



A GLOVE FOR TWO HANDS

Life history of a fisher-woman along the Adriatic coast



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*“I love my sea,
which I have come
to know”*

*Anna Maria Verzino
Casalbordino, Abruzzo, Italy*

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Foreword

“It is the third of May. A storm rages against the beach. There is no one along the Casalbordino promenade. During this season the locals can be usually found strolling along the seafront, to enjoying some sunlight and breeze. It is already summer, yet the colorful beach umbrellas are all closed shut. The sea is rough. Nothing but a red flag flutters against the wind. I park my car in a small square close to the beach. I take my notebook and check the address one more time. I leave the camera in the car and look for the place. I find it just after a few steps. It is a large blue house along the seafront. At the entrance, a wall painting of a large octopus welcomes me. Underneath, it reads, “This one is my sea, my world... which feeds on nothing but dreams” (Questo è il mio mare, il mio mondo... che sol di sogni vive). A pile of nets, a couple of fishing pots and old buoys lie by the entrance. I ring the doorbell and wait as the wind starts growing. A small woman with short blond hair approaches. Her deep blue eyes and wrinkly face seize my attention. I introduce myself, telling her that I am looking for a woman named Anna Maria. She stretches her face in a large smile. She is the person I am looking for: Anna Maria Verzino, better known by the locals as the sea bride”

(Field notes – Casalbordino – 12th May 2018 – Abruzzo – Central Italy)

The reflections included in the present thesis constitute a chronicle of my fieldwork in Italy. I explored a coastal community in the Trabocchi Coast, located in the Abruzzo region along the Adriatic Sea. The camera-based fieldwork has been conducted within and around the maritime area where I was born, hence making the experience a sort of anthropology at home. Moving around with the camera, I tried to navigate through the life history of Anna Maria. She is eighty years old and has never been married. She lives with her brother’s family. She is retired but still a regular tax contributor. Her works takes place on her boat, Gloria. During my three months of fieldwork, she allowed me to explore in depth her way of life as a fisherwoman; to experience and perceive the relationship between people and seascapes; to reckon how people shape and imbue meaning in the places they inhabit, and how people are, in turn, shaped by these very places.

Chapter One

Introduction. *Drawing memories and fishermen*

My relationship with coastal life began well before my fieldwork. I was born in a small village in the Abruzzo region in the hinterland of the Chieti Province. Despite enjoying the panorama around my house – that characteristically hilly landscape sprinkled with orderly patches of olive trees and vineyards – I always preferred the coastal side of my hometown, better known as Costa dei Trabocchi (Trabocchi Coast). The location takes its name from the ancient fishing constructions supported by wood stilts (*trabocchi*; Fig. 1), which can be found in abundance along the coast.



Fig. 1. A drawing of a trabocco (Drawing: Valentina Lanci, fieldnotes).

Among the few experiences, I distinctly remember from the hazy memories of a childhood spent by the sea stand the occasional fishing along my grandfather, the boats coming back from the sea, the chattering of the fishermen during the docking, and the breeze that, with them, swept ashore (Fig. 2). During that time, I often wished to become a fisherwoman. It was the year 1993 and I was only ten years old. Back then, fishery and agriculture were still the main economic activities supporting the locals' livelihood. Nowadays, conditions are changing. Fishing is now a marginalized sector, and its practitioners are dwindling. Touristic facilities and beach umbrellas have overtaken the space once claimed by the trabocchi. Today, these wooden constructions represent the last remnant of that fishing heritage.

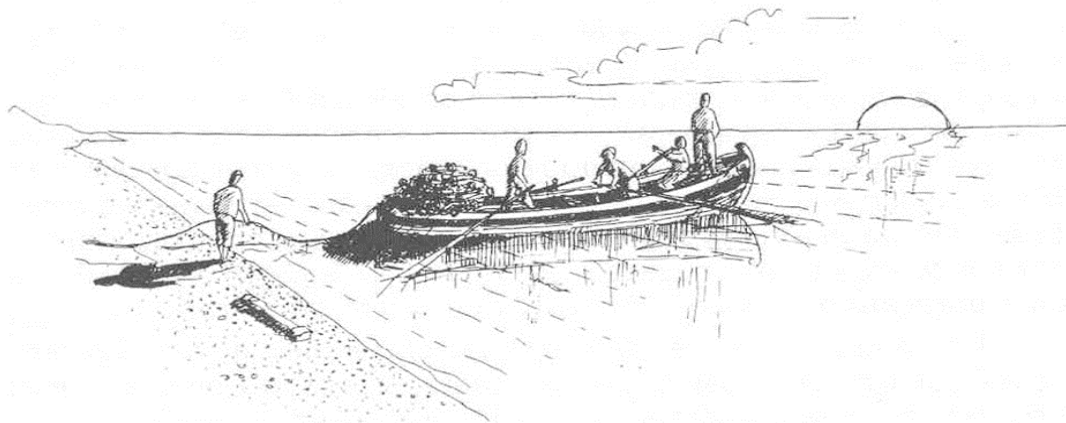


Fig. 2. A drawing of a fishing scene, as remembered from childhood (Drawing: Valentina Lanci, fieldnotes).

More than two decades later, my research interests unexpectedly led me back home to chase and document experiences akin to my childhood memories. I wish to briefly underline how the first steps into this experience, described in the present thesis, are inspired by my evergreen fascination for fishermen and their ways of living. This simmering charm of the coastal life, coupled with a growing interest in small-scale fishery, have undoubtedly played a large role in drawing my attention to the livelihoods of coastal communities.

Developing a project

In 2017 I moved to Tromsø and enrolled in the Visual Anthropology Master Program at UiT. The program included a fieldwork of three months, which I considered to be a great opportunity to explore the coastal communities of fishermen. At the beginning, I deliberately decided to approach my fieldwork from a gender perspective. The decision to adopt such a viewpoint came about after my first contact with *Too Big to Ignore*¹, a fishery organization aiming to promote and preserve activities related to artisanal fishery around the world. To my surprise, many women were actively involved in this organization. This observation catalyzed my curiosity about women at sea, as I previously thought of fishery largely as a male-dominated field. Indeed, I could not single out a single fisher-woman from my childhood memories.

Or perhaps I may have been influenced by a Western stereotype of fishing as a quintessentially male occupation – a stereotype which Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988) discussed at length, emphasizing how the exclusive focus on male actors robbed us of the ability consider women

¹ More information can be found at: <http://toobigtoignore.net/>

in fishing communities (Nadel-Klein & Davis, 1988, p. 1-17). Their collection of ethnographic essays from Brazil, Newfoundland, Portugal, India, and so forth, constitute the conceptual backbone and main inspiration of the research here detailed. The ethnographies of fisherwomen that Nadel-Klein and Davis produced made me aware of the need for a gender perspective and kindled my curiosity to adopt one in documenting the fishing communities around my hometown. In the process of data gathering, I came to realize that the presence of women in Italian fishery is underestimated due to poor documentation. According to a 2011 IREPA² report (Irepa Onlus, 2011) on the occupational demographics of Italian fishery, there is still little data about women's employment in the sector and the type of activities women are typically tasked with. The same picture emerges in other Southern European countries such as Spain, Greece, or Turkey. Despite the fact that women from maritime communities represent a relevant part of fishing economy³, fishery is still considered monopoly of men⁴.

Searching through materials and publications related to women in small-scale fisheries in Italy, I stumbled upon an article about a migrant women-only fishing cooperative called "Bio e Mare", located in Marina di Carrara (Tuscany). I immediately contacted the person responsible for the cooperative – a Bulgarian woman named Rady. She talked to me at length about her experience with fishery and the cooperative – an exchange that proved crucial to develop my project⁵. At the beginning of March, I sent an email to Rady to let her know that I was planning to soon begin a fieldwork of three months documenting life in the cooperative. Unfortunately, when I arrived in Marina di Carrara on 19th of April 2018, I found out that the cooperative had been forced to close due to financial issues and that most of the women working there moved back to their home countries.

² The *Institute for Economic Research in Fishery and Aquaculture* (IREPA) was established in Salerno in 1982 with the purpose of promoting the development of economic research in the fishing sector and providing the required support to the Public Bodies involved in the management of fishery and aquaculture. Since 1994, IREPA has been providing technical assistance to the Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Forestry Policies, actively co-operating to the drawing of documents related to the planning of the sector.

³ An assessment provided by FAO in 2016 reports that "women account for about 50 percent of the workforce in small-scale fisheries, particularly in processing and trade" (FAO, 2016, p. 92) and that 90 per cent of all workers in secondary seafood activities, such as processing, are women.

⁴ Customary belief, norm and laws, and unfavourable regulatory structures of the state reduce women's access to fisheries resources and confine them to the lower end of supply chains within the so-called informal sector (Weeratunge, 2010, p. 406). Moreover, the women's work in term of livelihood is often perceived as part of the domestic duties of being a "fishwife", as Valerie Burton argued in a recent work about gender, representation, and agency in coastal communities (Burton, 2012).

⁵ The conversation with Rady persuaded me to focus on women as dynamic and creative actors in challenging and stressful work environments, which are often a part of the fishing way of life. The experience and know-how treasured by Bio e Mare would have been undoubtedly useful and pertinent to my gender-oriented exploration of fishing communities. Furthermore, many of the women involved in the cooperative were migrants, thus also giving me the opportunity to investigate how ethnicity and marginality are experienced within a fishery environment.

Knowing Anna Maria. Establishing a new perspective

In order to reschedule my fieldwork, I went back to Abruzzo on April 21st. I never considered the possibility of doing anthropology so close to home but the accidental encounters I had with the local fishermen of the Adriatic Coast made me prospect appear already somewhat familiar. A few days of walking along the Trabocchi coast made me realize that I could have easily found material for my fieldwork around the communities of my own childhood.

Like many other places in Italy historically dependent on fishing, the Trabocchi Coast underwent significant environmental and demographic changes in recent years, which deeply impacted and restructured the fishermen's way of living. Unstable incomes and working conditions pushed most of the fishermen, especially among the youngest recruits, to organize their work in cooperatives within large and properly equipped harbours close to the main fishing markets. The percentage of fishermen still working nowadays by the shoreline is considerably smaller than a few decades ago. This comprises mainly old fishermen working individually or in small, cohesive, groups. I have always been fascinated by these experienced seamen, their consummate forecasting abilities, and their striking awareness of changing maritime conditions. Each activity is carried out with deep focus and routine-like ease. The few old fishermen I met along the Trabocchi coast all exuded the same composite assiduousness for the manual minutiae of a disappearing work. Their presence begs the question why they maintain such a commitment in the faces of changing conditions.

This question became even more pressing when I came to discover that the oldest fisherwoman in Italy actually lived close to home, about forty kilometres away from my birthplace. These news tantalized me, so I decided to set up a meeting. My encounter with her proved crucial in persuading me to move my fieldwork to Abruzzo, changing the whereabouts of my research and eventually the original gender-based perspective on the subject.

I met Anna Maria on the 3rd of May and ten days later I visited her on the beachside where she lands her boat. A few exchanges sufficed to make clear just how intimate was her relationship with that chunk of coastline. Her attachment to that place felt obstinate and ageless, a glimpse of a past that seemed to have defied change. Nevertheless, Anna Maria's meagre catches, when compared to the extraordinary efforts she put in organizing each and every fishing expedition, were a glaring testament that this profession, the way she embodied it, meant a punishing and

barely sustainable livelihood. Her persistence in spite of the poor returns made me think: why was she still working along the shoreline? What makes her carry on such a laboured life? These reflections set the frame and starting point of my research. If I wished to understand her reasons, I would have needed to better understand her relationship to, and perception of, the beach itself. Her obdurate attachment to this place became my central topic of inquiry, steering my focus away from the gender-based perspective I meant to first develop when approaching the phenomenon of small-scale fishery.

The course of my fieldwork, and the time spent analyzing the material gathered showed me, day by day, just how strong, and singly untroubled, is the commitment of people like Anna Maria. Observing how these actors interacted with the environment through their activities, I started to understand how they came to bind their identities to the places of their wearisome livelihood. I found it helpful in my analysis to adopt the “dwelling perspective” (Ingold, 2000, p. 172) which made me able to understand the deep mutuality between human and landscape. This is a quintessentially interactional perspective, in which our direct contact with the places through our activities change both physical and noetic landscape, shaping places and the minds of its inhabitants alike. Navigating the coastline landscape from Anna Maria’s viewpoint proved key to dwell in the experience of being a fisherman.

The days spent with Anna Maria have been a precious source of learning, which deepened my sensibilities as well as my – still unripe – perception as novice anthropologist. The village in which I spent my time became the vantage point from where to observe the mutual shaping of actors and places, such as Anna Maria and her revered portion of seaside. That small chunk of beach where she industriously prepared for the fishing became the Petri dish of an interaction – between people and landscape – which I seek to explore further in the future through other microcosms and in other declensions.

Chapter Two

Exploring sea landscape through a life history approach

As Raymond Madden writes, doing ethnography is being, writing and theorizing about “a group of people and their sociality, culture and behaviors, but it is not a fictional account” (Madden, 2010, p. 16). Ethnography, he suggests, “is both a practice (a framed methodology) and a textual product of that practice”.

In observing people, interacting and organizing social practices, taking part in their everyday life, exploring their place with and without camera I have been practicing and sharpening my skills as a visual anthropologist. When doing research “there is an implicit assumption that we are investigating something ‘outside’ ourselves, that the knowledge we seek cannot be gained solely or simply through introspection.” And yet “we cannot research something without having any contact to the researched. All researchers are to some degree connected to, or part of, the object of their research” (Davies A., 2008, p. 3). The results of my research, for instance, is an artefact of my presence in the field with a camera. Inevitably, this was bound to influence the research process through all its stages. Similarly, my personal history influenced my decision to explore the world of small-scale fishery. By the same token, my initial and rather fortuitous readings on the topic determined which perspective I initially adopted in approaching the field.

When home became the field

When I arrived in Marina di Carrara⁶ I immediately understood that ethnography is not fictional. I learned that ethnography sometimes goes beyond your aims, stretching in territories where the observational detachment of the anthropologist gives way to the emotional labor of a participant confronted with unfathomed complexities. I spent five months scrupulously preparing for my fieldwork, reading a wealth of publication about gender and small-scale fishery, and conversing with my informants via Skype from Norway. Nevertheless, when I finally arrived in the field, my romantic expectations about living along fisherwomen came to an abrupt halt upon realizing that no fieldwork could have been carried out there. A tidal sense of discouragement and logistic constraints forced me back home, without any idea of where to proceed from there.

Before leaving for the fieldwork, I had only read Jackson’s introduction and Strathern’s article

⁶ Marina di Carrara is the city where I met the women working in Bio e Mare. It is situated in the Liguria Region, facing the Tyrrhenian Sea.

(in Jackson, 1987) about doing anthropology at home. They both argued that ‘home’ is a relative concept in modern days, not any longer tethered to geographical birthplaces. As the sharing of experiences takes on ways that transcend spatiotemporal contiguity, so does the sense of being ‘at home’. In my case, my field came to resemble ‘home’, the memories I weaved throughout my childhood, more than my present home itself. As Madden writes, “my recipe for home is [...] a mixture of geographical, emotional, social, and cultural components, which are brought together under the rubric of familiarity” (Madden, p. 46). So understood, my experience of doing anthropology at home became akin to a “process of revisiting the familiar in the form of local” and “encountering the personally unknown” (Ibid.p. 47) through the figure of Anna Maria, my main informant.

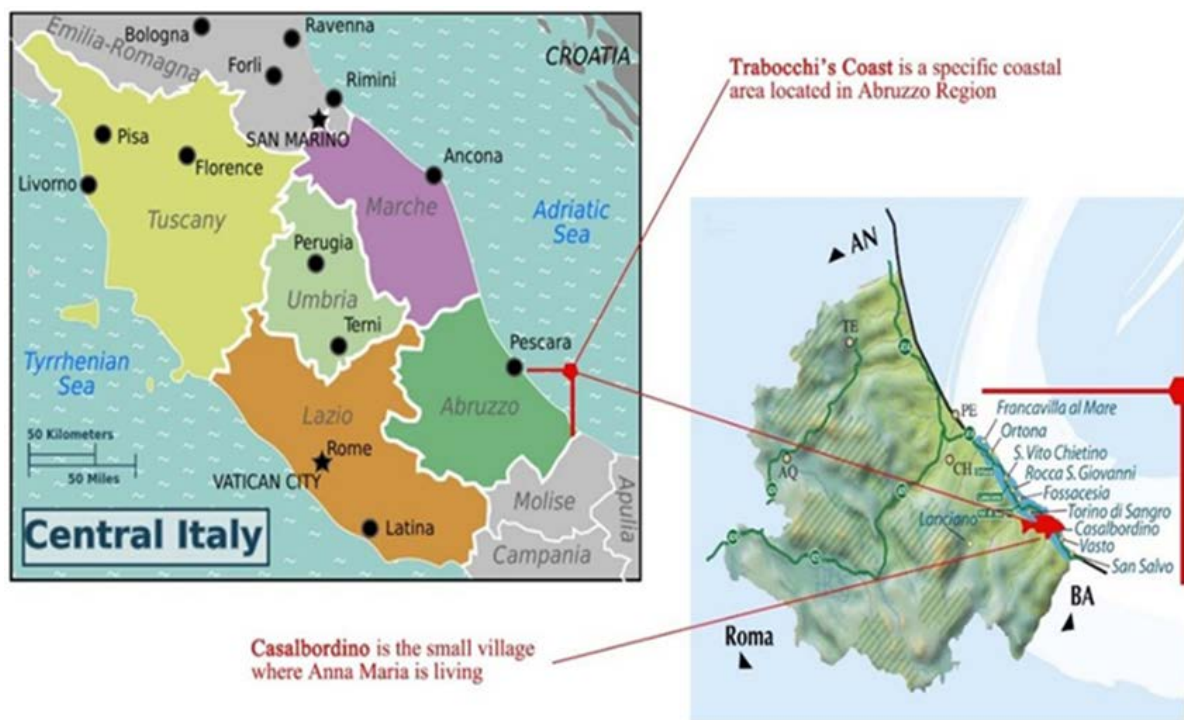


Fig. 3. Map of the Trabocchi Coast.

One particular event proved pivotal in making me revisit the familiar at home. As previously mentioned, while trying to figure out how to redeem my fieldwork mishap, I spent a few days along the Trabocchi coast, visiting the places where I used to fish with my grandpa, and those where I used to gather with friends. On one of these days, I visited Vallevò's harbour (Fig.4) one of the most popular ports in the area where small-scale fishery is still practiced nowadays. Among the fishermen untangling their nets I recognized Vincenzo, an old friend of my grandfather. As we started talking, I mentioned passingly why I was in Abruzzo and asked,

without much hope or conviction, whether he could help me find a fisherwoman. One of the fishermen nearby laughed and commented in the local dialect: “Here? It is already hard to find a man, let alone a woman”. Vincenzo, following the conversation, commented, “Forget what those stupid men are saying! Actually, I do remember a fisherwoman, older than me, but I do not know if she is still active. Why don’t you ask Maria the Gipsy?” I knew Maria. My grandfather often bought fish from her. Thus, I decided to go meet “the gipsy of Vallevò”. By the entrance of Maria’s house lied a small stand stacked with different dried vegetables, empty shells, and old fishing material (Fig.5). Nobody seemed to be there, so I announced myself.



Fig. 4. Vallevò harbor.

A woman in her sixties approached me. I asked her whether she was Maria, and told her that I was looking for the fisherwoman Vincenzo mentioned. Maria was surprised that I had never heard about her before. “Really! You don’t know the Bride of the Sea? Anna Maria! She is a good fisherwoman, I know her. I used to buy fish from her and sell it on my stand. To be honest, it has been a long time since I’ve seen her, I don’t know if she is still working. She should be eighty years old or so”. I spend all that morning chatting profusely with Maria. She explained

me that nowadays the amount of fish collected and brought to Vallevò shrunk considerably compared to the last decade. These days, she goes to buy the fish at the fishing market located in the commercial harbour of Ortona and then resells it along the main road. The tourists, she told me, come to her stand mostly because of its convenient location, just on the way back from the beach.



Fig. 5. The entrance of the gipsy's house in Vallevò.

My unexpected encounter with the fishermen of Vallevò spurred my initial thoughts about how the fishermen livelihood changed since my hazy childhood memories. What I once considered familiar proved to be almost unsettlingly unfamiliar. My interest in a gender-based perspective on fishery led me to the small fishing community of Vallevò, and from there to Casalbordino, the small village nearby where Anna Maria, the Bride of the Sea, lived.

A shell among the umbrella. The field inspired the theory

At my first meeting with Anna Maria, we had a coffee with her niece Raffaella⁷ at her house and then went for a walk along the Casalbordino promenade. Her house is located along the promenade, divided in different private bathing spaces. We crossed the beach to reach a small square where a Statue of Virgin Mary stood. Close to the square lied a small bay where a few fishing boats were docked. Pointing at a small boat, Anna told me, “This is Gloria, my boat”. This first encounter with Anna Maria left a strong impression on me, enough to make me decide to move my fieldwork there. I took some notes about that encounter which betray how much Anna Maria’s obstinate dedication to fishing kindled my curiosity to know further about what this resolve could mean, from an anthropological standpoint.

“We went for a walk along the promenade. Anna Maria seems so out of context compared to this place. I cannot imagine a fisherwoman living in a place like this. There is nothing that makes me think of fishing, except only her boat on that small beach and the fishing stuff placed by her house entrance. Is she really fishing there? What kind of fishing spot is that? I cannot imagine anyone fishing there. Meeting Anna Maria felt like hitting a hard and beautiful shell while pushing the beach umbrella deep in the sand” (Fieldnotes - Casalbordino, May 2018).

Anna Maria is an eighty-two-year old fisherwoman. During her timeline, she experienced first-hand relevant transformations which characterized artisanal fishery in my region and learned how to overcome the difficulties of small coastal fishery.

When I began to participate in the daily life of Anna Maria, I realized that her routines revolved entirely around that small bay. Her days unfolded in a pocketed space including her house, the seafront, her favourite bar close to home and the beach where she landed Gloria. Anna Maria’s relationship with the beach ran deep. She changed many things in her lifetime as a fisherwoman: the boat, the gillnets, the helpers – yet, she never moved from that beach. Her devotion to that place became the focal experience through which I could better understand the reasons and the motivation which bind people to places, and, specifically, a woman to her small bay.

To do so, I started to approach Anna Maria’s obstinate and lifelong attachment to that place as landscape-forming. As Tim Ingold concisely put it, “First, human life is a process that involves

⁷ Raffaella is the daughter of Anna Maria’s brother. Since Anna Maria does not own a mobile phone, I had to first contact Raffaella in order to get information about how reach Anna Maria. More details about Anna Maria and her family members will be provided later on.

the passage of time. Second, this life-process is also the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived” (Ingold, 1993, p. 152).

The craft of the place. Participant observation and the everyday discourse

The most frequently used method of conducting fieldwork is to actively participate in people’s everyday life, “to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and to observe the activities, people and physical aspects of the situation” (Spradley, 1980, p.54). Before the fieldwork, I had no prior experience with anthropology or ethnographic research, and I expected the people to be very skeptical and befuddled by what I was doing. Contrary to my bleak expectations, most of the people I met, including Anna Maria, never expressed dismissal of, or puzzlement for, the aims of my work. When they asked me what I was doing there, I always answered that I was an MA student researching about small-scale fishery. The fact that I was a student made them visibly relaxed, since early on and capable to effort less interact in front of the camera. Or so I thought. In all likelihood, in fact, it was my familiarity with the place, which I did not become aware of until compiling my field notes, that made them feel at ease around me. Indeed, since the beginning, I was known “if not personally to these people, at least in terms of where and who I came from” (Abu-Lughod, 1990, p.110 in Madden, 2010 p. 48). I could talk to them using their very dialect, and they knew that I was from around there. I knew their linguistic ways and was able to reciprocal their jokes with the same dialectal verve.

The nature of my fieldwork has been sometimes characterized by the familiarity and the “habits of homely interaction” (Madden, p.49). I did not consider such factor as part of an ethnographic fieldwork but now I believe it strongly influenced my personal engagement with Anna Maria and the people I met in Casalbordino.

I spent a long time exploring the surroundings and chatting with the locals, who often gathered around the Virgin Mary’s square – a small square close to the beach where Anna lands her boat – to pray. Once, I was filming Anna Maria from nearby the square, when suddenly a man asked me: “Are you filming Anna Maria? She told me that you came from Guastameroli”. I answered affirmatively and he followed stating “I have a friend living there. His name is Mario Caldora. Do you happen to know him?”. As a matter of fact, I did know him – a common acquaintance which propelled him into a lively chat about local issues. A same type of dynamics defined my first encounters with Anna Maria. Every day, we would start our conversation as if chatting

among neighbors. In fact, I believe I may have lost precious ethnographic material because I found myself so engrossed in such interactions to forget the modicum of distance and awareness required for anthropological work. Initially, I found the balancing act of maintain a participative attitude without losing sight of my research aims quite strenuous. My familiarity with the field site, the fact that I shared the same dialect and linguistic inflections of my interlocutors, as well as many of their cultural referents, proved at once a blessing and a curse, as they seeded in me the insidious concern that I was overlooking something important due to the ease of my access to Anna Maria's world.

In the second stage I started to understand that the everyday discourse could be fruitfully used, freeing people to express their knowledge. With time, the participation in the common discourse ceased to require a compromise of my positional awareness. I began to participate in familiar situations doing what Geertz calls "the craft of the place" (Geertz, 1983, p. 167). As a general heuristic, I tried to avoid forcing my own topics in the conversation, limiting myself to listening and filming. When at home, I took notes about the main topics and questions raised in the conversations recorded during the day. This aided me to notice which were the most relevant themes around which the chattering of my interlocutors more frequently converged. Moreover, doing so provided me with a rudimentary repository of community knowledge that I could use to inject myself into later conversations. For instance, I once asked Anna Maria and a few of her friends, "how was the birthday of Maria last night?" just because I overheard them talking about this event the day before. In a similar vein, I also asked her about the health of Giuseppe, a friend of her whose health conditions have been matter of dispute and concern in the preceding days.

Talking with them about local and pragmatic issue proved to be an efficacious way of putting them in the proper conditions to talk about other – more abstract, and certainly more personal – topics such as identity, desires, feelings and so forth. I remember, for instance, when people started to complain about the poor state of the beach where Anna Maria landed the boat. It was a constant topic among the people passing by Anna Maria's fish stand, and worked as *passerpartout* to initiate conversations with her about her relationship with that place.

Moreover, participating to such discourses remedied to the problem of accessing the knowledge of everyday routines without having to explicitly query my interlocutors for logistic information about how to participate in their activities. For instance, at the beginning of my fieldwork it was

extremely difficult to schedule my day with Anna Maria because of her lack of mobile phone, and she seemed sometimes annoyed by my questions about dates, schedules, and so on – even more so for inquiries pertaining going out at sea. Once, for instance, due to logistic difficulties⁸ I could not go with Anna Maria and Bruno⁹ on her boat and was required to use another boat to follow them at sea during the fishing procedure. Whenever I tried to ask her to give me specific coordinates to reach them at sea, she was unable to comply. She does not use a GPS and she decides when to go out at sea mostly on a morning assessment of the daily weather conditions. To bypass this problem, I would begin my days early in the morning, so to check the weather and the sea conditions to try to predict whether it could have been a fishing day or not.

A well-known camera on the beach

In my experience as documentary photographer outside of my ethnography work, I already grew aware that the camera – its sheer and somewhat imposing presence – may represent a hindrance to the establishment of trust relations with my interlocutors. Every day the routine on the beach was the same: remove the fish from the nets, sell the fish, clean the nets and boat, have a chat around a cup of coffee. Overall, the camera did not seem to bother Anna Maria, mostly because she was constantly focused on her routines. For the most part, I filmed her going on about her business without intervening, but in a few occasions, I did help out – and in these circumstances I would invariably switch off my camera. This was the case when, for instance, she seemed to be extremely tired or when very personal issues brought to my attention required any element of indiscreetness or potential distance, such as the camera, to be removed.

⁸ In Italy, if you are not a sea worker regularly registered with a certain boat you are not authorized to go at sea. In order to have a permission to go on board of Gloria, I had to talk with the Captain of the local Coastal Guard. I showed them the NSD Form and my Letter of Admission to the VCS Master, explaining that I was doing fieldwork about small-scale fishery and that I was helping Anna Maria Verzino in Casalbordino. They told me that they knew well Lady Verzino, since she was the only woman in Abruzzo regularly working as fisherwoman. Alas, however, they could not help me due to the fact that I was doing research for a non-Italian University. Nevertheless, I could have tried to contact the Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture in Rome, since they could provide the authorization I would have needed for my research. The day after I called the Ministry asking for the authorization. I waited for it until mid-June. Unfortunately, they deemed my case incompatible with issuing that authorization: I could not go on board of Gloria.

⁹ Bruno is the youngest of Anna Maria's brothers. He is not a fisherman but he used to help her fishing and sailing, especially in the last years, due to Anna Maria's old age.



Fig. 6. Filming Anna Maria tidying up the boat at the end of a fishing day.

For the customers I adopted a different approach. I used the camera almost every day to follow the daily interactions between the people around Gloria. When new customers came to the fish stand, it was interesting to see how they reacted to the camera presence. Someone asked me to not film them; others broke a joke with Anna Maria saying, “You are going to be famous” or inquired whether I was a journalist. Anna Maria seemed annoyed by those questions and preferred not to answer. Once, she commented that she was growing tired of those situations and that I would have been the last one to film her. Locally, in fact, she was already a minor celebrity, between known as *the bride of the sea*, who caught the attention of local journalists and photographers.

I wished to avoid exoticizing her character, but at the same I had a genuine curiosity about why people called her the bride of the sea. I decided to focus on her way to use the body during the daily routine. I tried to observe her bodily movement and her practices to convey the “ineffable substance of identity” following what the Italian anthropologist Cristina Grasseni called *skilled vision approach* (Grasseni, 2009, p. 69) to describe the “processes of developing ‘an eye for’ something” (Ibid., p.68). Concretely, I used the camera to closely film the way Anna Maria used her hands, while manipulating the objects of her everyday routines: fish, nets, shells, etc. The camera became an effective mean to make it visible how Anna Maria related with her surroundings. As Long writes (Long, 2000, p. 196), “symbolic representations and

categorizations necessarily form part of an understanding of social practices, but to understand how people relate with the environment it is necessary to connect them with the sensible realities of everyday life within which they are embedded.” My camera became an important tool to satisfy Long’s prescriptive adage and to grow closer to Anna Maria’s way of navigating the landscape.

Pictures from the past. A Life History approach



As different scholars previously noted (Cohen, 1987; Nadel-Kline, 2003), fishing communities “experienced how capitalism can create and then dismiss a way of life [...]. Living in small places initially adapted to a small scale, they now find themselves struggling to stay afloat in a world run by much larger players” (Nadel-Kline, 2003, p. 1). When I met Anna Maria and decided to spend my fieldwork period with her, I considered to approach her livelihood from a life-history viewpoint. As Charlotte Aull Davies (2008, p. 205) claims, “much of the use of life histories in social research has been either to provide insight into ways of life that were believed to be disappearing”. A life history approach could thus provide fitting for documenting the life of a character which, like Anna Maria, emblemizes a vanishing ensemble of practices cantered around the sea. Life history are a confrontation with time and if I wished to explore the Anna Maria’s way to know and experience the sea landscape then, I need to navigate her lifetime and to access her memories and past. *How?*

A valuable method to access memories and past has been the use of the photo elicitation method. Sifting together through old pictures, I noticed that Anna Maria tended to proactively share memories of past experiences me. Eliciting memories by means of their tangible evidence, Anna Maria felt encouraged to retrieve and recount the corresponding experiences these pictures immortalized.

I remember the words of the Italian photographer Letizia Battaglia¹⁰ who during an interview, stated “Life reopens the archives and then, a photo becomes another kind of photo”¹¹. Those pictures from the past were not just memories of Anna Maria, but they gave a visual consistence to her voice from a muted and forgotten group: women working at the sea. Using pictures from the past became a valuable way to bring to the fore the tangibility of memories. The data from my fieldwork (video, notes, and old pictures) became in a sense a co-productive product, where memories were, at once, summoned and reconstituted in a new material format.

A dwelling perspective to explore the sea landscape

In anthropology, books about landscape were virtually absent 25 years ago (Tilley, 1994). Since then there has been a growing interest in and development of landscape studies in books (Ingold 2000; Stewart and Strathern 2003; Tilley 2006; Jarowski and Ingold 2012) and journal articles. As Madden claims, “Theory is our tool to master; it should not master us” (Madden, 2010, p.18). I already abandoned my gender theories in order to not force them onto my actual fieldwork and tried to avoid forcing the conceptualization of landscape into my inquiry.

There is the landscape we see and the landscape produced through local practices, which we come to understand through fieldwork and through the labor *limae* of ethnographic descriptions (Hirsch & O’Hanlon, 1995, p. 2). A principal aim of my project is to follow these two intimately intertwined ways of considering and perceiving landscape. A conventional notion of landscape may be used as a productive point of departure from which to explore ideas about the relations between people, environment, and landscape – itself to be used in a reflexive manner to inquiry on how individual perceptions cluster into such concept. As mentioned before, I am taking into account Ingold’s recommendation to analyse the relation between environment and people and his dwelling perspective (Ingold, 2000, p. 172). I believe that such a focus enables us to move beyond the dichotomic opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the cultural view according to which every landscape is a cognitive or symbolic ordering of space. In place of both these views, I shall argue for the adoption of what I call a “dwelling perspective”, according to which the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations which

¹⁰ Letizia Battaglia is an Italian photographer and photojournalist. Although her photos document a wide spectrum of Sicilian life, she is best known for her work on the Mafia. More information about the photographer here: <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/constituents/letizia-battaglia?all/all/all/all/0>

¹¹<https://www.artribune.com/arti-visive/fotografia/2019/04/mostra-letizia-battaglia-casa-dei-tre-oci-venezia-intervista/?fbclid=IwAR2W29vjD-urROYkMCsL6jJEYFLa1ihTPa0W6zbPGOx6Zf2zTTR61BPEGzY>

have dwelt within it, and in so doing, left there something of themselves (Ingold, 1993, p. 152).

A “dwelling perspective” could be used to explore the relationship between an ordinary workday life and an ideal, imagined existence, vaguely connected to, but still separate from, the former. To this purpose, I also found fitting Hirsh’s idea of foreground and background (Hirsch & O’Hanlon, 1995, p. 3). The “foreground” suggests the concrete actuality of everyday social life, akin what Ingold called “external backdrop”. The “background”, on the other hand, hints at the perceived potentiality thrown into relief by our foregrounded existence. These two side of the landscape are, like faces of the same coin, distinct but inseparable.

Gloria’s place as locality could be understood not as a mere symbolic overlay, but a statement about belonging. The phenomenological tenet of the primacy of emplacement guided my participant observation of artisanal fishing: the experiential foundation of locality and identity had to be found in a detailed analysis of skills and practices. It is through them that we can understand how the concept of dwelling discussed above gains tangibility in the form of a commitment to a place and a livelihood spelled out by the predictability of the practices. Following the recommendation of Meløe (1988, p. 393), I should thus attempt to understand how Anna Maria’s routine tenacity shaped her attachment to her taskspace by situating myself firmly “within the practice that this object [a life by the beach] belongs to, and then investigate the object and its contribution to that practice” (Ibid, p.393).

Chapter Three

Fishing along the Trabocchi Coast. A Glove for two hands

“I grow uncomfortable when I get too far away from the immediacies of social life” (Geertz, 1973, vii).

The first time I reached the beach where Anna Maria was working, my gaze was seized by Anna Maria’s hands; the dexterous and repetitive movements in disentangling the fish from the nets, the immediacy and laborious confidence of her motions, the primacy of doing. If I have to pick one succinct description of the backdrop (Ingold, 1993) of that landscape, it would certainly be Anna Maria disentangling a shrimp using a blue glove for two hands.



17th of May, Casalbordino Lido. I arrive at the beach early in the morning. Gloria is ashore, an old man is helping Anna Maria to move a pile of nets from the boat. I greet the old man and we introduce each other. His name is Bruno, Anna Maria’s youngest brother. He goes on to tell me: “This morning was bad! We caught nothing but two kilos of fishes! You should come back when the catch is abundant. Today there is nothing to see!”. It is my first day there, so I decide to switch off the camera and ask if I can help them. Anna Maria warns that I may get

dirty but I if I am willing, of course I can help them. Anna Maria wears waterproof pants and boots, a wool sweater and a coloured headscarf to cover her head. My gaze is caught by her hands busy disentangling a pannocchia¹² trapped in the gillnet. She is wearing only a glove on her left hand; she never wears a glove in the right one, she explains, because she needs to have a solid grasp on the shells to unhook them from the net. I observe Anna as she cleans her boat: she collects seawater with a plastic jar, and uses it to wash the bottom of the boat and her pants clean. The work for that morning was over.” (My field notes)

Disentangling the *pannocchia*. An ecology of landscape

The time we spent on the beach was entirely determined by the amount of fish caught. Although I never witnessed abundant catches during the period of my field work, I always found Anna Maria busy in preparing, or tidying up, her fishing equipment. In the morning, locals and tourists gather around Gloria, in a sort of temporary outdoor fishing stand (Fig.7). Customers came to ask for fish and, even if Anna could not provide them with any, they stay there chatting about weather, local issues, and so forth.



Fig. 7. Clients gathering around Gloria

¹² Pannocchia is the local name for *Squilla mantis*. It is a species of mantis shrimp found in shallow coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea and the Eastern Atlantic Ocean. It is also known as “*cicala*” for its similarity with the insect cicada.

It was engrossing to observe Anna Maria's dexterity, and her sheer patience in disentangling all the small shrimps, shells, and fish which were caught in the nets (Fig. 8). She constantly gazed back and forth from the beach to the boat, scanning the promenade looking for customers or approaching seagulls. Plucking out fish from the nets is an apt instance of what Ingold called task: "any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life" (Ingold, 1993, p.163).



Fig. 8. Anna Maria disentangling a fish from the nets.

As I started following closely Anna Maria's gaze with the camera, I understood that the way we perceived the surroundings was very different. Unlike mine, her perception of the landscape was a constellation of affordances, each minutely related to the task at hand. She scanned the sea to forecast the weather, and organized her workday on the basis of such predictions. She looked at the promenade to check the customers coming; she knew more or less the time of their arrive and their requests.

From her boat, engaged in her activities, she relates herself with the environment, including people, road, shrimps, seagulls and the wind that started to enforce. Her way to be in the world is like "a hand with eyes" and that beach seemed to be her observatory on the landscape. I agree with Ingold's point of view, that "apprehending the world is not a matter of construction but of engagement, not of building but of dwelling, not of making a view of the world but of taking

up a view in it” (Ingold, 1996, p. 117).

The Gloria’s beach. The *taskspace* of fishing Identity

The disentangling practice as human activities take place in a material context, which I called the Gloria’s place. As I mentioned before, it is the beach where Anna Maria used to drag on land her boat Gloria. It is located between a beach with lines of umbrellas, where people used to take a bath during the summer, and a piece of beach almost completely eroded by the sea which is called the dunes beach. Near Gloria’s beach there is a small square, which locals call the square to the Virgin Mary of the Sea.

The Gloria’s beach is not really visible from the main road but it is partially hidden to the view of the people that use to go on the umbrella beach during the summer season. It is a kind of place that you need to know very well, if you want to find it. What I realized after some weeks, was the average age of the people who used to approach that place. During three months of fieldwork, I met only old people and just two people around forty years old. Many of the customers knew Anna Maria from before. The most common request that people express to Anna Maria was “Do you have some *pannocchia* and *sfoglia*¹³(Fig. 9) to make a *zuppetta*¹⁴?” Especially, the *pannocchia* (mantis shrimp) is very popular among the locals because they taste “as the sea” and it is mostly used to give taste to the tomato sauce. I remember a dialogue between Anna Maria and an old woman, who had come to ask for some shrimp:

“Anna Maria do you have some *pannocchia* for me? I would like to taste again the taste of the sea?” and Anna Maria answer that “I don’t have many of them, just a couple that I manage to recover from the net. What would you like to prepare with them?” and the woman “I would like to prepare just a sauce to make a pasta?” and Anna Maria “Then, they will be enough to make a sauce. My father said that if you take some pebbles from the mouth of the Sinello River¹⁵ and you put them in the sauce, you will also get the taste of the sea”

¹³ *Solea solea* is a species of flatfish in the family *Soleidae*. It lives on the sandy or muddy seabed of the northern Atlantic and the Mediterranean

¹⁴ *Zuppetta* is the dialectal name to call a traditional fishing soup made in that side of the coast. It is made using, tomato sauce, dried paprika and the seasonal fish species. During the summer sole and shrimps are the basic ingredient to prepare this kind of fish soup.

¹⁵ The Sinello river is a river locate in the Province of Chieti (Abruzzo). It has its origin from Mount Fraiano and reach the sea very close to the Gloria’s place.



Fig. 9. Drawing of a mantis shrimp (left) and a sole (right).

The customer's requests were always bigger than the catch that they managed to bring on land. Some of the customers had established with Anna a friendly relationship and also in the days when she did not have any fish to sell, they stopped for a chat or to order the fish for the next days. I remember when a customer expressed his sadness regarding the heavy working conditions of Anna Maria compared to the small catch of the day. That day, most of the catch was eaten by dolphins and some of the gillnets have been destroyed by them. Nevertheless, Anna Maria answered to the customer “You have to go out at the sea, even when the catch is bad. My father always said that you should go, because tomorrow or the day after will be better”.

At the beginning, when I was filming, I was totally focus on the scene and I did not take into account what people were talking about around me. Then, looking through it I started to realize the importance of that small talk around the Gloria`s boat. I remember a customer commenting: “Today there is really too little fish! You should see her when the nets are full of fish. She is a machine (engine) with her hands!”; another lady was asking her “Anna Maria, don`t your hands hurt?”. Generally, people expressed a kind of appreciation for the Anna Maria`s work.

I started to think that the visible landscape that I could see (the blue nets`pile, the boat, the customers and so on) were concrete features of that landscape and they were all related to the Anna Maria`s activities. Without such activities that landscape would not be existed. In other words, the act of disentangle could be considered the “constitutive acts of dwelling” (Ingold, 1993, p.163) in that place and consequently, became the main feature of the landscape.



Fig. 10. Customers gathering around Gloria to buy fish.

This place that I named the Gloria's place (Fig. 10) was perceived as a fishing spot only because Anna Maria was disentangling constantly fish from the nets and for the presence of her fishing boat Gloria. What I was observing could be described as a *taskspace*, defined by Ingold as "the entire ensemble of tasks, in their mutual interlocking. Just as the landscape is an array of related features, so by analogy the taskscape is an array of related activities" (Ingold, 1993, p.158). This fact became clearer when I was back in Tromsø and I started to organize the material in the editing room. When I started to look through the video material, I realized that the repetition of the gestures was also characterizing the fishing activities offshore. I remember a clip where I could observe a marvellous sunrise in the middle of the sea; the Gloria's silhouette on the horizon, the marine breeze and Bruno taking on board the nets with the fishing winch. I could see her way to interact with such different landscape offshore through the same task and the same gesture (Fig. 11)



Fig. 11 Anna Maria and Bruno retrieving the nets at dusk.

Helpers. Bruno, Antonio and Vincenzo

29th May. Gloria's beach. I arrive earlier on the beach. Anna Maria and Bruno are still offshore and I wait on the beach that they come back. While I am setting the camera, Vincenzo comes on the beach. He says hello to me and we start to chat. Then, as usually, Vincenzo takes the rake that is always on the beach, and started to clean the shoreline from the seaweed and the pebbles that the waves piled up on the shoreline during the night. He is arranging the shoreline for Gloria, so when Anna Maria and Bruno will arrive, the shore will be ready to pull the boat onshore using a winch and wooden boards. I hear the sound of their boat. In a few minutes the boat is close to the shore. Bruno jumps from the boat and helps her sister to come down as well. He reaches the winch mounted at the end of the beach and connecting a wire to the boat they start to drag it on land. I am filming the procedure following the boat so I am able to see all of them: Vincenzo is helping Anna Maria to keep the boat on the right position on the wooden board. The meantime, Bruno is operating the winch and directing the dragging procedure. Finally, the boat is on the beach and everything is ready to start the selling. The boxes used to recover the catch are almost empty. This morning the Anna Maria's catch has been poor. Less than five kilograms. Some customers come as always to ask for some fish, and then they stay longer there to chat with Anna Maria. She tells us about the dolphins that ate most of the fish from the nets. While we are talking about that, a short man over seventy years old comes toward us. He greets us and Anna Maria says to him: "Good morning Antonio! This morning we do not need your help. The catch has been very poor. The nets this morning are empty. The dolphins have eaten all the fish".

Antonio is an Anna Maria's friend (Fig. 12) He is seventy years old and lives in the same

village. Before retiring, Antonio was a tradesman and has been living and working during twenty years in Canada, before to back in Abruzzo. Actually, he used to help Anna Maria just during the spring and the summer season because “in the winter is too much cold” for him. Usually, he places his beach umbrella nearby to the Gloria's beach, waiting Anna Maria coming back from the sea and, when the boat is on land, he came to help her in disentangling the nets. He told me that “I learned by Anna Maria how to disentangle the nets, how to manage the shrimps to avoid their plucked. She always suggests him to put a glove to protect the hand that keep the shrimps but for me it is very annoying! I prefer work with both bare hands. I like to spend time here with Anna Maria instead to waste my time doing nothing”



Fig. 12. Antonio, helping Anna Maria with the nets.

Then, there is Vincenzo. He is a retired fisherman (Fig.13) He comes from another Italian region and he has been forced to move in Abruzzo when his fishing spot became a protected fishing area where was not more allowed to fish. He uses to go every morning on the beach very early to help Anna Maria. Once, he told me “I lost the energy to go at the sea. Years ago, I was on boat as Anna Maria. I was a fisherman but now it is time to stay on land. You know, I could stay to sleep at home but I feel that I must to go on the beach. Early in the morning because the sea is in the morning”



Fig. 13. Anna Maria and Vincenzo chatting during work.

However, the person who seems to be present all the time is Bruno, the younger Anna Maria's brother (Fig.14) He is seventy years old and never work as professional fisherman although his father Donato was a fisherman. He is the last one of four children and Anna Maria is the first one. She was the only Donato's daughter and the only one to follow "officially" her father's footsteps in fishery. Bruno has been working for forty years in the local postal office as postal worker and now is retired. Nevertheless, he always helped Anna Maria with the fishing activities especially with the sailing procedure offshore. During the whole period I have spent with them, I could notice the Bruno's ability to manage nets and other fishing tools. He told me that he and Anna Maria are the last ones still using a kind of natural materials to make the fishing pots, what the locals called *nasse*. Bruno learned to make the *nasse* by his father who, in the seventy, was one of the last *nassa* maker along the Trabocchi coast. Once, he told me: "A lot of local fishermen active along this coast were asking to my father to make the *nassa* to catch the cuttlefish. At that time, we were the only one to be able to make those in that area. I remember that we used to take the train here just in front the beach and we reach the small port in Ortona. There, we spend all day to make a big amount of *nassa*, maybe fifty-por day. We were not paid for that job. The fishermen who had asked to have the *nassa*, just gave to us in change a dish of pasta and a glass of wine".



Fig. 14. Anna Maria and Bruno disentangling nets on board of Gloria.

Anna Maria has always some people who used to help her with the work on the beach, friends or some customer who accidentally is there in a moment of need. The persons, who are her “officially but not salaried” helpers, are Antonio, Vincenzo and Bruno. Reflecting on their different way to participate the fishing activities on the beach and reflecting about what they told to me, I could notice that whether fishing is conceived as ‘a way of life’, or ‘just a job’, the level of commitment to that place is very important for all of them. They are agents in that landscape and they are motivated from different history and perspectives. Anyway, for all of them, the Gloria’s place seemed to be a place which play a crucial role in terms of well-being, in providing them with a purpose and meaning in their lives. I agree with the social geographer Relph in considering that places are fundamental to what it means to be human and in shaping how people act: “To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and know *your* place” (Relph,1976, p. 1)

The helpers, the customers shaped jointly with Anna Maria the relationships within that landscape, the taskspace. As Ingold clams, “the taskspace exists not just as activity but as interactivity” (Ingold, 1993, p.163). Since, day by day, I could attend to their interaction which made lived the Gloria’s beach as taskspace. The landscape that I was “observing and drawing” through my lens, were the result of my work with camera following their movement’s relationship on the beach. Every task took its meaning from its position within an ensemble of

tasks, performed in series by them working together. Vincenzo, Bruno, Anna Maria and Antonio constituted the lived landscape that I perceived and their human practices “lies in their embeddedness in the current of sociality” (Ibid.163). Their physical presence is organized in different but interrelate activities, which constituted the landscape that I could observe and film. In this term, I could say that the stubbornness of Anna Maria in staying there to work created a unique “network of interrelationships between the multiple rhythms of which the taskscape is itself constituted. The gestures of the performers may be said to resonate with each other. In orchestral music, the achievement of resonance is an absolute precondition for successful performance” (Ingold 1993, p.160)

Resonance of the landscape and memory

Following with the camera the practice and the movement of the people on that beach, I could observe the processes of situated learning or what Ingold called a process of *education of attention* (Ingold, 1993, p.160). Antonio, Vincenzo and Bruno constitute the tangible, the physicality of that process of education of attention. They share the same skill vision shaping the taskspace of the Gloria`s beach. However, local landscapes are not only a matter of perception but are places full of memory, history and politics. It is the invisible background of everyday life that can be made visible through certain practices, organised around certain objects. Such place defines its boundaries, scopes and meanings and includes communities of practitioners and networks of peers. Observing the relational and contextual process that shapes specific skills of perception, relation and cognition, which are in turn instrumental to justify and reproduce specific contexts of action along the time. It was true also for the Gloria`s place. I realized that when Anna Maria showed me an old picture (Fig.15) starting to tell me something about her helpers:

“The man on the left is Zi Peppe, the two on the right are Zi Mario and another friend of my brother, who used to come to help me. I did not remember his name. Behind me, there is Bruno. Zi Peppe and Zi Mario were fishermen and they had their boat on the same beach where I am now. At that time, they were going to fish just for clams and in their free time, always used to help me in disentangling the fishes from the nets, when was not clams season. I remember that they smoked a lot and once, Zi Peppe almost burnet a net. At that time, the gillnets were expensive because were made with cotton. I needed to check what they were doing all the time because they used to chat and joke all the time. Once, I remember that the nets were full of fish

and we spend almost six hours to clean all the nets. They were fishermen and I did not tell them how to do that. They already know that. It was nice work with them. The only thing I did not like was the smell of the smoke of their cigarettes” (Anna Maria, 7th June 2018)



Fig. 15. Anna Maria and her helpers, circa 1960.

As people reconstruct and perhaps romanticize their own past, they create a reality that guides and motivates them in the present. The sharing of memories is a profoundly social experience, creating and reinforcing bonds (the place attachment) between individual and community. Memory could be employed as “way of making claims upon the present” (Nadel-Kline, 2003, p.161), it is a way to make statement about the fishing identity through the practice. The “past is always present” (*Ibid.*, p.163) because in Anna Maria’s account, the relationship between the ‘foreground’ of the landscape (here and now, place) and a its ‘background’ is not incidental to the history and narratives of the fishery in her community: it is central to the way it was conceived, enacted, and continually re-enacted in the present day through her bodily practice. When she told me about her memories eliciting from that pictures, I could recognize what Ingold called process of ‘*enskilment*’ (Ingold, 2000, p.5) as her/their way to learn in a concrete contexts, which are structured for specific action, perception and social interaction. Since,

cultural belonging would be the result of 'enskilment', not of enculturation and the practical knowledge has to be found in the body and in the mind, in memory and object relate to a concrete context. People shape communities through the same vision on certain practice and through those practices share their worldview and their way to interact and perceive the environment.

Of course, I should consider that I have done my fieldwork during the summer period (from May to August 2018) and I am quite sure that if I could have lived with Anna Maria during the other seasons, I would have experienced a different landscape and a different way to interact on the beach. For instance, I know that the *panocchia* is a kind of shrimp which is fished specially in the summer season and, the practice to disentangle is also relate to the use of specific gillnets which fishermen use in that period. On the contrary, at the beginning of March is time to catch cuttlefish and fishermen, including Anna Maria, used to catch it with a cuttlefish pot called *nassa*. For sure, the practice on the beach, the objects and the general aspect of the Gloria's place would have been different and I would have experience something different.

Chapter Four

A contested landscape. From the close-up to the wide-angle

By moving along familiar paths, winding memories and stories around places, people create a sense of self and belonging. Rather than accumulating in a rigid, archival fashion, experiences shape identities in what Ingold (2000, citing Gibson) calls “ambulatory vision” (p. 226). As people go about their businesses, their experiences change shape and take on new meanings. This is true for the observed as well as for the observers. As people, researchers engage with the world through their physicality; therefore their research is inevitably conditioned by their sensory experiences. The knowledge we gain of our surroundings is forged as we explore them, in the passage from place to place and the changing horizons along the way (Ingold 2000, p. 227). As wayfarers we experience what Ingold defined a “progressional ordering of reality”, or the integration of knowledge along a path of travel. During my fieldwork, the main Adriatic road (Fig.16) connecting my home town to Anna’s village (SS16) became a tangible affordance over which this ordering of experiences unfolded.

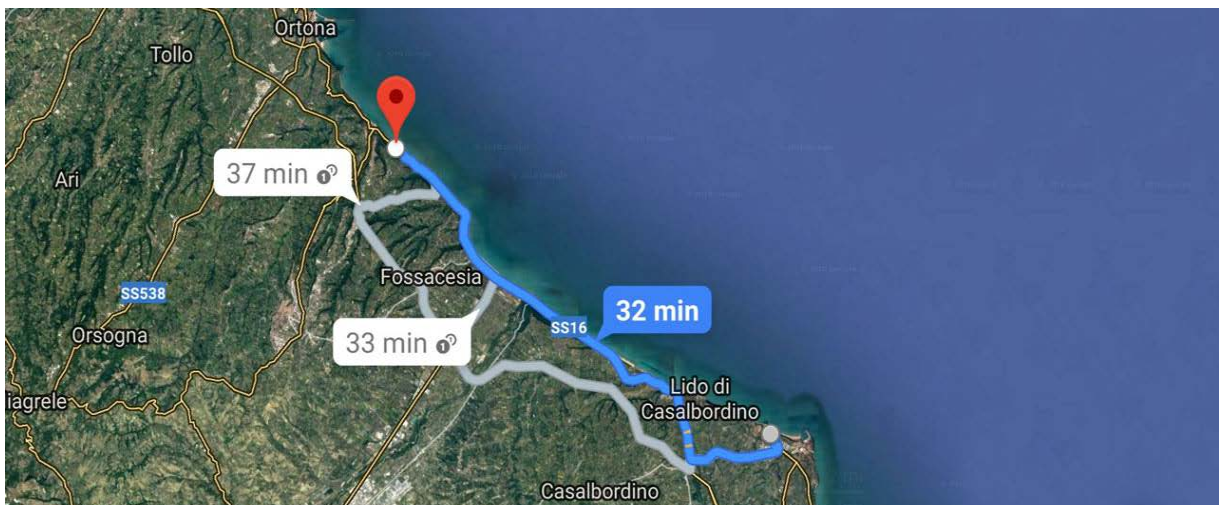


Fig. 16. Main Adriatic road connecting my boyfriend’s place to the fieldwork.

Contrary to what I expected, I did not get the possibility to reside permanently in Anna Maria’s village (Casalbordino Lido). Her house proved not large enough to host me, and I could not find any convenient place around. Anna Maria never married, and lived for a lifetime in her parents’ house. In the same house also reside her younger brother Bruno and his family: Tina (his wife), Raffaella (his daughter), Elena (ten years old) and Davide (six years old), Raffaella’s kids. To remain close to my fieldwork, I lived at parent’s house of my boyfriend in Ortona,

located approximately twenty-five kilometers from Anna Maria's house. I resided there during the whole fieldwork period, exploiting that time to compile field notes and organize the video material after my meetings with Anna Maria. The house lies on a hilltop facing the sea, which gave a full view of the Trabocchi coast (Fig.17).



Fig. 17. View of the coast from my boyfriend's house.

I drove every morning along SS16 to reach Casalbordino Lido. I would spend the whole day there, coming back home only to sleep and organize the video material. Anna Maria hosted me throughout the day. I often shared meals and conversations with her family members. I felt welcomed in her household and in an amiably intimate relationship with Anna Maria, especially during the few times we spent indoors, sifting through family pictures while waiting for the rain to ebb.

The sbarelle. Once upon time there was sand

14th of June. Casalbordino, Anna Maria's home. It pours today. As I reach Anna Maria's place, she welcomes me in and offers me a cup of coffee. We start to look through a few old pictures, which she has found dug out of a box of past memories. A picture catches my attention (Fig.18) so I ask her where it was took. Her beach, she replies, but once upon time it was all sand there. "This beach was full of sandy dunes, like in the desert. In the spring white flowers bud all over these dunes, whereas now there are a but a few. We used the sbarelle [i.e., a rudimentary wheelbarrow fashioned out of wooden planks, used to transport fishing material] to move the

nets from the boat close to the shoreline to home. There is no need for those any longer now, since the beach shrunk of almost 50 meters. Our walking path to home is now much shorter. I never liked the sand, especially when it was windy. My hair would always become dirty and it was hard to keep it in good condition. At least the beach was clean and moving the nets around felt comfortable.



Fig. 18. Anna Maria and Bruno carrying nets with the sbarelle.

When I saw that picture I was struck by how different that bay looked like a few decades ago. The facial expression of Anna Maria and Bruno moving the nets with the *sbarelle* on the sandy beach betrayed an intimate knowledge of their surroundings and the daily activities they were engaged in. Their bodies, frozen in a half-gait firmly rooted in the sand, gave out a vivid kinetic impression, as if moving towards me. She showed me other pictures and explained to me that they used a manual winch to land back the old boat (Fig.19) made entirely out of wood. “See here?”, said Anna Maria pointing at the picture, “Everything was made of wood. You could smell the fish and the sea. Now is different”. When I asked why the sand receded, she replied in a rather laconic tone “Who knows?” and turned silent for the rest of the day.



Fig. 19. Anna Maria's old boat (left) and the wooden winch she used to pull the boat ashore (right).

The daily experience of driving along the main coastal road gave me the opportunity to carefully observe the sea landscape. Every time that Anna Maria told me something about the past, I found myself pondering on this double landscape – the one woven out of her storytelling, and the one we experienced together. Her remarks prompted me to reflect about what changed in that sandy niche during the past few years: the ongoing coastal erosion, the intensification of car traffic, the touristic overcrowding, the private allotment of beaches, and so forth. Overlaying Anna Maria's memories with my daily perception of this shifting landscape was a way to bring to the surface “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them” (Ingold, 1993, p. 156).

Spanning from a close-up on Anna Maria's boat to the wide angle of a contested sea landscape, I started learning to play with different perspectives – a smaller, intimate niche where the family history of Anna Maria unfolded in well-rehearsed routines, nested within a shifting landscape of maritime entertainment, where other actors played out. As already mentioned, Anna Maria never changed fishing place, remaining an obstinate counterpoint – a form of tacit resistance, in a sense akin to Scott (1989) – to a landscape molded by incentives remote and unknown to a fisherwoman's living.



Fig. 20. Casalbordino beach. Postcard from the 50s.



Fig. 21. Casalbordino beach. Picture from 2018.

The dunes' beach and the coastal erosion

One of the concerns more often voiced by the people I talked to in Casalbordino Lido pertained to the conditions of the beach. Anna Maria herself avoided arguing on this issue for the most part, while I was filming. When asked about this issue, people seemed suddenly concerned by the camera, and asked me not to film those segments. Hence, during those discussions I decided to switch off the camera, so to avoid interpersonal tensions. One day, almost at the end of the fieldwork, Luciano, one of Anna Maria's friends, was complaining with Anna Maria about how ugly and dirty that beach became. He could not fathom why the municipality seemed concerned

only with supplying sand to the private beach lots instead of Gloria's docking spot. Suddenly, he faced directly to the camera and asked to me to film the beach, as he went on arguing, to show its conditions to the Major of Casalbordino. For the first time, Anna Maria began to argue with Luciano about the beach: "Does it seem fair to you we, who were born here, have to struggle for that beach? They always come down here when the elections are approaching to milk for votes, but afterwards they forget about us and became only interested in making sure the private lots get their precious sand. As my mom used to say, trying to wash a pig is a waste of water and soap. I asked to have a meeting with the major last year, to no avail. They know the state of the beach, they just don't care".

I never witnessed Anna Maria so angry before, and was struck by her fierce carelessness with the camera. I realized that my – and my camera's – presence started to feel less intrusive to her, out of sheer familiarity. People started to share with me topics they wished to keep confidential. Nevertheless, I decided to not use recordings of conversations about topics that people told me they would never publicly debate. Anna Maria asked me explicitly to refrain from using those materials, because she was worried she may have been misunderstood and wished not to spark conflict with the major.

I started to research on the problem of coastal erosion in the Casalbordino area and discovered that the phenomenon began in 80s with the introduction of breakwater barriers¹⁶. Few years after the introduction of these barriers, the effect on the coast started to be the opposite that the authority expected: despite reducing the erosion of the coast directly in front of these barriers, their presence greatly increased the erosion of the nearby coast. This was certainly the case with Anna Maria's bay, where in 2015 three meters of sand have been lost to a spring storm (Fig.22) While the municipality did invest resources in ameliorating the conditions of the private beach lots, as many locals opined, no concern for the remaining shoreline, including the dune's beach, was voiced over the years.

¹⁶ Information source: official publication by the Regional government in Intervento di difesa della costa nel comune di Casalbordino. Regione Abruzzo. Comune di Casalbordino. Progetto definitivo esecutivo 03/12/2018.



Fig. 22. The narrow and eroded profile of the dune's beach.

Anna Maria told me that during winter she sometimes needs to move Gloria away from the beach, due to the rising sea submerging it. Last January, while I was starting the editing of the film in Tromsø, I received a message from Raffaella, her niece. She informed me that a strong sea storm had almost taken away Gloria from the beach. Luckily, few locals helped them to drag Gloria up to the edge of the main road. There, they discovered that the hull of the boat had some cracks and needed to be fixed. I asked her how was Anna Maria and told her I was sorry for the boat. Raffaella replied with a text saying “Don’t worry for my aunty! She was a bit sad but then she said that she needs to fix the boat because cuttlefish season is approaching”, and sent me a picture of Anna Maria (Fig.23) close to Gloria on the day of its rescue.



Fig. 23. Anna Maria next to Gloria, after the boat was rescued out of the sea.

This event betrayed just how strong was Anna Maria’s attachment to her place. Her obstinate commitment to that beach, despite the ongoing erosion and the authorities’ inability – or sheer unwillingness – to deal with the problem, could not have been more glaring. That beach belongs essentially to her livelihood and daily routines, as did her boat, her nets and all the objects that

shaped her landscape. That beach was, in other words, akin to what Jakob Meløe described as an “adequate shelter” (Meløe, 1988; p. 393) – adequate because well known by those who dwell in it. I remember when Anna Maria recounted to me an episode about her fishing time with her father: “I was fifteen years old and I was offshore with my father. At that time we had a rowboat smaller than the one we use now. After we deployed the gillnets, my father told me that I could have napped for a while as we waited for the catch. I slept on the bare wood of the boat without a pillow or a blanket. I felt free and safe there. Suddenly, my father announced that a storm was coming and that I should wake up to help him in retrieving the gillnets. We rowed back and finally reached the beach. By the time the storm grew loud, we were already at home.”

More than the physical place where she developed her fishing practice, that beach represented for Anna Maria a shelter, a home, a place infused with a lifetime of meaningful activities. As already said, the Gloria’s docking spot used to be sandy beach where other fishermen worked. When Anna Maria told me about her helpers, or about how they used to move the gillnets with the sbarelle, she made manifest that the beach was, quintessentially, a fishing place – the small but active economic centerpiece of a fishery community, now gone. Yet the beach I observed was but a narrow, eroded edge of coast – achingly distant from the taskspace of the rich fishing heritage that Anna Maria’s memories portrayed. Her stories conjured up a viewpoint that acted as term of comparison for me to better understand the extent of the transformations occurring in that maritime landscape.

The old Adriatic train railway

27th of May. Casalbordino, Gloria’s beach. The rain last night cooled the morning air. Anna Maria is landing the nets. She wears her orange waterproof pants, her black boots and a wool sweater, as always. A headscarf is wrapped around her head. Busy and bustling between nets and ropes, always with one glove for two hands, I see her disentangling the last shrimp from the nets. [...] She is often silent when is working but today, unexpectedly, spontaneously starts chatting. “I loved the sea since my childhood. I already told you that I always used to nag my father to let me go fish with him, until he gave in to my requests when I was four years old. My father thought I would be scared and would have given up on fishing with him. But I have not come down from that boat. One night, when I was fourteen years old, my father sent me to the sea alone to retrieve the fishing pots used to catch cuttlefish. Proud and full of joy I brought home the precious booty”. A seagull comes close to Gloria and Anna Maria feeds it a small

fish. While cleaning her nets, she contemplates the few fish she caught that morning and follows in saying, “I and my mother prepared bags and boxes to sell the fish at the train station. Until twenty year ago, the railway still stretched along the coast. I can distinctly remember the train whistling while I was working on the beach. At that time there was a lot of fish but people did not have the money to buy it. And how could they have done otherwise? They did not have enough money to buy matches, let alone fish! We ended up with a lot of fish and no one to sell it to. So, we put the fish in boxes and went to the train station to sell it, hoping to find some buyers among the passengers.”(Field notes)



Fig. 24. Adriatic railway in Casalbordino during the 90s.

The Adriatic railway (*Ferrovìa Adriatica*) is the railroad from Ancona to Lecce that runs along the Adriatic Coast (Fig 24) following it almost all of the way. It is one of the main lines of the Italian rail system and links Northern Italy with the most important productive areas of central and Southern Italy. The construction of the Adriatic line had long been wished for and, with the unification of Italy in 1861, it was finally built by Southern Railways Company (*Società per le Strade Ferrate Meridionali SFM*) between 1863 and 1872¹⁷. The line was built in record time

¹⁷ In 1861, a detailed and complex feasibility study was presented to the Chamber of Deputies for new railways in Southern Italy considered of vital importance. In particular, the construction of a railway along the Adriatic coast from Ancona to Brindisi and Otranto was seen as essential, as these ports were considered by many to be on the verge of becoming Europe's "door to the East".

The new Adriatic Railroad allowed, for the first time, relatively rapid travel between the Southern and the North-central regions of Italy. The line was inaugurated on the 9th of November 1863 with a train ride from Pescara to Foggia, following hurried work to finish the tracks. The public opening was postponed until 25 April 1864. In the proceedings of the first legislature of Italy, the parliamentarian Leopoldo Galeotti hoped that "before long the port

using the easiest and least demanding engineering methods (tunnels and viaducts), often near the sea. Weather was a significant cause of work interruptions, due to the heavy storms that frequently batter the Adriatic coast. The path of the line was changed in 2004, with double tracking, in the stretch from Lesina to Apricena (saving about 2.5 km). In 2005, the railway stretching from Ortona to Vasto-Casalbordino and from the Vasto harbour to San Salvo were also changed for the dual purpose of straightening the path and reducing the danger posed by storms and coastal erosion¹⁸.

The old railway track located on the coastal edge is currently being replaced by a biking route connecting all villages along the coast (Fig.25) The project is still ongoing and represents a controversial issue in public debate.



Fig. 25. Biking route in place of the old railway, Casalbordino Lido.

of Brindisi, reborn to a new life, will bring within her breast the Indian Mail, a sure sign that the commerce of the world will be drawn a second time to our seas. In a few days, thanks to the great industry of Southern Company, despite the obstacles of every kind that had to be overcome, locomotives will arrive at the port of Brindisi” (Source: <https://www.ilportaledetreni.it/>)

¹⁸ Between 2002 and 2006 the tracks between Brindisi and Lecce were doubled, followed by the segment between Bari Centrale and Fasano. In 2007 the segment between San Severo and Apricena was also provided with double tracks. The only stretch of the Adriatic line that remains single-tracked is the one from Termoli to Lesina, which is the bottleneck of the line.

Gloria's place is a small beach within a coast where a multiplicity of other interests is at play. The protected marine areas, the development of oil drilling, methane extraction platforms, and industrial fishery, are all expressed in the Trabocchi coast and the activities of Anna Maria came to intersect all these processes through the years. As Rodman (1992) put it, "places are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions". In fact, places are contested and linked to global (regional, national) processes, and different people have different views of locality, not least because of the different ways they are positioned in power relations. Only through certain modalities of practice and perception is a given place maintained; on the other hand, certain perceptions of places are symbolically charged and constructed even after the landscape has effectively changed. From observing Anna's activities on the Gloria beach, I tried to understand how the presence of Anna Maria in that place is maintained and reinforced through her livelihood and the narration of her memories.

Chapter Five

The Square to the Virgin Mary of the Sea



Fig. 26. Square to the Virgin Mary of the Sea, Casalbordino Lido.

The last discover I have done during the field is related to the square to the Virgin Mary of the Sea (Fig.26) That square is located close to Gloria’s docking spot and is the first thing that visitors could see arriving in Casalbordino. Its official name is “Piazzale Aldo Moro¹⁹” but all the locals use to refer to it as the “Virgin Mary’s square”. During all my fieldwork, I used to set there my camera and had the opportunity to interact with some elderly people who went there to pray. In fact, at the beginning of my fieldwork, I mostly used that place as a shelter where to go to when in need of a break. But, as I discovered for other places, sheltering there made me realize that it represented a vantage point for enriching that repository of community knowledge I talked about in Chapter II. Once, I arrived to the beach and while I was parking, I saw Bruno

¹⁹ Aldo Moro was an Italian statesman and a prominent member of the Christian Democracy party. Moro was considered an intellectual and a patient mediator, especially in the internal life of his party. He was kidnapped on 16 March 1978 by the Red Brigades and killed after 55 days of captivity.

watering some flowers at the feet of the Virgin Mary's statue. The day after I went to have a chat with Raffaella, Bruno's daughter, because I wished to talk about her relationship with Anna Maria. She told me that when she was a kid, she used to go to help her father and her aunt in disentangling the nets. As she talked, I remember the scene from the day before and asked Raffaella why her father was watering the flower at the Virgin Mary's square. Unexpectedly, she replied: "Didn't you know that I designed that place myself? Did not they [referring to Anna Maria and Bruno] tell you?"

This way I discovered that Raffaella was an architect and that she designed the square. Only in 2005, the municipality decide to build a square to contain the erosion of the beach. Meanwhile, the Virgin Mary's statue had been recovered from the sea. Originally, the statue was placed on the breakwater in front to the beach but a storm made it fall in the sea. When it was recovered, locals decided to place the statue in the square. In 2010, a group of local fishermen, now moved to Casalbordino, decided to design a new layout for the square jointly with Bruno and Anna Maria. Bruno decided to ask to Raffaella to design the new place.



Fig. 27. The Square to the Virgin Mary of the Sea, before and after renovations.

The square was renewed and the hull of a traditional fishing boat was placed behind the statue for protection (Fig.27) The statue came to be known as the Virgin Mary protector of fisherman, called by the locals her "la Madonna del mare" (the Virgin Mary of the sea).

Raffaella, also told me that when the major inaugurated the square in 2010, the community of Casalbordino decided to celebrate Anna Maria with a silver plaque. I remembered to have seen that plaque in Anna Maria's living room. It bore these words: "*The community of Casalbordino celebrates Anna Maria Verzino, the bride of the sea, and bestows her with this plaque for her attachment to the sea*".

Raffaella also remembered that a local TV made a short documentary about the inauguration of the square. Once at home, I searched the internet for that documentary and eventually found it on YouTube. One can see the celebration of Anna Maria during the inauguration of the square. The Major gave to Anna Maria a plaque and all around were music and applause.

The bride of the sea. The two perceived landscapes

I knew from before that Anna Maria was known as the bride of the sea, even if everyone referred her as Anna Maria or *Annamari*. After spending three months with her by the beach or at home with her family, listening to her stories and become immersed in her activities, I started to ponder about the relationship between her "public" identity as bride of the sea and her story as fisherwoman. I could see that Anna Maria was appreciated from her costumers and the tourist spending holidays in Casalbordino. But this, if anything, made the contrast between the official celebrations and the disinterest showed by the authorities in ameliorating the state of Gloria's beach all the more jarring. On one hand, the municipality systematically privileged investing in private beach lots for recreational and turistical purposes; on the other hand, it manufactured an image of Anna Maria as a symbol of the village's relationship to a past of artisanal fishery that the authorities' own disinterest contributed to deteriorate. From the community's viewpoint, Anna Maria stood as symbolic guardian of the beach as well as of the history and identities it staged. Yet, paradoxically, the appreciation received due to the heritage that she embodied did not seem to translate into a public concern for the issues she voiced about the present conditions of Gloria's beach.

I never asked directly to Anna Maria why people call her the bride of the sea. Instead, I asked Raffaella about it, after telling her that I found the video of the inauguration. Anna Maria, who was overhearing our conversation while idly disentangling the nets, intercepted our exchange to remark: "*It is a work like another, I don't know where that bride of the sea story came from*" (Anna Maria, July 2018). She never told me whether she was happy to be officially celebrated

as the bride of the sea. If anything, her remark betrayed an urge to present herself primarily as a hard-working fisherwoman. Indeed, she never showed me the plaque received by the major. On the contrary, she eagerly showed me her fishing and navigation license (Fig.28) going at lengths in explaining that she had to take an exam to become fisherwoman. As she recounted me, once the captain of the coastal guard told her: “Why don't you stay home and knit?”, to which she promptly replied “Oh, I can knit alright. But I do that only when I can’t go out to the sea”

MODULARIO
Mar. Mer. - 184

Mod. N. 6

MARINA MERCANTILE

COMPARTIMENTO MARITTIMO di PESCARA CIRCONDARIO MARITTIMO di ORTONA

FOGLIO DI RICOGNIZIONE
PER LE PERSONE DELLA GENTE DI MARE DI ~~TERZA~~ ^{TERZA} ~~SECONDA~~ CATEGORIA

(a) VERZINO ANNA MARIA

figlio di // //

e di // //

nato a CASALBORDINO (CH)

il 1.1.1936

domiciliato a CASALBORDINO - C/da Termine n° 67 è iscritto nei

registri della gente di mare di ~~seconda~~ ^{terza} categoria del suddetto circondario al n. 741

in qualità di MOZZO PER LA PESCA

ORTONA, addì 6 Giugno 1980

(a) Nome e cognome.

IL COMANDANTE
ITV (C.M. ...)

(88055/7) Roma, 1978 - Ist. Poligr. e Zecca dello Stato - S. (p. 16.000)

Fig. 28. Fishing license of Anna Maria Verzino.

The appellative of bride of the sea evoked a very different impression from the narration that Anna Maria gave of herself. That sounded like a rather extravagant label for a self-professed fisherwoman. Moreover, such labeling seemed to completely overlook the fact – this, certainly pride-worthy for Anna Maria – that she was the *first woman* to obtain a fishing license. Perhaps the idea of symbolically designating Anna Maria as the bride of the sea was due to strategic purposes, to promote the fishing identity of that area for touristic consumption. When I voiced this idea to my supervisor, he told me the case of Scandinavian Sami, warmly welcomed by the authorities because of their crucial role in attracting folklore-based tourism, but reluctantly given a political space when advocating for resource and land management.

I could recognize a similar opportunistic identity use in the case of Anna Maria. Her story as fisherwoman is often exploited to promote the fishing identity of that area – a fishing identity which is, in fact, on the verge of disappearing. But when landscape conservation issues are at stake, the authorities prioritize the economic interests of the touristic sectors. Consequently, the only place where fishing is truly practiced to this day (Gloria's beach) risks to disappear.

Following Hirsch (1995), one can analyze the space inhabited by these interacting parties with opposing interests in terms of foreground and background: the former lies in the square of the Virgin Mary, well visible to the approaching tourists and sheltered by the hull – a memento for the passing visitors of the village's proximity to the sea and its fishing heritage; the latter instead expands behind, through the strip of abandoned beach, heavily eroded by the sea, where Anna Maria, the fisherwoman, finds shelter in and goes about her business – the one true place where traditional fishing persists. As I was editing my film, I realized that Anna Maria's perspective could only be vindicated by focusing on *her* shelter, as I attempted to narrate about.

“The sea which I have come to know”

The first page of my thesis starts with a sentence by Anna Maria, which she made on the last day of my fieldwork, before leaving for Norway: “I love my sea, which I have come to know”. I pondered about the meaning of those words and in the present thesis, I attempted to articulate possible meanings for such statement. By rooting my perspective within the web of practices and places that defined the boundaries of Anna Maria's livelihood, I attempted to convey how people are shaped by the landscapes they dwell in.

Anna Maria has been always living in the same area; she learned to be a fisherwoman from her

father and built her manual expertise by that very same dune's beach that supported her family. The repository of procedural knowledge shaped throughout her life represent her "privileged locus of identity-construction, the complex of aesthetic involvement and moral stances, of strategies of belonging and expert practices" (Grasseni, 2009). The physicality of Anna Maria in the beach, as acting and sensing body, is inseparable from the way she is and came to know about her surroundings. Following the notion of 'dwelling' (Ingold, 2000), Gloria's place can be considered not only as a mental construct but as the accretion of sensorial experiences through the persistence of location-bound routines. As Grasseni claims, "a living, moving body is essential to the process of emplacement" – the process by which a place becomes *locality*. From Anna Maria's standpoint, such locality is the beach not only as her taskspace, but also as her shelter – the place of her economic livelihood as much as of her belonging. The experience of being a fisherwoman along the Trabocchi coast is thus at once individual, since every one of us inhabits a landscape uniquely fashioned through one's own senses, and universal because the physical apprehending of a place – be it a small abandoned beach or else – is a common denominator to all human activities. To rehearse this point through Ingold (2000): "life is given in engagement, not in disengagement, and in that very engagement the real world at once ceases to be 'nature' and is revealed to us as an environment for people. Environments are constituted in life, not just in thought, and it is only because we live in an environment that we can think at all" (Ingold 2000, p.60).

Anna Maria has always engaged with the sea, the wind, the caprices of the weather, and the passing seasons. These predictable and cyclic changes are part of her landscape just as much as more historically contingent, and perhaps irreversible, changes – the receding beach, the dwindling catch. The obstinate commitment of Anna Maria to that contested and shifting landscape, which one may interpret as a form of tacit resistance (Scott, 1989), betrays an understanding of environmental changes molded on the inevitable, yet cyclic, rhythm of natural causes. As Anna Maria herself gracefully put it: "it has been always like that, there have always been bad seasons. You have to go out at sea, even if the gillnets are empty. Tomorrow it will be better".

Anna Maria had alternatives. She could have conveniently moved her boat in a more equipped and economically profitable harbor, but doing so would have meant relinquishing the perceived safety of navigating a landscape known to the finest details through the daily assiduousness of fishing. When Anna Maria told me "I love my sea, which I have come to know", I asked her

“What is your sea?”. “That one”, she promptly replied, pointing in the direction of the dune’s beach. “Because I know if the wind is blowing from a certain direction, I know what to expect. If I were to decide to start fishing in Sardegna or elsewhere, I wouldn’t know how to do that. I feel safe here, with my habits and my walks along the promenade to check the boat. That’s the first thing I do in the morning, to survey the sea.”



Fig. 29. Me and Anna Maria at Gloria’s beach, during the last day of my fieldwork.

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