the price is reduced until some participant is willing to accept the price. This is also known as an open-outcry descending-price auction. During this auction, a fisherman describes the qualities and characteristics of the fish that are caught in the region and makes com-

ments to promote small-scale fishing. Those attending can, of course, bid for the fish.

As it was difficult for the Government of Catalonia, to control the process of selling fish in open outcry auctions, these have been replaced by electronic auctions. The penultimate operating open outcry auction in Catalonia was prohibited in 2009 by the Government of Catalonia. The reasons for the prohibition were mainly two: economics (it was more difficult to control the amount of fish sold, prices and taxes in the open outcry auction than in the electronic one) and health (during the open outcry auction the fish was exposed to public view in wicker baskets in the open air without control over the condition of the product). This ban sparked many protests by both consumers and small-scale fishers, as people used to buy fish directly from the fishers, to the mutual benefit of both parties. Controlling the sale of fish increases the product's price (in theory this is good for the fishers), but is also good for the government (as the taxes collection increases) and the dealers (as it avoids direct access from consumers to the product). Today only one open outcry fish auction remains in Catalonia, in Montgat (see Figure 1), a town of the El Maresme area. In June 2011, the local authorities included this auction in the provincial list of cultural heritage to try to stop the Government of Catalonia, which has powers to regulate fishing, commerce and health, from prohibiting it. In Catalonia, between the local administration (town councils) and regional administration (Government of Catalonia), there is an intermediate administration called *Diputació* that represents all the municipalities within the four provinces in which Catalonia is divided: Barcelona, Tarragona, Lleida and Girona. For more than 10 years the Barcelona Provincial Government or *Diputació de Barcelona* has created lists or maps of local cultural heritage assets of its various municipalities. These maps are designed to collect comprehensive data on the cultural and natural heritage of each particular municipality and its value, facilitating the establishment of protection and conservation measures. However, the inclusion on these lists of an asset, for example, the traditional open outcry fish auction, does not automatically represent its legal protection, as this depends on the Government of Catalonia.

The auction is attended by local residents who go there to buy fish at a better price than in the market. As this auction is now included in the list of the province's heritage assets, it is apparently protected. It has been classified as heritage by local authorities, based on the argument it is »the last« open outcry auction in Catalonia. This has paved the way for its use in education and tourism under the category, recognized by UNESCO, of intangible cultural heritage. At the same time, demonstrations or representations of open outcry auctions, similar to those conducted by Grup Llebeig in Sant Pol de Mar have become increasingly widespread in Catalonia as part of public festivals. Currently, there are nine towns in Catalonia with festival programs that contain a demonstration of an open outcry auction as an example

of marine tradition and in recognition of the environmental and cultural values of traditional fishing.

Fishing Boats, Heritage and Sustainability

According to WWF³³, small-scale fishers make up over 70 percent of those employed in the fishing sector in the Mediterranean, although they are responsible for only 30 percent of the catch. Compared with industrial fishing, their fishing methods are characterized by their low environmental impact. Their catch is mainly consumed in local markets, which also reduces the environmental impact caused by transportation. But, despite all the advantage of small-scale fishing, it is in severe crisis. In Catalonia in the years from 2000 to 2012, the number of small-scale fishing boats dropped from 949 to 356 (Source: Idescat, Statistical Institute of Catalonia). In other words, 593 fishing boats disappeared in the last decade.

However, I will now discuss a fishing boat that has reappeared rather than disappeared. It is a boat built from a model of a sardinal that dates back to 1905 and is from the town of Sète, in the South of France. Several molds of the hull were made in fiberglass before the original sardinal was destroyed. The A Tot Drap association discussed earlier bought one of these molds and used it to build a new sardinal with a lateen sail. This 10-meter boat is sailed at traditional boat meetings, sea festivals and events related to maritime heritage. The members of A Tot Drap do so to represent the maritime past of Sant Pol de Mar, even though it does not really belong to the past of the place, but to that of a town in the south of France.

Since 1988 a »Festival of Catalan Fishing« (Festa de la Pesca Catalana) is held in a different port every year. This social event is attended by representatives of all the confraries, political authorities and local fishers. The Festival of Catalan Fishing is planned as an informal meeting to encourage the exchange of experiences and projects between the different confraries of Catalonia. It includes activities for the families of fishers such as plays for children and exhibitions, a lunch and a concert of maritime folk music. Finally, the head of the Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Fishing of the Government of Catalonia and other politicians make their speeches. In 2009, on the occasion of the Festival of Catalan Fishing in the Port of Mataró, the main town in El Maresme area, two traditional vessels were moored in the fishing port for the townspeople to view. One of these was the sardinal Sant Pau (Figure 2). Her deck was decorated with old objects related to small-scale fishing and even some old photographs, as if there were a small ethnographic exhibition on the deck. In addition, a placard hung from the lateen yard which read »sustainable and responsible fishing« (Pesca responsable i sostenible). The sardinal was moored in front of a large trawler. Small-scale fishers classify trawling as irresponsible or unsustainable fishing, as it is incompatible with the preservation of the marine environment. Therefore, hanging the



Fig. 2. The sardinal Sant Pau in the Port of Mataró (Photo: E. Carbonell).

banner and docking the boat next to the trawler constituted a political act, in which heritage was used to defend the interests of an economic sector. By means of the objects exhibited on the deck of the Sant Pau, today's small-scale fishers declared themselves the legitimate descendants of the small-scale fishers of the past. In addition, they labeled themselves as »responsible and sustainable« – as other artisanal fishers in the world actually do, as Einarsson³⁴ has recently demonstrated– and thus linked cultural heritage to the sustainability of the environment.

Almost all the many small-scale fishers of Catalonia with whom I have spoken believe that fishing is threatened by overfishing – which they attribute to industrial fishing– and pollution of the marine environment. This view is also shared by many scientists (Andreatta, Nash, and Matin 2011: 279). The Catalan small-scale fishers' association, Associació d'Armadors d'Arts Menors de Catalunya (ADAMEC), founded and chaired by a member of Grup Llebeig, also uses this discourse. ADAMEC is an association of small-scale fishing boat owners in Catalonia created to defend the interests of small-scale fishing in the face of industrial or semi-industrial fishing. ADAMEC is member of OCEAN2012 (<http://ocean2012.eu/>), a coalition of European organizations created with the goal of pressuring the EU to ensure that the 2012 reform of the EU Common Fisheries Policy responds to their demands to stop overfishing and end destructive fishing practices. Cultural associations devoted to the conservation and dissemination of Catalan maritime heritage, such as A Tot Drap and Grup Llebeig, also share this discourse. This can be seen in actions like placing the sardinal and its message hung from the lateen yard in front of a big trawler to be seen by political authorities and the general public. During an interview with the president of A Tot Drap, when I asked his opinion about the future of small-scale fishing, he replied: »In the world of fishing, things are bad; I see it [the future] as very

bleak. If the fishing effort made by all the fishermen, not just those of one sector –all– is not adjusted. I suppose that in the future, through fishermen retiring and fishing vessels being scrapped, an equilibrium will be reached. Now there are too many boats for too few fish. I think that when there are fewer fishing boats the fish stock will rebound and the few boats remain will provide a decent livelihood. I like to imagine that fish will always be a luxury item sold at a good price. Maybe one day we can return to fishing with oars and sails, or electric motors« (self-translation)¹.

I would like to highlight that this answers links the future and the past, an imagined future of returning to old systems of navigation and the curious relationship between the wind, the ancient navigation propulsion and electric engines, the newest form of propulsion. As stated by Jovičić³⁵ the scarcity and high price of fuels in the future will produce changes in human activities such as those related to cultural tourism.

Before turning to the conclusions, it is worth analyzing the contradictions observed in the process of constructing maritime heritage. I have discussed three elements of maritime heritage: demonstrations of artisanal fishing, representations of traditional fish selling and traditional fishing boats. To begin with the first, as we have seen, small-scale fishing presents itself as more environmental friendly than industrial or semi-industrial fishing. But, surprisingly, small-scale fishing is presented in public festivals in Catalonia as part of maritime heritage through the demonstration of a type of fishing gear (the shore seine) that was forbidden by European Union legislation due to the damage it caused to the maritime ecosystem. So, this is not the best example to illustrate the sustainability of traditional fishing methods. Besides, Catalan fishing historians^{36,37} have shown that this fishing method depended on the labor of the poorest people, such as immigrants, the elderly and unemployed and also homeless individuals who worked hard on the beach for just a few fish. All this underscores that traditional fishing was neither environmentally respectful nor socially harmonic, despite being characterized as such in the heritage reconstructions. In fact, the shore seine fishing system is an example of precisely the opposite. This can be observed nowadays where this fishing gear is still used, as Marloes Kraan³¹ has recently demonstrated in her doctoral thesis.

The article also explored the contradiction of recovering as part of intangible maritime heritage a traditional form of fish-selling that was forbidden for public health and administrative control reasons. Here we can observe a curious case in which the administration is prohibiting the open-outcry fish auction for tax control and food safety reasons with one hand, while with the other hand it is promoting the practice by recognizing its cultural value and declaring the last open-outcry fish auction in Montgat to be intangible heritage. At the same time, some cultural associations led by fishermen are performing open-outcry fish auctions in summer festivals to pro-

mote the consumption of local fish and to defend artisanal fishing. This transformation of an economic activity, fish selling, into cultural heritage will probably in the near future transform the values associated with and the sense of the activity itself.

Finally, I have described the case of the traditional boats. We have seen how a centenary fishing boat from the town of Sète, in the South of France, was suddenly transformed into a traditional boat of Sant Pol de Mar. I could mention other well known examples of traditional boats in Catalonia used today to represent the Catalan maritime heritage that are also not originally from the region. But beyond the original location of the boats, some voices claim that the recovered boats are not actually traditional boats, but, rather a sort of invention or composite. The main point is that these recovered boats are not restorations of the last motor-driven fishing boats, which have been sailing along the coast since the 1920s, but, rather, copies of earlier models or restorations inspired by earlier models from 18th and 19th century, that is, from before the introduction of engines in fishing boats, driven by the winds thanks to the lateen sail. When a motor boat is restored it is usually transformed into a lateen-sail boat to fit an ideal of the traditional fishing boat. Motors are hidden probably because they are considered synonymous of modernity. It is important to take into account that such boats are used not only to remember the sailing past but also as a platform for the small-scale fishing claims addressed to politicians and public opinion, as seen in the Festival of Catalan Fishing case described above. So these boats are representing an idealized fishing past.

Conclusions: Heritage to the Rescue of Small-scale Fishing?

I showed in this article some ethnographic examples that demonstrate how the disappearing living objects and activities on the Catalan coast (fishing boats, fishing gears, and fish selling) have been replaced by inventions, re-creations and representations of these objects and activities in a maritime heritage recovery process. There are several contradictions in this process, as we have seen.

This article sought not merely to identify contradictions in the process of constructing maritime heritage in Catalonia but also to highlight opportunities offered by local actors' use of this concept of heritage. In my view, a view shared by other authors, such contradictions appear in many construction of heritage. For example, Joan Frigolé³⁸ found similar contradictions in other sorts of heritage recovery in Catalonia, specifically the recuperation of festivals and the recreation of ancient women's crafts in the Pyrenees.

In his work about heritage and traditional fishing systems, Rob Van Ginkel³⁹ pointed out something worth remembering, the idea that, despite all the theoretical critiques that can be made about the concepts of tradition

and authenticity, they are still important for people today. Not all traditions are recently invented; neither can authenticity be seen as fixed and persistent over time. Instead, both traditions and their authenticity can be seen as part of a bricolage that involves the building of identity.

My aim in this article was also to show how the managing of maritime heritage by fishers can be seen as an opportunity to meet the challenges that small-scale fishing is currently facing as a sector in crisis. First, activities linked to heritage are useful to call the attention of the general public to the problems of fishers, who are usually ignored and sometimes even despised, as Nadel-Klein⁴⁰ notes. Second, the activities are used to promote local fish caught by local fishers to people in the area – as an option that avoids the environmental and economic costs of importing fish from afar into a country which already has fresh and varied local fish available. Moreover, open out-cry auctions are an opportunity not only to buy fish at a very good price but also to spread knowledge about some species of low-cost fish or rare fish that are no longer cooked in Mediterranean family kitchens⁴¹.

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E. Carbonell

*Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Scientific Park of the University of Girona, Emili Grahit 93,
17003 Girona, Catalonia, Spain
email: eliseuc@icrpc.cat*

MOGUĆNOSTI I KONTRADIKCIJE U POMORSKOJ BAŠTINI I MALOM RIBOLOVU – STUDIJA SLUČAJA KATALONIJE

S A Ž E T A K

Mnogo je toga napisano u posljednjih nekoliko godina o krizi u ribarstvu uzrokovanih kritičnom smanjenju ulova te o strategijama razvijenih od strane lokalnih zajednica ribara kao reakciji na krizu. Cilj ovog članka je pokazati kako se korištenje pomorskog nasljeđa može smatrati dijelom ove strategije. Kao i ostali ribari, katalonski mali ribari su suočeni sa ozbiljnim prijetnjama prema njihovom profesionalnom opstanku. Nedavno su jedni od njih postali uključeni u aktivnosti vezane za pomorske baštine, što je dio strategije kako bi privukli pažnju kreatora politike i javnosti na njihove probleme, strategije koja nije lišena kontradikcije. No iza tih kontradikcija, članak ističe prilike koje korištenje pomorskog nasljeđa nudi ribarima u Kataloniji, kao i ostalim ribarima.