

Drowning Piracy Threats: The Binary of Land and Sea

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Abstract

This ongoing research focuses on merchant seafarers who traverse major seafaring routes through the Indian Ocean and those with ports in and around the Gulf of Guinea. Within the international maritime industry, these areas are vital to the economic survival of the shipping business and infamous for piracy attacks.

Thus, for seafarers, sailing in these regions is very common and always carries some level of risk of being attacked by pirates. As such, piracy has become a condition for work at sea. Within the context of maritime piracy, this paper explores the social matrix of lies, secrecy and avoidance regarding piracy threats in which seafarers are entangled and how this may relate to binary cultural perceptions of land/sea. The sea/land binary socially constructs the sea as a natural and thus unruly space and the land is socially constructed as a place of culture and civility. In order to navigate between shore perceptions of piracy and their own experiences and perceptions - in order to make these inconsistencies somehow fit into the binary they contradict - piracy threats are downplayed, kept secret or even lied about.

Keywords: *Maritime anthropology, maritime piracy, secrecy, nature/culture*

1. Drowning Piracy Threats: The Binary of Land and Sea

“The basic paradox here is that people say: Piracy is a big problem, but nobody is worried about it. They all explain that their wives are ‘crying’ and that they won’t give them the information on where they’re sailing, as not to worry them. Today I had a class and I asked them if piracy was a big problem

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and all the hands came up. Then I asked them how many of you feel that piracy is a big problem for you personally. Only one or two hands came up. ”

-Field notes India, May 2013.

This paper is based on ongoing anthropological research² about how seafarers from Denmark, the Ukraine, India and the Philippines³ working within the international shipping industry perceive and act upon threats of piracy. I wish to address what appears to be a clash of cosmologies about life at sea - including piracy threats - between seafarers and their employers, families, friends and the media.

Piracy is a real and modern phenomenon. For seafarers who spend many months at a time at sea, these threats are tangible and very serious. There is an important juridical difference between what counts as piracy and what is categorized as armed robbery. This has nothing to do with the character of the attack but everything to do with where the attack occurs: If an attack happens in international waters, it is termed “piracy”. If the attack occurs within twelve miles of the coast, it is in national waters and is thus referred to as “armed robbery”⁴. For the seafarers with whom I have spoken thus far (over 500 from various countries), piracy can include anything from petty theft, robbery, armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom, violent attacks, physical and mental torture and in rare cases, death. In short, if an attack poses a serious threat to their physical welfare, seafarers often refer to this as “piracy”, regardless of the legal definition. It is the seafarer’s perception of piracy in which I am interested, and so it is their definition that I will use here.

In cases of kidnapping, the crew members become human commodities. They are held against their will, often for months or even years at a time, until a ransom sum is agreed upon, in exchange for their release. In many ways, this is ‘good news’ for the seafarers because their captors have an interest in keeping them alive. In the case of armed robbery, particularly when highly valuable cargo is involved - such as oil - the ransom value of the crew members’ lives and the time in which this amount can be earned is insignificant in comparison to the re-sale value of the cargo (Oceans Beyond Piracy 2013 :13-15). This is not always good news for the seafarers who are confronted with this form of piracy: Crew members who resist or otherwise obstruct the

² Anthropological research entails, among other things, participant observation, semi-structured and informal interviews and focus groups. I have carried out my research at sea and on land.

³ There are other nationalities represented in my data, but these are the main groups. They were chosen because they represent one of the most influential shipping countries in the world (Denmark) and the three largest groups of international seafarers in the world.

⁴ The legal definition of piracy found in article 101 of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS): is “any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed:

(i) on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft; (ii) against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State; (b) any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft; (c) any act inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in sub-paragraph (a) or (b).”

(<http://www.imo.org/OurWork/Security/PiracyArmedRobbery/Pages/Default.aspx>, accessed 8/16/2013

(Please note: all dates of access for online references in this paper will be dated in this order: month, day, and year). “High seas” refers to international waters. In other words, acts of armed robbery and violence that occurred within territorial waters are not categorized as piracy. I choose to describe all of these acts as piracy because this is how the seafarers with whom I have had contact refer to them. The legal aspect of piracy is an extremely important and lengthy topic, which lies beyond the scope of this paper.

pirates' successful robbery may be subjected to particularly rough treatment, such as gunshot wounds, severe beating, stabbing, and forced detainment (tied-up). Within the past decade or so, piracy that involves kidnapping has been typically associated with Somalis in the waters around the Gulf of Aden and has progressed into the greater Indian Ocean. Piracy involving violent robbery - which is on the rise - has occurred mainly off the Gulf of Guinea, in or around the territorial waters of Nigeria. Given the volume of shipping traffic worldwide, piracy attacks are rare, but the consequences of them are serious.

However, considering the severity of such attacks, I seem to have stumbled upon something quite thought-provoking in my data from seafarers around the world, as exemplified in the following field note excerpt:

“[H]e says the most important thing is to have security guards. They had razor wire too and fire hoses.

He said that he really doesn't want to be taken by pirates because then he would have to sit in Somalia and wait and he really doesn't want to do that - it sounded more like a nuisance than a threat.”

-Field notes Ukraine, April 2013

The threat of piracy does not appear to be a major personal concern for seafarers. To some, this may seem like a provocative statement. Some seafarers explain that they feel well protected by their ship and company, or simply see themselves as lucky or that an attack is not their “fate”. For others, there are other concerns and dangers in their everyday lives on shore that cause a piracy attack to pale in comparison. Finally, there is often a great lack of information about these threats, which can lead to a false sense of security. Whatever the reason, seafarers often have to navigate between what the broader public on land and even their own families think about the threat - what I call a discursive threat - and the actual existential threats with which they must contend in their lives ashore and at sea. One way for seafarers to handle what is often a rather large discrepancy between the two is to tell lies, omit information or to keep secrets. This is not to say that seafarers as a lot are dishonest people. Keeping secrets or withholding information can often have noble intentions, but above all, they are a social strategy (Behr 2006; Horn 2011).

In the following, I wish to explore how this dishonesty and perceptions of the sea and shore as nature/culture opposites - what I have referred to above as a “clash of cosmologies” - may be connected. Drawing on ethnographic examples from Danish, Indian and Ukrainian seafarers⁵, I suggest that seafarers' perception of piracy defies a widely held notion of “the ‘nature’ of the sea - contrasted to the grounded ‘culture’ of land, as ‘fluid’ (...)”. [Or] as early anthropologists who travelled to ‘the field’ by ship might have had it, as ‘another world...without human culture’” (Davis in Helmreich 2011:136). In other words, it seems that some kinds of events, behaviour

⁵ Please note that this research is on-going. Upon submission of this article, I have not yet conducted research in the Philippines, which is why this significant group of seafarers is not addressed in this paper.

and conditions are constructed by onshore notions of an untamed nature - such as piracy - while other events, behaviour and conditions on land are couched in perceptions of culture, society and civility. Seafarers often explain that people on land don't understand what life is like at sea. Oppositions where the wild is juxtaposed with the controlled, nature with culture and danger with safety (cf. Strathern 1980:175) are common and are not reserved for those with ideas about the character of life as a seafarer. But seafarers' perceptions of piracy threats challenge these binaries. In their experiences, the controllable and the uncontrollable cohabit on land *and* at sea, but the shore-side discourse surrounding piracy as a wild and uncontrollable threat does not embrace this complexity. And so, in order to navigate between shore perceptions of piracy and own experiences and perceptions - in order to make these inconsistencies somehow fit into the binary they contradict - seafarers lie, keep secrets and omit information. Although the practice of secrecy, lies and omissions seems to be consistent, seafarers' specific motivations are varied and are framed by the local contexts from which they come.

1.1 Denmark

“There's too much hush, hush about it. The company didn't want it in the media (...). Had we been in [my hometown], it would have been different. Then I would have had someone to talk to. ' But then [Michael] told me that his best friend lives there and they've never spoken about this. ”

-Field notes Denmark, February 2013

“[His] wife called to tell me that she was 'furious'. (...) [Janni⁶] was pissed at [him] for having spilled all his beans to me. She was worried that the recorded session would be used irresponsibly and that their story would get out (...) I was able to calm her down - it took a bit. When I told her about the anonymity and confidentiality, she said 'you can't convince me of that! ' She explained that she knows seafarers and she knows how little that world is and people would recognize him (...)”

-Field notes Denmark, March 2013

The above quotes are about one seafarer's and another seafarer's wife's traumatic meeting with piracy attacks and the impact that it had on their lives afterwards. Before the attack, Michael seemed to be the kind of herculean man that people could count on in any situation. But the personal problems that arose from this incident led to a total breakdown - including depression and unemployment - shame and silence. Most of the Danes I have spoken to tend to brush off

⁶All informant names, unless otherwise noted, are pseudonyms. Identifying characteristics of events, organizations and individuals may also have been blurred to protect their identity.

the threat of piracy. It's not so much direct dishonesty, but a gruff refusal to even entertain the idea of fear. Because of relatively good conditions - and dependable emergency response - worry seems out of place. Among the Danes with whom I've spoken, there is a great deal of faith in national structures. But any needs that fall outside of the well-structured welfare system are cast off as unreasonable. 'We must not ask for more - all of our needs are already covered.' As a result, worry, fear and stress connected to a piracy attack are kept silent and any show of fear is seen as shameful. As one industry professional explained to me, "A guy that bawls loses respect, most of all for himself" (Field notes March 2013). Thus, suffering is only the result of his own failure to tame his emotions. The shame of such a breakdown is too great to accept and so it is silenced, effectively closing off access to much needed consolation and help. Even within the most intimate of relationships, shame weighed in as the greater concern, as evidenced in my conversation with another piracy victim's wife, Janni, above. Someone could find out about the incident and her husband's reaction to it - an incident that was further complicated by ensuing marital problems. As a result, victims and their families continue to be held - metaphorically - captive, unable to move past the traumatic events surrounding the attack. In Michael's case, the company had washed their hands of the long-time effect that the incident had on him and he seemed unable to ask for help.

Why, in this case, did the reactions to a particularly brutal piracy attack - one that included severe beatings, stab wounds and being tied-up for hours have to be silenced at all costs? I think that we can find some answers in another piracy attack, the high profile highjacking of MV Leopard, involving two Danish and four Filipino crew members. The media and various other institutions on land constructed a story about this case that links acts of 'Barbary', almost exclusively, to an exotic Other. But it turns out that the victims were not as sick and maltreated as we were told⁷.

"The family was against the [media] campaign. They were really frustrated. That's the way he always looks. The family knew that he was being treated well. He looked like himself. "

-Friend of hostage, Field notes Denmark, May 2013

The above quote refers to one of the hostage victims and my informant knows the gentleman personally. The victim was presented in the media as being severely ill, due to general rough conditions, malnutrition, and physical abuse at the hands of the Somali pirates who held him and his five colleagues for 838 days. The pirates should certainly be held accountable for their crime, but my errand here is not to choose sides or pinpoint a perpetrator⁸. Instead, I wish to draw attention to the notion of a dangerous and uncontrollable 'Them' and a law-abiding and civil

⁷ <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Indland/2013/05/17/0517060924.htm>, accessed 7/11/13.

⁸ The dust is still settling on this case and it is very difficult to know exactly who was involved and in which way and what consequences this involvement may have had for the victims.

‘Us’ that infused this case. These binaries do not correspond to the slowly emerging details surrounding the incident, where the ship owner has been blamed for negligence, criticism of the ship owners’ organization has begun to emerge and the Danish media have been accused of abusing the hostages by using them in printed and television media without their permission⁹. Afore mentioned binary is not representative of Michael’s story, either. I will return to this shortly. The media claimed that they focused on this crew because they felt that not enough was being done to get them free. However, there is documentation that the media’s involvement caused the hostages to be abused physically by their captors and there is serious speculation about whether the extraordinary length of their captivity was directly linked to the media’s involvement¹⁰.

In addition, film footage of the hostages was presented in “documentary” form on national television, explaining that “Conditions for the hostages have been brutal and inhumane. But it is necessary to show this reality”¹¹. The footage and explanations that went along with them was aired on prime time Danish television. The reporter who filmed the footage was however not a proverbial fly on the wall and the pirates had an errand in granting access to and presenting the situation in a way that would serve their cause. This aspect was not addressed or criticized in the moderation accompanying the footage. What perceptions about the situation inform the television company’s decision to present the footage to the broader public in this manner? The video begins with several written sentences. One of them reads as follows: “No other Danes have ever been held captive for so long,” a statement that ignores the fact that there were four other hostages from the Philippines, whose compatriots have been in pirate captivity for even longer periods of time, as have other nationals. So why this particular *national* focus?

On land and within territorial waters, our civil rights are protected by a physically demarcated jurisdiction - a national border. Within this line, the rule of law is valid and powerful. There are however other political spaces on our planet that do not fall under *national* jurisdictions. They are no less political for that reason and they are governed by other juridical frameworks, such as international maritime law and an expectation of ship-owner responsibility. “Water...” Helmreich writes, “...moves faster than culture, with culture often imagined in a *land-based idiom* (...)” (132:2011; my emphasis). Again the sea/land - nature/culture binary emerges. I

⁹ The captain has sued these media, as described in *Søfartens Ledere* 3/2013, page 28-29.

¹⁰ Ransom negotiation can be a long process and pirates’ perception of the hostages value can have an influence on what demands they make. If there is heightened media focus on the kidnapping, the pirates will adjust their demands accordingly (<http://www.counterpiracy.ae/upload/Briefing/Mary%20Harper-Essay-Eng.pdf>; accessed 8/16/2013).

¹¹ The video is no longer available on Danish websites, but I was able to locate it here: http://bajarm3.net/video-mp3_32iZk_-5bvQ; accessed 7/16/2013. The quote from the Danish was translated into English by the author.

suggest that what lies behind the Danes' shock that a 'westerner' could be held hostage by pirates for so long is that there is an expectation that the state's all-encompassing and protective arm should be able to reach them wherever they are in the world. In Jenkins' words, the state is "omnipresent (...). Benign or not, there is no escape. Being Danish means being numbered, named, cared for and monitored" (171: 2012). If this is the case, how on earth was it possible for two members of the nation - through no fault of their own - to fall outside of her protective embrace?

In connection with their liberation, we could also read such statements in the Danish news:

*'Thereby, Eddy Lopez and Soren Lyngbjorn¹² hold the record for being the westerners who have been held hostage longest by pirates.'*¹³

What is thought-provoking about these two examples is the focus on being "Danish" and "Western". Of course, we are confronted with yet another binary here, where certain national groups are expected to be treated in a particular civil - in the sense of secured civil rights - way, while that expectation does not exist and is accepted as 'natural' with other groups. But given the same amount of protection (armed guards, razor wire etc.), all merchant ship crew members who transit piracy regions are literally, in the same boat. Their national or 'civilizational' affiliation makes no difference for the likelihood of being taken hostage. Nationals from all over the world have been taken hostage by pirates and no reliable sources indicate that attackers know in advance where their victims come from. Neither does the swiftness of their release relate to their citizenship or 'westernness' - as demonstrated in the Leopard case. In addition and in terms of release, what matters is how the ship owner handles the situation and what economic resources are at their disposal. Again, citizenship or civilizational affiliation does not appear to be a game-changer. But in the Danish media, the idea that some people should be - based on their group belonging - exempt from piracy, was often heard.

Returning to Michael's secrecy and Janni's suspicion, it seems that Danish citizenship gave access to a basic level of care that other seafarers and seafarer's families do not have. For example, they did not suffer extreme economic hardship due to lack of income. But their specific social needs in connection with the attacks effected their lives intimately and profoundly, were evidence that being a 'westerner'- and land-based notion- did not guarantee any kind of civility within their own national borders. Michael's employer did little to follow up

¹² Because this case has been given such heavy media attention, these gentlemen's names are very well-known to the Danish public. They have thus become public figures and for this reason I choose to use their real names. This puts me in an ethical bind. I hope that my representation of the Leopard case, how it was written about and how the hostages have been treated is sensitive to their situation and does not represent them unfairly.

¹³ <http://www.dr.dk/Nyheder/Indland/2013/05/01/131055.htm>; accessed 7/16/2013. Translation from Danish to English by the author.

on his needs post incident and Janni clearly had no faith in the seafaring community to be supportive of her and her husband's situation. The barbary that they experienced at sea *and* at home again meant that the 'wild nature of the sea' and everyone on it could no longer stand in opposition to the 'civility of life within national borders'. But instead of challenging binary sea/land cosmology, both Michael and Janni chose to protect the construct by staying silent.

1.2 India

My impressions from many of the Indian seafarers with whom I have spoken, is that the family functions as *the* structuring element of civility in society (Krishna Rao 2005:68). In a way, it seems to fulfil a similar function that the welfare state does in Denmark, providing protection, care, and belonging (Jenkins 2012). Turning your back on this institution and its ability to protect its members is tantamount to treason, just as is subjecting oneself willingly to threats that could undermine the coherence of the family - such as piracy threats. But what counts as trustworthy or threatening at sea is different than the way threats *about* the sea are discursively constructed on land. The sea/land binary can be identified again - albeit in a slightly different trope.

One seafarer confided in me during a break in a lecture I was giving at a maritime school¹⁴, telling me this is "confidential".

"He doesn't answer questions [in class] because his company says to keep it quiet. The company told him if they're taken, they will get them free - don't worry. Just three days. They don't want them talking about it because of what they're carrying to Basra, southern Iraq. "

-Field notes India, May 2013

During the lecture, he assured me that, despite the fact that he sailed a bulk carrier with a very low freeboard in the HRA without armed guards, he felt quite safe with his company and later wrote to me:

"Everybody on board were safe, all the crew stayed on their allotted cabins, only work was affected (...). [They] were accessed to call home

¹⁴ In this case, a "maritime school" refers to an institution - private or public - where professional seafarers can take courses that will certify them to carry out specialized tasks and to be promoted in rank. As such, the students often have many years of experience at sea behind them.

weekly once. They had their provision supply every week. After this incident also company refused to have arm guards. Basically these Greek people were working on illegal cargo so they don't want disclose anything. Company advises to vessel crossing HRA try to clear and even if fought not to worry we will clear. These are things I got through my friends who were in Somalia. ”

-Field notes India, May 2013

This story suggests that the land-based notion of the lawless shipping company that does not care for its seafaring employees and the barbaric pirates who abuse their victims does not quite hold water. This gentleman did not tell his wife or family anything about his company's policies or the threats he faced at sea, as not to worry them. He did not think they would be able or willing to absorb the truth regarding his work conditions but he felt safe. And just as Michael stayed silent about the lack of civility on land, this gentleman kept quiet about the civility he met at sea. The cosmology that sees sea/land as opposites, stays firmly intact.

1.3 Ukraine: Challenging the Binary

For many of the Ukrainian seafarers with whom I have spent time on board and on land, piracy at sea is no different from “*piracy*” on land.

“[He] said that for Ukrainians, Somali and Nigerian pirates are no worse than what they've seen in their school, their police and their government. 'Being afraid of pirates is like being afraid of cats and dogs,' he explained. ”

-Field notes, April 2013

Talking about such threats only attracts “*bad fortune*”, I was told by others. It's better to stay unnoticed and trust no one. Life in the Ukraine, the country that brought us the secrecy of Chernobyl and the devious dioxin poisoning of politician Viktor Yushchenko, is harsh, untameable and unreliable. As one crewing agent explained, “Ukrainians are brave people. Maybe our lives on shore is too hard. ” One activist told me the story of a cadet who was hijacked and held hostage by Somali pirates.

“He was not paid while he was held hostage and when he came home, they threw him out of the academy because he didn't pay his tuition and was not coming regularly to classes after his return (...)”

-Field notes Ukraine, April 2013

Upholding an image of a wild and untamed life at sea, locating the sea as the unruly *space*

(cf. de Certeau 1984), allows us to turn a blind eye to the lack of civility on land, as my examples from Denmark and India have shown. For many of the Ukrainian seafarers that I met, *not* claiming piracy as a threat - despite the relatively high volume of piracy victims among their nationals - was a strategy to stay employed, to avoid being blacklisted¹⁵ and to safeguard them from corruption and blackmail. Thus, something just as, if not more threatening underpinned their efforts to brush off the threat of piracy.

“This whole idea of the hardened Ukrainian and not trusting anyone etc. It occurred to me when Katarina said to me that her son knows her and ‘He knows I can take it’ that this stone face outlook is perhaps a way of caring. What I mean is that if life is hard here - and everyone says it is - then it is important to show the people you care for that you can take it. In this way, they are consoled and don’t have to worry about you. If you show your emotions, then you are also showing your vulnerability. This is perhaps dangerous in the way that others could exploit this “weakness” but also because it shows the ones you love that you might not be able to “take it” - and this causes concern. ”

-Field notes Ukraine, April 2013Ukraine

My impressions from the Ukraine are that chaos and unfairness are expected. In other words, they do not seem eager to uphold any illusion that life on land is any more tame or wild than life at sea. Drawing attention to tough conditions anywhere shows weakness and could make them more vulnerable. Secrets, lies, and omissions are strategies to control the damage and protect them - whether on land or at sea. Perhaps, precisely because they do not attempt to uphold the sea/land construct, Ukrainian (and Russian) seafarers are often seen as uncontrolled and dangerous themselves, being described as people who *“have a total lack of respect for life”* (Field notes Denmark, April 2013).

2. Concluding thoughts

Similar to other sectors, such as the construction industry (Cf. Baarts 2009), a seafaring career carries risks, such as that of serious accidents. Accidents at sea - as opposed to piracy attacks - are framed by seafarers as natural, involving the elements which are beyond our control, such as the wind and weather and ‘human error’. They do not defy the notion of the sea as “uncontrollable and unruly” (Helmreich 2011:137). Through training and good seamanship, seafarers are able to deal with a rough storm or fight and eliminate, for example, a fire on board.

¹⁵ Seafarers are often evaluated while on board and this evaluation is sent back to the manning agency or ship owners. Many seafarers are worried that if they complain they will be “blacklisted” and thereby not be re-hired. This is of particular concern for seafarers who are hired on a voyage to voyage basis.

Piracy, on the other hand, like all crime, is social at heart. It is not a force of nature and seafarers are not trained to fight and eliminate such threats.

Crime involves interaction between human beings or notions that human beings have created, such as society, morality and law, and is, as such, a social act. But on shore, the crime of piracy - and its effect on victims - is often perceived as uncontrolled and exotic - as a kind of force of nature. As such, shore-based policy makers often place it in a category of its own when considering the effects of such an attack on the victims. As one representative from the Danish military put it, the victims of piracy will “never be normal people again. They will never work again.” This however, is not the picture I am getting from many of the seafarers with whom I have spoken. The widespread criminalization of seafarers (SRI 2013) supports the idea that there is a shore- based perception that all that comes from the sea is unruly and must be civilized once it reaches our shores. This notion is also evidenced by laws about customs, immigration, and stacks and stacks of maritime codes that govern how seafarers must behave once they reach territorial waters. In land-based notions of the sea, sailors are often seen as burly, rough characters. My meeting with seafarers - many of whom I would describe as mild- mannered family men - contradicts such myths.

I have argued that the vast matrix of secrets, lies and omissions connected to piracy is a strategy and reaction to a set of perceptions on land that constructs the sea as the land’s inherently dangerous binary. But my data suggests that the sea as a place where sociality unfolds is no wilder than any other social setting and as a result, individuals and groups that are part of a sociality at sea are no wilder than those on land. At the beginning of this article, I stated that telling lies, keeping secrets and omitting information were part of a “social strategy” (Behr 2006; Horn 2011). Why do seafarers employ such a “strategy”? Why do they choose to blur the truth rather than share their perceptions and experiences openly? Family members, friends, employers and the media are powerful actors in the seafarers’ lives. They provide care, employment and authoritative voices on how our social world is constructed: what is wild vs. controlled and what is dangerous vs. safe (cf. Strathern 1980:175). This cosmology categorizes their social world and offers them a basic sense of control. The sea/land binary - part of the nature/culture construct - appears to be part of “the modern quest for control”. Drawing attention to the defects of this construct “undermines the system as a whole (Van Loon in Clark 2005:170). Such an action would reveal the construction of the cosmology, rendering it a kind of “poisonous knowledge”, where danger and security can no longer be anticipated from certain social fields and actors (cf. Das 2000). It opens up for the possibility that danger and threats may emerge in any setting - not just the ones that the construct has pre-determined for us. Seen from this point of view, challenging the binary perception of sea/land may be the most dangerous aspect of piracy of all.

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Adrienne Mannov is currently pursuing her PhD in Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen. Field research for this project is financed by Seahealth Denmark and the Ministry of Research and Innovation in Denmark, in the form of an Industrial PhD. Ms. Mannov wishes to extend her heartfelt thanks to AMET University for extending their invitation to visit India, which made it possible for her to carry out field research among Indian seafarers on land. In addition to visiting seafarers in their home countries, Ms. Mannov has also sailed on merchant vessels with crews who transit piracy areas. In addition, she has also sailed on the Danish war ship, Iver Huitfeldt, which was part of NATO's anti-piracy task force. Ms. Mannov's previous research dealt with civilian perceptions of safety and danger in West Jerusalem.