

Filipino Seafarers On-board Cruise Ships: Shared Viewpoints on Working Lives

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To my father

Mario Oliveros Llangco

and

In memory of my mother

Gloria Salariosa Llangco

(1959 – 2014)

who prayed for the dreams of her two sons to come true.

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Abstract

Cruise ship workers and cruise ship employment are commonly described in popular literature as the stories of either ‘perfect workers in a dream job’ or ‘exploited workers on sweatships’. However, these popular portrayals tend to overlook the social and economic complexities of the work and the diversity of subjective experiences amongst cruise sector seafarers. To address this gap, this study investigates the social representations of the working lives of seafarers on-board cruise ships. Using the case of Filipino seafarers, one of the nationalities with the largest proportion of workers in the cruise ship sector, this study explores how workers in a globalised industry make sense of their employment experiences in relation to their lives. Q-methodology, a systematic research approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods in studying perspectives, was used to identify shared viewpoints on the working lives of cruise ship employees. Participants were asked to rank-order a set of 48 statements, which represent a range of occupational, organisational and work-related issues that they faced throughout their employment experience, along a fixed grid of agreement/disagreement taking the shape of an inverted pyramid grid (Q-sorts). Participants were also interviewed to elicit the rationales and narratives behind their sorting decisions. Factor analysis of 99 completed Q-sorts yielded four factors which were interpreted as ‘work-views’ or shared and holistic viewpoints on working lives. The accounts of ‘Good-fit’, ‘Troubled’, ‘Professional’ and ‘Ambivalent’ workers capture a more nuanced social representation of the working lives of cruise ship employees than those commonly presented in popular literature. These accounts of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers are discussed, in terms of the concept of work orientation, to highlight the workers’ multiple motivations and expectations of cruise ship employment, and to illustrate the embeddedness of work attitudes in social relationships on-board and in the communities of origin.

Key words: Filipino seafarers, cruise ship sector, social representation, work orientation, work-views, Q-methodology

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study aims to explore the working lives of Filipino seafarers¹ working on-board cruise ships and how they are socially represented. In popular literature, cruise sector seafarers and their work and life on-board are commonly portrayed in the manner of either ‘perfect workers in a dream job’ or ‘exploited workers on sweatships’. Typically, crewing agencies and cruise companies highlight the economic and non-economic benefits of working on a cruise ship to market such employment to potential workers. One example is the following advertisement², posted on the social media page of a large crewing agency in Manila, which invites applicants to:

Cruise through a sea of opportunities! Do you want to embark on an exciting and rewarding shipboard career?

Do you have excellent customer service and communication skills?
Are you proficient in English and eager to travel and fulfil professional growth?

The advertisement promises an ‘exciting and rewarding career’ to would-be workers and seemingly suggests the same ‘unexcelled excursion into the glamorous life’ (Berger 2006 p.124) that cruise passengers pay to experience. Working on-board cruise ships is perceived to be an attractive employment option, a ‘dream job’, precisely because it appears to merge paid work with free leisure activities. Cruise ship employees are

¹ The term seafarer may traditionally refer to an able bodied seaman, engineer, or captain aboard a bulk carrier or a container ship. But under the Maritime Labour Convention (2006), the word ‘seafarer’ is an umbrella term for ‘any person who is employed or engaged or works in any capacity on board a ship’ (p.3). As such both the marine crew (e.g. deck and engine department) and hotel staff (e.g. entertainment, food and beverage, retail, cabin, etc.) on-board cruise ships are both seafarers.

² Source: <https://goo.gl/xphEOB> [Accessed on 6 October 2016]

presented as individuals who are earning a living while visiting holiday destinations in different parts of the world.

Travellers and potential travellers wish to join a cruise to learn, relax, or bond with others (Elliot and Choi 2011) but before booking a cruise package they consider different on-board attributes such as entertainment and recreation amenities, core facilities, and other supplementary services. For holiday-makers, it matters to know what restaurants, cabins, crew services and performances or shows are available before they purchase a cruise package (Xie et al. 2012) and not just the different ports of call. For them, the cruise ship is a destination in itself. All these on-board amenities rely on the pivotal role of the workers who deliver the services and run the operations. Without a workforce, the cruise ship as a product and as an experience would not be possible for the company let alone profitable. Employers therefore need to hire ‘ideal workers’ who are committed to work performance, have excellent English communication skills, and are capable of providing exceptional customer service and adapting to the unique conditions of working at sea.

Under the deregulatory system of flags of convenience – where a ship flies a state flag which is different from the country of its beneficial owners – seafarers, today, can be flexibly recruited from any country in the world (Chin 2008b). As a result, it is common to find that the crew of a ship originates from as many as 40 countries (Wood 2004). Yet, cruise ship workers from the Philippines seem to be a popular choice among cruise companies. For example, an industry newsletter describes the vital role played by Filipino workers on one cruise ship in this manner:

The crew is very international, with senior staff hailing from Italy...and the highest percentage [of workers] coming from the Philippines (**where would the cruise industry be without Filipinos**) (Sbarsky 2014 p.10, emphasis added).

Over the years, the Philippines has remained a major supplier of seafarers on international ships (Chapman 1992; BIMCO and ICS 2015; Drewry 2015) including cruise ships (Wu 2005; Milde 2009). For example Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd (RCCL), one of the largest cruise line operators, has about 65,000 workers but 11,000 of them

are from the Philippines (BMD 2016). Aligned with the expansion of fleet operations, RCCL announced their plan to increase the number of their Filipino crew to 30,000 by 2020 (ABS CBN News 2016a). The large cohort of Filipino crew aboard cruise ships when compared to other nationalities is viewed as a testament to the company's preference for Filipino employees because of their 'excellent professional reputation' (Milde 2009 p.80). Filipino cruise sector seafarers are thus perceived, described or socially represented as 'readymade workers' for cruise ships because they 'work hard' and are seen as 'subservient' and 'happy' (Terry 2013).

A contrasting representation of work and workers on-board cruise ships in popular literature is the narrative of 'exploited workers on sweatships'. There are numerous reports about the difficult working conditions on-board such as long and irregular working hours (Bruns and Hutchinson 2015), exhausting workloads (Kobus 2012c), low pay (Topham 2012), cramped living quarters (Kobus 2012b), vulnerability to physical injuries (Ziegler 2015), unfair dismissal (Walker 2016) and little legal protection (Presser 2017). However, these deplorable conditions of overworked and underpaid cruise ship crew are deliberately hidden from the view of the passengers (Klein 2002; Zhao 2002; Weaver 2005a) and of course rarely mentioned in job advertisements. According to the International Transport Federation (Mather 2002 p.2) abuse of rights is widespread across the industry. Cruise ship workers have:

- insecure, short-term contracts
- low wages and high costs, including illegal agents' fees to get the job
- extremely long working hours and high work intensity leading to fatigue
- poor management practices, including bullying and favouritism, plus racial and gender discrimination
- high labour turnover, fatigue and inadequate training, giving cause for concerns about safety
- employers who are hostile or resistant to trade union organisation and collective bargaining.

The difficult work realities of international seafarers (Couper et al. 1999; Alderton et al. 2004; Sampson 2013; Walters and Bailey 2013) particularly those working aboard cruise ships (Chapman 1992; Frantz 1999; Klein 2002; Chin 2008a; Gibson 2008) have been widely documented and validated in academic research. These studies highlight the mismatch between the ‘official’ narratives of employer advertising, worker expectations and the objective reality experienced by seafarers whilst at sea.

It is likely that employers, news agencies, labour unions, and governments promote and perpetuate certain narratives about work and workers on-board cruise ships in order to advance a specific agenda. As their narratives represent and re-constitute what is ‘real’ about cruise ship employment and seafarers, they compete, resist, limit or exclude other ‘versions’ of the same reality (Howarth 2006a). The difficulty however in being caught up with these popular representations of cruise ship employment and its workers is not that they are false but that these employer/labour union portrayals only focus on specific aspects and may not present the big picture (Adichie 2009). This dichotomous version of reality sometimes results in over simplistic accounts – the ‘dream job’ versus ‘sweatship’ image of the employment experience or the ‘perfect worker’ versus ‘exploited worker’ image of cruise ship employees – that may not always reflect seafarers’ own views. One plausible remedy therefore is to turn the focus towards seafarers’ subjective experiences of working in the cruise industry and use these socially situated conceptions as grounds to rethink the common representations in circulation. After all seafarers are at the very focus of these narratives and it is reasonable to argue that the power to define what work means, also belongs to them.

The aim of this study, therefore, is to investigate the social representations of the working lives of seafarers in the cruise industry that emerge from the workers themselves. In this way, a wide spectrum of patterns of thinking about cruise ship seafarers and their work can be systematically considered (Worthington and Rask 2015) not only the major, circulating or stereotypical ones but also potential alternative and marginal forms. The mode of representation explored here is both discursive and social. The approach is ‘discursive’, and not demographic (e.g. representing the entire population of global seafarers or the Filipino seafarers as specific group), insofar as it

relates to an ensemble of ideas, positions, perspectives, (Keck 2004 p.45; Hajer 1995) or ways of seeing and talking about (Addams 2000) the working lives of seafarers in the cruise industry. Discursive representation is not always preferable to or better than demographic representation but a feasible alternative (Dryzek and Niemeyer 2008). The approach is also 'social' insofar as the structure of ideas, positions, or subjective views is shared by a group of people and not just held by a single individual (Sammut 2015; Addams 2000). Again, this 'group of people' is to be understood not in terms of their membership of a particular occupation but in terms of their holistic similarity in stance towards issues of working life.

Identifying these social representations of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers is significant in that it gives us an insight into the experience of work in a globalised industry in a number of distinct ways. Understanding the social representations of the work and life of cruise sector seafarers reflects contemporary meanings of labour and employment in an economically and socially relevant globalised industry. This is particularly significant given the rapid growth of cruise ship tourism in recent years. Estimates from Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) show that over the last twenty years, from 1995 to 2015, the demand for cruise travel has increased from 5.67 million (Dowling 2006) to 23.2 million passengers (Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) 2016) representing an annual growth rate of 15.5%. As the industry continues to expand every year, the need for workers in the marine and hotel departments of cruise ships also increases (Wiscombe et al. 2011). The CLIA reported that in 2014, the cruise industry generated close to a million jobs which translates into \$39.3 billion in wages and salaries.

The employer/labour union portrayals of work and workers on-board cruise ships mentioned above serve as resources with which active and potential seafarers construct, communicate and elaborate (Gubrium and Holstein 2009) their own meanings and understanding of work. Cruise ship workers are enmeshed within these competing claims to reality which offer ways to communicate, negotiate, resist, innovate and transform (Howarth 2006a) their own meanings of work and lived experiences. By privileging how seafarers perceive, make sense of, and represent their

own working lives we can moderate the positive and negative stereotypes about cruise ship seafarers and gain a more nuanced understanding of precarious work in a globalised sector. These ‘worker-generated’ narratives of working lives can contribute in a comparative research of work and life of precarious employees in other sectors or industries (Mosoetsa et al. 2016).

The sector-identity pairing referenced in the employer narrative – that seafarers from the Philippines are ‘ideal’ workers on cruise ships – is of significance because the narrative is premised on power and status differentials (Mosoetsa et al. 2016). This popular representation may create an ethnic labour niche for Filipinos (McKay, S. 2007) but it simultaneously typecasts or locks them into subordinate or non-supervisory positions (Terry 2013). In this regard, Filipino seafarers provide a compelling case for analysis as they illustrate the subjectification and lived effects of social representations (Bacchi 2009). As shown above, Filipino seafarers are a popular and populous workforce in the cruise sector because of their image as ‘hardworking’, ‘flexible’, ‘family-oriented’, ‘subservient’, ‘happy and nice’. Filipino seafarers on-board cruise ships are the very ‘subjects’ of the ‘Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job’ representation. Having worked at sea, they nevertheless have experienced first-hand any material impact (e.g. fatigue, low income, job insecurity) aligned that ‘the Exploited-Workers-on-Sweatships’ representation.

Even though a focus on Filipino seafarers limits the empirical sample, the study overall contributes to an important research agenda about comparing the experiences of precarious workers in different sectors (Mosoetsa et al. 2016). As new labour subjects in a globalised context precarious workers, along with informal workers in national contexts, ‘diversify the spaces and scales of collective organising beyond the workplace to include neighbourhoods, local communities, as well as transnational networks’ (Chun and Agarwala 2016 p.636). However before any meaningful collective action can happen, ‘cultures of solidarity’ (Fantasia 1988) based on ‘mutual affinities and associational bonds beyond the workplace and in other spheres of workers’ everyday lives’ (Chun and Agarwala 2016 p.636) must first be established. This is where a mapping of discursive representations of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers

becomes relevant because it opens up an opportunity for a reasoned discussion about the social and economic complexities of work that are often overlooked when only broad and competing representations of cruise ship employment are given attention.

Objectives of the Study

Research Problem

To problematise the social representations of the working lives of seafarers in the cruise industry, the following research question is asked:

Using the case of Filipino seafarers on-board cruise ships, how do workers in a globalised industry make sense of their employment experience in relation to the wider context of their lives?

The term ‘making sense’ can be understood as a process of comprehending lived experiences through ‘the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalise what people are doing’ (Weick et al. 2005 p.409). Sensemaking follows from the premise that the ‘experiences that make up who we are influence how we interpret events’ (Mills and Weatherbee 2006 p.269). This interpretation of events involves an evolving and plausible understanding of ‘what is going on’ and a basis for prospective action. To bring participants in an ‘instance of sensemaking’ (Weick 1995) about their work and life as cruise sector seafarers, the research focuses on the subjective points of view they hold on the different occupational, organisational and work-related issues before going on-board, during their time on the ship, and after completing their contract. This situates the concept of working life not just in the immediate confines of the workplace/the ship but also other social and interpersonal considerations of the participant’s life (Potter 2015). The use of the term ‘employment’ is deliberate to reiterate two important points: (a) that tasks cruise sector seafarers perform on-board a ship are carried out in exchange for income; (b) and that the work process is under the control of the employer (Keller and Cappelli 2013). Whether or not such employment experience aboard cruise ships is subjectively represented by participants

as well-rounded/positive ‘work’ or as arduous/negative ‘labour’ (Standing 1999) is an empirical question the study will address.

Specific Research Questions

To begin to resolve the research problem, the following specific research questions are asked:

1. What working life issues are more relevant to cruise sector seafarers?
2. What work-views or patterns of shared viewpoints on working life can be identified and described within a sample of Filipino cruise sector seafarers?
3. To what extent are these work-views (dis)aligned with each other?
4. How do these work-views relate to popular representations of Filipino cruise sector seafarers as ‘perfect workers in a dream job’?
5. What do work-views reveal about the work orientation of Filipino cruise sector seafarers?

The first research question frames the concept of ‘working life’ by exploring a range of occupational, organisational and other work-related issues that cruise sector seafarers encounter before, during and after their temporary but repeated employment on-board ships. The identification of these working life issues is the starting point for comparing how on-board employment is experienced and is related to other spheres of life.

The second research question aims to empirically demonstrate the extent to which a sample group of Filipino cruise ship workers cluster towards a finite number of shared viewpoints. Q-methodology, which blends quantitative and qualitative methods, is used as a research approach because of its potential in systematically mapping social representations across individuals. Briefly, participants will be asked to sort a set of statements based on their agreement/disagreement with them. Statistical analysis of the sorting pattern of statements can reveal shared and holistic viewpoints that may be

interpreted as distinct work-views or shared and holistic viewpoints on working lives that represent cruise ship workers and cruise ship employment in distinct ways.

Having identified these work-views from sample participants, the third research question aims to compare and contrast these discursive representations of working lives by highlighting their distinctive, differing and aligning stances on issues. The substantive focus of the study is asserted in the fourth research question which explores the continuities and discontinuities between the participants' work-views and the employer/labour union narratives of cruise ship employment and seafarers. In particular, results will be compared with the 'Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job' narrative as it directly relates to Filipino seafarers.

Finally, the fifth research question revisits the workers' own representations of their working lives to explore the concept of work orientation, 'the meaning attached by people to their work which predisposes them to think and act in particular ways with regard to that work' (Watson 2012 p.241). By discussing work-views in terms of work orientation we can highlight the interplay between job rewards, employment relationship and socio-cultural context in capturing a more nuanced social representation of the working lives of cruise ship employees.

Overview of Content

This thesis is structured in eight substantive chapters.

Following on from the introduction, Chapter Two reviews the 'background discourses' that may influence the ways in which cruise sector seafarers perceive, make sense of and represent their own working lives. It begins with a background on consumerism, rationalisation and globalisation in the cruise industry within which seafarers are embedded. The chapter also reviews in more depth popular literature that presents competing portrayals of work and life on-board cruise ships. Chapter two closes by discussing how cruise companies, cruise passengers and Philippine state agencies collectively contribute to an image of Filipino seafarers as 'perfect workers'.

Chapter Three develops the theoretical framework of the study. After reviewing empirical research on cruise ship employees, the chapter explores the links between work orientation, stance, viewpoint and social representations. It argues that the focus of cruise sector research revolves around work motivations and responses to work that may be subsumed under the concept work orientation. Considering different approaches to work orientation, the chapter suggests a broader focus on the social representation of working lives that in the process implicates the interaction between the workplace and non-work setting in making sense of the employment experience.

Chapter Four discusses the techniques of data collection, method of gathering data and the epistemological foundations of Q-methodology, in researching shared viewpoints. The chapter opens by justifying why a Q-methodological approach is more suitable in exploring social representations than other research designs. It then discusses the different steps in conducting a Q-study by highlighting its quantitative and qualitative features across the pre-study and main study phases.

The empirical findings of the study are shown in two chapters. Chapter Five presents the viewpoints of what I have termed as the ‘Good-fit’, ‘Troubled’, ‘Professional’ and ‘Ambivalent’ work-views. The main points of each discursive representation are summarised narratively and are further discussed using interview data from participants. The *Good-fits* said that cruise ship employment is about meeting travel aspirations whilst delivering good service to passengers. The *Troubleds* emphasized the challenges cruise ship workers encounter before working on a ship, whilst on-board and after completing a contract. The *Professionals* narrated a strong identification and commitment to working on cruise ships. Finally, the *Ambivalents* viewed cruise ship employment as a combination of advantages and disadvantages that every worker must realistically assess.

Chapter Six then explores the inter-relationship between these work-views by highlighting their areas of consensus and concurrence. The work-views have differing stances on some issues but they are in alignment with each other in suggesting: (a) a generally positive evaluation of the employer; (b) the acceptance that working on a

cruise ship normally entails both physical and emotional labour; (c) the notion of a 'shared inner self' as a basis for relating with co-workers; (d) and the strong emphasis they place on maintaining family relationships.

Chapter Seven makes two analytic points. Firstly, each of the four work-views only partially support and refute some of the key assumptions of the employers' 'Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job' narrative. Secondly, a closer analysis of these work-views reveals heterogeneous work orientations suggesting that the workers' simultaneous pursuit of various types of job rewards throughout their working lives needs to be understood in the socio-cultural context within which they are situated.

Chapter Eight concludes the study by summarising the thesis and outlining key theoretical and methodological contributions, policy implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

The Global Cruise Ship Sector and the Filipino Seafarers

*...people make sense of their lives through the stories that are available to them,
and attempt to fit their lives into the available stories.*

(Laurel Richardson 1990 p.129)

The empirical aim of this study is to explore how Filipino seafarers working on-board cruise ships construct social representations of their working lives. In weaving together their similar views on organisational, occupational and work-related issues a collective story emerges (Richardson 1990) instead of an autobiographical account or a cultural narrative. However, these collective narratives about the working lives of cruise sector seafarers are not constructed within a vacuum. Scholars have argued (Richardson 1990) that there is a dialectical relationship between people's meaning-making /stance-taking and 'the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded' (Wodak et al. 2009 p.8). The general point is that, whilst cruise sector seafarers are able to discursively represent the social reality of work, it is important to realise that their position, as a specific group of workers, is shaped by the logics and discourses of the institutions and situations around them.

As employees, cruise ship workers are deeply situated in the day to day life on-board a cruise ship and are therefore subjected to the same consumerist lifestyle and rationalist mode of production that characterise cruise ship tourism. Whilst the focus of the study is on individual and social representations of working lives it is equally true to say that Filipino seafarers are portrayed in specific ways by various interest groups such as crewing agencies, cruise companies, the media, and the Philippine government. These narratives about the cruise ship industry, images of on-board employment and perceived reputation of cruise sector seafarers from the Philippines contribute to the

‘available stories’ upon which study participants can draw from in representing their own working lives.

The present chapter is divided into three sections to discuss the ‘background discourses’ that may frame the seafarers’ own representations of their working lives. The first section presents an overview of the world cruise ship industry. The positive and negative aspects of the industry are described and summarised using the concepts of consumerism (Disneyization), rationalization (McDonaldization), and globalisation in the maritime industry. Understanding the working conditions of cruise ship workers means understanding how the cruise ship industry operates. Firstly, the ship is the site where the seafarers in the study physically live, work and socialise. The cruise ship plays a fundamental role in how they view work within the wider context of their lives. The ship represents the structural conditions that shape seafarers’ ongoing attitudes and behaviour at work and within which their lived experiences happen (Watson 2012). In this context, the passengers are seen as consumers whilst the seafarers are the agents of production. Although they have different vantage points or assume complementary ‘roles’, both the passengers and the seafarers are subjected to the same logics of consumption and rationality that characterise the cruise ship and the industry.

The second section reviews how cruise ship employment and life on-board ship are socially constructed in the popular media. The third section situates the case of Filipino seafarers within the population of Overseas Filipino Seafarers (OFWs) and the different ways their image is constructed in the popular literature, by the cruise and crewing companies and by the Philippine state at large. Reviewing how cruise ship employment in general, and Filipino seafarers on-board cruise ships in particular, are constructed in popular literature is important because these everyday discourses serve as available discursive resources (Richardson 1990) through which participants make sense of their lifeworld or their immediate direct experience of activities of everyday life. In the age of social media, online sources are relevant in bridging the gap between what seafarers know and what can be expected of life on-board ships (Raub and Streit 2006). More than just a marketing tool, the internet has become a space for the construction and communication of a collective identity for Filipino seafarers as a

particular group of workers (Watson 2008). In sum, the narrative constructed from the views of, and maintained by the cruise companies, crewing agencies, the state and other stakeholders form the socially available and discursive sources that seafarers' may draw from in understanding their lives and constructing their work identities (Watson 2012; 2008; Collinson 2003).

2.1 The Cruise Ship as a Cathedral of Consumption

After 32 months of construction at the cost of US\$1 billion, Royal Caribbean International's *Harmony of the Seas* made her maiden voyage on 15 May 2016. The super-sized ship which measures 218 feet wide, 1,187 feet long and weighs 227,000 tonnes is the world's largest cruise ship to date. She boasts the following characteristics (Sims 2016):

- 18 decks
- 6,780 guests
- 2,500 state rooms
- 20 restaurants
- 23 swimming pools with slides
- 2,100 crew members from 77 different countries

Literally and figuratively, the *Harmony of the Seas* is a gargantuan representation of the multi-billion dollar cruise industry. One approach to make sense of the cruise industry is to view the ship as a 'modern cathedral of consumption' – a setting or a structure that promotes consumption of a wide variety of good and services (Ritzer 2010a). By viewing the cruise ship as a new means of consumption and commodification marked by hybrid consumption of various merchandise and performative service work in a themed environment, we can also highlight the ship as a site of rationalization characterised by efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control.

2.1.1 Consumerism in the Cruise Ship Sector

Bryman (2004; 1999) conceptualised ‘Disneyization’ as the ways in which ‘the principles of Disney theme parks dominate’ various sectors of the world. According to Bryman, Disney parks have four key unique characteristics which may also be observed on cruise ships (Weaver 2006). Firstly, the cruise ship is a themed environment – a stylised place that creates the ambience of fantasy and fun. For example, the *Harmony of the Seas* offers a seven nights/eight days round trip cruise of the Eastern Caribbean from Fort Lauderdale in Florida, USA. The ship is a means of transport to different ports of call but the ship, given all its amenities as a ‘floating resort’ (Wood 2006), is in itself is a tourist destination (Wood 2004). The visual motif varies from one ship to another and Cruise Lines compete to attract cruise passengers by offering different packages, on-board activities, shore excursions and accommodation that can be enjoyed.

Secondly, cruise ships are characterised by the sale of merchandise such as souvenirs, t-shirts, jewellery and perfume. Perhaps the most successful example of brand consumption is the Disney Cruise Line, a subsidiary of the Walt Disney Company (Weaver 2006). The Disney brand and the ship reinforce each other. Visitors of Disney World are enticed to see how ‘the magic’ is recreated at sea: on the ship, cruise passengers are also able to consume every valued emblem of the Disney brand. Each of the more than fifty cruise lines (cruisemapper.com) aims to promote a particular brand that sets them apart from others and caters for a targeted market.

Thirdly, cruise ships are places of hybrid consumption where the purchase of merchandise and various form of services, on-board and in different ports of call, are interlocked with each other. The Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA), the largest trade network of cruise companies, suppliers and travel agents, estimated that in 2014, direct expenditure from cruise lines, crew and passengers amounted to approximately US\$56 billion (**Table 1**). CLIA-member cruise lines spent in the region of US\$40 billion for a variety of goods and services to support their global cruise operation (CLIA 2015).

Table 1 Direct expenditures within the cruise sector

Category	Amount (in billion US\$)
Home port passengers	7.56
Transit passengers	7.07
Passenger total	14.63
Crew	12.7
Cruise Lines	39.87
TOTAL	55.77
Source: (CLIA 2015)	

On top of the cruise package, passengers spent almost US\$15 billion on retail goods, shore excursions and other services throughout the trip. Even crew members made US\$1.3 billion worth of purchases of goods and services. CLIA (2015) further estimated that on average the crew and the passengers spent US\$127 million on local transit and retail (food and beverages, accommodation, tours and transit, etc.) for every visit day at ports of call. These tourism-related activities in the local communities and cities are intertwined with the passengers' purchase of the cruise package. It is for this reason that the cruise industry claims that they have a direct and indirect economic impact on local/national economies.

Cruise-related consumption is very intense from the point of view of both the passengers and the crew who make these purchases. One review³ of a ship has the following remarks:

Pro: a dizzying number of on-board activities and top-notch entertainment ensure you'll never be bored.

Con: The ship's central Royal Promenade is a bit like a shopping mall, and sales pitches are at every turn.

This illustrates how the contained space of the ship is maximised as a revenue-capture system (Weaver 2005c). The propensity to buy amongst passengers is reinforced by both the on-board environment and the medium of transaction. These purchases, from

³ Source: 'Freedom of the Seas Review' Available at: <https://goo.gl/M1s81z> [Accessed 13 December 2016].

booking to the payments of goods and services on-board, can only be made via debit or credit cards that distance the vacationer from the ‘pain of spending’ and so result in over consumption. The perceived cost of the product or service on-board seem small compared to the large resource of money made accessible through the credit/or debit card (Morewedge et al. 2007). Unlike the use of cash, where the actual transaction is seen and the amount of money to be paid is counted and realised, the use of credit/debit cards throughout the cruise vacation makes the monetary exchange invisible and appear less painful.

A final aspect of Disneyization on-board cruise ships is the performative labour of the crew, particularly of the service workers in the entertainment, food and beverage, hotel, retail and personal care divisions. Customer service is part and parcel of the overall ambience of the cruise ship that cruise passengers look for when considering whether to purchase a package (Xie et al. 2012). For workers who interact with passengers, ‘emotion is not just a response to the work situation but actually is the work’ (Tracy 2000 p.91). Smiling for example is a required emotional display in order to maintain the ambience of fun and enjoyment on-board. In addition to physical tasks (e.g. serving drinks and food, taking used plates and cutlery back to the galley), bar and restaurant waiters on cruise ships are also required to ‘labour emotionally’ (Hochschild 1983) as they are expected to greet and chat with the passengers with happiness, calmness, pleasantness and politeness to make their stay comfortable (Zhao 2002). The tips passengers give to staff are based on their ability to create a rapport as much as their efficient delivery of products and services.

2.1.2 Rationalization in the Cruise Ship Sector

A complementary trend to consumerism on cruise ships is the process of rationalization. Ritzer (2010a; 1998) coined the term ‘McDonaldization’ (after the fast food chain McDonald’s) to describe a tendency in the organisation of work towards efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. Firstly, the improvements in design and increasing size of ships are clear indications of integrating the efficient means of production. Small sized ships (5,000 to 25,000 tonnes) can accommodate between 200

to 500 passengers. Mid-sized ships (25,000 to 50,000 tonnes) carry between 500 and 1200 passengers whilst a large ship (50,000 to 100,000 tonnes) can carry up to 2,400 passengers. The largest ships are called mega-ships weighing 100,000 to 150,000 tonnes and can carry as many as 4,000 passengers. Back in 2006, the Royal Caribbean International's *Freedom of the Seas* was the world's largest cruise ship (Dowling 2006). In a matter of 10 years, the *Freedom of the Seas* was outsized by the *Harmony of the Seas*.

Table 2 Top 10 largest cruise ships

	Ship (Line)	Launch Date (Registry)	Tonnage (gt)	Length (ft)	Beam (ft)	Pax (Dbl/Max)	Crew
1	Harmony of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2016 (Bahamas)	226,963	1,188	215	5,479/6,780	2,100
2	Allure of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2010 (Bahamas)	225,282	1,187	215	5,492/6,410	2,384
	Oasis of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2009 (Bahamas)	225,282	1,187	215	5,400/6,360	2,219
4	Quantum of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2014 (Nassau, Bahamas)	168,666	1,141	136	4,180/4,905	1,500
5	Anthem of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2015 (Nassau, Bahamas)	168,666	1,141	136	4,180/4,905	1,500
6	Ovation of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2016 (Bahamas)	167,666	1,138	136	4,180/4,905	1,500
7	Norwegian Escape (Norwegian Cruise Line)	2015 (Nassau, Bahamas)	164,600	1,069	136	4,248	1,742
8	Liberty of the seas (Royal Caribbean)	2007 (Bahamas)	160,000	1,112	185	3,798/4,960	1,360
9	Norwegian Epic (Norwegian Cruise Line)	2010 (Bahamas)	155,873	1,081	133	4,100	1,738
10	Freedom of the Seas (Royal Caribbean)	2006 (Bahamas)	154,407	1,112	185	3,782/4,515	1,400
Source: https://goo.gl/BMUbwy [Accessed 9 December 2016]							

All ten ships in **Table 2** weigh more than 150,000 tonnes and thus may appropriately be called 'super-sized' ships (Weaver 2005c). It can be noticed that eight out of the top 10 largest cruise ships are owned by Royal Caribbean. These super-sized ships also contain a 'large quantity of things' such as 'food that is available in great abundance and with great frequency and the bundling of lots of entertainment into one package: casino, spa, night club, visits to island and so on' (Ritzer 2010a p.93). *Harmony of the Seas* for example would need an optimal means of feeding up to 9,000 people including passengers and crew.

Departure	Itinerary ports	
<div>07 January</div> <div>7 nights / 8 days, round-trip Eastern Caribbean Cruise</div> <div>Prices starting from \$1049</div>	07 Jan	Departing from Fort Lauderdale, Everglades, Florida
	08 Jan 07:00 - 14:00	Nassau, New Providence Island, Bahamas
	10 Jan 10:00 - 19:00	Saint Thomas Island, Charlotte Amalie, USVI
	11 Jan 08:00 - 17:00	Philipsburg, St Maarten Island, Dutch Antilles
	14 Jan	Arriving in Fort Lauderdale, Everglades, Florida

Figure 1 Sample Itinerary for 'Harmony of the Seas'

Source: <https://goo.gl/jUA18P> [Accessed 19 December 2016]

Calculability is another aspect of rationalization. In a bid to compete for passengers and revenue, cruise lines highlight key statistics about their ships including their individual passenger capacity, the number of ships in the fleet, and the various attractions vacationers can find on-board. Almost half of the cruise industry market is controlled by only three cruise lines/brands that reflect the largest holding companies (see **Appendix 1**, p.252). In terms of market share in numbers of passengers in 2015, 21% cruised with Carnival Cruise Line, 17% travelled with Royal Caribbean International and 10% chose Norwegian Cruise Line. However, in terms of the market share of revenues, Royal Caribbean International is the top (14%) followed by Norwegian Cruise Line (9%) and Carnival Cruise Line (8%).

The third aspect of rationalisation is the tendency towards predictability particularly in relation to 'imposition of order, systematisation, routine and consistency' (Weaver 2005d p.352). A sample itinerary of the *Harmony of the Seas* in **Figure 1** illustrates predictability in terms of the start and endpoints of the trip and where the ship would be at particular times and dates. The measured portions and standardised quality of food served are also examples of predictability. Although ships generally vary in their interior décor, some ships are structurally identical to one another other as with the Carnival Cruise line's 'conquest class' of ships (e.g. *Carnival Conquest* and *Carnival Glory*). In addition to similar staterooms and public rooms, each ship weighs 110,000 tonnes and has a guest capacity of 2,980 persons. It must be noted however that the kind of predictability observed in McDonald's (e.g. the McBurger bought in Cardiff has the

same quality with a McBurger in Manila) do not directly apply to cruise ships. Cruise lines compete with each other by offering diverse and unique products and services. There are cruises that cater for those who travel on a budget or vacationing with family members. There are also cruise packages designed for couples or those who want to embark on a luxury cruise.

The fourth aspect of rationalization according to Ritzer is control. The cruise company carefully choreographs the physical and social environment of the ship for both the passengers and the workers. For example, casinos, bars and shops are strategically located near the walkways to entice passengers (Weaver 2005d). The ‘sales pitches at every turn’ and the ‘fantasy world’ on-board are simulated spectacles the company and its workers craft to produce the on-board experience (Ritzer 2010a). The seafarers, as workers, are ‘temporary residents’ of the ship for longer periods than the passengers and are subjected to more structured forms of control. As workers, they are expected to perform a particular role in delivering the cruise experience. Hotel and cruise staff with direct contact with passengers are trained to ‘look, speak, and behave’ in specific ways towards guests. The marine crew and other support hotel staff (e.g. carpenter, dishwasher, laundry staff etc.) are prohibited from entering passenger areas. Finally, eating areas are also separated according to rank – there is an officers’ mess, a staff mess and a crew mess (Thompson 2002).

2.1.3 Irrationality of Rationality

The cruise ship as a cathedral of consumption may be a symbol of rationality but it has also engendered consequences that lead to the very opposite of rational systems such as ‘inefficiency, unpredictability, incalculability, and loss of control’ (Ritzer 2010a p.86). Risks to people and harm to the environment are two crucial irrationalities that arise in relation to cruise ship tourism⁴. Seafarers aboard merchant vessels such as container

⁴ Over the years, sociologist Ross Klein (2016c) has maintained the website cruisejunkie.com which reports key statistics and information on the problematic issues about the world cruise industry including accidents, health, environment and labour concerns.

or cargo ships are known to be exposed to various types of occupational risks including disasters, accidents, piracy, cardio-vascular diseases, stress (from fatigue, isolation, adjustments in multicultural setting), and communicable diseases (e.g. influenza, malaria etc.) (Oldenburg et al. 2010). Whilst these types of risk remain a threat to cruise ship seafarers, the passengers and crew alike may also be at risk of crime, outbreaks of disease, and accidents whilst on-board. Cruise ships, especially the supersized ships, produce various types of waste materials that can pollute air, water and land if not properly disposed of. Several observations around these irrationalities are worth mentioning.

Firstly, the sheer number of people aboard and the very nature of the business give rise to risk of crimes that are not normally so frequent on other types of ship. Crimes prevalent on-board cruise ships (see **Table 3**) include theft, sexual/physical assault, suicide attempts and people going missing. According to the International Cruise Victims Association, 563 incidents of crime on-board cruise ships were reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 2011 but cruise lines only reported 102 incidents (Klein 2016a). The cruise lines' tendency towards under reporting crime on-board is to be expected as it may damage the company's reputation and cast doubt on its ability to protect and secure passengers (Diaz et al. 2014). FBI data shows that 44 percent of alleged crimes in 2011 were physical assaults but the cruise lines declared not a single incident (see **Table 3**). The hyper consumerism which fuels intense monetary transactions among passengers creates vulnerabilities to crimes against property. One quarter of the total cases of crime reported were incidents of minor theft (126 cases) and major theft (16 cases – major being of a value of US \$10000 or more).

The committing of crimes and the health risks associated with promiscuous behaviour are more or less expected on cruise ships since the latter are contained spaces for the entertainment of thousands of people 24 hours a day every day of the week (Thomas 2003b). In 2011, the FBI recorded 149 incidents of sexual crime, such as indecent exposure, contact, assault and rape. As expected, cruise lines under report these crimes against the persons.

Table 3 Alleged crimes aboard cruise ships, 2011

Crime	Cruise Line Websites	FBI
Assault	-	248
Assault with serious bodily injury	17	5
Death	5	11
Overboard	4	8
Rape	34	28
Sexual assault	29	57
Sexual contact	-	57
Sexual – other (i.e. indecent exposure)	-	7
Theft	-	126
Theft over US\$10,000	13	16
TOTAL	102	563

Source: <https://goo.gl/uIIRtr> [Accessed 1 May 2017]

Klein and Poulton's (2011) study on sexual crimes at sea found that sexual assault occurs twice as often aboard cruise ships than on land, and that male crew-members are often the perpetrators of assaults on women passengers and crew. Out of the 684 sex-related incidents recorded from the files of the FBI and two major cruise lines between 1998 and 2008, 64% were perpetrated by crew on passengers, 18% passenger on passenger, 15% crew on crew, and only two percent were incidents in which the aggressor was a passenger and the victim a crew-member. Crew-initiated assaults comprised 79% of the incidents and involved crew members in roles that dealt with passengers such as room stewards, waiter and bar workers among others.

The liminal character of shipboard life could be a contributing factor to the rise of crime and behaviour involving sexual risk. The combination of the remoteness of cruise ships, and for the passengers the short holiday stay on-board, create spaces where the norms, statuses and responsibilities of behaviour that operate in their daily lives when at home and on land are temporarily relaxed (Thomas 2005). For crew-members, the ship is a shared workplace and living space that is 'both physically and emotionally removed from the ties and constraints of their homes and families' (Thomas et al. 2013 p.88). This suggests that the ship's physical and social environments shape peoples' risk behaviour in a way that may sometimes lead to sexual crimes. In case of the workers, the sexually-charged ambience of cruise ships further adds to the vulnerability of women employees who are already at risk of sexually

transmitted diseases due to their limited access to contraception and restricted access to ship doctors (Thomas 2003b).

The 2011 data from the FBI included at least 11 incidents of death and eight cases of people going overboard. Longitudinal data from cruisejunkie.com shows that from 2000 to 2016, a total of 284 passengers and crew, or 17 persons per year, went missing (Klein 2016b). Of these incidents, 57 were from ships of the Carnival Cruise Line and 41 from Royal Caribbean International. Closer analysis of data on 210 persons who went overboard from 1995 to 2013, (Klein 2013) showed that victims were mostly males (74%) with an average age of 39 years. In three out of four incidents, the victim was a passenger. Only 17% of the individuals were rescued.

A second aspect that undermines the control of a ship environment, as an aspect of the rationalisation of the industry, is the outbreak of illness. Infectious diseases may be brought onto the ship in the course of crew and passenger embarkation and their spread is intensified by the crowded and confined environment of the ship. Health risks specific to cruise ships, and which are passed on from person to person via food, water, air or contaminated surfaces, include gastro intestinal (9 to 10%) or respiratory (19 to 29%) illnesses (Duong et al. 2016). From 2002 to 2016, 504 outbreaks of illness (e.g. gastrointestinal virus, *E. coli*, salmonella, shigella etc.) on-board were recorded (Klein 2016h). A total of 60,799 people were reportedly affected in the period covered. On average, in each of the 34 outbreaks occur every year, more than 4000 got ill.

Minor accidents (e.g. fires) and major accidents (ships running aground or sinking) are other examples of events that cannot be completely controlled despite the safety regulations implemented and advancements in technology. Data compiled at cruisejunkie.com shows that from 1990 to 2013, a total of 448 incidents of disabling and major events were reported (Klein 2016d). Included were 139 incidents of shipboard fires; 101 (73% of total fire incidents) of have occurred since 2005. Another 'major' source of incidents was ship collisions in which 79 (72% of 106 total collision incidents) happened after 2005. From 1973 to 2013, there were 131 reported incidents of passenger ships running aground, 66 (or 50%) happened post 2005 (Klein 2016f).

Moreover, from 1979 to 2013, there have been 55 reported incidents of ships sinking including ferries, passenger ships and cruise ships (Klein 2016g).

Environmental pollution is a final but major negative consequence of cruise ship tourism. Environmental concern becomes even more pronounced as cruise lines outdo each other in building bigger ships year after year. As a result more waste products including blackwater, greywater, solid waste, hazardous waste, bilge water, ballast water, and air pollutants are discharged than ever before (Copeland 2008; EPA 2008). Data from cruisejunkie.com shows that from 1990 to 2013, a total of 314 cases of environmental violations were reported (Klein 2016e). Out of these, 131 (or 42%) are still pending resolution. In the remainder of the cases, the cruise line was either issued a warning, referred to the flag state for further trial or fined. In at least 21 cases, the cruise line was fined between US\$100,000 to US\$18 million. On 6th December 2016, Princess Cruises, a subsidiary of Carnival Corporation was fined US\$40 million for illegally dumping 4,227 gallons of contaminated waste 23 miles off the UK coast (Telegraph 2017).

2.1.4 Globalisation and the Cruise Ship Sector

The increasingly Disneyized and McDonaldized tourist industry is underpinned by globalisation within the maritime industry. Firstly, the cruise sector is literally global in that almost all regions of the world have been impacted by cruise ship tourism. CruiseMapper.com estimated that as of December 2016 there were 851 river and ocean going cruise ships. A snapshot of their locations is shown in **Figure 2**. Most of the ‘pins’, which represent a cruise ship’s global position, are concentrated in the Caribbean and the Mediterranean – these areas remain top cruise destinations (CLIA 2015). The figure also shows the presence of cruise tourism across Southeast Asia (Wood 2002). A second feature of globalisation is that cruise lines are ultimately run by transnational corporations (Wood 2006) that consolidate and concentrate capital.

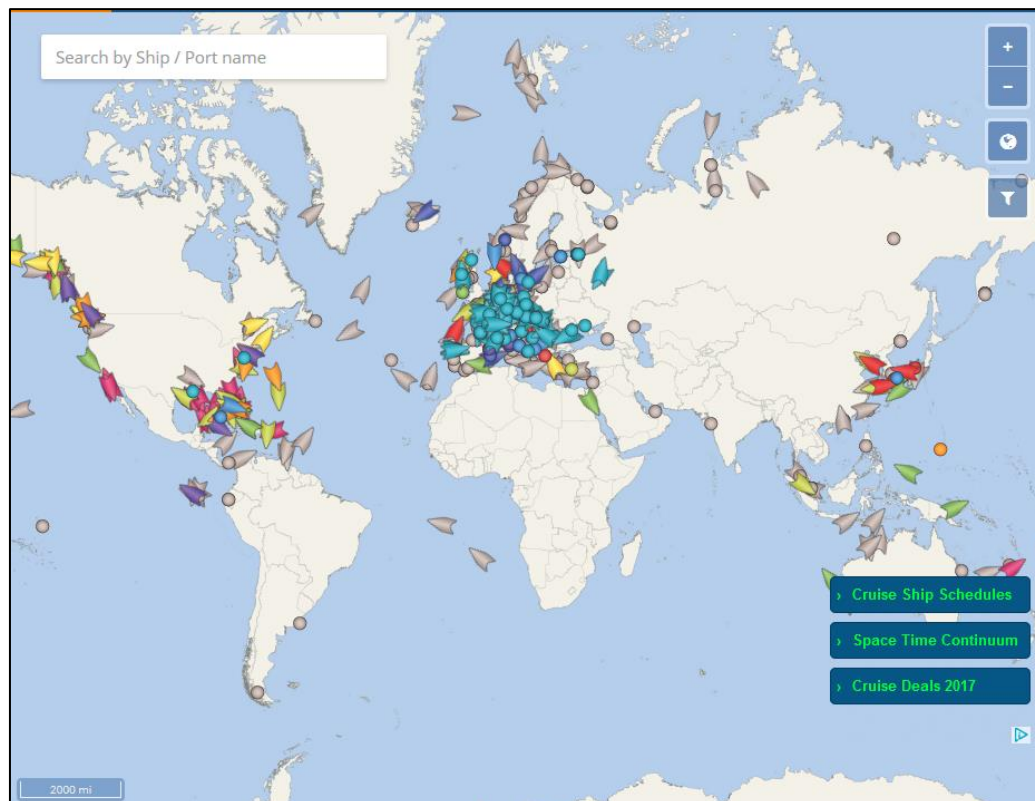


Figure 2 A tracker map of cruise ships

Source: <http://www.cruisemapper.com/> [Accessed 28 May 2017]

There are more than 50 cruise lines operating all over the world. Most of these ocean cruise lines are headquartered in the US (e.g. Celebrity Cruises, Viking Cruises) the UK (e.g. Cunard Line, Disney Cruise Line, Thomson Cruises), Germany (e.g. Hapag-Lloyd Cruises, AIDA Cruises), Finland (Birka Line), Italy (MSC Cruises), Norway (Sea Dream Yacht Club) and Australia (P&O Cruises Australia).

However, the biggest and most popular cruise lines are in fact subsidiaries of a larger holding corporation. As a parent company, the holding corporation owns various 'brands' of cruise lines. Cruise Market Watch (2016) estimated that 83% of cruise passengers and 79% of overall revenues of the entire cruise industry in 2015 were generated by the top three corporations (see **Appendix 1**, p.252). The largest is the Carnival Corporation which owns 10 cruise lines and has a fleet of 104 ships. Overall, these ships can carry more than 238,000 passengers and employ 92,000 workers on-board. About 48% of all passengers in 2015 cruised with a Carnival-owned ship. At 42%, Carnival also has the biggest overall share in terms of revenues.

The Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd is the second largest parent company in the industry and has a full or partial stake in six cruise lines – five are wholly owned and one is a joint venture (TUI cruises). Royal Caribbean has 48 ships with a total passenger capacity of 142,000 and employs a crew of 49,000. Twenty five percent of passengers in 2015 chose to cruise with a Royal Caribbean-owned ship and this generated approximately 24% of total revenues. Royal Caribbean's biggest cruise line is the Royal Caribbean International which has 25 ships. The third largest holding company is the Norwegian Cruise Line Holding Ltd which owns three cruise lines and a total of 22 ships. It has a market share of 10% for passengers and 12% for revenues. The participants in this study mostly worked in subsidiary cruise lines of either Carnival or Royal Caribbean.

A third – and perhaps the most important – aspect of globalisation within the cruise industry is deterritorialization or the way in which the notion of tourism and tourist destination are disembedded from the geographical limits of a place (Wood 2004; Tomlinson 2003). This can be observed in the ship's interior design, the flags of convenience regimes and the ethnically diverse workforce. Each cruise ship is meticulously embellished with particular décor evocative of an ambience or reminiscent of actual places which may be different from the area it is cruising. The bigger and the taller ships become, the more the ships are distanced/divorced from the sea itself.

The nationalities of on-board employees reflect global interconnections. Cargo and container ships normally have between 5 to 55 seafarers (Ellis and Sampson 2008). By comparison, the ethnically diverse crew of a super-sized cruise ship, reaches more than 2,000, and is recruited from as many as 40 different countries (Wood 2000). This may be appropriately described as a mini-United Nations (Chin 2008b). On a cruise ship, it is common to find that the marine officers are largely European and the captain specifically is more likely to originate from Italy or Germany. The hotel managers and heads of security are European or American whilst cabin attendants and waiters are originally from Southeast Asia. A survey of the world cruise fleet in 2000 showed that 99 different nationalities can be identified but more than 67% of the total workforce

in the sample is comprised of 10 major nationalities, Filipinos being the most common (29%) (Wu 2005).

The flexibility in employing a multinational workforce in the global maritime industry is underpinned by minimal regulation through the flag of convenience system. Even though the parent companies are 'American' the ships are domiciled in another country in which the ship can be registered at a lower cost. This allows for seafarers to be recruited globally, and may be associated with fewer taxes and regulatory requirements (Winchester 2001). The ships of Carnival Cruise Line are registered in either Panama or Malta whereas the ships of Royal Caribbean Cruises and Norwegian Cruise Line are all registered in the Bahamas (e.g. see **Table 2**, p.16 and **Appendix 1**, p.252).

2.2 Portraying Work and Life aboard Cruise Ships

A second background discourse that may influence cruise sector seafarers' representation of working lives is formed around the ways in which jobs on-board cruise ships are perceived in general and are portrayed in popular literature. For example, the perception of job quality on-board cruise ships can be described in terms of the presence or absence of economic and non-economic benefits. These job positions may be distinguished into what Kalleberg (2011) called 'good jobs' and 'bad jobs'. A good job provides fair and reasonable pay with sufficient health insurance, retirement plan and other fringe benefits. A job is also good if workers have considerable autonomy and flexibility over their work activities and control over the termination of the job. A good job is also characterised by reasonable security, meaning and positive working relations (Watson et al. 2003). In contrast, bad jobs usually offer low pay and scant to no fringe benefits, and accord very limited autonomy, control and security to workers.

The good job/bad job characterisation is broadly reflected too in the popular online literature about the work and life of cruise sector seafarers such those put out by cruise companies, news websites, blogs of former cruise ship employees among others. Given the contained and mobile work environment of cruise ships, these pieces of literature

not only present an image of cruise ship employment but also portray the day-to-day life of workers on-board in particular ways. In this section, the discursive constructions of employment experience, life on-board, and of the employees are only conceptually separated from each other. However, these distinctions often reinforce each other in texts of popular literature forming what may be described as the ‘perfect worker in a dream job’ narrative and the ‘exploited worker on sweatships’.

2.2.1 Good job, Good life

Table 4 shows statements from separate sources that present the ‘enticing’ benefits of jobs aboard cruise ships. In Example-1, a former cruise ship employee explains that there is great potential to benefit from high earnings on-board because food and accommodation for the duration of the contract are free. Apart from buying items for personal use such as phone/internet cards and souvenirs the former employee claims that living costs aboard are minimal and potentially enable workers to save a substantial proportion of their wages. Furthermore, waiters, cabin stewards and other service workers may substantially increase their pay through passenger gratuities.

Similarly, job advertisements for the cargo ship sector in local and maritime industry newspapers in the Philippines explicitly promise ‘very competitive salary packages’ (Alster 2012 p.5) if not ‘excellent remuneration’ (Maersk 2015 p.29). Aside from wages and tips, a number of cruise companies provide a range of fringe benefits including medical and dental care, stock purchase program, free return trips, paid leave, discounted cruise packages for family members, service awards and a retirement plan (CCL 2017; NCL 2017; Princess 2017). The crewing agency and the principal⁵ may agree to provide the seafarer with other monetary benefits such as performance, stand-by, loyalty and study leave bonuses, and perhaps even the offer of ‘guaranteed employment’ for qualified relatives (Pacific Basin 2015 p.13).

⁵ The term ‘principal’ refers to the ship owner(s).

Table 4 Portraying cruise ship employment as a 'good job'

Source	What makes cruise ship job a 'good job'?
1. Comment in an online discussion group by a former cruise ship worker (see Hoeller 2016)	Because accommodation and food comes as part of the remuneration package for cruise employees, money is only needed on-board for things like treats, internet access... phone cards and anything bought whilst off the ship. This means that expenses are minimal so, whilst they don't make a fortune, the wages and tips that staff and crew make can be saved (or sent back home if they have family to care for). Whilst it may take a fair few years to afford that Ferrari, a job on a cruise ship is a good way to travel the world and gain priceless experiences while keeping the bank balance in the black.
2. Cruise company ⁶	A career at sea affords you many unparalleled opportunities such as travelling to exotic locations, building meaningful friendships with diverse co-workers on-board, and gaining valuable professional skills in a world-class environment.
3. Crewing agency ⁷	Finding a cruise ship job seems like the dream job to many people. This type of work has a glamorous image; sailing across the world's oceans and seas, visiting many different exotic countries, living on-board a luxury cruise ship where everyone dresses up for dinner and enjoys the entertainment and casinos. And of course, all of this comes for free and you get paid for your work while you are having the travel experience of a lifetime. (emphasis added)
Note: Emphasis on cited text is added.	

It is noticeable that narratives from cruise companies (**Example-2** in **Table 4**) and crewing agencies (**Example-3** in **Table 4**) generally capitalise on certain economic and non-economic benefits to make cruise ship employment attractive. This is consistent with the often cited motivations of cruise ship employees in previous studies (Sehkar and Sevcikova 2011; Gibson 2008). Perhaps as a marketing strategy of the companies looking for potential workers, the job advertisements, as would be expected, focus on the 'perks and benefits' (Raub and Streit 2006) and leave the duties of the job obscured (Weaver 2005b). Job vacancies on-board are advertised as 'dream jobs' that simultaneously provide good remuneration, opportunity to travel the world for free,

⁶ Source: <https://goo.gl/G3QoOj> [Accessed 6 March 2017]

⁷ Source: <https://goo.gl/uTDgX2> [Accessed on 1 August 2016]

build an international network of friends and gain professional skills that may be useful in later life (e.g. starting one's own restaurant business).



Figure 3 Social media ads for cruise ship jobs

Another active attempt to portray cruise ship employment as a ‘good job’ is the strong social media presence of crewing agencies to reach a wider audience and recruit potential workers. **Figure 3** shows selected photos from Magsaysay Careers’ Facebook page⁸ that capture the attention of would-be cruise ship workers. Whilst they look for applications for job positions in the housekeeping, general services, technical, galley, and food and beverage departments of the ship (**Figure 3-A**) all advertisements emphasised taking advantage of ‘global opportunities’ (**Figure 3-B**). To support this claim there are photos and testimonies of current cruise ship workers (**Figure 3-C**) who have built a ‘career’ in the industry. Waiter Efen for example has been ‘seeing the beauty of the planet’ for over two decades already. Clearly, advertisements such as these communicate a particularly positive portrayal of employment and life aboard cruise ships in order to entice a pool of potential workers to apply.

⁸ Source: <https://goo.gl/5SyVWu> [Accessed on 1 August 2016]

Table 5 Portraying ‘a good life’ on-board a cruise ship

Source	‘Good life’ on-board cruise ship
1. Cruise company (NCL 2017)	There is a common room where our employees can gather to play games, share experiences and even to watch a movie. In some ships, we even have an Internet Cafe just for our crew to check in with what's going on back at home.
2. Former crew (Kobus 2012c)	Official crew parties are arranged by crew welfare and are often a celebration of some sort. These parties are the highlight of any contract, with the vast majority of staff, crew and officers drinking and dancing the night away on the helicopter landing pad... Did I mention open bar ?
3. News website (Bean-Mellinger n.d.)	...most cruise ships travel to places where the weather is pleasant year-round -- warm-weather locales like the Caribbean, the Bahamas, Mexico and Hawaii -- and the scenery is beautiful. Employees choose the cruise they sign on to, so if weather's important to them, they can choose a cruise that matches their ideal climate.
Note: Emphasis on cited text is added.	

Recognising the challenges of working and living at sea, the ‘good job’ narrative is further supported by cruise companies’ claims that life on-board can be filled with ‘excitement and fun’. Aside from covering the basic necessities such as free accommodation and food, cruise lines provide dedicated facilities such as a bar or a lounge and a gym in an effort to help the crew adjust to the ‘unique situation’ at sea (Princess 2017) (**Example-1 in Table 5**). Since cruise ship workers cannot ‘go home’ after a work shift, these recreational facilities on-board are meant to separate leisure from work. Although the cruise ship in itself is a place of leisure for passengers, the crew are not allowed in passenger areas when not on duty. Instead, the workers may spend their ‘down time’ at the crew bar which offers alcoholic drinks at a reduced price. As described by a former crew member (**Example-2 in Table 5**), workers look forward to regular parties that the management hold for the entire crew. A final example that suggests a benefit for cruise ship workers is the claim that workers are able to visit scenic spots at no cost whereas the cruise travellers had to pay (**Example-3 in Table 5**).

Table 6 Portraying cruise ship employment as a ‘bad job’

Source	What makes cruise ship job a ‘bad job’?
1. Former crew (Kobus 2012a; 2012b)	It has been five years since I left ships. I quit, not because of the lack of international labor laws, long hours, constant safety training or exotic ports, but because I was tired of pretending that everything was always excellent for the sake of paradise-seeking passengers... The hardest part about working in a passenger area is always being happy , polite and positive, even when confronted with some of the rudest people on the planet.
2. Former crew (Askin 2016)	It's a sweatshop building entertainment. Once you're officially working on the ship, regular shifts are three shifts a day, seven days a week, 80-plus hours a week, with no days off for eight months . There's not a set schedule because every itinerary is different, but on a regular weekly sailing, you're going to work breakfast, lunch and dinner -- with probably a lunch off... When I worked on [name of ship], which did eight-day cruises, I would have one lunch off every eight days. That's it. NOT a happy time.
Note: Emphasis on cited text is added.	

2.2.2 Bad job, Bad life

The image of cruise ship employment as a ‘bad job’ is equally prominent in popular literature particularly in news reports that highlight the extreme physical and emotional labour that workers perform in difficult working conditions (see **Table 6**). Although work contracts stipulate that employees are expected to work 70 hours a week (48-hour regular work plus 22-hour overtime) (Fairplay 2003), there are recent reports of cruise sector seafarers working up to 100 hours a week (Bruns and Hutchinson 2015; Askin 2016; Presser 2017). This means that employees work up to 14 hours a day for six to nine months. For the service crew on-board, the job is as emotionally demanding as it is physically exhausting because they are expected to remain ‘consummate hosts’ who are always ‘happy, polite and positive’ (Kobus 2012c) even towards difficult passengers and when they are already fatigued. The typical work schedule of cruise sector seafarers make it virtually impossible to enjoy the supposed opportunities of global travel as some are required to work during port visits (e.g. cooks) whilst those who are allowed to visit the ports are only given less than five hours of shore leave (**Example-1** in **Table 7**). This makes the fringe benefit of free travel as ‘inauthentic travel’ for the most part (Kobus 2012a; Hoeller 2016).

Table 7 Portraying ‘a bad life’ on-board a cruise ship

Source	‘Bad life’ on-board cruise ship
1. News Website (Charpentier n.d.)	You’re on one side of the world ; your family and friends are on another... Shore leave is generally less than five hours ... You might carry your cellphone, but the cost of using it will quickly eat up your funds. You are a member of the ship’s staff, not a vacationer. Wages are not high and vary according to your job. If you're a member of the hotel staff, your total compensation package includes the cost of your room and board , a detail some cruise lines fail to mention.
2. News Website (Bruns and Hutchinson 2015)	"The worst part of the job is being 'owned' by the corporation . They control what you eat, when you eat, when you can go use the toilet, how cold it is in your cabin, everything. If you've already worked 12 hours that day and they need you for another four, you work it no questions asked . 'Also annoying is how your day is structured: you are never given a full night's sleep in ten months...Most crew will nap when they can because after months of that you're in perpetual zombie-mode .'
Note: Emphasis on cited text is added.	

There are accounts that suggest that the chances of earning a high income are rather limited particularly for service workers whose compensation is largely dependent on fixed or discretionary gratuities. For example, one account says that junior waiters earn only about £250 per month (or 75p an hour if they work 11 hours per day) (Topham 2012). The service crew in bars and restaurants may be able to supplement their pay from passenger gratuities. In some ships, pre-debited electronic tips from passengers are preferred over cash tips. However, electronic tips, which may provide an additional £150 per month, are given to the crew only when a performance target of 96% customer satisfaction rating is attained (Topham 2012).

The living conditions of cruise ship workers are reportedly not as ‘promised’ either. One former crew member described the feeling of being ‘owned’ by the corporation (**Example-2** in **Table 7**) as the ship’s management exerts control in almost all areas of their life whilst on-board including how tasks are done, food to eat, toilet breaks, who to mingle with, and access to passenger areas among others. Although food and accommodation are commonly described as ‘free’ in job advertisements, ‘room, board, medical coverage, disability and death benefits, recreational facilities’ are identified as non-cash compensation in work contracts (Fairplay 2003 p.15). Crew

cabins are significantly smaller than passenger cabins and accommodate up to four bunk beds in an already cramped space. Some cruise lines make adjustments in their menu to cater to an international crew but workers complain about the unappetising and low quality of food served in the crew mess (Kobus 2012c; Hullinger 2016). To reduce disorderly behaviour that may lead to the commission of crimes, the ship's management impose strict rules limiting alcohol consumption, noise, and smoking, and they prohibit workers from dating or having romantic/sexual relationship with any of the passengers.

Given the weak international labour laws workers are left with extreme difficulty in pursuing lawsuits against cruise lines in cases of 'unfair dismissals, wage claims and injuries' (Fairplay 2003 p.15). In some instances, workers unknowingly sign a work contract which says that they waive their rights to seek protection under US laws should they be injured at work, and simply accept an out of court settlement where they receive only a fraction of what they could otherwise have claimed as compensation (Presser 2017).

These accounts suggest that cruise ship workers, particularly the lowest ranked, are overworked, have low pay, have little legal protection and are exposed to different hazards and health risks. It is not surprising therefore that former cruise ship workers (Bruns 2008; Bruns and Hutchinson 2015), labour unions (Mather 2002), news agencies (Reynolds and Weikel 2000), researchers (Klein 2002; Weaver 2005a; Bonmati 2016) have described cruise ships as a 'sweatships'/'sweatshops' characterised by exploitative working conditions.

2.3 Portraying Filipino Seafarers On-board Cruise Ships

Having introduced cruise ship tourism using the concepts of consumerism, rationalization and globalisation; and having reviewed how ship employment cruise is portrayed in popular literature, this section focuses on a distinct ethno-national group – the Filipino seafarer. Before examining how Filipino seafarers make sense of their working lives, it is necessary to first situate them within the population of Overseas

Filipino Workers (OFWs) and examine how they are portrayed as workers in the popular literature.

2.3.1 OFWs, Seafarers and Cruise Ship Workers

Seafarers from the Philippines are often identified as the largest nationality group in the cruise ships' international crew (Terry 2013; Milde 2009; Wu 2005) but precise estimates of their growing population are difficult to arrive at. One reason is that the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) releases limited cruise-related statistics and another, that cruise companies do not make public the socio-demographic characteristics of the workers they employ.

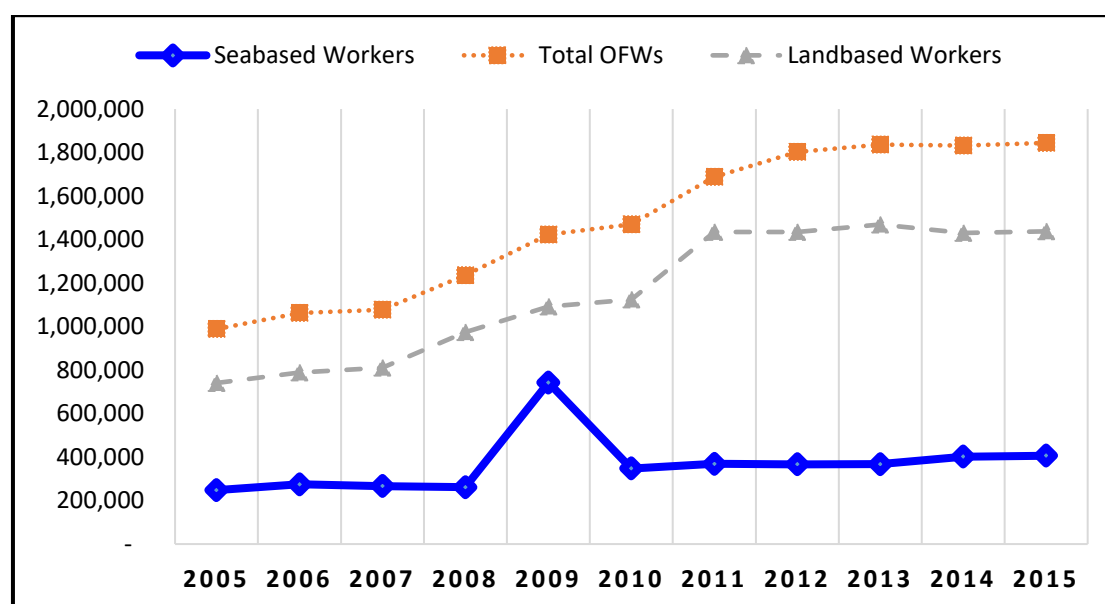


Figure 4 Number of Overseas Filipino Workers, 2005 to 2015

Note: Data in the figure are collated by the author from the annual reports of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA)

According to the POEA, as of 2015, there were about 1.8 million active migrant workers from the Philippines. **Figure 4** shows that the great majority of OFWs were land-based. Seventy eight percent of deployed OFWs in 2015 worked in different countries around the world whilst 22 percent were seafarers on international ships. The number of deployed seafarers (across all sectors) increased from about 208,000 in 2005 to 406,000 in 2015 or a compound annual growth rate of 6.4%.

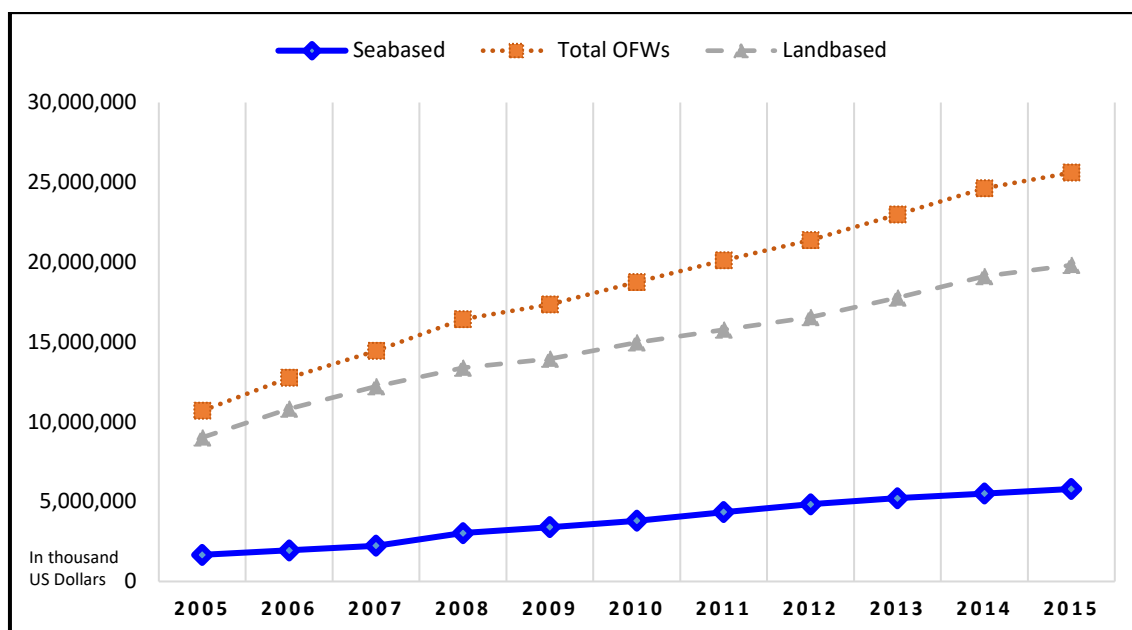


Figure 5 OFW Remittances, 2005 to 2015

Note: Data in the figure are collated by the author from the annual reports of the *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas* (BSP)

The OFW population is economically relevant not only to their own households and extended families but to the Philippine economy because of the volume of remittance they regularly send home (Weekley 2004). Remittances improve domestic living standards by increasing the disposable income of OFWs' households and strengthen macro-economic fundamentals by increasing dollar reserves (Sicat 2012). According to the *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas*⁹, the total remittance of OFWs in 2015 was US\$25.6 billion (**Figure 5**). Filipino sea-based workers sent about US\$ 5.8 billion or 22.6% of the total remittance in 2015. The amount of remittances from seafarers has also been increasing over time. In 2005, 15.6% (US\$ 1.7 billion) of the US\$ 10.7 billion remitted to the Philippines was from Filipino seafarers.

⁹ Translation: Central Bank of the Philippines

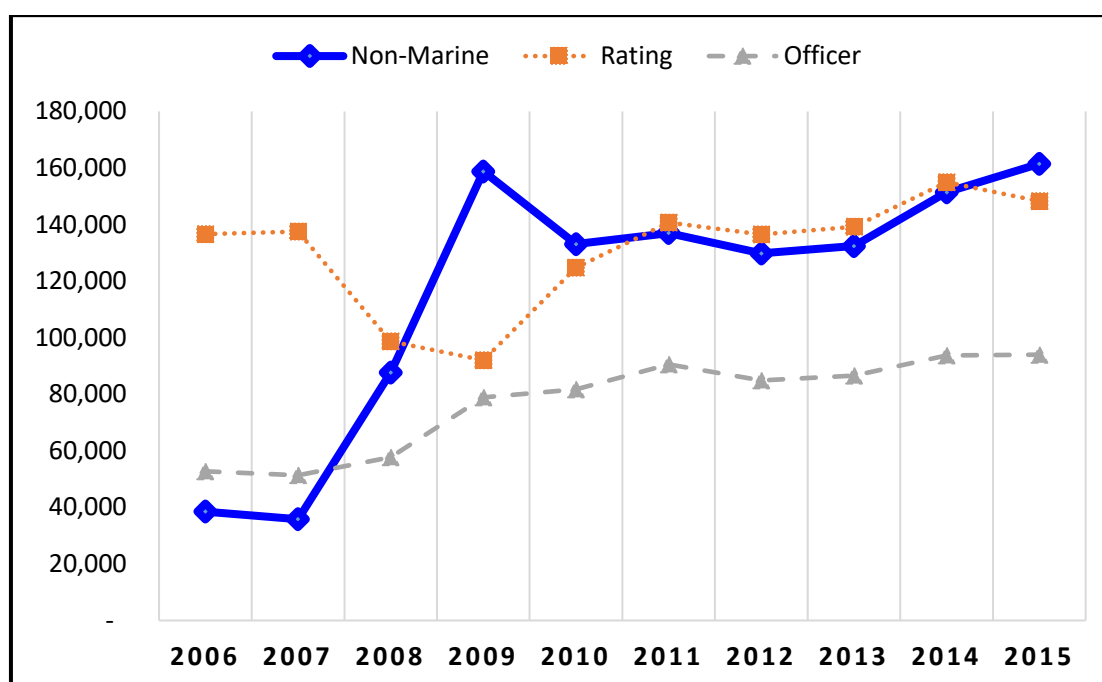


Figure 6 Number of Filipino seafarers by rank, 2006 to 2015

Note: Data in the figure are collated by the author from the POEA annual reports.

The actual number of Filipino seafarers on-board cruise ships is difficult to estimate as POEA statistics cluster counts in broad categories. According to the POEA, 161,000 (or 40%) out of the 404,000 sea-based workers deployed in 2015 were non-marine personnel (see **Figure 6**). Whilst this gives an idea of how many Filipino cruise ship workers are involved in hospitality related jobs, the estimate is conflated by other non-marine workers who are not on cruise ships. The ‘non-marine’ category may refer to sea-based workers deployed as service crew (i.e. hotel, retail, entertainment, food and beverage divisions) on cruise ships or technical workers in offshore sites (e.g. surveyor, dynamic positioning officer). Moreover, since cruise ships hire both marine and non-marine employees, the numbers in **Figure 6** do not distinguish the officers and ratings who may be working in the deck and engine departments of a cruise ship.

Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the majority of ‘non-marine’ workers are in fact cruise ship workers. Although most Filipino seafarers were still employed as able-bodied seamen across different types of ship, in 2015, about 11,000 seafarers were working as waiters/waitresses presumably on-board cruise ships (see **Figure 7**). The consistent increase in cruise ship employment over the last ten years could be driving

the growing number of Filipino seafarers. The population of deployed Filipino seafarers peaked in 2009 where their number was estimated at 742,000 (see **Figure 4**). Similarly, the number of non-marine Filipino seafarers also peaked in 2009 at 159,000 (see **Figure 6**). From 2008 onwards, there were significantly more ‘non-marine workers’ deployed than ‘officers’ on international ships. From 2010 to 2014, there were as many ‘non-marine workers’ as there were ratings. But for the first time in 2015, ‘non-marine workers’ outnumbered the population of both ratings and officers. The demographic relevance of hotel staff on-board cruise ships such as cabin stewards, bartenders and waiters, was recognised in the 2008 poster for the ‘National Seafarers’ Day’ in the Philippines (see **Figure 10**, p.49). This highlights the important contribution of Filipino service workers in the industry and their role in increasing the population of the country’s international seafarers.

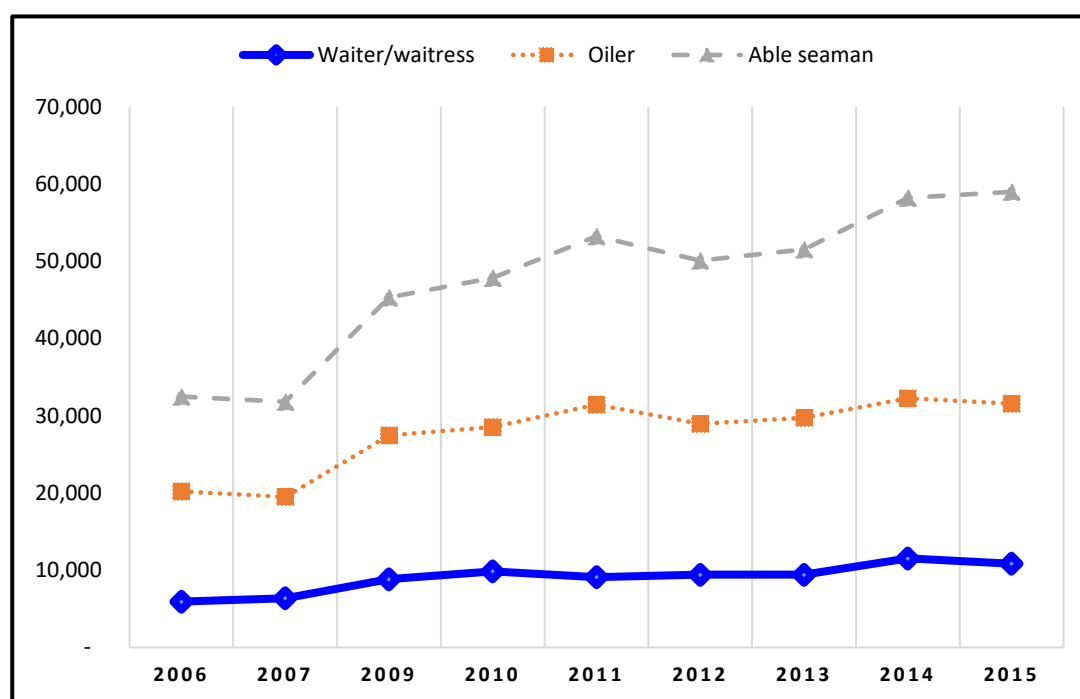


Figure 7 Number of Filipino seafarers by top job positions, 2006 to 2015

Note: Data in the figure are collated by the author from the POEA annual reports.

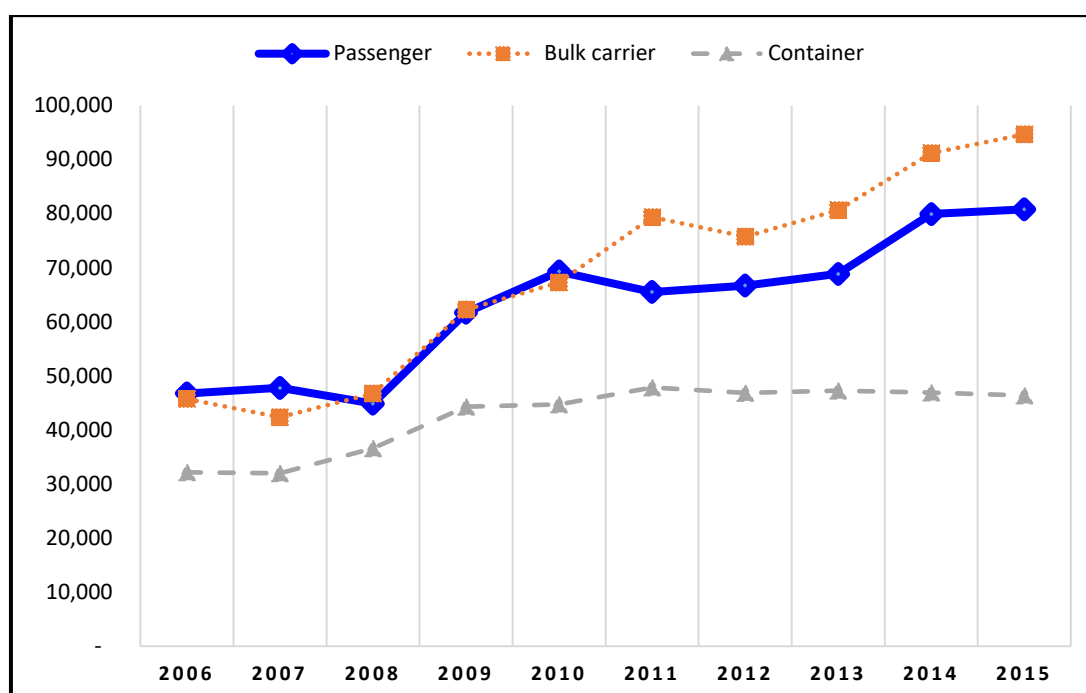


Figure 8 Number of Filipino seafarers by type of ship, 2006 to 2015

Note: Data in the figure are collated by the author from the POEA annual reports.

A comparable source of data for estimating the number of Filipino seafarers on-board cruise ships is the POEA statistics on seafarers by vessel type (see **Figure 8**). In 2015, in the region of 80,000 Filipino seafarers were working on passenger ships. Passenger ships rank second to bulk carrier ships as the ‘ship of destination’ among deployed seafarers. Evidently, a cruise ship is classified as a ‘passenger ship’ but so are ferries and ocean liners. Although the estimate is again conflated, we can observe that between 2008 and 2010, the numbers of seafarers deployed on bulk carriers were as high as those working on passenger ships. This highlights cruise ships as significant places of work for Filipino seafarers.

2.3.2 Filipino Seafarers as ‘Ideal Workers’

These statistics are complemented by the pervasiveness of statements, images, declarations, narratives, reports that position Filipino seafarers in general, and those working on cruise ships in particular, as the ‘preferred nationality’ of a ship’s workforce. The often cited (e.g. ABS CBN News 2017; ABS CBN News 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; ANC 2016; Sbarsky 2014; Terry 2013; Milde 2009) narrative is that: Filipino

seafarers are ‘hardworking’, ‘flexible’, ‘subservient’, ‘family-oriented’, and ‘happy’ employees who earn well whilst travelling the world ‘for free’ on-board cruise ships. This is the Perfect-Worker-in-a-Dream-Job narrative. Images conjured by this narrative are commonplace and accessible to various audiences particularly potential and current cruise ship workers. It is necessary to identify how this dominant narrative is constructed and maintained by particular actors to fully appreciate the social imagery it produces. The narrative is a two-part discursive construction which idealises both the job and the worker. As shown in the previous section the idealisation of cruise ship employment as a ‘good job’, and that workers live a ‘good’ life on-board, is prominent in the narrative of cruise companies and crewing agencies.

The other half of the ‘Perfect-Worker-in-a-Dream-Job’ narrative idealises Filipino cruise ship workers as embodying key attributes of the ultimate cruise ship employee. Character traits that make the ‘Perfect Worker’ ideal for the job position are endorsed by ‘industry insiders’ (Terry 2013) such as the cruise companies, cruise passengers and the Philippine government. In the case of Filipino cruise ship workers, the image of the valorised actor in the global market is created alongside the image of a hero of national development (Gibson et al. 2001). Both employers and the Philippine government racially brand Filipino seafarers as ideal employees for the world cruise industry and at the same time they are hailed as among the country’s *Bagong Bayani* (new/modern hero), a term of praise attached to Overseas Filipino Workers in general (Duaqui 2013; Encinas-Franco 2013). Guevarra (2014) describes racial branding as ‘an ideological and institutional process, tool and mechanism through which the Philippine state and private agencies aim to represent the worth and value of its citizen workers’ (p.132-133). In the following examples I trace the narratives that are linked together to support the discourse on the ‘value added service’ of cruise sector seafarers from the Philippines.

Cruise Ship Companies

In January 2016, the Royal Caribbean Cruises, Ltd. (RCCL) announced that they would be recruiting 30,000 Filipinos within the next five years to work on their 48 cruise ships

(Magkilat 2016). Royal Caribbean strengthened their partnership with Philippine Transmarine Carriers Inc. (PTC), their long-time crewing partner in the country, to streamline the recruitment process and make it easier for qualified applicants to become employed.

Table 8 ‘Perfect Worker’ narrative from cruise companies

Representative	Why are Filipinos ‘perfect cruise ship workers’?
1. Richard Fain Chair and Chief Executive Officer <i>Royal Caribbean Cruises</i>	Well we already have more Filipino seafarers than any other nationality. They provide a tremendous level of service. Our guests love them and the other thing is they seem to love us. The employees love working for us. So they are the best recruiters. They talk to their friends, their neighbours, their in-laws and bring others to come – and so great workers and great tradition. ¹⁰
2. Adam Goldstein President and Chief Operating Officer <i>Royal Caribbean Cruises</i>	... I have to say that of all the nationalities of the world that serve on our ships to a something like a hundred and twenty nationalities of crew. We have more crew from the Philippines than from any other nation on the earth. They have been phenomenally amazing employees over 45 years for Royal Caribbean and they will continue to be in the future. We are growing the number of Filipinos that we have on-board the ship. But overall just an amazing service that people deliver to the guests. ¹¹
3. Katherine Avelino Executive Director <i>Philippine Transmarine Carriers Inc</i>	Here at PTC, we have already deployed about 12,000 seafarers on various positions in housekeeping, food and beverages, culinary as well as entertainment and casino. We also have deployed workers at the marine department. The numbers are expected to go up until 2020 because we are the preferred nationality in this industry [translated from Tagalog] ¹²
4. Marlon Roño President <i>Magsaysay Maritime Corporation</i>	Almost 40% of the crew members on-board Costa Atlantica are Filipinos. Filipino crew members are very much in demand on-board because of their proverbial hospitality and quality service.

RCL and PTC’s top executives have made TV appearances in local media (see **Examples 1-3 in Table 8**) promoting their move to hire even more Filipinos in their

¹⁰ See (ANC 2016)

¹¹ See (ABS CBN News 2016b)

¹² See (ABS CBN News 2016c)

already largely Filipino roster of workers on board. In all their appearances, RCL's top executives explained that their Filipino workers are known for their 'tremendous' and 'amazing' service to cruise passengers. Backed by the cruise principal's belief in the quality service Filipinos provide, PTC's Avelino concluded that Filipinos are the 'preferred nationality' in the cruise industry.

The popularity of Filipinos as cruise employees is not a case unique to Royal Caribbean ships. TUI Cruises, a joint venture between a German company and RCCL, specifically mentions in their promotional advertisements that the majority of their service crew are Filipinos. For example, one travel website¹³ evaluating why holiday makers should opt to sail with Thomson Celebration, a cruise ship under the TUI Cruises, mentions the 'warm, friendly service from Filipino and Indonesian crew' as one of the amenities potential cruise travellers can look forward to. Carnival Corporation's Costa Cruises also employ many Filipino employees through the Magsaysay Maritime Corporation, their crewing partner in the Philippines (see **Example-4** in **Table 8**).

Cruise Ship Passengers

The cheap labour from developing countries is clearly one of the reasons why shipping companies hire seafarers from the Philippines (Sampson 2003; S. C. McKay 2007). But for cruise companies, the views of their passengers also play an important role in deciding who will be hired. Those who have good customer relationships are at an advantage because the cruise industry is a business about people. Richard Fain, the CEO of Royal Caribbean, explains (see **Example-1** in **Table 8**) that they hire Filipinos because their guests 'love' Filipinos.

The same positive assessment is shown in some reviews posted on the website cruisecritic.co.uk, 'the leading cruise reviews and information site which hosts the largest cruise community in the world'. Cruise passengers can anonymously write reviews by cruise line, ship or destination. Some of the most recent comments that cite

¹³ Source: <https://goo.gl/VMvdeA> [Accessed on 1 August 2016]

Filipino workers are shown in **Table 9**. Whilst this is not an extensive analysis of cruise reviews, it provides some evidence of the continuing popularity of Filipino seafarers among cruise passengers. These passengers commend the Filipino staff for their attention to detail, ability to build rapport, politeness and jovial personality and strong command of English.

Table 9 ‘Perfect worker’ narrative from cruise passengers

Reviewer/Passenger, Ship	Comment
Bozzacruise, <i>TUI Discovery</i>	We had a great holiday... always great service from lovely Filipino staff and some of the newer European Staff (TUI has wisely buddied the newcomers with their Filipino colleagues hoping they will absorb the best practice. ¹⁴
Johnfurse112 <i>Oosterdam</i>	The level of service provided by the Philipino crew is very high with great attention to personal comfort and forming a good relationship with the client to understand his needs. ¹⁵
Nomad2504 <i>Carnival Legend</i>	Philipino and Indonesian crew were invariably polite and quick with a smile and a hello . They genuinely appear warm and friendly despite being away from their families for 6 to 8 months. ¹⁶
Dorsettravellers <i>Saga Sapphire</i>	The staff on board were from many countries – the captain and cruise director were British, deck and engineering officers of various European nationalities; catering and hotel staff mostly Filipino ; entertainment by performers from several European countries. ¹⁷
Deb1971 <i>Superstar Virgo</i>	The balance of nationalities of the staff had changed, with many more Chinese-only speaking staff and less that appeared to have a good grasp of English....two Filipino bands were wonderful to listen to and delightful to speak with and the Filipino cruise staff (Godie, Francis, Mark, Faye) were the most delightful and welcoming people...If you do chose to board Superstar Virgo, seek out the Filipino cruise staff . ¹⁸

¹⁴ Dated 24 July 2016, available at: <https://goo.gl/qiL6cJ> [Accessed 19 August 2016]

¹⁵ Dated 25 June 2016, available at: <https://goo.gl/Ivrq8S> [Accessed 19 August 2016]

¹⁶ Dated 10 January 2016, available at <https://goo.gl/ilXeWn> [Accessed 19 August 2016]

¹⁷ Dated 26 July 2016, available at <https://goo.gl/1eJWcf> [Accessed 19 August 2016]

¹⁸ Dated 2 May 2016, available at <https://goo.gl/udPjT2> [Accessed 19 August 2016]

The company and passenger narratives praise the hospitality traits of Filipino workers but this also racializes cruise ship jobs. There is nothing inherently racial about hotel work but its racialized meanings and attributes are implicated when hospitable traits are offered as a general tendency among a group of people (Bonacich et al. 2008). These racialized meanings are then used by cruise companies in determining who is most suited for the job (Maldonado 2009). Workers who are generally perceived as hospitable are also more likely to be seen as ‘better suited’ in service occupations and are therefore more preferred by cruise ship companies.

The Philippine State and Agencies

The positioning of Filipinos as desired employees worldwide is institutionally facilitated by the Philippine state agencies (Rodriguez 2010; Tigno 2014; Serquiña 2016). Seafarers as the sea-based segment of OFWs are positioned as ‘sailing ambassadors’ in multinational ships. The Philippine’s Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA) under the Department of Transportation (DOTr) is designated as the country’s single maritime administration. Among other functions, MARINA has authority to issue ‘certification for the deployment of seafarers in the international seaborne trade’ (Aquino Jr. 2012). As the government’s main agency responsible for ensuring that all seafarers from the Philippines are compliant with international standards on skills and competence, MARINA (2015) plays a crucial role in the ‘marketing’ of seafarers as workers to the world. A recent publication from the state agency claims:

They are the **seafarers of choice** of international manning principals because they have recognised the outstanding qualities of the Filipino: technically **competent, flexible, hard-working, reliable, trustworthy, fluent in the English language**, and imbued with a **deep sense of duty and loyalty**. Dubbed the **sailing ambassadors** of the Philippines, its seafarers have demonstrated before the global maritime community the best traits of the Filipino. [emphasis added]

The OFWs' role as 'ambassadors to the world' is also formally recognised through the *Bagong Bayani Awards*¹⁹ (BBA) which the private sector initiated in 1983 but since 1989 has been handled by the POEA and OWWA. The aim of the award is to:

'recognize and pay tribute to our OFWs for their significant efforts in fostering goodwill among peoples of the world, enhancing and promoting the image of the Filipino as **a competent, responsible and dignified worker**, and for **greatly contributing to the socio-economic development of their communities and our country** as a whole'. [emphasis added]

BBA underscores the main attributes of OFWs as global employees and their role as economic heroes of the Philippines because of the remittances they send to their home country. There are five categories of the award but the Capt. Gregorio S. Oca achievement award is especially given to 'a seafarer or a group of seafarers' who 'have exhibited exemplary leadership or demonstrated exceptional valor/bravery in overcoming a problem while at sea'. Over the years many Filipino 'seafarers' in the traditional sense i.e. engine or deck department, have been recognised but 2014 was significant because seafarers aboard cruise ships were awarded for the first time. The entire 291 Filipino crew of Costa Concordia, composed mostly of hospitality workers, (e.g. waiters, bartenders, cabin stewards, cook, etc.) were recognised as 'outstanding employees'. A profile²⁰ for the crew reads:

Amid the chaos and panic at the height of the incident and while almost all of the passengers and crew tried to scuffle for their own safety, **the Filipino crew ensured that the safety and protection of the passengers came first**. They helped them get into the lifeboats which they maneuvered by themselves. They even made trips back and forth to the ship to rescue the remaining passengers and crew. **Unmindful of the danger** they were courageous enough to check all parts of the vessel, searching in every nook and cranny, so to speak, just to make sure that nobody was left behind.

¹⁹ Translation: New Heroes Awards. Source: <https://goo.gl/YTNk7D> [Accessed on 16 August 2016]

²⁰ Source: <https://goo.gl/ymbiBG> [Accessed 16 August 2016]

All the Filipino crew members of Costa Concordia were trained and passed international safety standards. Such training enabled them to save passengers and themselves during emergency.

The 291 Filipino Crew of Costa Concordia deserve the Bagong Bayani Award for Outstanding Employee for exhibiting **bravery and heroism by risking their own lives to save other people**.
[emphasis added]

The case of the Costa Concordia's Filipino crew indicates another perceived added value to hiring Filipinos – they are not only competent and dedicated workers, they place the safety and protection of passengers' ahead of their own. Here, they are no longer nameless economic heroes who remit significant amounts of their income that builds the country's foreign exchange earnings (see **Figure 5**, p. 36), but they are literal heroes who save lives.

A final example by which the 'Perfect Worker' / *Bagong Bayani* narrative is perpetuated is seen in the annual celebrations in honour of seafarers. Former President Fidel Ramos issued Proclamation No. 828 (in 1996) and Proclamation No. 1094 (in 1997) to declare the last Sunday of September every year as National Seafarers' Day (NSD) in the Philippines. The aim is to 'give due recognition to the vital role played by ... Filipino seafarers towards the development of the Philippines as a maritime country' (Ramos 1997). At every NSD, the Outstanding Seafarer of the Year is recognised. There is also a Remembrance Rite for seafarers who died whilst working on international ships. More recently, the festivities have included maritime students competing at various contests such as poster/photo, singing, song-writing and even choral. The event is in a way a means to connect the current and future generations of Filipino seafarers (Mendoza 2015). Without making any judgment on the reach and value impact of these celebrations, the posters of the NSD event from 1996 to 2016 (see Gorecho 2015) reveal much about the image and narrative of seafarers in the national/popular imagination. Several observations on the pictures and words used in the posters are important to mention.



Figure 9 National Seafarers' Day, 2004 Poster

Firstly, the pictures used in the posters present seafaring as a male-dominated occupation. Of the 21 posters, 11 included sketches of male and female seafarers, six featured a mostly male crowd, and four included non-gendered sketches. Only four of the 21 posters included female characters (i.e. 2004, 2005, 2007 and 2008). All posters mentioned a two-part theme (e.g. 'Filipino seafarer: Aim high, Reach higher') where the first part makes reference to a group: the term 'Marinong Filipino' or 'Marinong

Filipino’ was used in 15 posters²¹ whilst five posters²² used the term ‘Filipino seafarer/s’. Marino refers to mariner and assumes the male gender. The gender-specific Marino is often assumed to be working on a cargo or tanker ship and not a cruise ship. The use of the neuter term ‘seafarer’ is significant because it is more inclusive of genders and types of ships.

Today, it is less surprising to find women seafarers in the deck and engine departments of ships (Kitada 2010; 2013) but most women seafarers from the Philippines are ‘seafarers’ because they work in hotel departments of cruise ships (Wu 2005) as cabin stewards, waitress, sommeliers, entertainers, and activity staff among others. The first female character in the NSD posters appeared in 2004 – presumably a cabin crew on a cruise ship as indicated by her uniform (see **Figure 9**).

The explicit recognition of the significant role of cruise ship workers as Philippines’ ‘sailing ambassadors’ and members of the ‘seafarer’ category appeared in the 2008 poster (see **Figure 10**). The poster brands Filipino seafarers as ‘global leaders in maritime service’. The inclusion of a female sommelier, a male waiter and a female steward affirms the growing number of Filipinos as service workers in the hotel departments of cruise ships. The image also suggests the gendering of these job positions.

Secondly, NSD themes over the years have focused on three features of the Filipino seafarers’ image – their attributes, national value and their role as a global player. Nine posters highlighted Filipino seafarers skills (e.g. 1997), competence (e.g. 2016) and continuing improvement (e.g. 2004, 2005, 2013, 2015). As a particular segment of sea-based migrant Filipino workers, six posters have explicit references to the seafarers’

²¹ For example, the 1998 NSD theme is *Marinong Filipino: Marangal na naglilingkod sa mundo* [translation, Filipino Mariners: Honorably serving the world]

²² For example, the 2010 NSD theme is Filipino seafarers: *Dangal ng Bayan ko* [translation, Filipino seafarers: The nation’s pride]

role in nation building. Seafarers are heralded as the country's source of pride (e.g. 2006) and honour (e.g. 2001, 2010) and as an important partner for economic development. Five posters positioned Filipino seafarers as trusted and leading maritime professionals globally. Aside from affirming global standing (e.g. 1998, 2008) two posters feature the nation's voice commanding the Filipino seafarers: 'Your aim is to remain world-leading' (1999) or 'Keep the World's Trust'.



Figure 10 National Seafarers' Day, 2008 Poster

After reviewing a sample of popular material, advertisements, and news reports that discuss how Filipino cruise sector seafarers are constructed as 'perfect workers in a

dream job', the main assumptions of such a framing can now be outlined. It is composed of two parts: the 'Perfect Worker' narrative and the 'Dream Job' narrative.

The 'perfect worker' narrative idealises Filipino seafarers as an 'ideal cruise employee' who embodies the following characteristics (see Terry 2013 for a more detailed discussion):

- (1) The *hardworking* assumption carries the implication that Filipino workers are quick and reliable at assigned tasks even the difficult ones. Associated with this assumption is the framing that Filipino seafarers are prepared for the job because of their good language skills and technical competence.
- (2) The second assumption characterises Filipino cruise ship workers as *happy and nice* workers who wear a smile at work and are friendly. This cultural stereotype is seen as particularly valuable in hospitality work on-board cruise ships.
- (3) There is a common perception that Filipino workers 'sacrifice' their own pleasures by working overseas in order to help their family. The importance of *family* as a core cultural value for Filipinos positions them as naturally caring and therefore suited to service-related jobs.
- (4) The portrayal of Filipinos as *flexible* employees connotes an ability to adapt to whatever working conditions or culture in which they are emplaced. This makes them suited to cruise ship work where workers and passengers are from different parts of the world.
- (5) Finally, the attribute of *subservience* portrays Filipino cruise ship workers as docile, controllable and submissive employees. From the point of view of the company, submissive employees are more manageable than other workers who are quick to complain about workplace issues. Subservience however connotes the need to be led or supervised. As subservient workers, they are largely given subordinate positions that exercise little independence.

The other half of the idealised social representations of Filipino cruise ship workers involves the ‘Dream Job’ narrative with three common assumptions:

- (1) The *glamorous* assumption paints the image of cruise employees who enjoy working and living in a luxury ship. This also implies that the job the workers do is easy and requires relatively little effort.
- (2) The assumption that cruise ship work affords the worker an *opportunity for global travel* invokes the chance of visiting interesting places around the world with free transportation. Also associated with this image is the possibility of developing international networks of friends since the workforce and the passengers are from around the world.
- (3) The assumption of *high income* is implied in the narrative. Cruise companies and crewing agencies alike market the jobs on-board as offering competitive salaries that potential workers from developing countries would not be able to achieve if they worked locally. The cruise occupation is indirectly advertised as a long-term employment option. For example the use of the term ‘career’ in online advertisements for cruise ship jobs seems to be an invitation to do the job for many years.

Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed background discourses that may be relevant to how cruise sector seafarers represent their working lives. Firstly, cruise ship tourism was described as an example of modern means of consumption. The cruise ship as a cathedral of consumption illustrates Bryman’s concept of Disneyization. The ship in itself is a themed tourist destination. Apart from visits to different ports of call, a wide range of merchandise, products and services are available to purchase on-board making the ship a place of intense and hybrid consumption. The service workers’ performative labour in the ship’s themed environment produces the spectacle of the cruise experience which the passengers consume.

A counterpart to the consumption process that fuels the growth of the global cruise industry is Ritzer's concept of McDonaldization or the tendency towards efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. Newer and super-sized ships have been efficient in accommodating more passengers and including parks, malls and pools on-board. The competition amongst cruise lines is based on calculable metrics of the ship size, number of amenities, number of passengers, revenue, and the predictability of the promised itinerary. Control as a rational aspect of the industry is seen in the strategically designed physical and social environment to which both the passengers and the crew are subjected. However, cruise lines have been the subject of criticism because of various crimes that have occurred on-board, outbreaks of gastro-intestinal and respiratory illnesses, cases of minor and major sea disasters, and their contribution to environmental pollution.

A third related observation is that cruise tourism is globalised. The hundreds of cruise ships now in operation have reached all regions of the world. There may be more than 50 different cruise lines operating internationally but most are subsidiaries of three holding corporations (i.e. Carnival, Royal Caribbean, and Norwegian) that control more than 80% of the passenger market. The ship is also deterritorialised. Under the flags of convenience system, cruise ships can fly a flag of a country (e.g. Panama and Liberia) independent of its beneficial owners (e.g. US). This allows the cruise company to reduce costs and recruit workers from all around the world making the ship a multicultural workplace.

Another significant discourse that must be referenced in understanding the working lives of seafarers is the representation of cruise ship employment in print and online media. In general, there are two broad images. Cruise companies and crewing agencies market the idea that working on-board cruise ships is a 'good job' (e.g. high income, travel, international friendships, skills) and it offers a 'good life' (e.g. crew parties and recreational facilities on-board) to workers. For some cruise ship workers, labour unions and other researchers, cruise ship employment seems to be a 'bad job' (e.g. low pay, long work hours, limited shore leave, hard physical and emotional labour) and a 'bad life' (e.g. control in almost every aspect of day to day life) for employees.

Within the ethnically diverse workforce of the cruise industry, Filipino seafarers are one of the largest single nationality groups of workers on-board. Their dominance in service occupations aboard cruise ships seems to indicate that they are recognised as ‘perfect workers’. A review of popular literature from the cruise companies, cruise passengers, and the Philippine state and its agencies suggest that Filipino seafarers are portrayed as workers with the qualities of being ‘hard-working’, ‘flexible’, ‘subservient’, ‘family-oriented’, ‘happy’ and ‘nice’. Against this backdrop of empirical literature on global cruise tourism and the issues of work and life aboard ships, the next chapter reviews the key theoretical concepts of social representation, work orientation, stance, and viewpoint.

CHAPTER 3

Theorising Working Lives: Work orientation, Social representation, Point of view and Stance

Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look.

(Herbert Blumer 1954 p.7)

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study. It opens with a review of the empirical studies which focus on cruise ship employees. It will then propose to contribute to this research literature by using the theories of work orientation and social representation to examine how cruise sector seafarers make sense of their employment experience within the wider context of their lives. The argument is that seafarers' motivations and reactions to various aspects of their work situation are reflected in an ongoing process of comprehending, sensemaking and defining their ongoing situation (Thomas and Thomas 1928). We need to consider these work attitudes at three different points: before they took the job, during their time on-board and after their completion of a work contract. In order to apply this framework in the present study it is necessary to specify how the different representations of working lives may emerge socially and be identified within a group of seafarers. I propose that the twin concepts of point of view and stance, which locate the individual within social interaction, can unpack this process of social representation.

3.1 Research on Cruise Ship Employees²³: Key themes

Without a doubt the products and services on-board cruise ships that characterise them as cathedrals of consumption (as discussed in the previous chapter), are entirely dependent on a capable workforce. The cruise industry has consistently grown over the last three decades. In that period, popular media attention has largely focused on the tourism experience and the consumption process but the labour production rendered by thousands of workers has largely been hidden (Weaver 2005b). A clear strand of research focusing on workers aboard cruise ships has only emerged and developed in the last 17 years. Before 2000, studies that tackled the working lives of cruise ship employees were rare (Zhao 2002; Papathanassis and Beckmann 2011) and published articles were mostly about the profile and experience of cruise vacationers (Foster 1986; Morrison et al. 1996; Teye and Leclerc 1998; Meng et al. 2011; Yi et al. 2014). Broadly, studies on cruise sector seafarers have focused on occupational issues (e.g. tasks, demands and rewards) and organisation issues (e.g. workplace relations and dynamics) and other work-related matters (e.g. perceptions of cruise ship employment and motivations).

3.1.1 Occupational Issues

The cruise ship industry straddles the sectors of shipping and tourism. The majority of a cruise ship's crew are involved in service positions (i.e. office, entertainment, food and beverage, hotel, retail, IT, personal care) rather than in marine positions (i.e. deck and engine). In a legal sense, workers on-board a cruise ship are called 'seafarers' by virtue of their being on a ship (MLC 2006), but for most of them the job is largely about hospitality and tourism. They have much more in common with workers in airlines, cafes, pubs, holiday parks, and tourist companies (Nickson 2007) than with traditional seafarers on merchant vessels.

²³ Most of the studies presented in this section are studies of 'service workers' or the hotel staff on-board cruise ships. The present study contributes to this literature by including both hotel staff and marine crew as participants (see **Table 15** in p.96)

Weaver (2005a) has observed that service work on-board cruise ships is commonly conceptualised as performative and interactive, where employees are expected to follow ‘routinized and standardized social encounters that involve compliance with prepared scripts’ (p.10). Frontline service workers within the ship’s hotel department are managed by the hotel director and the cruise director (see **Appendix 2**, p.254). As service workers, they are expected to be patient and friendly towards all passengers, especially those who may be more demanding. Tracy (2000) suggests that cruise ship workers become the ‘characters of commerce’ because of the inescapable emotional labour required of them (Hochschild 1983). Expected to provide a pleasant vacation experience to passengers, ‘employees engage in self-surveillance and subordinate themselves on behalf of management goals even when management is not looking’ (p.109). Johansson and Näslund (2009) reiterated the same point when they explained that service workers aboard cruise ships hide their own emotions of anger, fatigue and irritation from the view of the passengers who expect the ship to be a ‘paradise-like’ place of fun and relaxation. For the workers, only positive emotions (happiness and friendliness) are to be shown in public whereas negative emotions (loneliness, anxiety) should only be dealt with in private. Such performative service work is intimately tied to a toilsome workload. Zhao (2002) describes the seafarers’ physical labour and emotional labour in the following account:

They are in darkness about seafarers’ hard labour... Behind the scene and below the deck, seafarers ... keep the cabin spotless, the glasses sparkling, the swimming pools glittering etc... However, once in the scene and on the deck, seafarers, no matter how they really feel, are obliged to control or manage their emotion so that they can combine the product of their physical labour with the product of their emotional labour. They, therefore, appear smiling.
(p.8)

Cruise ship employees from the Philippines are illustrative of workers who seem to have internalised these modes of labouring. Terry (2013) notes that Filipino seafarers have become popular and populous on cruise ships because the Philippine state, the crewing agencies and the workers themselves have been effective in discursively constructing a particular image (see **Section 2.3**, pp.34-51) of service-oriented workers.

Filipino seafarers have a perceived reputation of being ‘hard working’ and ‘flexible’, ‘subservient’, ‘family-oriented’, ‘happy and nice’.

The intersection of nationality and job positions aboard cruise ships reflects social hierarchy and disparities in power relationships (Weaver 2005a). The middle and bottom of the workplace hierarchy is mostly occupied by workers from developing countries such as the Philippines. This raises the issue of managing a culturally diverse workplace and whether there is a ‘fit’ (Testa et al. 2003; Milde 2009) between the workers’ cultural values and beliefs (national culture) and a ship’s management practices, policies and values (organisational culture). In a series of studies, Testa and his colleagues (Testa et al. 1998; 2003; Testa 2004; 2007; Testa and Mueller 2009) showed that the background national culture of cruise employees’ is an important predictor of job satisfaction. Using Hofstede’s (Hofstede et al. 2010) framework, they consistently found that workers who came from countries with collectivist and high power-distance cultures reported higher levels of job satisfaction (Testa et al. 2003; Testa and Mueller 2009). In collectivist cultures, there is a strong emphasis on the influence of in-groups such as families and communities. Countries where an unequal distribution of power in the society is generally expected and accepted, are described as high power distance cultures. In their framework, countries with collectivist and high power distance cultures are grouped as ‘traditional’ whereas countries with individualist and low power distance cultures are grouped as ‘egalitarian’. Philippines, China, Singapore, and Croatia are examples of ‘traditional’ countries. Examples of ‘egalitarian’ countries include Germany, Italy, the UK and the USA. The researchers reasoned that:

service workers who happen to be members of the lower class from the less-developed traditional societies would be more comfortable in lower level service jobs than their counterparts from the developed, egalitarian “modern” societies where giving service (as a vocation) might be viewed as demeaning or subservient. (Testa and Mueller 2009 p.200)

This argument seems to support the ethno-social hierarchy of occupational positions on-board cruise ships which stereotypically assigns seafarers from developing/traditional societies such as the Philippines to subordinate service

positions. However, one major criticism is that the measure of national culture constructs, such as those proposed by Hofstede, are only relevant when used in tandem with national level variables (e.g. Are egalitarian countries more likely to have higher average household income and higher educational attainment than traditional countries?). These national culture constructs are inaccurate when projected onto individual and organisational level data (Venaik and Brewer 2010; 2013; Brewer and Venaik 2012) (Does work satisfaction of employees in Cruise Line A vary according to type of national culture?) because the units of analysis are mixed up. Moreover, there is a tendency to use these constructs to further reinforce the level of inequality and associated exploitation in the cruise ship industry (e.g. Testa and Mueller 2009).

3.1.2 Organisational Issues

Foster's 23-day cruise aboard *Pacific Discoverer* in 1984 was the first ethnographic account of social life aboard cruise ships. Although he was using the point of view of a passenger, Foster (1986 p.217) characterised the cruise ship as a 'short-lived society' wherein:

A group of people, most previously unknown to each other, came together for a brief period and lived in close association in an environment that imposed upon the need to interact in somewhat stylized fashion to achieve group goals.

For passengers, the group goal could be to experience an adventure, travel or vacation but for cruise sector seafarers, the primary goal is to work. The ship as a closed environment places both the passengers and the workers in particular social interactions that, to some extent, form a temporary culture, or bonds of togetherness that arise from being in the same place (Bauman and May 2001). For passengers, this sense of community lasts for the duration of the trip. For the workers however, the community is built through an 'extended social interaction' (Gibson and Perkins 2015) lasting throughout the duration of their employment contracts, between six to nine months. Lee-Ross (2006 p.44) calls this 'informal group of individuals who see themselves as members of the same occupation rather than people who are simply working together in the same organization' an occupational community. The tendency

to form occupational communities on-board is facilitated by several factors, for example the ship being a 'total institution' (Ritzer and Liska 1997; Tracy 2000) where employees work and live at the same time. Moreover, the social setting is determined by length of contract, ethnic diversity, and social hierarchy. In a study of hospitality workers serving long trips aboard cruise ships (i.e. four days to three weeks), Lee-Ross (2008) found that occupational community is significantly demonstrated through job fusion and job specialization. This sense of community is built around the fact that, as cruise employees, work and personal life largely overlap (job fusion) by virtue of being on a ship that is mobile and different from the land-based service-related occupations (job specialization).

The notion of an occupational community among cruise sector seafarers does not however mean that on-board employees form one large and tightly-knit group. Gibson (2008) observed that there were many 'uniquely identifiable communities' based on 'rank or position, departmental or occupational membership and in some cases, nationality or culture' (p.50). Members of these groups have shared knowledge and experience and co-exist with other groups on-board. The presence and formation of these communities present challenges in managing operations particularly in the context of superior-subordinate and co-worker relations. For example, in a survey of high customer contact cruise line managers, Testa (2004) found that managers tend to be more considerate by being more approachable and by looking after the welfare of their subordinates when they and the employees they manage are from the same country or share a similar culture. Similarly, the physical environment combined with the social atmosphere at the workplace were found to significantly influence organisational commitment and job satisfaction amongst cruise ship employees. Larsen et al (2012), in a mixed method study, found that workers exhibit strong identification and involvement with the cruise ship as an organisation (a) when the immediate supervisor is viewed as fair, respectful and flexible towards supervisees, (b) when they have positive encounters with guests and co-workers, (c) when they feel adequately rewarded financially, and (d) when the crew accommodation is satisfactory. However, only supervisors' perceived fairness, a positive social atmosphere with guests and co-workers, and good accommodation, significantly predicted job satisfaction.

The segregated crew mess (eating areas) is an example of the extent to which management exerts 'rational control' (see **Section 2.1.2**, pp.17-20) over the daily life of workers. The separation of eating areas based on rank reinforces the formation and organisation of identifiable communities on-board based on rank and nationality. In an ethnographic study of a cruise ship Thompson (2002) described that usually, there are three separate eating areas for cruise ship employees. (a) The officers' mess is where high ranking crew members such as the captain, chief purser, hotel director, and ship doctor dine. Refinement and formality is required in this small and exclusive area. (b) The less exclusive and larger staff mess is where singers, band members, dancers, cruise activity staff, and photographers eat in a cafeteria-like setting. The staff mess is more occupationally diverse and less formal compared to the officers' mess. The largest eating area is the crew mess where hundreds of workers from non-Western countries share a meal. This symbolic differentiation of workers based on status reinforces written and unwritten rules of propriety and social attachment to one's rank or nationality group.

3.1.3 Issues Beyond the Workplace

A third thematic focus in studies of cruise ship workers relates to perceptions, expectations and how workers make sense of their experience of living and working aboard ship. One example of research into seafarers' perceptions of various aspects of work on-board cruise ships is the study of Dennet et al (2014) which explored the different metaphors for work and life on-board cruise ships by interviewing 20 hospitality workers (waiting staff or purser). The ship was usually described as a 'home' or a 'prison' whilst the work setting was depicted as akin to a 'battlefield', 'high school', 'family' or a 'microscope'. To describe how they negotiated work and life on-board, the participants used the terms 'explorer', 'juggler', 'ninja' and 'builder'. Finally, participants used the term 'slave', 'theatre performer', 'carer', 'tactician' and 'robot' to characterise their occupation. These metaphors are consistent with the occupational and organisational issues raised in this section. The ship and work setting metaphors reflect the hierarchy and control on-board. Seafarers' depictions of occupation in Dennet et al.'s work reflect the physical and emotional labour discussed previously.

Studies (Gibson 2008; Sehkaran and Sevcikova 2011; Artini et al. 2011; Artini and Nilan 2014) have shown that cruise sector seafarers have a variety of motivations when choosing to go to sea. These include the opportunities to earn a good income and save, to travel the world; and the esteem and recognition attached to working in a luxurious environment. Over time, workers continually re-evaluate their reasons for choosing the cruise ship as a place of work and temporary 'home' (Gibson 2008). Cruise ship employment indeed satisfies different motivations to work but it is possible that the jobs, positions and experiences of working on-board a cruise ship may have been 'sold' unrealistically to potential and current workers (Raub and Streit 2006). Such a mismatch between working conditions on-board and workers' expectations may eventually lead to decreased job satisfaction and increased levels of labour turnover. Potential seafarers consider a variety of sources of information when thinking of going to sea on a cruise vessel. In addition to the information that the crewing agencies convey about working and living aboard cruise ships, potential workers also rely on other available material such as company specific videos, booklets, and other web-based sources (Raub and Streit 2006). The need to consider how potential and current workers understand and make sense of cruise ship employment in such an unusual work setting is important in terms of the how workers are socialised into the occupation and the workplace (Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp 2011), and in terms of realistically recruiting workers who will be fully committed to, and engaged in the job (Raub and Streit 2006) in the long term.

In summary, an increasing number of studies that focus on the working lives of cruise sector seafarers highlight the centrality of the workplace. Given a contained and mobile work setting, the cruise ship has become the most obvious research site and starting point in analysing social realities of work. As a result, studies have emphasised the occupational and organisational issues on-board of cruise sector seafarers. These research trends situate the understanding of cruise ship employment within the workplace. This opens up an opportunity to consider how the working life of cruise ship employees relates to settings 'beyond the workplace' such as the family and the local community – a task the present study seeks to address.

3.2 Work Orientation Theory

The growing literature on seafarers on-board cruise ships connects to the wider literature on work orientation. In general, research into work orientation has focused on two areas (Mueller 2000). Firstly, there were early theoretical works (e.g. Maslow 1954; McClelland 1961; Herzberg 1966) and then, more recently, empirical studies (e.g. Doorewaard et al. 2004; James 2015; Zou 2015) which focused on the motivation to work (why do people work?) and examined the ways in which workers attain extrinsic and intrinsic rewards from work. A second area of research has revolved around responses to work (how do people react to work?) and explored such issues as job satisfaction (e.g. Kalleberg 1977; Spector 1997) and work commitment (e.g. Meyer and Allen 1997; Cohen 2003). Following these research foci, the concept of work orientation can be understood as ‘the attitudes and motives that groups of workers bring to the work experience and the overall subjective experience of work’ (Bruce and Yearly 2006 p.222). Each of the empirical studies reviewed in the previous section may be classified as work orientation research focusing on either work motivation (e.g. Gibson 2008; Sehkar and Sevcikova 2011; Artini and Nilan 2014) or response to work (e.g. Testa and Mueller 2009; Larsen et al. 2012; Wolff et al. 2013; Gibson and Perkins 2015).

3.2.1 Work Orientation Typologies

The different work orientation typologies developed over the years emphasise that ‘the meaning attached by people to their work ... predisposes them to think and act in particular ways with regard to that work’ (Watson 2012 p.241). In other words, the concept highlights the importance of paying attention to motives, interests, expectations, and what people look for in a job, in order to understand workers. It also underscores the need to examine employees’ non-work background (e.g. family, external community, cultural life) which may shape these work orientations. It assumes that the social setting of employees beyond the workplace predisposes them to gravitate towards certain job rewards. For example, workers from a poor background may be generally drawn to work to support their economic needs whilst workers with a higher economic standing are likely to value intrinsic rewards more than financial

rewards. Nevertheless, later theoretical developments recognise that work orientations are not fixed and are bound to change as workers continually engage with their work, their priorities in life change and as what they want from their jobs and what the work setting can provide also changes (Watson 2012; Grint and Nixon 2015). This is a development from the earlier formulation (Goldthorpe et al. 1968) that suggested that the priorities and expectations of workers which have developed from outside the work setting seem to be impervious to and independent from the different aspects of the work situation. Later studies argue that the employment experience is influenced by both work (job tasks, technology, pay, supervision, etc.) and non-work factors (e.g. priorities and expectations) (Beynon and Blackburn 1972).

In the UK, the sociological focus on work orientations began through the research of Goldthorpe (1968) and his colleagues who interviewed workers from three factories in Luton. Their study concluded that workers' attitudes (e.g. job satisfaction) and behaviour (e.g. choice of job, involvement to organisation) at work are largely influenced by how workers define their current situation in relation to the wants and expectations they have of their jobs. For example, despite the difficult working conditions and the lack of social activities in the workplace, employees in a car manufacturing plant did not feel dissatisfied with their overall experience. For these workers, the assembly line was wilfully chosen because it met their expectations for a good and steady income whilst supporting a satisfying family life. In their seminal work, Goldthorpe et al. identified three basic orientations to work. The 'affluent workers' they interviewed illustrated an 'instrumental' orientation to work in which they saw the job as a means to an end and prioritise extrinsic rewards (e.g. income) over intrinsic rewards (e.g. independence from supervision). Those with 'bureaucratic' orientation were morally involved in their work organisation and were more concerned with career advancement. Finally, workers with 'solidaristic' orientation saw work as a shared activity that accomplished an expressive and bonding needs.

Over the years researchers have either adapted (e.g. Wrzesniewski et al. 1997) or extended (e.g. Reed 1997; Matheson 2012) the Goldthorpe typology. Reed (1997) retained the original ideal types and added a fourth one called the 'vocational'

orientation. For Reed, work orientations may be described according to two factors: (a) the person's locus of commitment to a source of gratification (i.e. whether it can be found within or outside the work context); and (b) the extent of the person's involvement in work (whether work is primarily seen as a contractual relationship or an important aspect of one's social identity). As pointed out in the Goldthorpe typology, workers with instrumental orientation find most gratification outside the work situation such as in the family, and thus view work as a purely contractual relationship between employee and employer. Similarly, the locus of gratification for workers with a vocational orientation is also outside the work setting but they view work as a salient aspect of their social identity, not just a form of economic relationship. For those with a vocational orientation, work is a 'calling' (e.g. service to science, society or God) in a symbolic system that transcends the limits of the work establishment.

Another recent expansion of the theory is introduced by Matheson (2012) who proposed six types of work orientations. Firstly, an orientation to work is 'defensive' if people are mainly motivated by safety and survival needs and work to minimise economic, physical and emotional insecurity. Secondly, when workers have already addressed their safety and security needs and are now more focused on the monetary and utilitarian rewards of a job, the orientation can be described as 'instrumental'. Thirdly, when people continue to work to affirm their social standing despite achieving a certain level of financial comfort, they are described to have a 'thymotic' orientation. This echoes the bureaucratic orientation described earlier in the Reed and Goldthorpe typologies. The distinction is relevant because unlike the 'bureaucratic' worker who values and seeks recognition from the workplace, the 'thymotic' worker emphasises the importance of significant others as a source of recognition. Fourthly, when people undertake work to generate social acceptance and respect, they indicate a 'solidaristic' orientation. Fifthly, if work is pursued because it provides a sense of meaning or calling, workers are said to be morally idealistic in their involvement with the job and assume a 'vocational' orientation. Finally, workers who are intrinsically involved with work because it provides a sense of accomplishment through mentally stimulating tasks and the use of skills illustrate an 'expressive' orientation. These ideal types can be useful

categories in unpacking the range of motivations among cruise sector seafarers. However it is important to recognise that not only are many workers likely to hold multiple orientations, their priorities, expectations and attitudes are likely to be shaped by their ongoing experience of work (Beynon and Blackburn 1972; Blackburn and Mann 1979).

3.2.2 Heterogeneous and Complex Orientations

Recent typologies introduced by Reed (1997) and Matheson (2012) focus on linking job rewards and the immediate work situation to explain work attitudes. They also alert us to a range of ideal types that can be found within a given a population of workers. There is supporting evidence in several studies that workers generally typify and gravitate towards a particular type of work orientation. For example, Martin (2012) conducted six case studies of small business owners and found that each of the participants may be practically described as either an instrumental, bureaucratic, vocational or solidaristic entrepreneur which fits with the Reed typologies. Similarly, James (2015) interviewed young women workers and concluded that those in a managerial position emphasised the importance of intellectual stimulation as a job reward whereas those in routine/manual occupations put more emphasis on the value of income and social interaction in workplace. Applying the typologies, it can be said that women managers showed an expressive orientation whilst female manual workers demonstrated an instrumental or solidaristic orientation to work. Alternatively, it could also be argued that the economic/non-economic rewards present are all that the job offers rather than attributing the attitude to a prior orientation.

Studies that demonstrated the existence and endurance of particular work orientations are relevant in understanding attitudes and behaviour in different work settings. A particular type of work orientation may be in operation but it is equally possible that workers combine, blend or complement two or more types in the course of long-term employment. Crompton and Harris (1998) raised this point when they argued that:

orientations were complex and multi-stranded, rather than single-stranded. Many workers were found to desire both extrinsic and

intrinsic rewards from employment and thus no single 'orientation' could be identified' (p.123).

From this we can conclude that people's work rationales often include a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards, not necessarily one or the other. For example, employees do care about promotion as much as the salary or wages they derive from their jobs (Watson 2012). Although most work orientation studies focus on what drives people to work, Hakim (2000; 2004) proposed that being involved with work has a lot to do with work-lifestyle preferences. She found that three in five women workers were 'adaptive' whilst one was 'home-centred' and the other 'work-centred'. Women with a home-centred orientation would prefer not work because children and family were a higher priority. By contrast, work-centred women were most committed to their jobs whilst those with adaptive orientations, whilst choosing to work, would not get too invested in developing a career so as to strike a balance between family and work. In comparison, Hakim further found that six out of ten male workers were work-centred, three were adaptive and only one was family-centred. These categories found within groups of women and men workers move away from the exclusive instrumental/bureaucratic/solidaristic categories and point out that people combine or balance a variety of goals in pursuing work as an area of life. For employees with an adaptive work orientation, it was not an either/or choice between fulfilling family life and a successful career. Instead the pursuit of 'home' and 'work' can be blended together. The loci of gratification, to use Reed's term, for adaptive workers are both internal and external to the work situation. Adaptive workers can be described as being both instrumental (e.g. 'My income is vital to support family needs.') and bureaucratic (e.g. 'I care about getting promoted at work.') in their orientation to work.

The issue of recognising the complexity and heterogeneity of work orientations also arises as a methodological challenge. There are research designs that limit analysis to participants who exemplify a 'singular' work orientation type and in the process 'exclude' participants who seem to demonstrate a 'heterogeneous' work orientation. This can be observed in Wrzesniewski' (1997) and her colleagues' study of university employees. They found that

most people see their work as either a *Job* (focus on financial rewards and necessity rather than pleasure or fulfilment; not a major positive part of life), a *Career* (focus on advancement), or a *Calling* (focus on enjoyment of fulfilling, socially useful work) (p.21, emphasis added)

Their findings mirrored the general work orientation types (Job=instrumental, Career=Bureaucratic and Calling=Vocational) described earlier. In the study, ‘membership’ to a work orientation group was assessed in two ways. Firstly, the participants were asked to read three short and unlabelled paragraphs that each exemplified a generic work orientation (i.e. job, career or calling orientation). They were asked to rate the extent to which each paragraph was like them. Secondly, the participants were shown 18 statements about specific aspects of work and were asked whether the content of each statement was either true or false in their own experience. The statement ratings would supposedly correlate with the vignette they chose as ‘most like them’. For example, those who chose the vignette which exemplified a calling orientation should also rate highly statements that illustrated the features of a calling orientation. However, the researchers reported that:

A small number of respondents misunderstood the instructions and rated only one paragraph, presumably the one that was most like them. Others rated two or more paragraphs as being equally like them. *These two groups of respondents* (total n=61) *were not included in the analyses...* (p.26, emphasis added)

The researchers assumed that participants misunderstood their instructions when an alternative explanation might be that participants had more complex orientations than the study design allowed for or may be able to capture. The study strategy prioritised participants who gravitated to a ‘single’ work orientation and excluded a group of participants who exhibited a heterogeneous work orientation. This methodological decision may be justifiable given the kind of analysis that the researchers wished to pursue and if work orientations are only operationalised as general tendencies or inclinations. However, such a strategy cannot capture the empirical reality of workers who may be job-oriented as much as they are career-oriented. There is a need therefore for a more inclusive research design that will involve a wide range of participants who may or may not exemplify combinations of the general work orientation types

described in the literature. Q-methodology, which will be fully discussed in the next chapter, offers a technique of data collection and a method of analysis that can potentially overcome the challenge of taking into account complex and heterogeneous work orientations. The present study's approach respects the subjective reality of participants. They were not excluded/included according to the work orientation they seemed to hold. Participants were selected on the basis that they had worked on a cruise ship and not because they exhibited a pre-determined work orientation 'in pure form' or because they were equally driven by extrinsic and intrinsic rewards in pursuit of employment.

3.2.3 Dynamic Work Orientations

Whilst the notion of 'work' in 'work orientation' is readily understood as assuming an occupation pursued in exchange for monetary payment (Reskin 2000), the concept of 'orientation' requires further elucidation. According to Blackburn and Mann (1979 p.242):

orientations relate to all aspects of people's lives... [because]
orientations to work are enmeshed in the totality of social
experience, both at work and outside.

Among the work orientation typologies discussed, the importance of social experience beyond the workplace is reflected by the explicit emphasis on the workers' prior motivations and interests and current socio-economic circumstances (Watson 2012). In the Goldthorpe et al. study work orientation referred to:

a frame of reference within which actors' definitions of situations
in which they are engaged are taken as an initial basis for the
explanation of their social behaviour and relationships (p.184)

In order to use work orientation as an explanatory variable we need to presume that workers already hold this frame of reference, even before they start working in a particular job, and that they use this ongoing definition of situation as they immerse themselves in the workplace. This is the reason why an emphasis on social experience outside the work setting merits considerable attention, if not central focus, when researching work orientation (Watson 2012). As shown in the previous section, studies

on cruise sector seafarers have recognised the existence and importance of worker's motivations prior to joining the ship (Gibson 2008; Sehkaran and Sevcikova 2011; Artini and Nilan 2014). This frame of reference is usually summarised as a cluster of wants, expectations and aspirations about work (e.g. Goldthorpe et al. 1968; Reed 1997; Matheson 2012). Past studies often measured work orientation by using rating scales which asked whether participants were most concerned with income, career advancement or social belonging in pursuing their jobs (e.g. Wrzesniewski et al. 1997; Lan et al. 2013) and assumed that orientations existed before participants joined the workplace.

If W.I. Thomas²⁴ notion of a definition of situation were to be properly considered, then research on work orientation would benefit from attending to:

the sum of all recognised information from the point-of-view of the actor, which is relevant to his locating himself and others, so that he can engage in self-determined lines of action and interaction (*sic*) (Ball 1972 p.63)

Applying this insight to the present study may be a challenging but achievable goal. To address this concern, I suggest that a more holistic understanding of work orientations among cruise sector seafarers can be achieved by situating their 'working lives' within socio-temporal dimensions i.e., how different aspects of work are experienced over time (Beynon and Blackburn 1972; Blackburn and Mann 1979).

In practical terms, this means recognising issues that cut across occupational, organisational and non-work contexts of seafarers before, during and after their employment on-board cruise ships. Considering the workers' non-work context (i.e. family and community) alongside the social realities of the workplace (i.e. occupational and organisational issues on-board) provides a starting point to reflect on 'recognised

²⁴ 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (*sic*) (Thomas and Thomas 1928 p.572)

information' from which the seafarers' 'definition of situation' is based. Temporality, as used in the present study, recognises the importance of how work is experienced on-board but it also gives equal weight to the 'before' and 'after' work issues that may also shed light on how people understand their working lives. Such framing re-asserts the idea that work orientations need to be enmeshed in the 'totality of life experience' as Blackburn and Mann (1979) argued. This way the approach to work orientation is holistic and is not just limited to the 'before' and 'during' phases of working life.

In contrast to many past work orientation studies, the use of a socio-temporal frame in the present study provides a broader analytic gaze in conceptualising the working life of seafarers. The embeddedness of work orientation within a totality of life experience is analysed via a consideration of occupational, organisational and non-work contexts before, during and after on-board employment. This recognises that the workers' 'definition of situation' is not fixed but is subject to change (Watson 2012). Work orientation is largely determined by the expectations and value of certain rewards which workers take with them. However, it is important to remember that work orientation is also influenced by the structural conditions of the workplace (Beynon and Blackburn 1972; Grieco 1987; Devine 1992) and the workers' vision for the future and therefore the development of an orientation is a dynamic and on-going process. The theory of social representations, discussed in the next section, complements the idea of work orientation as a multi-stranded motivation and as a dynamic process of making sense of how work fits into the wider context of people's life.

3.3 Social Representation Theory

3.3.1 Characteristics of a Social Representation

The theory of social representations was elaborated by Moscovici (1961; 1973; 1988; 2000) in a study in which he explored the Catholic, urban liberal and communist representations of the field of psychoanalysis. This theoretical framework from social psychology has been used across social science disciplines to understand and explain how people construct, make sense of and communicate their social reality (Flick and

Foster 2008; Sammut and Howarth 2014). In general, a social representation can be conceptualised as a:

system of opinion, knowledge and beliefs particular to a culture, a social category or a group with regard to objects in the social environment (Rateau et al. 2011 p.478)

This definition outlines key features of a social representation. Firstly, the content of a social representation can be composed from what people think, what they know and what they believe about the object or social phenomenon being represented. In theorising social representations, Moscovici explained that social representation ‘appear as a network of ideas, metaphors and images (2000 p.153), values [and] practices’ (1973 p.xiii). Although there is a broad range of things that can be included as part of a social representation it can be implied that most of these elements are often expressed, but not exclusively, in language in the course of social interactions (Howarth 2006a). The elements of a social representation are therefore characteristically discursive. These discursive elements are directed towards a common object or an aspect of reality to be represented. For example, cruise ship workers from the Philippines, as shown in the previous chapter, are an ‘object/or focus’ of representation among cruise companies, crewing agencies, the state, and cruise passengers. Some of the ‘ideas’ associated with them are being ‘hard working’, ‘happy’ and ‘nice’.

Secondly, a social representation is not just a disparate collection of ideas about something. Instead, a social representation is, as described, a ‘system’ (Moscovici 1973), a ‘network’ (Moscovici 2000), a ‘structure’ (Duveen and Lloyd 1990), or an ‘ensemble’ (Wagner et al. 1999) of opinions, thoughts, and beliefs. This means that the discursive elements are linked together as ‘a series of propositions’ (Moscovici 2000 p.152) about objects of a significant phenomenon. It is for this reason that social representations matter. According to Howarth (2006a) ‘representations can be “used” to defend and so sustain a particular construction of reality, or “mentioned” in resistance to another version of reality’ (p.68). Portrayals of Filipino seafarers aboard cruise ships as ‘perfect workers’ who embody the qualities of hard work, submissiveness, and excellent

customer service should be taken critically because these ideas serve certain interests which may be for or against the group under discussion.

The general definition above used the concept as a noun and presents social representation as a product of social interaction with identifiable and describable components. Alternatively, the concept can also be used as a verb to refer to as 'a process of representing socially' (Sammut 2015 p.104). A third feature of social representation is that it is collectively produced through the interactive process of communication among members of a group (Rateau et al. 2011). Through this exchange, the discursive elements of a representation are shared, negotiated, resisted and transformed in order to constitute a consensus about the group's perspective of reality. It is reasonable to expect that 'different representations compete in their claims to reality, and so defend, limit and exclude other realities' (Howarth 2006 p.69). Working on-board cruise ships, for example, is often portrayed in job advertisements as a 'dream job' characterised by a glamorous everyday life, an opportunity to travel 'for free' and a promise of high income. Actual seafarers by virtue of their own personal experience may or may not share the same representation of work and life on a cruise ship. Nevertheless, images of cruise ships as 'magical and hedonistic, a floating paradise where the sun is always shining' (Thomas 2003b p.295) seem to be more potent than the competing image of a 'sweatshop on the high seas' (Bonmati 2016).

Fourthly, social representations serve two general functions. On the one hand, as an ensemble of ideas, a social representation affords the members of a group opportunities to orient themselves with each other and within their physical and social world. On the other hand, the shared nature of these ideas allows individuals to understand, engage in dialogue and negotiate with each other (Howarth 2006a; Sammut and Howarth 2014). Moscovici explained that the 'series of propositions ... [contained in a social representation] enable things or persons to be classified, their characters described, their feelings and actions to be explained' (Moscovici 2000 p.152). This means that once a social representation has emerged, it does more than just describe a socially significant phenomenon. Social representations have the potential to influence and constitute the reality they portray. For example, the cruise

companies' social representation of Filipino seafarers may be an important discursive resource for potential and current seafarers' own process of making sense of work on-board cruise ships.

A final point that needs elaboration is the idea that social representations are intrinsically social or collective in nature and not an individual construct. To develop this argument, it is useful to juxtapose social representation with the individualistic concept of attitudes. In contemporary usage, an attitude refers to 'a relatively stable system of beliefs concerning some object and resulting in an evaluation of that object' (Bruce and Yearly 2006 p.21). It is apparent that both attitude and social representation are oriented to an object in some way. An attitude is expressed as a favourable or unfavourable evaluation whereas a social representation is expressed as a system of meaning (Rateau et al. 2011). In everyday language, an attitude is understood as an 'opinion or group of opinions, held by an individual about a specific object' (Howarth 2006b p.693) even when taken in aggregate form such as public opinion surveys. By contrast,

Social representations are 'social' insofar as they retain a sense of the collective existing across individual minds, and they are 'representations' insofar as they are phenomena representing reality and constituting the real (Sammut 2015 p.106).

The concept of attitude is more commonly discussed by psychologists than sociologists because of the understanding that it is a cognitive attribute of an individual. Social representations in comparison take a more sociological flavour because they take the form of social facts – external to and coercive/prescriptive of the individual (Ritzer 2010b). Moreover, social representations are in fact implicated when a person holds an attitude in that a person first needs to internalise a social representation of an object before a positive or negative evaluation can be expressed (Rateau et al. 2011).

3.3.2 Point of View = Stance

Sammut's (2015) nested model of social behaviour (**Figure 11**) illustrates the social character of social representation (see also Bauer and Gaskell 1999). In a social representation there are at least two persons (called subjects) who are oriented towards

and evaluate the same object. Their consensual attitudes towards the object forge a social representation of the object. The concept of point of view bridges the intrapersonal attitude and the interpersonal social representation. A point of view is acquired from a subject position (Davies and Harré 1990) and allows the person to perceive the object in a certain way. A point of view is both relative and relational (Sammur 2015). In the diagram, point of view relates Subject-1 to the object in focus and it also links Subject-1 to Subject-2. Likewise, Subject-2 holds a consequent viewpoint to both Subject-1 and the object. A closely related concept to point of view is the notion of ‘taking a stance’.

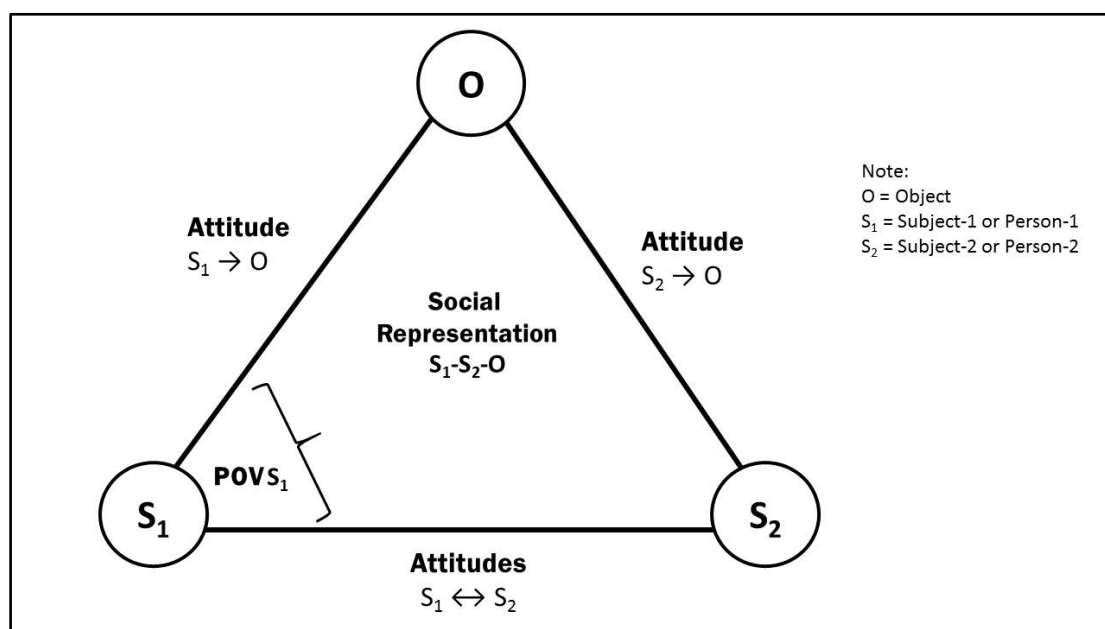


Figure 11 Nested model of social behaviour (Sammur 2015)

DuBois (2007) expounded the notion of stancetaking in a model called stance triangle. By definition,

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the socio-cultural field (p.163).

DuBois, a sociolinguist, was interested in how people use language to calibrate their stance particularly in naturally occurring, face-to-face, and everyday conversations such

as banter between co-workers. For him, stance taking is a triplex act – i.e. three acts in one (DuBois 2012). The logic of stance can be summarised by the statement: ‘I *evaluate* something, and thereby *position* myself, and thereby *align* with you’ (2007 p.163). This means that the acts of positioning and aligning are always implicated in every act of evaluation. DuBois describes stance as having a ‘blowback effect’. If I evaluate an object as either positive or negative, I am not just saying something about that object, I am, as a consequence, telling the world about myself. My opinion of the object also (dis)aligns myself to certain others.

The conceptual links between ‘point of view’ and ‘stance’ can now be outlined (**Figure 11**). The attitude of Person-1 towards the object is effectively an evaluative stance. This favourable or unfavourable attitude of Person-1 also creates a stance position in relation to both the object and to the Person-2 who is simultaneously taking a stance towards the object. The respective evaluations and consequent positions of the two persons can be used to assess whether their stances towards the object are aligned or not. The two persons have a ‘shared’ point of view if their positions are more or less aligned.

An example can further clarify these points. As discussed in the previous sections, workers’ prior motivation and the extent to which such expectation is adequately addressed in the work setting are predictive of job satisfaction (e.g. Testa 2004; Larsen et al. 2012). One extrinsic dimension of work valued by employees is opportunity for career development. This relates to whether or not chances for promotion are available and whether workers have equitable access to career advancement (Kalleberg 2011). Let us assume that four seafarers working on-board cruise ships were asked their opinion of whether there is fair access to promotion among employees. They were asked to evaluate an attitude statement using a five-point Likert scale where 1=Strongly disagree, 3=undecided and 5=Strongly agree. The participants gave the following evaluation:

Attitude Object	<i>'On-board, every person has an equal chance of being promoted.'</i>
Subjects	Evaluative rating to the statement
Mario	5=Strongly agree
Andro	1=Disagree
Gloria	4=Agree
Anelyn	2=Strongly disagree

Mario and Gloria support the idea that the cruise ship work setting offers workers an equitable chance at getting promoted. Andro and Anelyn gave an unfavourable evaluation to the statement and seem to suggest that certain employees are more likely to be given a promotion than others. Whilst they both agree to the statement, Mario gave a rating score of “5” whereas Gloria gave a score “4”. Andro “disagreed” with the statement and Anelyn expressed a “strong disagreement”. Each of them has a ‘personal’ point of view towards the issue of fair access to promotion. Each of them is drawing from their own individual experience, knowledge and beliefs. Mario and Gloria’s positions on the matter are closely aligned with each other but are in contrast to the positions of Andro and Anelyn. Using the issue of career opportunities these hypothetical participants may initially be grouped based on shared opinion or point of view. One group seem to affirm an image of a ‘fair employer’ (i.e. Mario and Gloria) but the other group suggests otherwise (i.e. Andro and Anelyn).

To have a deeper understanding of the emerging social representations of work and life on-board cruise ships we can perhaps expand our analysis and explore other forms of job rewards such as convenience, compensation, relationship with co-workers and resource adequacy (Kalleberg 1977). Moreover, attitudes towards job tasks, the company, the physical environment on-board, future work intentions and issues of family relationships may also be relevant objects in socially representing the work and life of cruise ship employees. Analysis of attitudes on this range of issues follows from the argument that ‘orientations to work are enmeshed in the totality of social experience, both at work and outside’ (Blackburn and Mann 1979 p.242). It is possible that in considering the opinions of seafarers on a range of issues about working and living on-board cruise ships that several social representations emerge: that is, even

though participants have a common experience of being employed on a cruise ship, each one has a unique point of view that may cluster into shared points of view.

Chapter Summary

After reviewing an emerging area of research that focused on the different aspects of the work and life of seafarers on-board cruise ships, this chapter discussed work orientations, social representations, viewpoint and stance as key concepts around which the study revolves. By and large, research about cruise sector seafarers has focused on issues framed within the workplace setting of the ship. Studies have discussed occupational issues such as physical and emotional labour, person-organisation fit of certain groups of workers in a multicultural setting, and correlates of job satisfaction among others. Studies about organisational issues covered the relevance of organisational commitment, the conceptualisation of the ship as a total institution, extended social interaction and existence of identifiable communities on-board based on similar rank, occupation or ethno-nationality. Several studies meanwhile focused on the work motivation of seafarers and metaphors/images of their work and life.

I have argued that these studies can be broadly subsumed under the canopy of work orientation research that revolves around work motivation and responses to work. Work orientation typologies that have emerged over the years have described different types of orientations based on how extrinsic and intrinsic rewards are valued and experienced. Nevertheless, as some authors have argued from the outset, there is a need to situate these meanings about work within the overall and ongoing experience of the workers both inside and outside the confines of the work setting. Following this argument, work orientation can be approached using a socio-temporal frame which takes into account the occupational, organisational and non-work issues individuals face before, during and after employment. In a sense, the analytical gaze moves beyond motivation, and instead towards a social representation of working lives. Examining how seafarers socially represent their own experience of working and living on-board

cruise ships provides an opportunity to illustrate the extent to which work orientations – motivations and judgements about work – can be potentially dynamic and heterogeneous.

Finally, the flexible framework of social representations theory helps us extend the idea of exploring ‘uniquely identifiable communities’ signalled in previous studies (Gibson 2008; Lee-Ross 2008). Instead of characterising these groups according to pre-existing categories (e.g. employer versus worker, marine crew versus hotel staff, developed country versus developing country) these groups can be ‘naturally’ defined based on shared viewpoints or stance (Bauer and Gaskell 1999). They are groups precisely because they subscribe to the same social representation or shared viewpoint about the working lives of seafarers. These social representations are significant examples that illustrate diverse ways by which workers in a globalised industry are able to retain individual agency in carving out, negotiating, innovating and defending meaning from work (Hodson 2001; Watson et al. 2003; Howarth 2006a).

Mindful of a strand of research about cruise sector seafarers and the conceptual distinctions between ‘social representation’, ‘viewpoint’ and ‘stance’ discussed in this chapter, an important methodological task becomes apparent. How can we empirically model the notions of stance, viewpoint and work orientation in a study of the social representations of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers? The succeeding chapter proposes to provide ‘proof of concepts’ and to operationalise the inter-relationship of these ideas (see **Section 4.1.2**, pp.81-84) using the technique, method and epistemology of Q-methodology.

CHAPTER 4

Researching Shared Viewpoints

Method and theory are like the language of the country you live in: it is nothing to brag about that you can speak it, but it is a disgrace, as well as an inconvenience, if you cannot.

C. Wright Mills (1959)

4.1 Why take a Q-methodological approach?

4.1.1 An Overview of Q-Methodology

Q-methodology, hereafter referred to as Q, combines ‘a set of procedures, analytic methods, and conceptual and theoretical frameworks that provide the basis for the scientific study of subjectivity’ (Brown et al. 2015 p.527). The idea of Q-methodology was initially introduced by British physicist and psychologist William Stephenson in a letter to *Nature* (1935). He later formally outlined the approach in his *The Study of Behaviour: Q Technique and its Methodology* (1953). Stephenson labelled his approach as ‘Q’ to break away from an ‘R-methodology’ or the conventional statistical techniques (e.g. Pearson’s R as a measure of correlation) used across the social sciences (Watts and Stenner 2012). In R-methodology, researchers examine individual differences variable-by-variable such as measuring the extent to which age, sex, or educational attainment may be significantly associated with attitudes at the population level. In Q, researchers explore individual differences person-by-person such as investigating a range of different viewpoints around a topic. R-methodology correlates/factor analyses variables (e.g. test items in a Likert scale) whereas Q-methodology correlates/factor analyses persons (i.e. based on the similarity of their Q-sorts). Q-methodology turns the approach of R-methodology upside down by treating participants as the *variables* and the attributes, characteristics, or attitude statements as the *population*.

In a Q-study, a small sample of participants (the P-set) rank-orders a sample of statements (the 48-item Q-set) into a subjectively meaningful pattern (i.e. from –5

‘Most disagreement’ to +5 ‘Most agreement’) taking the shape of an inverted pyramid grid (the Q-sort following a fixed quasi-normal distribution). Resulting Q-sorts are factor analysed by person (Q-analysis), and not by statement, yielding a set of factors whose interpretation reveals a set of points-of-view (F-set) (Stenner 2006).

The theory, method and interpretation in conducting Q-studies have been covered in handbooks on general research methods (Stainton-Rogers 1995; Corr 2006; Durning and Brown 2007; Brown et al. 2008; Durning 2008; Brown and Good 2010; Rhoads 2014), books (Watts and Stenner 2012; McKeown and Thomas 2013), journal articles (Brown 1993; Watts and Stenner 2005a) other online publications (van Exel and de Graaf 2005; Webler et al. 2007; 2009) and video resources (Deignan 2012; Baker 2013). Q-methodology has a footing in both quantitative (Rhoads 2014) and qualitative (Brown 2008; Stenner et al. 2008; Shemmings and Ellingsen 2012) camps and are increasingly accepted as a mixed research approach (Stenner and Stainton-Rogers 2004; Ramlo and Newman 2011; Frost and Shaw 2015).

Q has been used in a wide range of disciplines including social psychology (Curt 1994), political science (Brown 1980), environmental policy (Addams and Proops 2000b), rural sociology (Previte et al. 2007), human geography (Robbins and Krueger 2000), health economics (Baker et al. 2006), and social work (Ellingsen et al. 2010). Q-methodology has been effectively applied to a broad set of topics such as conceptualisations of empowerment (Brown 2003; 2005), European identity (Robyn 2005), post-community democratisation (Dryzek and Holmes 2004); meanings of sexual satisfaction (McClelland 2013), discourses of sexual relationships (Franz et al. 2016; Stenner et al. 2006), partnership love (Watts and Stenner 2005b), and sustainability (Barry and Proops 1999); experiences of neurological dysfunction (Jones et al. 2003; Spurgeon et al. 2012), depression (Alderson et al. 2015), and smoking (Collins et al. 2002; Moss and Bould 2009; Farrimond et al. 2010); constructions of lesbianism (Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers 1985) and male identities (Horwood 2000), social identity of nurses (Millward 1995); attitudes towards respite care (van Exel et al. 2007), healthy lifestyle (van Exel et al. 2006), aircraft noise annoyance (Kroesen and Bröer 2009), promotion of quiet areas (Lavandier and Delaitre 2015) and many other

topics. Reviews of cruise-related literature published since the 1980s show that Q-methodology has not yet been used as a research approach (Papathanassis and Beckmann 2011; Papathanassis et al. 2012; Marcussen 2016); and although Q-methodology is explicitly described as an approach to identifying different ‘social representations’ (Stainton-Rogers 2011; Watts and Stenner 2012), the broader literature that emerged after Moscovici introduced the concept of social representation, has not applied Q-methodology as a research method (Flick and Foster 2008; Flick et al. 2015). The present study which applies Q-methodology with interviews makes a contribution to the literature on cruise studies and social representation.

4.1.2 Social Representation of Working Lives and Q-Methodology

The study’s general research question about how cruise sector seafarers perceive and make sense of their working lives can be addressed in different ways. As discussed in Chapter Three, researchers have shown the effectiveness of survey (e.g. Testa and Mueller 2009; Larsen et al. 2012; Wolff et al. 2013), interview (e.g. Gibson 2008; Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp 2011; Terry 2013), participant observation (e.g. Foster 1986; Tracy 2000; Thompson 2002) and other research methods in exploring the experiences of cruise sector seafarers. Work attitudes of seafarers can be established via a survey but collecting data from a significantly large and random sample of participants may prove difficult for a lone researcher. Conducting an ethnography on-board a cruise ship is potentially attractive and promises to provide in-depth qualitative data on the day-to-day dynamics of life at sea. However, this would require the researcher to have sufficient skills in service work to at least merit the status of a being ‘participant observer’. Moreover, the business-oriented nature of the industry makes the cruise ship an extremely difficult site to access for researchers whose topics do not carry immediate commercial value (Larsen et al. 2012; Dennett 2013) or have direct management implications (Papathanassis et al. 2012).

The appropriateness of Q-methodology as the ‘method of choice’ for the present study can be demonstrated in its ability to explore and describe the diversity of shared representations of a social phenomenon especially marginal ones (Capdevila and

Lazard 2009; Roper et al. 2015). This becomes more relevant given the polarised depictions of work and life of cruise ship workers in the media – e.g. the cruise company’s narrative of ‘perfect worker in a dream job’ versus the union’s narrative of ‘exploited worker on a sweatship’. By engaging with seafarer perspectives, the conversation about the working lives of cruise sector seafarers can move beyond the already circulating and dominant representations. In representing the subjective landscape using Q, dominant/circulating and marginalised points-of-view can be considered alongside each other (Brown 2006). This way, Q avoids the notion of a ‘hyper-rational’ and ‘hyper-informed’ individual depicted in regression models in conventional surveys (Dryzek 2005) and instead shifts attention to charting the existing diversity of perspectives.

A second justification for the use of Q-methodology in this study is its potential to make the patterns of individual and shared viewpoints explicit (Steelman and Maguire 1999). Q-methodology can ‘systematically identify groups of individuals with a common attitude structure by seeking patterns of responses across individuals’ (Addams and Proops 2000a p.1). This is quite different from what can be learned from a survey. Surveys allow us to generalise about whether a population have a favourable attitude towards an issue and how this attitude might be influenced by certain socio-demographic ‘variables’ such as gender, age, or social class. Q-studies do not aim to generalise about how opinions are distributed in a population. Instead, studies using Q-methodology ‘investigate how an individual, separately or as part of a group, thinks about a topic’ (Durning 2008 p.1678). Here, the ‘groups of individuals’ are not based on pre-determined categories of gender, age or social class but are instead defined by ‘shared’ viewpoint. In a Q-study, investigating how a group ‘thinks about a topic’ does not mean ‘averaging across demographic variables’ (Roper et al. 2015 p.6) such as in public opinion surveys. Instead, the purpose is to explicate the structure and form of subjective opinion – how a set of attitudes is organised and communicated as an ‘internal frame of reference’ (McKeown and Thomas 2013 p.2).

The method (Q-sorting) and technique (by-person factor analysis) of Q are supported by theoretical reasons that render a distinct methodology (Brown 2009). Subjectivity,

as the focus of investigation, takes a definite conceptualisation in Q-methodology (Brown 1997; Wolf 2010; Watts 2011) that is different from its conventional and academic usage. Brown (1980), explains that:

Fundamentally, *a person's subjectivity is merely his own point of view*. It is neither a trait nor a variable, nor ...some subterranean 'stream of consciousness.' It is ...the kind we encounter ... when a person prefaces his remarks with 'As far as I'm concerned ...' or 'In my opinion...,' ... it is the explicit intent of *Q* technique to allow a person to express "his subjectivity *operantly*, modelling it in some manner as a *Q* sort. It remains *his* viewpoint" (*sic*) (p.46, emphasis in the original).

Subjectivity described in this manner raises two important points. Firstly, subjectivity is *operant*. To describe subjectivity as operant is to remove any mental or inner experience connotation attached to the term. It suggests that subjectivity is amenable to being communicated or expressed naturally such as when we silently talk to ourselves or speak to others in public (Wolf 2010; McKeown and Thomas 2013). In Q, subjectivity is modelled and becomes amenable to observation via Q-sorting. In a Q-sorting task, the participants are given 'collections of statements, usually verbal...upon which a person projects feeling' (Stephenson 1982). Here the parameters of subjectivity are defined by its impact on the elements of a topic of interest. The person's subjective communication about the topic is preserved because it is expressed from a *self-referent* position. The response to each statement is always from the standpoint of the individual in such a way that the person is saying, 'I am giving an opinion from *my* viewpoint and not yours.' In summary, subjectivity understood as point-of-view refers to:

'the first person perspective [existing as] ... a current outlook or positioning relative to some aspect of their immediate environment (a circumstance perhaps, an event, or some other object of enquiry)...and takes a defined form only in the moment of relationship between a subject and its object, between the knower and the known, observer and observed' (Watts 2011 p.40).

The links between research methodology and theoretical framework of the study can now be specified. The definition of viewpoint above resonates with the concept of 'stance triangle' (DuBois 2007) and 'representational triad' (Bauer and Gaskell 1999)

discussed in **Section 3.3.3**, pp.73-77. These two concepts help clarify the notion of a ‘shared viewpoint’ as the more or less similar stance position of persons (e.g. Subject-1 and Subject-2) towards a social phenomenon (Object). In a stance triangle, the evaluative opinion of Subject-1 towards Object produces a position that may or may not align with Subject-2. The idea of a representational triad argues that meaning is socially constructed such that the way in which Subject-1 defines the Object always implies an actual or imagined ‘other’ (Subject-2).

These ideas are reflected in a Q-sorting task. In the study, the participant-seafarer is engaged in an instance of sensemaking by considering a range of working life issues. The participant’s positive or negative opinion on each stimulus statement is a stance-taking act. The overall arrangement of statements on the response grid organises these opinions in relation to one another and configures them according to the participant’s system of relevance – some issues are more personally relevant or significant than others. Through this series and systematic stance-taking acts the participant constructs meaning to a set of experiences which involves considering others, whether imagined or real. Taking all the stances on issues together, the completed Q-sort captures the individual’s point-of-view at that moment. Since the participants sorted the same set of statements about work and life of cruise sector seafarers, it is possible to compare not only their opinion on specific issues but more importantly the overall patterning of statements that reflect holistic perspectives. Participants who have Q-sorts that are more or less the same in terms of the pattern of statements can be described as a group defined by ‘similar’ perspective on the topic of discussion. We can then make the transition from talking about *individual* representations (Q-sorts) to *social* representations of working lives (factor/work-views). The groups of highly correlated Q-sorts may be interpreted as distinct social representations of work and life of cruise ship workers. They are social or shared ‘insofar as they retain a sense of the collective existing across individual minds’ (Sammut 2015 p.106) of the participants.

4.2 Steps in Conducting a Q-study

Table 10 Q-methodology as a mixed research approach

Phase: Pre-study	Design: QUAL → quan
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Formulating the research question 2. Selecting a sample of opinion statements (Q-set) that reflects the diversity of the population of statements (concourse) 3. Pilot testing of research tools 	
Phase: Main study: Data collection	Design: QUAN → qual
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Selecting the person sample (P-set) 5. Collecting Q-sorts and conducting interviews 	
Phase: Main study: Analysis and Interpretation	Design: QUAN → QUAL
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Correlating and factor analysing Q-sorts to identify groups of individuals who have a shared viewpoint (Q-factors) 7. Identifying similarities and differences between the weighted average Q-sort (factor array) of the groups 8. Characterising the structure of a shared viewpoint by integrating data from factor array and interviews 9. Summarising a shared viewpoint narratively 	
Note: Quan = Quantitative, Qual = Qualitative	

Guidelines (e.g. Brown 1980; Watts and Stenner 2012; McKeown and Thomas 2013) introducing Q method research outline several distinct steps such as identifying and sampling the concourse, Q-sorting, selecting participants, statistical analysis of data, and interpreting the factors. Q is often mistaken as an exclusively quantitative research approach because of its use of Q-sorts and factor analysis. However, the qualitative features of the approach such as the construction of concourse, selection of items for Q-set and narrative interpretation of factor arrays are as important as the quantitative aspects (Shemmings and Ellingsen 2012). Q is one example of innovative research approaches that moves beyond the traditional methodological divide (Krivokapic-Skoko and O'Neill 2011). Q maintains its 'qualiquantological' (Stenner and Stainton-Rogers 2004; Ramlo 2016) or 'mixed research' framework throughout the research process – from formulation to planning and implementation.

The term mixed research²⁵ refers to ‘the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study’ (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004 p.17). To appreciate Q as a mixed research approach, **Table 10** subsumes the major steps in conducting a Q-study within broad phases of a research process and its associated mixed research design. Swedberg suggests that social research has two phases: a ‘pre-study’ which involves ‘an early and preliminary, yet intense, confrontation with data’ (Swedberg 2014 p.25) and a ‘main study’ where research design is implemented and data is collected to answer the central research question. In **Table 10**, an ‘analysis and interpretation’ phase is separated to show a different emphasis of mixing in terms of data analysis and in relation to the earlier phases. Using Leech and Onwuegbuzie’s typology of mixed research designs, the steps involved in a Q-study can be described as illustrating a ‘fully mixed sequential dominant status design’. This means (i) that the study ‘mixes qualitative and quantitative research...across the stages of the research process’; (ii) that ‘the quantitative and qualitative phases occur sequentially’; and (iii) that ‘either the quantitative or the qualitative phase is given more weight’ (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009 p.271).

The pre-study phase of Q-method research is qualitatively-driven (QUAL → quan). It involves a comprehensive engagement with different forms of qualitative data to estimate and develop the flow of discussion about the topic. The quantitative component of pre-study involves selecting the sample statements that will be used in the Q-sorting task. In the main study’s data collection phase, quantitative method is more dominant than the qualitative method (QUAN → qual). Here, data collection is driven by the Q-sorting task of the participants. Each person is asked to rank-order the sample statements along an 11-point continuum (from -5, most disagree to +5, most agree) fixed grid. In this phase, the post-sorting interview is an important but a non-dominant method of data collection compared to the quantitative data of Q-sorts

²⁵ Some scholars (e.g. Johnson et al. 2007; Onwuegbuzie 2012) prefer the term ‘mixed research’ over ‘mixed methods research’ because the mixing sometimes involves not just *methods* such as in this study.

(QUAN \rightarrow qual). In the analysis and interpretation phase, the qualitative mode of interpretation has an equal dominant status with the quantitative results from correlation and by-person factor analysis of Q-sorts (QUAN \rightarrow QUAL). The structure of a shared viewpoint contained in the weighted average Q-sort of the groups identified is revealed using abductive logic and is illustrated using extracts from the interview. To further substantiate the mixed research character of Q, the next subsections clarify and discuss these research steps within the context of a study on the social representation of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers.

4.2.1 Developing a Q-set from a Concourse

Selecting a topic

A Q-study begins by identifying a subjective topic that generates a range of different views. For example, we could expect that cruise sector seafarers may have different ways of representing their work experience. The subjective dimension of this process can be operationalised by asking, ‘What working life issues may help illustrate how cruise sector seafarers make sense of employment experience in relation to the wider context of their lives?’ This question is consistent with the social representation approach because it explores ‘a system of opinion, knowledge and beliefs’ (Rateau et al. 2011 p.478) about a topic.

Assembling a concourse

However, before any opinion can be articulated, the various aspects of ‘employment experience’ on-board cruise ships and the ‘wider life’ need to be explicitly identified first. This begins by assembling a concourse for a given topic. By definition, the concourse ‘consists of all that has been or might be said as a matter of subjective communicability’ (Brown et al. 2014, p.6), in short the volume of discussion around a topic. The universe of (usually) verbal statements for any given topic is infinite because people depending on their interests can have innumerable statements about something. Instead of simply collecting informational/factual statements, the objective is to gather statements that offer ‘conversational possibilities’ (Stephenson 1986, p.44) about the

working lives of cruise sector seafarers. Usually, researchers collect these opinion statements from interviews with relevant ‘experts’, published academic literature, and any other source that discusses the topic.

Table 11 Distribution of concourse/Q-set statements by data source

Source	Concourse Statements		Pilot Q-set		Final Q-set	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Interview	105	23.0	17	35.4	18	37.5
Video	219	47.9	11	22.9	11	22.9
Websites	64	14.0	4	8.3	4	8.3
Literature	69	15.1	16	33.3	15	31.3
	457	100.0	48	100.0	48	100.0

In the present study, concourse statements were obtained from four sources. See **Table 11** above for a brief list and **Appendix-5** (p.273-276) and **Appendix-6** (p.277-280) for examples.

Fourteen cruise sector seafarers were interviewed, individually and by group, during initial fieldwork in Manila from September to December 2013. Some were recruited through personal contacts but most were met at the office of the Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA) with the help of a colleague at Cardiff University who works for MARINA. All of the interviewees previously worked as hotel staff on a cruise ship. The interview revolved around several topics including: (a) circumstances prior to cruise ship employment, (b) typical working day on-board, (c) similarities and differences between their previously held land-based job and current sea-based job, (d) temporary employment, (e) life when off contract, (f) their travels, and (g) the challenges or problems they encountered. Since I, the researcher, had no ship-related experience these interviews served to provide background knowledge about the work and life of seafarers on-board cruise ships.

To visualise life at sea and to gather concourse statements, the researcher watched various documentaries about the cruise ship industry and the life of cruise ship workers, promotional videos about work on-board, along with seafarer-made videos of everyday experiences. Different cruise-related websites (e.g. crewing agencies) and

Facebook pages were visited to source potential issues of conversation. Finally, concourse statements were collected from previous studies about work identity (Adams et al. 2010; Bothma 2011), seafarers in general (Lamvik 2012; Swift 2010; Sampson 2013) and cruise ship workers in particular (Chin 2008a).

Overall, the study concourse was composed of 457 statements. Almost half of the statements were derived from videos, 23% from the interviews, 15% from academic literature and 14% from websites (**Table 11**). The statements collected from these sources can on their own be a data corpus for a qualitative study. Given their form (interview, video, website and webpage comments) it is possible and acceptable to apply appropriate qualitative data analytic techniques (see Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2007; 2008) to interrogate the data and make claims about social representations of work on cruise ships. However, it is important to clarify that the main task of generating a concourse is neither to provide data for the ‘main study’ nor to present a final analysis of initial data. The objective is to develop the Q-set as a research tool that will allow participants to model an individual point-of-view in a way that is amenable to mapping discourses about work and life of cruise sector seafarers.

The subjective communication on any given topic is theoretically infinite and continually expanding (Stephenson 1986; Brown and Good 2010). The several hundred statements collected were typical of most Q-studies and were only an empirical estimation of that universe of discussion. The researcher can continue to build the concourse only ‘to the extent possible’ (Brown et al. 2008 p.723) given the limits of time/energy and the subjective assessment of whether data saturation in terms of depth and breadth of opinions was achieved (Paige and Morin 2016). This was the reason why multiple data sources were used in this study to ‘populate’ the concourse. The relative volume of statements (48%) collected from documentaries and other cruise ship-related videos indicates the usefulness of online and publicly available videos in capturing the different aspects of the topic. Admittedly, there are other

possible sources that can be tapped to form the concourse in future studies²⁶. Nevertheless, the 457 statements provided a working collection from which the Q-set could be constructed.

Developing a Q-set

The next step in a Q-study is to draw a representative sample, called the Q-set, from the population of statements. Again in Q, the concourse statements comprise the *population* and the persons are the *variables*. In surveys, the person sample is randomly selected but in a Q-study, the Q-set is strategically selected to reflect the complexity and diversity of opinions contained in the concourse. To systematically represent the elements of the concourse the researcher proceeds ‘by breaking down the relevant subject matter into a series of component themes’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.59) based on theoretical or practical considerations. In the present study, the concourse statements were reviewed using thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun and Clarke 2006; 2013). This resulted in 23 themes that fell under ‘individual’, ‘socio-cultural’, ‘organisational’, ‘occupational’ and ‘other work-related’ dimensions. The results of this preliminary thematic analysis appear in **Appendix 3**, pp.255-271. The cruise-related empirical literature reviewed in Chapter Three provided a useful conceptual framework for the selection of statements: that employees’ subjective perception and representation of work experience are ongoing processes defined by the interaction of ‘prior’ work orientation and ‘the objective features of the work situation’ (Beynon and Blackburn 1972 p.157). The seafarers’ series of temporary employment contracts on-board cruise ships introduces a time orientation to their working lives, albeit fragmentary. This gave the idea of clustering the themes identified

²⁶ For example, I became aware of a discussion thread in Reddit.com [Available at: <https://goo.gl/cK2D93> accessed on 11 February 2017] which asked the question, ‘*What is it really like to work and live on a cruise ship?*’ As of writing the thread has received more than 13,000 comments. Within a month of posting an article (Hoeller 2016) had already been written about it complete with a summary of key responses. This can be a valuable publicly-available resource to encounter the range of opinions and issues concerning the working lives of seafarers on-board cruise ships.

according to their social (i.e. whether the opinion statement is an organisational, occupational or a non-work issue) and temporal (i.e. whether the issue happens before, during or after the seafarer's employment on-board cruise ship) dimensions (see **Appendix 4**, p.272).

In the study, a sample of 48 statements formed the pilot Q-set (see **Appendix 5**, pp.273-276). The task of the researcher during this stage is to make sure that the Q-set is 'few' enough for the participants to feasibly arrange on the response board and 'numerous' enough to capture the elements of the concourse (Brown et al. 2008). The Q-set in most Q-studies ranges from 40 to 80 items (Watts and Stenner 2012).

Table 11 (p.88) shows that out of 48 statements, 35% were from the background interviews, 33% were from academic literature and the remainder were from online videos and comments. This initial Q-set was pilot tested and subsequently revised (see next subsection). **Table 12** below shows a 3 x 3 matrix describing how statements in the final Q-set relate to the socio-temporal frame on working life issues introduced in the previous chapter (see **Appendix 4** in p.272 for a list of statements within each cell).

In general, the 'occupation' dimension covered issues related to pre-requisites for employment, job tasks and job reward. The 'organisation' dimension delved into attitudes towards co-workers, the company and the work setting. Finally, the 'non-work' dimension referenced issues on work motivation, maintenance of family relationships and long-term work intentions. It can be noticed that the majority of the statements related to the work situation (i.e. occupation and organisation) (73%) and were experienced 'during' their time on-board (52%). The rationale for this was obvious: to bring the seafarers into an 'instance of sensemaking' (Weick 1995) about their working lives, it seems natural that their time on-board should be given prominence in the range of 'conversational possibilities' (Stephenson 1986) whilst recognising the relevance of 'before' and 'after' 'non-work' dimensions.

Table 12 Distribution of statements in the final Q-set statements by social and temporal dimension

Number of statements (percentage)	BEFORE 12 (25.0%)	DURING 25 (52.1%)	AFTER 11 (22.9%)
OCCUPATION 16 (33.3%)	3 (6.3%)	10 (20.8%)	3 (6.3%)
ORGANISATION 19 (39.6%)	4 (8.3%)	13 (27.1%)	2 (4.2%)
NON-WORK 13 (27.1%)	5 (10.4%)	2 (4.2%)	6 (12.5%)

4.2.2 Piloting Research Instruments

Although pilot studies are usually under-reported in both quantitative and qualitative work (Sampson 2004), a trial run for the main study is important in testing materials for adequacy and possible errors, outlining a research protocol, evaluating strategies for recruiting participants and assessing potential issues in analysis and interpretation (van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001). Piloting research instruments can be very insightful especially to novice users of Q-methodology, as in this study.

Pilot participants

The initial Q-set was piloted on a sample of 37 participants (**Table 13**). A large crewing agency in Manila granted permission to interview cruise sector seafarers who were processing requirements for their next contract. The researcher visited Crewing Agency-A from 16th to 20th June 2014. The average age of participants was 34 years where the youngest was aged 21 and the oldest 46. Twenty out of the 37 participants were below 35 years old. On average, the pilot participants had a cumulative time at sea of eight years. All of them were involved in service-related job positions because Crewing Agency-A only supplies crew members for the hotel department of a cruise fleet.

Table 13 Summary characteristics of ‘pilot’ participants

		N=37	%
Gender	Female	2	5
	Male	35	95
Age	20 - 24	6	16
	25 - 29	8	22
	30 - 34	6	16
	35 - 39	8	22
	40 - 44	4	10
	45 - 50	5	14
Department	Hotel	37	100
Job position	Busboy/Utility	9	24
	Cabin Steward/Housekeeping	8	22
	Waiter/ Head waiter	7	19
	Cook/Sous Chef	5	14
	Bartender/supervisor	4	11
	Tailor	1	2.5
	Baker/Pastry	1	2.5
	Provision master	1	2.5
	Sommelier	1	2.5
Sea time	One year	6	16
	2 - 5	10	27
	6 – 10	11	30
	11 – 15	5	14
	16 – 20	1	2.5
	More than 20	4	11

Trial statistical analysis and revision of pilot Q-set

The pilot study has three purposes: (a) to check whether statements for Q-sorting are clear and relevant to actual cruise ship workers, (b) to spot problematic phrasing, and (c) to trial run statistical analysis/interpretation. Pilot participants commented that the Q-set resonated actual subjective experiences. Initial statistical analysis revealed that three shared viewpoints could be identified in the sample. The results demonstrated the feasibility of the analysis to be undertaken and were consistent with other Q-studies which normally report between one to seven different shared perspectives.

Table 14 Sample of problematic phrasing

Original phrasing in <u>pilot</u> Q-set	Revised phrasing in <u>final</u> Q-set
33. I learned how to converse in different languages (French, German, Italian, Spanish) while on board. I am improving this skill up to now.	35. I learned how to converse in different languages because of my cruise ship job.
48. Ship life is not a life. It is like slavery.	48. The ship is like a prison where you have nothing to do but work, work, work.

However, closer analysis of the relevant statements for interpretation proved to be difficult due to problematic phrasing (Table 14; see Appendix 5, p.273 for the complete ‘pilot’ Q-set). Several statements were too elaborate such as Statement-33 which focused on learning different languages as a result of encounters with multinational co-workers and passengers. The identification of specific languages in the original statement may not readily apply to all cruise sector seafarers and may intimidate those who have only learned one international language. The second part of Statement-33 further complicates the content by raising another issue. Statement-35 provides a simplified version that does not enumerate specific languages. A participant who did not acquire a new language other than English and Tagalog could simply disagree with the statement while those who learned another language at whatever level of proficiency may simply agree with the statement.

The original phrasing of Statement-48 has a ‘troublesome qualification’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.62) because of its negative expression and extreme wording. The sentence ‘Ship life is *not* a life’ creates a ‘double negative’ should a participant give a ‘disagree’ rating. In such a case, is the participant claiming that life aboard is enjoyable? Or is the participant supporting the idea that ship life is ‘not a life’? Furthermore, Statement-48 also includes the term ‘slavery’ to describe life on-board. This extreme formulation could create an unnecessary consensus among participants to disagree with the item in principle because of its negative connotation. To address this, the revised version likened ship life to that of a prison where one has to work all the time.

The revised item is no longer a double negative and presents a less extreme formulation. **Appendix 6** in p.277 shows the final and revised set statements.

Clearly, these problematic phrases could have been avoided when a more careful assessment was done earlier in the selection of statements for the Q-set. As a novice in the use of Q-methodology, it was difficult to give the attention to the fine details of Q-set selection whilst at the same time coming to grips with the central concepts of the approach, the steps involved, and the technical procedures of analysis and interpretation. At the beginning of the fieldwork, there was really no plan for a pilot data collection and the intention was to include the Q-sorts collected from Crewing Agency-A as part of data for the main study. However, the problematic issues identified in some of the statements needed to be addressed accordingly. This led to the decision to exclude the first batch of Q-sorts ($n=37$) as data for the main study and consider them as a 'pilot study'. In general, having a 37-person sample is 'too many' especially using Q's standard (see next subsection). Whilst it may seem costly to discard a substantial amount of quantitative data from the pilot participants there were also some benefits. A more effective Q-set and less problematic interpretation of results was more likely once the errors had been spotted and corrected. Had these mistakes been discovered later in the study (i.e. after collecting 99 Q-sorts and returning to Cardiff) then the situation would have been devastating should it have proven necessary to collect the data all over again. Practically, the trial statistical analysis enabled the researcher to learn the mechanics of a companion software ahead of final data collection and better placed the study by allowing more time to be devoted to the interpretation of the results. Finally, the efforts of the pilot participants were not wasted completely because this afforded the collection of 255 minutes of interview data to complement the interview data provided by the final set of participants. Interview data from the pilot study remained valuable as additional qualitative data useful for illustration in later analysis (Bazeley 2013).

Having completed the steps involved in the pre-study, the focus of the next four subsections are the steps taken in the 'main study phase'. This includes selecting the

study participants, collecting data through Q-sorts and interviews, conducting statistical and qualitative data analysis, and interpreting shared perspectives.

4.2.3 Selecting the Person Sample (P-set)

The sample of participants in a Q-study is called the P-set. In the study, criterion and convenience sampling schemes were used to recruit participants (Collins et al. 2007). A seafarer may be recruited to participate provided he or she has worked in either the hotel or marine department of a cruise ship for at least one full contract. Participants for the main study phase (N=99) were recruited from two crewing agencies (n=75), the MARINA (n=9) and personal contacts (n=15).

The select characteristics of the person sample are summarised in **Table 15**. The sample was less diverse in terms of gender as 88% of the participants were male. All of the 12 female participants were hotel staff. The ages of participants ranged from 23 to 54 years with an average age of 34 years. The participants' accumulated time at sea ranged from one to 22 years with an average employment service of eight years.

Table 15 Summary characteristics of 'main study' participants

		N=99	%
Source of access	Crewing Agency B	59	59.6
	Crewing Agency C	16	16.2
	MARINA	9	9.1
	Personal	15	15.2
Gender	Female	12	12
	Male	87	88
Age	20 - 24	8	8
	25 - 29	23	23
	30 - 34	26	26
	35 - 39	18	18
	40 - 44	14	14
	45 - 50	7	7
	50 and above	3	3
Department	Hotel	66	67
	Marine	33	33

		N=99	%
Job position	(at Hotel Department)		(n=66)
	Waiter	21	32
	Bartender/cocktail waitress	11	17
	Cabin Steward	10	15
	Cook/Sous Chef	10	15
	Storekeeper	3	5
	Casino Dealer	3	5
	Baker/Pastry	2	3
	Busboy/Mess man	2	3
	Cruise activity staff	2	3
	Chief purser	1	2
	Security	1	2
	(at Marine Department)		(n=33)
	AB Ordinary seaman	11	33
	Mechanic	5	15
	Carpenter	4	12
	Deck Maintenance	3	9
	Incinerator man	2	6
	Jr Seaman	2	6
	Sanitation supervisor	2	6
	Electrician	1	3
	Oiler	1	3
	Plumber	1	3
	Radio operator	1	3
Sea time			
	One year	11	11
	2 - 5	27	27
	6 – 10	32	32
	11 – 15	20	20
	16 – 20	6	6
	More than 20	3	3

Two-thirds of the overall sample (67%) were working at the hotel department as waiters, cabin stewards, bartenders, cooks, bakers, casino dealers or storekeeper. The other one-third (33%) were marine crew working as mechanics, plumbers, upholsterers, oilers, radio operators or AB seamen. The department and gender characteristics of the study sample were more or less reflective of the general profile of the global cruise ship industry. The SIRC World Cruise Survey in 2000 (Alderton et al. 2004; Wu 2005) showed that 81% of study participants were males whilst 19% were females; and that 85% of the sample were hotel staff whilst 15% were marine crew. The greater number of hotel staff in the present study reflected the statistics on Filipino seafarers presented in **Section 2.3.1**, pp.35-39. According to POEA (2015) data, being a waiter/waitress is among the top ten job positions occupied by Filipino seafarers.

Whilst the study sample has some semblance of what may be expected in the 'larger population' it must be emphasised that statistical generalisation was not the objective and therefore the sample of participants does not need to be representative of the characteristics of the larger population (age, gender, job position etc.) (McKeown and Thomas 2013). There was however a conscious attempt to attain variation in the non-random sample by adding more participants who were available and met the minimum criteria of completing a six-month contract on a cruise ship. Heterogeneity in the respondent pool is important if the objective is generalisation about shared attitudes among a group of people (Thomas and Baas 1993). The more diverse the person sample the greater the likelihood that the shared discourses identified in later analysis are comprehensive (Dryzek and Holmes 2004). These discourses of attitudes identified in the sample of participants are by no means exhaustive but we can be confident that they are present in the wider population (Brown 1980) of cruise sector seafarers.

In general, Q-studies only require 'a small sample of participants usually less than the number of items in a Q-set' (Watts and Stenner 2012, p.73). For example given a Q-set of 48 statements, adequate analysis may be carried out by collecting Q-sorts from say 40 participants. The small non-random sample is acceptable because generalisation is on the level of discourse (substantive inference) and not population (statistical inference). A number of Q-studies have been successfully conducted with 20 participants or less (e.g. Jordan et al. 2005; Ramlo and Newman 2010; de Guzman et al. 2011). However, this sample size guideline has not prevented other researchers in conducting Q-studies with samples of more than 100 participants (Millward 1995; Stenner et al. 2006; Weber et al. 2008; Franz et al. 2013) particularly if they are after survey-like bivariate/multivariate statistical analysis such as identifying demographic correlates or reporting population distribution of opinions. The sample size may also be increased if the researcher had reason to believe that other shared perspectives exists but were not accounted for in the initial sample (McKeown and Thomas 2013).

In total, six crewing agencies were contacted in the course of a six-month period of fieldwork between April and September 2014 but only three eventually granted access. To negotiate access, each agency was sent a letter introducing the study and requesting

permission to interview participants from their pool of seafarers. Despite repeated personal visits to follow up and the initial verbal granting of approval from an agency's 'decision makers', access to three other crewing agencies did not materialise. This however did not affect the final sample as a substantial number of participants (N=99) was still obtained. The 15 participants accessed through personal contacts and visited in their homes were mostly from the towns of Paete and Famy in Laguna. Laguna is a large province of origin of OFWs²⁷, particularly of seafarers. Paete and Famy are about four and six hours away from Manila, respectively.

Crewing agencies B and C were the local partners of the two biggest cruise line holding companies. Fifty-nine of 99 participants were recruited through Crewing Agency-B whilst 16 were from Crewing Agency-C. I was introduced to the president of the crewing company through the wife of my former university supervisor. She heads a non-governmental organisation for OFWs. As already described, I had access to MARINA through a friend and fellow PhD student at Cardiff, who subsequently became chief of staff of the administrator. Whilst at MARINA looking for 'chance interviewees' I was approached by a staff member who had become accustomed to my presence in the office and aware of the study. She was kind enough to refer me to her contact at Crewing Agency-C. Although there are hundreds of seafarers who visit MARINA every day, they are mostly 'traditional' seafarers working aboard merchant vessels (container, bulk carrier, tanker, etc.) and the likelihood of interviewing cruise sector seafarers is low. Only nine participants were accessed through MARINA.

There were advantages of recruiting participants through crewing agencies. A good number of cruise sector seafarers can be interviewed within the day, more so than visiting one household at a time. Gathering data whilst in an office space facilitated the gathering of Q-sorts from two persons simultaneously since there were two sets of materials available. By contrast, participants who were accessed through snowball

²⁷ Region IV-A, where Laguna province is located, is the single largest migrant-sending region in the Philippines. About 18% of all Filipino migrant contract workers in 2015 came from this region (PSA 2015).

sampling allowed for the collection of more in-depth qualitative data. In comparison, there was a ‘luxury of time’ for story-telling after Q-sorting was completed for those visited in their households. On average, the interview session in home visits lasted for 1.5 hours.

The networked recruitment of participants (Josselson 2013) through intermediaries, or linking contacts in accessing the institutions and enlisting people to the study (Flick 2009), illustrate the importance of ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ties (Granovetter 1973). My strong ties to colleagues facilitated access to MARINA and Crewing Agency-B. The cruise fleet manager in Crewing Agency-B readily accommodated my presence in their office because of a ‘direct recommendation’ from the CEO. This would not have been possible without the personal introduction from a ‘strong tie’ (executive director of an NGO and wife of undergraduate supervisor). Home visits in Paete and Famy became possible through three friends who lived in the same area and introduced me to potential participants. In these instances, participants were more receptive to participation when the researcher was introduced by somebody they knew. The rapport I have developed with a MARINA staff member can be described as a ‘weak tie’ but became very valuable in accessing Crewing Agency-C. The failure of access to the other crewing agencies contacted can be attributed to ‘absent ties’.

4.2.4 Administering Q-sorts, Collecting Interviews

The Procedure

The next step in the ‘main study’ phase was the actual data collection via Q-sorting and interviews. The participant receives a brief introduction to both the researcher and the study and is then presented with the Q-sort materials (**Figure 12** and **Figure 13**)



Figure 12 Materials for a Q-sorting task



Figure 13 Participants completing a Q-sort

The condition of instruction is then announced:

- ☐ *Think about your own knowledge and experiences of working on a cruise ship.*
- ☐ *Read each of the cards and separate them according to your opinion.*
- ☐ *Do you agree, disagree or unsure about the content of the statement?*

The response board features a horizontal scale at the top with numbers from -5 to +5. Below the scale, a grid of colored boxes is arranged in a quasi-normal distribution. The left side (negative values) is red, the center (0) is yellow, and the right side (positive values) is blue. The grid is as follows:

Rating	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
Row 1	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue
Row 2	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue
Row 3		Red	Red	Red	Red	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	
Row 4			Red	Red	Red	Yellow	Blue	Blue	Blue		
Row 5				Red	Red	Yellow	Blue	Blue			
Row 6					Red	Yellow	Blue				
Row 7						Yellow					
Row 8											

PANUTO
Isipin ang iyong karanasan ng pagtatrabaho sa cruise ship. Isaayos ang mga pahayag na nasa card ayon sa kung ikaw ay sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon sa nilalaman nito.

STUDY NUMBER _____
NAME _____

Figure 14 Empty response board

The instruction to ‘think about *your own* knowledge and experiences’ when giving opinion ratings is anchored in the principle of self-reference discussed earlier (see **Section 4.1.2**, pp.81-84). The participant silently reads each card and expresses a provisional opinion by placing the cards into the three appropriately-labelled containers: agree, disagree, unsure (**Figure 12**).

Once the cards are grouped, the participant rates the statements relative to each other and arranges them on a fixed quasi-normal distribution grid ranging from -5 (most disagreement) to +5 (most agreement) (**Figure 14**). The participants are directed to different areas of an unpopulated response board so that they can visualise what is expected. They are reminded that the higher the rating score, the greater the weight of

their opinion. They usually start with the ‘agree’ or ‘disagree’ receptacle, whichever has fewer cards. Beginning with the ‘disagree cards’, for example, the participant selects the two cards they disagree with the most and place them under column ‘-5’. The participant then selects the next three cards they disagree with the most from the remaining disagree cards and place them under column ‘-4’. Participants are reminded to follow the shape of the Q-board when laying out the cards. The same procedures are applied to the ‘agree cards’ and the ‘unsure cards’ are laid out last.

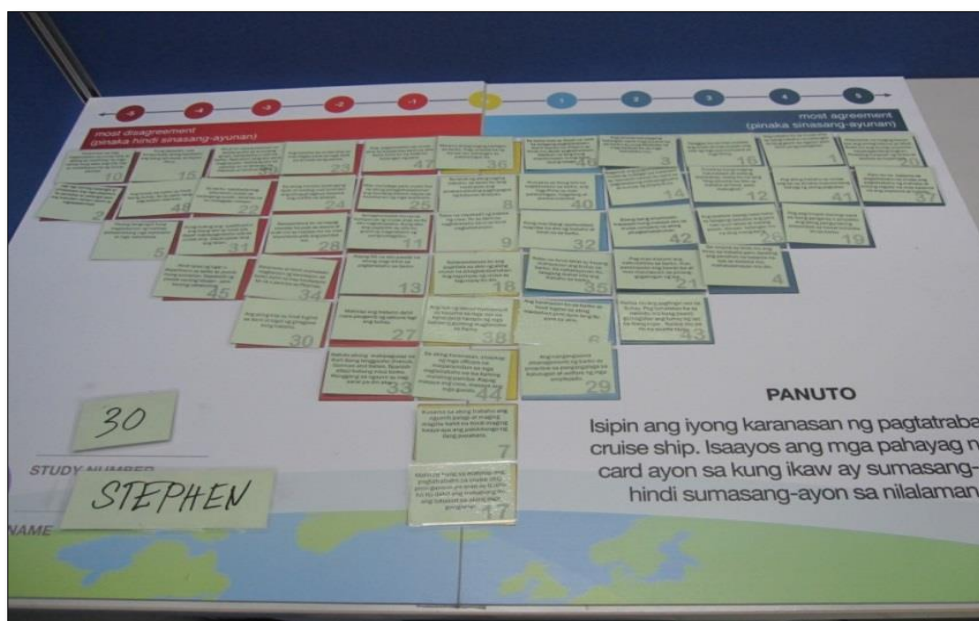


Figure 15 A completed Q-sort

Once a Q-sort is completed (**Figure 15**), the participant is asked to comment on the cards placed on both ends of the Q-grid (± 4 and ± 5). Presumably, these cards dealt with the ‘front and ‘centre’ concerns of their working lives. These are the issues they felt most strongly about. The brief interview is an opportunity to explore the participant’s rationale behind their opinion on these working life issues. The participants’ opinion on each statement and its defined placement/rating on the Q-sort are ‘laced with reasoning’ (Brown 2017). The post-sorting interview is a continuing expression of the same attitude and logic that are in operation during the sorting task. The general question format is:

*You placed card no. ___ under the column +5 which means that you **MOST STRONGLY AGREE** to this statement relative to the rest of the cards. Can you tell me the reason for this?*

The participant normally responds by explaining their reasoning behind a card placement. In some instances, they elaborate by relating a personal experience that captures the essence of their stance. If the response has the potential to be developed into a story of personal experience, a narrative-pointed question (Wengraf 2011) is asked such as:

“You mentioned _____. Can you tell me an instance where _____ occurred? How did it all happen?”

This facilitated the gathering of complementary qualitative data useful in later analysis and interpretation. By the end of each session two forms of data are collected from each person: a photo of a completed Q-sort and an audio-recording of a brief conversation.

Reception and Reflection

It can now be seen that Q-sorts and interviews comprise the data corpus upon which the different social representations of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers may be mapped. Before moving further into the area of data analysis, it is essential to address the four most common criticisms that are raised in relation to the mechanics and principles of the Q-sort method (e.g. Kampen and Tamás 2014; versus Brown et al. 2015).

- (a) *Sorting a set of 48 cards is an overwhelming task for participants.* Even though it was the first time any of the participants had ever encountered Q-sorting, the activity received a positive welcome. Some of the pilot participants found the sorting task easy (see Bobby’s comment in **Table 16**) because they could relate to the issues described. Although the task was formally stated as Q-sorting, participants found it easier to grasp the idea if it were described as a ‘survey’ (e.g. Mark). For them, the Q-sorting felt like a survey because they were rating statements. The only difference was that they were moving and placing cards on a chart instead of choosing a rating score as for instance in a Likert scale. For others, the novel approach of sorting cards was quite overwhelming especially after mentioning that there were 48 cards to be placed on the

response grid. They (e.g. Joe and Andrew) soon realised that Q-sorting became clearer and easier as they continued. Participants were reassured that the statements were all written in Tagalog so they would be able to understand the content quickly, and that other participants had completed the task in 20 minutes on average. None of the participants decided to discontinue the task, either in the pilot or in the main study.

Table 16 How did you find the Q-sorting activity?

Positive	<p><i>I am able to differentiate what is right among the statements. The situations mentioned in the statements are actually happening on the ship – they are realistic. [Bobby]</i></p> <p><i>It is good that there are surveys like this so that we know what seamen think. All that we do and experience on board are in these cards. [Mark]</i></p> <p><i>It is not difficult because I can understand what it is contained in these cards. It happens. If you don't have any experience, you won't be able to understand what is written. [Wilson]</i></p>
Negative	<p><i>I felt confused at the beginning. I thought the cards were many. [Rowel]</i></p> <p><i>It is a little bit confusing but went fine when I started placing the cards on the chart. [Joe]</i></p> <p><i>I found it a little bit hard to understand the statement but it went OK. [Andrew]</i></p>

(b) *The fixed distribution grid is too limiting a tool to reveal viewpoints as a whole.* It is essential to remember that Q-sorting involves modified rank ordering of the statements. The first round is a provisional grouping of card into piles of ‘agree’, ‘disagree’ and ‘unsure’. The second round is the arranging of cards in each pile according to the strength of opinion and placing a fixed number of cards under each column in the response grid. The procedure is indeed structured but it is far from being restrictive as there is ‘ample opportunity for individual differences’ (Brown 1980 p.267). For example, there are billions of unique possible combinations²⁸ just to initially sort a 48-item Q-set into

²⁸ Given a 48-item Q-set, there are approximately 1.355×10^{21} ways to group the cards into three piles. In 2017, the world population is estimated at 7.5 billion. This means that there are more than 180 billion times

three piles of ‘agree’, ‘disagree’ or ‘neutral’ with exactly 16 cards each for the first stage of sorting. If a participant proceeded to use the three piles of 16 cards each and start sorting them according to a quasi-normal grid then an even more numerous sets of option²⁹ of configuring the set are available to the participant.

More than providing an endless variety of possible viewpoints there are theoretical and practical reasons behind the use of fixed quasi-normal response grids. The shape follows the normal curve; that is, most of the items cluster towards the middle with fewer items at each ends. Certain traits such as the height and intelligence of a given population tend to be normally distributed when arranged in an array. In the same way, when we sort a ‘relatively large’ number of cards into an ordered array of agreement/disagreement we could expect that this too will follow a bell-shaped distribution (Brown et al. 2008; Watts and Stenner 2012). The modified rank-ordering procedure provides a context for participant’s opinions as they are modelled in Gestalt form. As Laswell (1948 p.218) put it: ‘The meaning of any detail depends upon the relation to the whole context in which it is a part’. The use of a fixed distribution is also practical because it facilitates an effective means of capturing overall stance and a more explicit procedure in comparing Q-sorts of participants (Watts and Stenner 2012). By following an approximately normal rank ordering, the values behind placing certain cards at the periphery of the distribution (and not the centre) render it visible for analysis.

Although the quasi normal grid has become the standard choice in Q-studies, it is important to mention that participants may be allowed to provide a Q-sort of any shape (e.g. one long ordered array from 1 to N or a free distribution with any number of cards under each column) because the results of later factor analysis are not affected

as many ways to break the 48-item Q-set than there are people on earth. Calculations of possible combinations are not shown but for a sample see Brown 1980 pp.265-267

²⁹ There will be 1.541×10^{23} ways of configuring the three piles of 16 cards each on the response board. Again, that is about 2.055×10^{13} more ways to complete a Q-sort than the total world population.

by the shape of the distribution (Brown 1980 pp.288–289). Whilst it may seem that a free distribution allows participants ‘more freedom’ what really happens is that they are ‘making a whole load of extra decisions they don’t need to make and that make no difference at all’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.78) to the results of the study. For these reasons, the fixed quasi normal distribution grid is more beneficial for both the participants and the researcher.

(c) The Q-sort is not really the participants’ own representation because the statements used were not theirs. One downside of using a Q-sort as a tool to model a seafarer’s viewpoint on working life is that it is a ‘synthetic’ representation as compared with a more natural and extemporaneous telling of ‘lived experiences’ obtained during in-depth interviews. The Q-set is also initially seen as ‘artificial’ as it is ‘researcher-selected’. It will be recalled that the Q-set was strategically sampled from the large concourse by first thematically analysing the collection and then choosing statements according to social dimensions (occupation, organisation, non-work) and time orientation (before, during and after) of cruise ship employment (see **Section 4.2.1**, pp. 87-92). This was done to create a set that was more or less representative of the variety of opinions in the concourse. Whilst the selection of statements is indeed the decision of the researcher, this ‘does not predetermine the outcomes, nor does it depend on the conventional issues of validity’ (Durning and Brown 2007 p.542). The task of arranging the cards onto the response board remains to be the role of the participant. The Q-sort is the participant’s own representation because the classification and ranking processes are done from his or her point-of-view (see **Section 4.1.2**, pp.81-84) on principle of self-reference). The researcher has no control over that. Moreover, a shared viewpoint cannot emerge in later analysis unless a minimum of two participants sort the items in more or less similar ways (Stainton-Rogers 1991; Kitzinger 1999). In other words, there are ‘group-level’ viewpoints that may be systematically identified, described and constructed from the individuals who hold relatively the same perspective given the range of issues presented.

(d) The post-sorting interview provides very thin qualitative data as opposed to other interviewing styles. In a post-sorting interview the pressures associated with extempore stories of personal

experience are reduced. Schütze (2008) explained that the story participants give in a narrative interview is a result of the constraint to condense ('What areas are relevant to mention?'), the constraint to go into details ('How much information should I reveal?'), and the constraint to close a narration ('At what point will I end my story?'). These pressures are often difficult for participants as I have experienced in an earlier study which used biographic-narrative interviews in researching 'belonging' among second generation Filipinos in London (Llangco 2013). In that study, life story interviews proved to be a useful data collection method but some participants found the process daunting³⁰ and insisted instead that I ask more specific questions to jumpstart their story-telling (i.e. the constraint to condense).

In Q-sorting, the challenge of finding a starting point is resolved in at least 48 ways through the statements on the cards. The content of each card is an 'entrance' to or an 'anchor' for the participant's narration of a lived experience. By focusing on cards/issues with which they have most agreement (two cards under +5) or most disagreement (two cards under (-5), one may be confident that these issues are most relevant from the point of view of the participant. This way the participant's system of relevance is prioritised over that of the researcher's (Roper et al. 2015). The opposite usually happens in a semi-structured interview where the session proceeds by using questions that the researcher thinks are the most relevant to focus on. In the present study, the responses gathered from post-sorting interviews were normally short given the limitations of time yet they provided reasonable qualitative data to work with and supplemented the interpretation of the structure of shared viewpoints – a claim that will be demonstrated fully in the next two chapters. The post-sorting interview is less naturalistic compared to traditional styles of interviewing but the prior sorting task allows for a systematic comparison of individual and shared viewpoints (Farrimond et al. 2010).

³⁰ For example, the opening question used to elicit life stories of second-generation participants was: *'Can you please tell me the story of your life, from when you first became aware of your Filipino side up to now – all the events and experiences that have been important to you personally.'*

4.2.5 Statistical Analysis of Q-sorts

Extracting factors via correlation and by-person factor analysis

The study's quantitative data analysis phase involves data input and statistical tests using the PQMethod software (Schmolck 2014). In the study, correlation analysis was performed to assess the degree of (dis)similarity across the 99 Q-sorts in the sample. The correlation matrix was then subjected to centroid factor analysis³¹ followed by varimax rotation³² to condense into few factors or natural clusters of Q-sorts which have significant commonality in the way the cards were placed on the response grid. Each factor may be understood to represent a shared viewpoint on the working lives of cruise sector seafarers. By-person factor analysis can yield several acceptable solutions composed of factors between one and seven. A factor solution may be judged as 'optimal' if the following statistical and theoretical criteria are met:

- a) A factor solution is good if it accounts for more than 35% of overall variance observed in the Q-sorts gathered (Watts and Stenner 2012).
- b) Given several factor solutions possible, an un-rotated factor may be retained if it has an eigenvalue greater than 1.0. An eigenvalue is 'indicative of a factor's statistical strength and explanatory power' (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.105).

³¹ Although there are other types of factor analytic techniques (e.g. principal components analysis) centroid factor analysis is the preferred and recommended factor analytic technique for Q-studies because it is not restrictive to a just one best 'mathematical' solution but instead 'leaves all possible solutions open, it allows to legitimately explore these possibilities through rotation and enables us to defer a decision about the best solution and the best criteria for making that decision until we have explored the data further' (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.99).

³² Varimax is a type of factor rotation that 'is intended to capture variation or variety in the results – that is, to draw sharp distinctions between factors, as opposed to (say) blending them into a consensus point of view' (Dryzek and Holmes 2002 p.28). Varimax rotation is 'a good enough strategy' to 'rotate the factors in such a way that each Q-sort is maximized on a single factor and minimized on all other factors' thus creating a 'simple structure' (Brown et al. 2008 p.737).

- c) A factor is worth reporting if it is defined by five people or more although a factor defined by at least two people also deserves some look (Brown 1980; 2014).
- d) Whilst statistical criteria are important in deciding how many factors to retain, a final consideration is ‘interpretive plausibility’ – that the factor adds valuable information quite different from what the other factors have covered (Dryzek and Holmes 2004).

Considering these criteria, factor solutions composed of two, three, four, five and six factors were trialled. All of the factor solutions tested met the statistical criteria set out above but the most theoretically relevant was the four-factor solution. It has simple, clear and distinct viewpoints (Webler et al. 2009). The statistical bases of this decision to report a solution composed of four factors are summarised in **Appendix 7**, p.281. All four factors had eigenvalues more than 1.0 and were each composed of more than five defining Q-sorts. Together the four factors explained 44% of the observed variance among the Q-sorts. The correlation coefficients between factors ranged from 0.42 to 0.67 which indicate a moderate to strong association (Linneman 2014; Dancey and Reidy 2007). This means that factors have an imperfect but high degree of similarity with each other. The four factors show ‘significant’ similarity yet each denotes a distinct social representation of working lives. The small distinctions between these viewpoints matter at the level of individuals and differences in meaning can be examined using interview data. This was typical of Q-studies as factor analysis was not used to identify completely uncorrelated factors but instead to search for shared viewpoints that when examined interpretively would reveal nuances in stance (Jeffares and Skelcher 2011).

The loading pattern of the person sample in a four-factor solution may then be described. This measures the extent to which each Q-sort is correlated to the factor

(**Appendix 8**, p.282). A significant loading³³ means that the Q-sort of a participant exemplifies or is aligned with the viewpoint of that factor. Overall, 90% of participants (89 out of 99 completed Q-sorts) showed significant loading (correlation) to at least one of the four factors extracted. For a 48-item Q-set, the cut off for significant loading is 0.3723, $p < 0.01$ (Jeffares 2013). Thirty participants showed alignment with Factor-1; 31 for Factor-2; 38 for Factor-3; and 15 for Factor-4. Ten Q-sorts did not load significantly to any of the four factors which means their viewpoint is not typical of any of those identified.

A closer analysis of factor loadings shows that 24 Q-sorts were *confounded* or had significant factor loading to more than one factor (see Participant-66 to 89 in **Appendix 8**, p.282). Since a ‘Confounder’s’ overall stance is *mixed*, the Q-sort is excluded in the computation of factor array (Watts and Stenner 2012) because they do not help in providing a clear picture of the factor’s supposed viewpoint. A factor array is ‘an estimate of the factor’s viewpoint...prepared via a weighted averaging of all the individual Q-sorts that load significantly on that factor and that factor alone’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.129).

In the PQMethod software, the researcher can explicitly ‘flag’/select Q-sorts with significant loading from which the factor array of the idealised Q-sort is computed; or ‘un-flag’/deselect confounded/non-significant Q-sorts. Note that even if the confounders were excluded in the computation of factor array this does not affect the reliability of any of the factors. According to Brown (2014), ‘any number of flagged Q-sorts beyond five or six per factor is gravy and adds little to the reliability of the factor’. Also, dropping the ‘confounders’ does not mean they are completely ignored because their interview data remain relevant in interrogating meanings attached to evaluative stances on issues characterising that factor.

³³ These loadings vary from “-1” indicating perfect dis-alignment between a person’s Q-sort and a factor, to “+1” which indicates perfect alignment between a Q-sort and a factor.

A confounding Q-sort suggests that the participant, at that moment of sorting, identifies with the perspective captured by the factors it has significant loadings on. This is not surprising. Given two opposing views of conservative and liberal on any debate, we can expect that there will be individuals who simultaneously assume a conservative view on certain issues but maintain a liberal stance on certain aspects of the debate. A case in point is Participant-78, a 40 year-old, male cabin steward who has worked for 14 years on a cruise ship. His Q-sort is correlated with the viewpoint of Factors-1, 2 and 4 by 17%, 14%, and 20% respectively. His individual point of view is of course a valid stance to take but does not help to clarify viewpoint divergences.

Computing for factor array

Sixty-five Q-sorts loaded exclusively to just one of four factors and were considered as ‘defining’ Q-sorts. Factor-1 has 16 definers whilst Factors 2, 3 and 4 have respectively 16, 19, 23 and 7 definers (Appendix 3 and 4). Having identified the ‘exclusive contributors’ for each factor, an idealised Q-sort which estimates the viewpoint structure can now be calculated. An idealised Q-sort denotes a hypothetical Q-sort that has a loading of ‘1.0’ on that factor and zero on any other factor. It is computed via a weighted averaging of the defining Q-sorts for a factor (Watts and Stenner 2012). Whilst the idealised Q-sort is computed from the definers, no one among them has an exactly similar sorting pattern to the idealised Q-sort. This array of rating scores per factor (see **Appendix 9** in p.285 for factor arrays and **Appendix 10** in p.288 for idealised Q-sorts) is the most significant output in a Q-study because it is the basis for comparing the structure of shared viewpoints and highlighting their areas of consensus and conflict. For example, Participant-1 has a loading of 0.6627 on Factor-1. This means that his Q-sort is 39% similar³⁴ to (or 61% unlike) the idealised Q-sort/factor array of Factor-1.

³⁴ This measure can be arrived at by squaring the factor loading.

4.2.6 Interpreting Shared Viewpoints

The final step in a Q-study is a qualitatively-driven interpretation. The interpretation of factor array as shared viewpoint is a form of social representation insofar as it presents an account of experience as expressed in terms of views/stance/opinion on issues. To keep the interpretation holistic, the researcher pays attention to the ‘entire item configuration’ of factor arrays to reveal and explain the shared point-of-view as a whole. By examining the inter-relationship of opinions contained within an idealised Q-sort the structure of shared viewpoint of the people who loaded highly on that factor, and hence a social representation, can be revealed. Since the Q-set statements are about issues of working lives and the factor array of an idealised Q-sort represents shared viewpoints of a group of participants, the term ‘work-view’ will be used throughout the interpretation phase. The term signals the shift from quantitative analysis to a qualitative interpretation. After the structure of a work-view is understood, a secondary objective to interpretation is the comparison of the similarities and differences of the four work-views.

To facilitate systematic interpretation Watts and Stenner (2012) suggest the construction of a ‘crib sheet’ for each factor/work-view. This is a listing of statements that make the perspective distinctive in relation to the other factors/work-views. A crib sheet includes:

- a) Items ranked at column +5 indicating statements they have most agreement
- b) Items ranked at column -5 indicating statements they have most disagreement
- c) Items ranked lower in relevant factor array than in other factor arrays
- d) Items ranked higher in relevant factor array than in other factor arrays
- e) Other items that are potentially useful such as statements in the middle of the distribution that support the opinion on statements placed at the ends of the grid.

Crib sheet statements are starting points to understand the internal logic of a work-view and to compare differences in opinion across work-views. Another group of

statements that merit special attention in factor arrays are the consensus statements or ‘items whose rankings do not distinguish between any pair of factors’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.218). A statement is said to be a consensus statement if the direction of opinion (whether agree or disagree) is similar for the majority or all of the work-views. Consensus statements are important in establishing a common ground among the work-views. To illustrate, take the examples of statements 4 and 45 below.

Table 17 Sample statements

#	Statements	Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4
s4	The family I am supporting is the reason why I continue to work on a ship.	+2	+4	+5	+3
s45	My cruise ship job is the most important part of my life.	-3	0	+3	0

We can describe Statement-4 as a consensus statement. Although the four factors differ in magnitude of ranking (with Factor-3 expressing the strongest agreement of +5), we can safely say that that their opinions are in alignment with each other. The four work-views agreed that cruise sector seafarers continue to work to support a family.

Statement-45 is about the relative importance of work as an aspect of life. Factor-1 disagreed with the statement whereas Factor-3 agreed. The two other factors/groups were neutral in their opinion. Given these responses, statement-45 will be included in the crib sheet for Factor-3 because it was an item ranked at column +3 and also the highest positive rank across the four factors. Statement-45 should also be included in the crib sheet for Factor-1 because in the idealised Q-sort for Factor-1 Statement-45 has a -4 rating, the lowest negative rating across the four factors.

The objective of working through these statements is to ‘generate a sense of the overall story being told by the various item rankings’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.156). Here we now appreciate the relevance of statement ranks in explaining the structure of a viewpoint. If our aim is to see the ‘woods’ (i.e. the viewpoint), said Watts and Stenner, then we first must need to see how the ‘trees’ are planted (i.e. the placement of a statements in a factor array). Abductive logic is applied in examining the crib sheet statements. This means exploring possible reasons why a statement is ranked in a

particular way and what it means in relation to the rest of the opinions expressed (Kitzinger 1999; Capdevila and Stainton-Rogers 2000). The emergent story is a summary of what the definers are collectively saying and a form of interpretation in itself because relevant interview responses are integrated into the construction of the narrative. In keeping with the concept of point-of-view, the narrative illustration is told using the first-person 'I' as a reminder that the work-view is ultimately held by any individual who loads on that factor in question. A first person account also captures the notion that a viewpoint requires a speaker who voices a stance, or a viewer who sees life in a particular way (DuBois 2007). The device of narrative illustration is the main mode of data display explored in the next two chapters.

To complement this narrative representation, the four factors were given descriptive labels. Factors 1, 2, 3, and 4 can be called the 'Good-fit', the 'Troubled', the 'Professional', the 'Ambivalent' work-views respectively. The labels were assigned to highlight the transition from quantitative factors to qualitative viewpoints. The assigned name is an effort to encapsulate the *critical* theme or focus that characterises a viewpoint in question and differentiate it from the three others. These labels, however, should be taken with caution and should not be interpreted as way to stereotype a particular social representation. For example, it would be inaccurate to say that the 'Troubled' work-view presents an entirely grim image of working life. The 'troubled' aspect only applies to certain dimensions of work such as difficulty of securing contracts, problems in dealing with co-workers and unmet extrinsic benefits. Neither does the Good-fit work-view presents a completely positive view of work on-board cruise ships. The participants who defined Factors 1, 2 and 4 were not necessarily 'non-professional' in the way they work because they did not cluster under Factor-3 which was labelled the Professional work-view. These labels are simply shorthand for a more holistic interpretation of viewpoints.

A final point to highlight is that data from post-sorting interviews were considered in constructing narrative summaries and in comparing the similarities and differences between the work-views. According to Wolf (2014), this integration of quantitative and qualitative data in studies using Q involves 'a form of ongoing listening to the data,

moving between one story and another and to weave together an understanding consistent with the factors'. Gallagher's card content analysis was used to systematically integrate the interview data in the analysis and interpretation of work-views (Gallagher 2010; Gallagher and Porock 2010). In brief, interview data were categorised by statement responses and were thematically analysed (Braun and Clarke 2006) based on similarities and differences within an 'agree', 'disagree' or 'neutral' stance (See **Appendix 11**, p.292). These interviews were transcribed and coded in Tagalog to capture the participant's responses in its linguistic and cultural schema (Carrell and Eisterhold 1983; Nishida 1999). The procedures in analysing interview extracts were implemented using NVivo10, a qualitative data analysis software (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). In the study, NVivo became a useful tool in coding interview extracts into relevant positive/negative opinions towards a statement and in keeping track of the researcher's evolving understanding of a work-view.

4.3 Methodological Reflections

Having outlined the steps in preparing for and undertaking data collection, data analysis and interpretation, this subsection concludes the chapter with some reflections on reflexivity and ethics. Reflexivity refers to 'the process of critically reflecting on the knowledge we produce, and our role in producing that knowledge' (Braun and Clarke 2013 p.37). In particular, two types of reflexivity are discussed –and personal epistemological.

4.3.1 Personal Reflexivity

Personal reflexivity implies a thoughtful awareness on the active role of the researcher in shaping the different aspects of the research process (Finlay and Gough 2003; Willig 2008). Coffey challenges social researchers to acknowledge and critically reflect on the 'full range of chosen and imposed identities, assumed during and beyond the field' (Coffey 1999 p.36). To attend to these issues examples of how the 'selves' or 'identities' of the researcher figured in design, data collection and analysis are given.

Firstly, the researcher's active role was apparent in (a) assembling the concourse, (b) selecting the Q-set statements and (c) interpreting the weighted average Q-sort for each factor. Although a systematic attempt has been implemented to produce a set of statements that is balanced and representative of the volume of discussion, Q methodologists recognise that the construction of a Q-set from a concourse is 'more of an art than a science' (Brown 1980 p.186). Again, whilst the Q-set was 'researcher-made' and dependent on the researcher's skills this tool and its content do not predetermine what viewpoints will emerge. How the statements are arranged on the response board remain to be the sole responsibility of the participant – sorting the cards according to their own point-of-view.

One of the common criticisms of qualitative coding is that the breaking of interview transcripts into fragments results in the loss of context and reduces textual data to anecdotal evidence (Bryman 2012). De-contextualised quotes are less likely in a Q-study because the patterns of meanings contained in interview extracts are interpreted according to the point of view of a specific group of individuals (e.g. Good-fit vs Ambivalent). The combination of interview data and the idealised Q-sorts provide a more holistic, contextualised and sociological interpretation than starting from fragmented, de-contextualised, individualistic quotes. Here the interview quotes make sense only if they are situated within a discursive frame or social representation that has emerged by comparing the holistic patterns of Q-sorts. How the researcher interprets the qualitative data is always moderated by the shared subjectivity that emerged through the by-person factor analysis and vice versa. The starting point has always been the participants' subjectivity rather than the researcher's own.

Secondly, the researcher's chosen and imposed identities (Coffey 1999) were very much evident in accessing the field and during the interviews with participants. Interactions between the researcher and gatekeepers/linking contacts, 'members' of the institutions and communities, and every participant demonstrate the 'complicated layering and interweaving of power relations' (England 1994 p.84) associated with social identities and embodiment. This implies that being a researcher (chosen identity) was never a neutral position from the perspective of the participants or the

agencies/offices visited. For example, whilst I did not encounter any problems with the office staff of agencies where I interviewed participants, I was aware that not everyone welcomed the presence of a ‘researcher’ who was ‘a friend/colleague of their superior’. This response is not surprising because every study can be seen as an intervention in itself to the day-to-day life of an office and may be potentially disruptive (Wolff 2004; Flick 2009). The researcher may be known to their superior but to the staff the researcher visiting for a few days is a ‘stranger’.

Meanwhile, introductions and post-sorting interviews with participants facilitated the production of a ‘conversational space’ (Pezalla et al. 2012) for participation and sharing of information-rich stories. In these interviews, the researcher is indeed the instrument (Atkinson and Hammersley 2007) who needs to be calibrated based on the contingencies of interaction. For example, I usually introduced myself to the participants in this way:

My name is Mark Llangco. I am currently studying at Cardiff University in United Kingdom and my research is about working lives of seafarers on-board cruise ship...Can I ask you for some help by being one of the participants?

Although I was speaking Tagalog and ‘visibly’ Filipino, I felt that it was necessary to state that I am student at a university overseas. By specifying ‘United Kingdom’ and not ‘UK’ addresses the possible unfamiliarity of the participant as to where Cardiff is. More importantly this information establishes the status of a ‘proper researcher’ which in a way is a privilege because not very many can afford to study overseas. The mention of an institutional affiliation tries to legitimise the ensuing research relationship and to potentially increase their likelihood to participate. When asked, I told them I am studying sociology and avoided disclosing that I am studying for a PhD so as not to portray myself as more knowledgeable than them. Moreover, in verbalising the question: ‘Can I ask some help from you to be one of the participants?’ I am emphasising that in this relationship, they are the ‘knowledgeable expert’ who can help a ‘student’.

Finally, the very method of Q-sorting has been an effective tool for personal reflexivity in that it helped me to be aware of my own values, dispositions and point-of-view that may colour how data are interpreted (Roper et al. 2015). For example, to explore which work-view I am aligned with I completed a Q-sort as 'Participant-100'. I sorted the cards based on how I thought a 'typical' participant would respond to the statements. Statistical analysis revealed that my Q-sort had significant correlations with the Good-fit ($r = 0.48$) and the Troubled ($r = 0.66$) work-views. On reflection, the 'confounded' loading of my Q-sort was not surprising. The 'Good-fit' and the 'Troubled' work-views broadly reflect the circulating discourses of 'the perfect workers in a dream job' and 'the exploited workers on sweatships'. The interesting and unanticipated parts are the uncovering of a 'Professional' and 'Ambivalent' work-views. This practical exercise in reflexivity exposes the researcher's viewpoint and guards against potential sources of bias in the interpretation and representation of results.

4.3.1 Epistemological Reflexivity

According to Willig to be reflexive epistemologically means to 'reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made in the course of research' (Willig 2008 p.10). These assumptions appear most prominently in key methodological decisions throughout the research process including formulation, planning and implementation. To reflect on these assumptions explicitly issues of design, data collection, and analysis which arose in the process of adopting a mixed research approach are discussed below.

Using Newman et al.'s (2003) typology of research purposes, the goal of this study was to contribute to a growing strand of research on the work and life of seafarers by exploring cruise sector seafarers' social representation of their own working lives. The objectives were to explore and describe attitudes of a sample Filipino cruise sector seafarers' towards a range of occupational, organisational and non-work issues to reveal shared and holistic viewpoints. Chapter Three showed that previous studies have largely focused to the issues related to workers' experience on-board ships but less attention has been given on the issues they face before and after their temporary

employment. There has been a tendency to view seafarers' work and life at sea as independent of their social contexts on shore. Bearing in mind the relevance of these concerns to seafarers, there was a need to consider how the various aspects of their working lives, inside and outside the ship, relate to each other. The present study was an initial attempt to fill this gap in the literature. The focus on Filipino seafarers was both analytical and practical. Even though cruise companies can recruit workers from all over the world, Filipino seafarers are one of the largest groups of employees by nationality and arguably sought-after because of a positive reputation particularly as service workers in cruise ships' hotel department. As a Filipino myself, the decision to study cruise ship workers from the Philippines was a convenient and strategic choice.

A mixed methods study which combined Q-methodology and interviews was designed to address the general research question: How do cruise ship employees from the Philippines make sense of work issues within the broader context of their lives? Using Collins et al.'s (2006) guideline, the rationale for the integration of quantitative and qualitative data in this study data was 'significance enhancement' or to maximise the interpretation of results. The shared and holistic viewpoints revealed through the by-person factor analysis of Q-sorts were further supported, elaborated and illustrated by interview extracts. In the same manner, the arguments, narratives and descriptions of 'real-life' examples gathered from the short and long interviews were analysed and interpreted not on their own but in relation to the frames of reference identified through statistical analyses (Frels and Onwuegbuzie 2013). In the first section of this chapter, I recognised that other research designs were equally feasible but the use of Q and interviews were warranted given the focus on shared viewpoints and social representations. This choice of research design meant that generalisations were *about* the existing work-views/social representations. The downside is that the results cannot make claims on how these viewpoints are distributed in the larger population of cruise sector seafarers.

Finally, it is essential to report that the project did evolve over time. Approval from the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee was given on 28th May 2013 See **Appendix 12** for the letter of approval (p.293) and sample information sheet

(p.294). The study was initially titled '*The experience of working on cruise ships: Work identities of Filipino cruise ship workers*'. Studies of work identity or work-based self concepts continue to be an enduring research area (e.g. Kirpal 2006; Walsh and Gordon 2008; Bothma 2011; Lloyd et al. 2011; DeBraine 2012) despite the 'multivalent, even contradictory theoretical burden' (Brubaker and Cooper 2000 p.8) attached to the concept of 'identity'. After a careful reading of literature on work and employment, particularly studies of cruise ship employees, it was apparent that a better understanding of the experience of seafarers may be arrived at by considering together the seafarers' immediate work situation and the wider socio-cultural settings to which they belong (Beynon and Blackburn 1972; Watson 2012). As a consequence, I needed to re-orient the key concepts that inform the study. Although the study has moved away from work identities and towards social representations of working lives, the basic focus on the experiences of cruise ship workers has remained the same. After discussing the key concepts that frame the study and the research design, the results of Q-sort and interview analyses are presented in the next two chapter. In particular, Chapter Five introduces the four shared viewpoints that are identified in the data.

CHAPTER 5

Four Shared Work-Views

Rather than formulating a monovocal account, good ... analyses acknowledge *the multiple and contested* character of the interplay of discourses by showing how *different discursive representations* are built to interact with and ward off others

(Erica Burman 2003, emphasis added).

Making sense of employment experience in relation to one's overall life varies from person to person. There are as many representations of working lives as there are workers. The way in which participants took a stance on each of the working life issues in the Q-sorting task, explained reasons for such opinion and offered personal stories to illustrate their point attest to the multitude of ways of understanding the lifeworld of cruise sector seafarers. The objective of this chapter is neither to present a 'chaotic proliferation' (Stainton-Rogers 1995 p.180) of individual representations nor to reduce such diversity into a 'monovocal account' (Burman 2003). Instead, the objective of this chapter is to describe a finite diversity of four shared viewpoints that emerged by analysing the pattern between Q-sorts. By combining data from the computed factor array/idealised Q-sort and comments/narratives from interviews, this chapter explicates the structure of work-views which are hereby labelled as the *Good-fit*, the *Troubled*, the *Professional* and the *Ambivalent*. The intention of these labels is not to oversimplify the viewpoint but to provide a concise and accessible grasp of the key ideas of each discursive representation (Stenner et al. 2003).

Following a qualitatively-driven style of interpretation in published studies using Q (e.g. Stenner and Stainton-Rogers 1998; Watts and Stenner 2005b; 2014), the four work-views will be presented in two ways. Firstly, the discursive elements of each

work-view are illustrated as a first-person narrative³⁵ that encapsulates the interrelationship of all the opinion statements as configured in the factor array of each work-view³⁶. These constructed narratives are the researcher's re-construction an 'overall story' about the working lives of cruise sector seafarers from viewpoints of the four groups identified among the participants. This narrative is not an 'individual story' but a 'collective story'³⁷ that turns the experience of cruise sector seafarers who hold similar viewpoints or 'consciousness of kind' (Richardson 1990 p.129) into an account.

These accounts were put together using the factor arrays and interview data for the relevant Q-set items. The constructed narrative was developed using abductive reasoning by first considering several plausible ways of 'weaving' stances on each of the 48 statements in order to arrive at the 'best possible' and 'most logical' version of a narrative of working life (Aliseda 2006) based on a particular viewpoint. In transforming the 'quantitative' factor array into a 'qualitative' / constructed narrative of working life it became necessary to use various ways of expressing 'the story' wherein the temporal ordering of what happened before, during and after they completed an employment contract is either explicitly or implicitly stated. It will be observed that only the constructed narratives for the Good-fits and the Troubleds have clear signposts that separate the before, during and after phases of cruise ship employment. In comparison, temporal ordering is implicit in the constructed narratives for the Professionals and the Ambivalents. It must be emphasised, however, that the socio-temporal dimensions are constant across these 'composite stories' because each narrative is composed from the Q-set statements that already invoke some temporal aspect of workers' employment experiences (see Appendix 4). Since the factor array

³⁵ Following Patterson (2008 p.37) the term narrative is hereby understood as: 'texts which bring stories of experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience.' The definition is inclusive because it is more experience-focused than event-focused.

³⁶ For the purpose of verification the table of factor arrays is in **Appendix 9** pp.285-287. Alternatively, the idealised Q-sort for each work-views appear in **Appendix 10**, pp.288-291.

³⁷ The conceptual transition from 'individual story/representation' to 'collective story/social representation' is described in **Section 3.3** (pp.70-77) and briefly in **Section 8.2.2** (pp.239-242). This conceptual transition is again addressed methodologically in **Section 4.1.2** (pp.81-84).

was a composite of the Q-sorts of participants whose Q-sort loaded exclusively on that factor, it can be said that the structure of the factor array represents the shared viewpoint of the ‘definers’ and any other person who might align to the work-view under consideration.

Secondly, the viewpoints that differentiate each work-view from the three others are fully discussed and are further supported by comments from relevant participants³⁸. After capturing the internal logic of each work-view as framed in the factor array, the next step is to attend to the relationship between work-views and describe how their positions are different or distinct from each other. Their differing opinions are emphasised to highlight the dis-alignment between work-views.

Statement rankings that inform an interpretive claim are cited in the narrative summary whenever relevant: The code “**(s38: +3)**” for example refers to Statement-38 which is placed in the +3 (agree) column in the idealised Q-sort of a relevant work-view group (e.g. Good-fit) work-view. The same coding system will be applied throughout the rest of the thesis. This signposting procedure is a practical and reflexive reminder that the researcher’s qualitative interpretation is always within the bounds of the factor array defined by a group of participants who have similar perspective. To close the chapter, some tentative explanations on what might explain differences in work-views are described.

³⁸ These are the participants with Q-sorts that are significantly correlated to the work-view being described. See **Appendix 8**, pp.282-284, for a list of participants who cluster under each factor/work-view.

5.1 Factor-1: The ‘Good-fit’ work-view

5.1.1 A constructed narrative for the Good-fits

The chance to travel the world is the primary reason why I decided to work on a cruise ship (s38:+3). I can say that my view of life has widened after visiting different places (s46:+3) and learning to speak different languages (s35:+1). Truly, it was an ambition fulfilled (s33:+3).

When I was applying, I managed to easily acquire the necessary documents and accomplish the training required (s12:-1). I think that a cruise ship job would suit anyone (s25:-4; s36:+1) who knows how to follow rules (s40:-4).

On-board, I work in a safe working environment (s34:-2), and with appropriate accommodation (s29:+1). I enjoy the respect of my co-workers (s20:-3) and find them easy to get along with (s16:-1). Although we work well together, this did not transform into close friendships (s13:0). I am still learning the beliefs and practices of work-mates of other-nationalities (s8:-2) and therefore prefer to work alongside fellow Filipinos (s9:-2).

Under the watch of supervisors (s23:0; s22:0) I seek to deliver an outstanding service for our guests as precisely and faultlessly as possible, right down to the smallest detail (s32:+2). This makes the job really tiring mentally and physically (s28:+4; s48:0). I do not consider my job to be the most important part of myself (s45:-3). It would be better if there is commensurate recognition (s18:0), promotion (s10:-1), and remuneration (s42:-2) for the job that we do. Without the pay and associated benefits I derive from this job, I don’t think I would continue to work here (s47:-1; s43:0).

I make sure that I bring home presents for family members and friends at the end of every contract (s14:+1). Back home, my family has other sources of income (s1:+1) – not just my salary from my cruise ship job – so I am able to keep expenditure low whilst off contract (s41:-1).

Statistical summary. Factor-1 explains 11% of the overall study variance³⁹ and has an eigenvalue⁴⁰ of 30.65. Sixteen participants loaded significantly on Factor-1. There were 14 males and two females. The average age was 29.4 years where the youngest was 23 and the oldest was 41. On average Good-fit participants had worked on a ship for 4.9 years. Sea service ranged from one year to 14 years. Among the exemplars of the Good-fit work-view were 14 hotel workers (four waiters, three bartenders, two cooks, two bakers, two cabin stewards and a casino dealer) and two ordinary seamen.

5.1.2 The “Good-fit” Worker: ‘I deliver good service while achieving my personal aspirations.’

Factor-1 is labelled as ‘The Good-fit’ work-view because it portrayed work on-board cruise ships as a form of employment where personal aspirations are met whilst delivering good service to passengers. Although cruise ship jobs require attention to detail (s32) and can be tiring (s28), the ship provided an employment opportunity for a wide array of people (s25) especially those who want to provide for their family (s14)

³⁹ The study variance refers to ‘the full range of meaning and variability present in the study’ as indicated by ‘the variance contained in each of the individual Q-sorts’ (Watts and Stenner 2012 p.98). Taken all the 99 Q-sorts together, the study variance is 100%. As discussed in Chapter Four (p.110), a factor solution is ‘good enough’ if it accounts for more than 35% of the study variance. Each of the four factors/work-views contribute to this ‘explanatory power’ and together they account for 44% of the study variance (see Appendix 7 in p.281). As stated above, Factor-1/‘Good-fit’ work-view accounts for 11% of the study variance.

⁴⁰ An eigenvalue is ‘indicative of a factor’s strength and explanatory power’ (Watts and Stenner 2012, p.105). Factors with an eigenvalue of more than 1.0 are normally retained as part of a factor solution.

and travel at the same time (s38, s33). The Good-fits also described the ship as a safe working environment (s34) with workmates who are easy to get along with (s16). Good-fits took the view that travel has widened their perspective on life (s46) but did not endorse the concept that the job is the most important aspect of their life (s45).

Meeting personal aspirations

An opportunity for many. The Good-fits saw cruise ship jobs as open to people from different backgrounds (s25). The temporary, mobile and service-oriented cruise ship job positions may appear to be suited to the young, the unmarried and the stereotypically pleasant in appearance but the Good-fits argued that experience and skills have no substitute. It can initially be thought that the young and unmarried would best adapt to work at sea with its highly physical demands - they are able to do the job better and do not have spouses and children from whom they will be far away. However, the age range and civil status of the study participants indicate that the cruise ship is able to accommodate workers of different ages, parental status and qualification (see **Table 15**, p.96). They observed though that some crewing agencies in the Philippines screen applications for bar and restaurant positions for height, weight and personality. Such criteria were not applied to workers from other countries. Vergel, 41, 14 years waiter revealed:

If you've got the skills, looks don't matter. Even if you are short for as long as you are qualified they will give you a chance. Height requirement is only asked here in the Philippines but not on the ship. That's why you will really wonder. Asians should be given the chance even if they are short or ugly. You also wanted to live, right?

Touring the world. Often tied to this idea of a dream job is the fringe benefit of travelling to different countries. For the Good-fits, their current occupation fulfilled their aspiration (s33) especially because of the dream to travel to different places. Travelling is the flipside of the coin of hard labour experienced on-board. Travel as a motivation is reflected in the following comments:

It was my childhood dream to visit a foreign country but I didn't imagine I will be able to tour the world. [Mylene 34, cocktail waitress, 14]⁴¹

It is a beautiful experience to visit other countries. Even if it is just one hour and I am all tired, it was all worth it. This is true especially when it is your first time in that place. [Harold, 25, Cabin Steward, 2]

The income I get is not grand. Money is not the reason why I am here but instead the opportunity to travel. For example, my last contract was on a ship which went on a world cruise. I went to so many places! It was worth all the exhaustion I experienced. I kept a map of that world cruise as a souvenir. [Michael, 25, Baker, 1]

The reason why I stayed for 13 years with the company is because I really like to visit different places. I have a job, I earn money, and I saw the world for free! [Cesar, 49, Waiter, 13]

Visits to tourist destinations were deemed satisfying even if only for a very short period of time. Moreover, the opportunity to travel was seen as compensation for the 'small income' they received. The worker wanted to set foot in a new place even if time was very short, if only to get the desired souvenir fridge magnet as proof of the visit, or to buy various gift items for family and relatives (s14). A typical example was Joyce who had joined a world cruise twice as cabin steward and was always willing to beat the clock just to buy memorabilia.

I'm a daredevil for these items. How much is a piece? Five or eight Euros, 10 dollars? Even if I don't have much money I need to get one of them every time I have a shore leave. I really risked my life for these country souvenirs. [28, cabin steward, 3].

Delivering good service

High standards of service. In exchange for employment and travel opportunities, Good-fit workers were committed to meeting the employer's expectation of high quality service. The Good-fits agreed with Satement-32 supporting a view that performing tasks with precision is necessary – after all that is what they are trained for.

⁴¹ Henceforth, the participant description at the end of each quoted text refers to Pseudo name, Age, Job position, Years of sea service, respectively.

Workers were socialised to the tasks in land-based positions before they joined the ship and again through rigorous in-house training. Job advertisements from crewing agencies would usually require a year or two of equivalent experience in hotels and restaurants. Marine department workers were aware that they could be penalised for mistakes as these could have dangerous repercussions for the entire ship. On-board, restaurant workers were expected to have a detailed knowledge of the products and services offered and deliver them according to standard procedures. There was also evidence that cruise sector seafarers, particularly hospitality workers, were able to internalise the company policy for customer service such as smiling and maintaining a happy disposition at all times (s27, see Chapter 6).

Obedience despite difficulty. Adherence to the rules was another dimension of service that the Good-fits provided. The view which holds that they find no difficulty in obeying ship rules (s40) can be explained by their occupational socialisation and the belief that company policies serve reasonable functions. The training they underwent before the contract prepared them for a job that required the implementation of certain rules in delivering cruise ship service (e.g. work schedule, load, leave etc.). The chain of command from the immediate supervisor up to the captain was accepted as necessary to manage the ship as an organisation. They reasoned that immediate supervisors were strict only because they were also following orders from above. Kenneth, 32 and a bartender of eight years explained that ship rules were no different from any company with employees:

Whether sea-based or land-based, there are rules and regulations that you need to follow wherever you decide to work. If you don't like that then you must build your own company. You will be your own boss. As an employee, you must learn to obey the rules. For as long as you can understand and follow instructions you will be fine. They will not place a policy nobody can follow.

The Good-fit work-view, as a discursive representation, supports the image of cruise ship employment as a 'good job'. Pay seem to be less satisfactory but the Good-fits highlight the fringe benefit of travel as an attractive job reward in itself. This is consistent with previous studies which found cruise ship workers to be motivated by overseas travel in addition to other economic reasons (Gibson 2008; Sehkar and

Sevcikova 2011; Artini and Nilan 2014). The Good-fits' stance that the implemented rules on-board are reasonable and their commitment to customer service concur with the claim that cruise ship workers from less egalitarian societies are more tolerant and accustomed to bureaucratic and quasi-military workplace on-board (Testa et al. 2003).

5.2 Factor-2: The 'Troubled' work-view

5.2.1 A constructed narrative for the Troubleds

Right from the very start, I did not dream of working on a ship (s33:-4). Also, I did not work on a ship because I wanted to see the world for free (s38:-3). I can say that my view of life has widened as a result of the journeys I have made (s46:+1) and having friendships I developed with my multi-national co-workers (s13:+1). I have learned how to converse in different languages (s35:+1) but I am less confident to say that I can describe the differences in beliefs and practices of my workmates from other countries. (s8:-1).

When I was applying, I felt burdened by certification, clearances, training and other requirements needed before the start of every contract (s12:+3).

On-board, accommodation for workers is less than modest (s29:-1) and difficult co-workers are inevitable (s16:+2). The officers (s22:0) and immediate supervisors (s23:0) are also not easy to deal with all the time. Thus, I feel more comfortable working alongside Filipino workmates who I can become friends with (s7:-3; s13:+1). There are co-workers who see me as inferior (s20:+1) and there have been incidents when this resulted into arguments that are not quickly addressed (s11:-2). I have also noticed that female employees are likely to receive sexual advances from male co-workers (s6:+3). But I don't know if I

can say that unfaithfulness is common (s5:0). It is necessary for us to be precise and faultless in the job that we do (s32:+2). Despite the hard work my job entails (s28:+2), I still have less chance of being promoted (s10:-3). I find that our lives are always at risk of accident whilst at sea (s34: +5). Although our efforts at work are not always acknowledged and rewarded by the cruise company (s18:-1) I do not think they are ignoring our welfare (s19:-2; s17:0).

The income I receive from my job is not commensurate with the workload I do (s42:-4) but remains important because my income is the main financial resource of my family (s1:-2; s4:+4). Expecting that expenses are high when I am on vacation (s41:+4) I am less consistent in bringing presents home to family and friends (others of importance to me – others who are significant in my life – loved ones) at the end of my contract (s14:0). I am ready to face any hardships (s24:+5) so as to make their lives better. Due to my current situation, I am likely to look for another job if the financial rewards of my ship job are no longer sufficient (s47:-4; s43:0).

Although many can achieve the qualifications needed for a position (s25:-2), I would not recommend others to apply for, and work on a cruise ship (s36:-1).

Statistical summary. Factor-2 explains 11% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 6.33. Nineteen participants showed significant correlation with Factor-2. Sixteen were males, three were females. The average age was 32.9 years where the youngest was 23 and the oldest 46. On average, they had worked on a ship for 7.6 years. Sea service ranged from one year to 16 years. Among the exclusive contributors of Factor-2, 15 were from the hotel department (four bar staff, three waiters, two cabin stewards, two utility workers, a cook, and a provision master) and five were from the marine department (two deckhands, an oiler, a plumber and a carpenter).

5.2.2 The “Troubled” Worker: ‘I experienced a lot of challenges in working as cruise sector seafarer.’

Factor-2 was labelled as ‘the Troubled’ because of the viewpoint’s emphasis on the challenges cruise sector seafarers dealt with before, during and after their work contracts. The Troubleds presented a pessimistic image of employment experience on-board cruise ships. Participants who were aligned to this work-view did not aspire to work on a ship to start with (s33), found the application process tedious (s12) and did not regard the opportunity to travel as enticing (s38). They viewed the job as demanding the skilful performance (s32) of tasks and as risk-prone (s34) especially to female workers (s6). They felt that the job was not particularly rewarding as income was not commensurate with their labour (s42, s47) and the chances of promotion were scarce (s10). Their budget tended to be tight when they were off contract (s41). On-board, living accommodation (s29) and working relations were also found to be less than satisfactory. From their perspective, there were difficult co-workers (s16) who looked down on them (s20). This sometimes resulted in conflicts that were not easily resolved (s11). They were neutral on whether to feel proud of their cruise principal (s17) and would not recommend the job to potential applicants (s36).

Challenges before

Influenced by others. In general, amongst the ‘Troubled’ group, the decision to work on a ship was influenced by others or by the circumstances they were in (s33). For example, Archie, 30, who had been working as a room steward for three years, only spent a year studying criminology at university when he decided to discontinue because of financial constraints. Archie took the chance to work on a ship as it did not require a university degree. There were others like Tranz, 27, who was influenced by his friends to work as an assistant bar waiter. Growing up, Tranz’ father was also a waiter on a cruise ship along with many others from their town. After finishing a degree in hotel and restaurant management it was not surprising that he asked his father to facilitate his application with the same crewing agency. There were also those who were just trying a cruise ship job out. Leo, 34, a bar waiter related this conversation:

I had co-workers who were honours graduates but went back to the Philippines and did not finish their contract. They told me: I don't like it here. I did not finish my studies just to mop floors. Why did you even join the ship? Well, I just tried it.

The various reasons cited above show that although the Troubleds did not originally aspire to work on a cruise ship, overseas labour migration remained a viable employment option despite perceived difficulties and risks (see below). Overseas work is deeply embedded in Philippine culture (Asis 2006). Whilst there were those who may have pursued cruise ship employment as a purely individual decision, 'Tranz' case highlighted the role of migration networks of family members, friends and local community (Faist 2010; Haug 2008) in his choice to work on cruise ship.

Tedious application process. The Troubleds described the application process as burdensome and requiring numerous training courses, certifications and clearances (s12). The basic paper requirements for a new applicant were:

Number one is passport and then your seaman's book. But before you get those, you also have to undergo SOLAS⁴² training. Before you get your SOLAS you need a medical exam. And since I will be part of the entertainment team, we also had to do an English test. Then you will also have to take your police and NBI⁴³ clearance. [Randy, 29, Cruise activity staff, 1]

These requirements cost time and money on the part of the would-be cruise sector seafarer. The cost was more significant when related to the life of a person trying to make both ends meet. Randy continued:

I remember that on my first contract, I spent about PhP25,000⁴⁴ for paper requirements alone. These requirements are heavy for me because I live here in Laguna⁴⁵ and I have to travel to Manila to process all these papers. It takes so much time. You have to go back many times. Transportation fee is already expensive for me.

⁴² Safety of Life at Sea

⁴³ National Bureau of Investigation

⁴⁴ About £357.14 (GBP1 = PhP70)

⁴⁵ He spends about six to eight hours to travel to Manila and return to his town in the province of Laguna.

Travel not a priority. Although people were aware of the chance to travel the world if working on a cruise ship, the Troubleds reported this as secondary to the chance of earning a higher income (s38). During their years of employment they had travelled to different tourist destinations but they said that these destinations were only enticing at first and the charm diminished after repeated visits. These two participants echoed this view and argued that the romance of travel masks the hard work that a cruise ship worker endures:

You are not there for a tour. Your signed contract says you are there to work. You are there to earn money. You are just after the money when you work. It is not true that it is really nice that you are able to go to different places – that is just in pictures. What many do not know are the sacrifices you do whenever you work [overseas]. [Patrick, 28, Waiter, 5 years]

When I began working on a cruise ship, I know that my first priority was to earn money and not to visit different countries. I worked on a cruise ship because my income here is bigger than what I can earn from working in the Philippines. It will just be a bonus if I am able to visit other places. But I cannot say that travelling was the main reason why I worked here. Of course, I went here for the money! (laughs) [Christopher, 39, waiter, 13 years]

Moreover, visits to tourist places if at all possible were limited to only an hour or two of shore leave. A previous observation that the promise of global travel is largely a form of ‘inauthentic tour’ (Kobus 2012a; Hoeller 2016) is echoed in the following comment:

As they say, you see the world for free. In my current ship, you will just really see these places because your job does not permit you to go out. You will see the world from inside the ship!... Only the casino and bar employees are able to go out. For those of us who work in the kitchen, an hour or two is the maximum we can have. [Felix, 52, Head buffet, 22 years]

Most kitchen crew such as Felix are rarely given shore leave because they are in charge of meal preparation for returning passengers. Thus, they reach a famous destination, literally see it, then leave.

Challenges during and after

Physically demanding and risky work. The Toubleds strongly agreed that their life on-board was always at risk of accidents' (s34). This meant that they were either (a) aware of the risks involved but had not witnessed any or (b) they had personally experienced one. This perception of risk is not baseless as minor and major accidents involving cruise ships have occurred throughout the years. The risks involved in working on a cruise ship range from general risks specific to a particular job, for example accidental fire in a galley or engine room (Klein 2016d); to seasonal risks such as big waves and storms whilst at sea that can tilt or halt a ship; to the far more serious threats of running aground (Klein 2016f) or sinking (Klein 2016g).

As required by maritime regulations, personal and official precautionary measures are in place to secure safety and avoid hazards on cruise ships (Lois et al. 2004; Vidmar and Perkovič 2015). The international SOLAS⁴⁶ regulations require regular unannounced emergency drills conducted once a week which re-enact crowd management and evacuation during emergencies. Proper training is required of those handling tools, machinery and chemicals in carrying out their prescribed tasks. However, whilst both precautions and relevant training are necessary in preventing and responding to emergencies, participants have accepted that danger is always present:

When you are on the ship you can say that your one leg is already in water. Waves are uncertain and sometimes there are engine troubles. You don't know what can happen on the ship when there is a storm. Once the engine malfunctioned and water went inside the ship. As part of the security team, I know that passengers take priority in evacuation, followed by the crew and we are last. You have to pray all the time that the journey will be safe. [Jona, 38, Security guard, 1 year]

You really don't know what is gonna happen. We came across typhoon Haiyan⁴⁷ before it hit the Philippines. There was a power blackout and the ship lost control. Water had gushed

⁴⁶ Safety of Life at Sea

⁴⁷ Typhoon Haiyan or Yolanda in the Philippines was one of the strongest tropical storms ever recorded in history. In November 2013, the colossal storm ravaged countries in South East Asia particularly the Philippines.

into all places. It felt like we will be killed at that time. The ship was 13 floors but you wouldn't be able to stand still. Our 1200 guests were all getting nervous and were told to wear life jackets. I think the ship was floating for four hours and tossed by the winds in all directions. Thank God we did not reach shallow areas otherwise the ship would have sunk. And even if we survive, it was very cold and windy outside. It will be useless. [Arvin, 25, Cook, 2 years]

The Troubleds also believed that female employees in the multi-cultural and service-oriented business of the cruise ship take on additional risks in the form of unwanted sexual advances (s6). These male participants explained:

Yes, that is normal. She is already named and marked even before she goes on-board. 'Hey, she is mine.' This is especially true if they know that she's a first-timer (laughs). You pity the girl but I think it still depends on the person. [Leo]

Somebody will always take a liking (kukursunadahin) to the newly hired. They, especially the high-income earners, will give gifts. Then later on you can bring her inside your cabin. [Tranz]

The notion of *kursunada* captures these instances of advances towards female workers. In this context, the term means more than simply an 'impulse of the heart, liking or preference'. It does not mean passive preference or liking from a distance. Instead it means an active pursuit of a female worker even before she goes on-board with the aim of having an intimate relationship whilst at sea. The strategies to seduce a female worker remain the same. They shower her with food and gifts. Others of a higher rank may even resort to coercion. Females who repeatedly decline such advances do so at pain of experiencing a difficult time at work or the threat of being given a bad evaluation of their performance which could result in being sent home. Participants responding to this issue explained that advances of male co-workers on women can be partly attributed to the fact that there are fewer women workers, and aggravated by factors such as loneliness and the need for companionship. The condition may be further reinforced by regular parties organised for the crew. Previous studies show that sexual relationships between crewmembers are relatively common on-board (Thomas 2003b; Thomas et al. 2013).

Difficult working conditions, co-workers. The Troubleds felt that the accommodation did not meet workers' needs (s29) and that that cabins were cramped

and crowded. They also considered that internet provision was inadequate. Furthermore, they felt that working alongside a difficult co-worker (s16) created general uneasiness:

It is really difficult to work when you are not on good-terms with your co-worker. 'Para kang lumalakad sa numero' (It feels like you are 'stepping on numbers')⁴⁸. You will also meet officers or supervisors who are very strict. Sometimes they lean in favour of certain people. Sometimes you don't get along because they are not your in-group, you don't jive. During those times you just have to be patient. You just think of work, nothing personal. [Roderick, 38, Sommelier, 5]

Participants who belonged to the Troubled work-view described in the interview that a difficult co-worker can be an extremely strict supervisor, a subordinate who cannot follow operating procedures, or another nationality workmate. Dominador, 51, a cook who has been working on cruise ships for 14 years said:

They (supervisor) will scold you even for littlest mistake and report you to the higher ups. When you complain about how your supervisor treats you and the matter reaches the staff captain, the immediate supervisor's account is almost always the one believed.

To cope with this situation, workers would rather suffer in silence throughout the duration of their contracts to avoid any quarrels in the workplace as this can be grounds for dismissal.

Let us just say that you [as a Filipino] are always the subordinate and they need to be followed at all times. When you are working with Puti (White), you cannot win even if you do everything right. You know you are right but to them you are wrong. The simple reason is, they are your boss and you need to obey. Right or wrong, you need to do what they say. Otherwise, they will pick on you. Your life will be easier if you just follow smoothly. [Felix, 52, Head buffet, 22 years]

The ethno-national segmentation of shipboard positions (Chin 2008a; Wu 2005), where officers are white while ratings and low-level positions are from developing countries, may imply a system of advantages and disadvantages for certain groups of

⁴⁸ Like walking on eggshells.

workers. Non-equal work relationships may be seen as a natural and expected feature of the shipboard environment that need to be accepted if not fully understood. Felix' inward displeasure masked by outward conformity resonate with previous studies which saw Filipinos as emotionally expressive but non-confrontational (Meyer 2015). For example, studies on Filipino nurses in Australia (Marcus et al. 2014), the UK (Withers and Snowball 2003) and the US (Hayne et al. 2009) found that Filipinos have issues in asserting themselves in a new culture. In this case, a lack of assertiveness indicated both tolerance to others and a means of looking after one's self. They were reluctant to report discrimination or bullying to avoid the inconvenience of formal investigations, conflicts that may eventually cause premature termination of employment, and situations that may jeopardise contract renewal.

So as not to be misconstrued, Felix' account should not be generalised as 'implying a penchant for avoiding conflict at all cost' (Mendoza and Perkinson 2003 p.277). Responding to disagreements with co-workers, several participants in the Troubled group opted to be more assertive. They explained that behavioural patterns towards others could be confrontative as they were accommodative as shown in the following examples:

Whenever I have a disagreement with somebody, I usually call them and calmly tell my concerns and offer what can be done. I will be the one to adjust if need be. I need to tell them if that is what's right. It is unavoidable that co-workers from other countries would think differently on issues. [Wilson, 45, Sous chef, 14 years]

Some officers may see you as inferior but you should carry on working according to standard. Be professional. Work on the side of rules and regulations so they will respect you. It doesn't benefit you if you just say yes all the time. If you think you are right, why not say it? Don't talk to them without reading the rules and regulations. Your own reasoning may not be enough, because they will tell you, 'This is a British ship.' But I tell them, 'I am not answering just by myself but according to rules.' [Elmerado, 44, Sanitation supervisor, 18 years]

People differ in the way they carry themselves - each according to their culture. Others think of themselves as superior over others. For me, you should be fine for as long as you are doing the right thing. You do not have to feel inferior even if they have a higher rank. You can do what they do. Discrimination can happen to anyone and not just Filipinos. You cannot take that away from them - since they own the

ship, they would side with their country mates. [Arturo, 37, waiter, 11 years]

Enriquez (1992) theorised that the Filipino values system has both a surface and a core dimension. Surface values are divided into two groups. These are the ‘accommodative’ values of *hiya* (propriety), *utang na loob* (gratitude) and *pakikisama* (companionship). There are also ‘confrontative’ surface values such as *babala na* (determination), *lakas ng loob* (gut) and *pakikibaka* (resistance). Tolerance, passivity, the inability to assert despite unfair treatment, were easily recognizable traits of subservience usually associated to Filipino cruise ship workers (Terry 2013) like Felix (and OFWs in general). However, this is just one side of the coin because there are situations when Filipinos show courage and resistance. Moreover, the Filipino cultural value for *kapwa* or shared inner self (Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino 2000), described in the next chapter, is not compatible with exploitative social relationships.

Another negative experience affecting working relations on-board, under the Troubled work-view, is that of a worker being regarded as inferior by others (s20). Participants in the ‘Troubled’ group explained that a co-worker may be underestimated as a person in terms of competence, or in general not favoured because she/he happened to belong to a less preferred group (e.g. on grounds of qualification, nationality and so on). Research likewise contends that managers on-board cruise ships are likely to be more considerate if the employees they supervise are from similar country or culture (Testa 2004). This was the perception of some of the ‘Troubleds’ as the following quote showed:

My Italian maître d’ has favouritism sometimes. He always sides with the Brazilians. There are also Italian supervisors who are kind to Filipinos but Filipinos will always come second. [Menandro, 32, Waiter, 3]

Differential access to promotion. The Troubleds tended to believe that access to stratified job rewards particularly income (s42) and promotion (s10) were influenced by prejudice and ethnic bias. They felt that Filipinos would always start at entry level positions (e.g. busboy) before they could reach a desired rank (e.g. waiter). In contrast, an American or European worker was seen as able to immediately start as a waiter even

if they were lacking in the appropriate skills and experience. Participants also reported that Asian workers received lower incomes compared to White workers in similar positions. The politics of favouritism, which Menandro hinted at in the previous extract, can have far reaching implications for the chances of advancement within one's department:

In my 11 years here in [CRUISE PRINCIPAL], I have seen how Europeans rose from the ranks leaving behind Asians. Sometimes they don't look at how competent you are at your job. There are those who we call sipsip⁴⁹ or sapo⁵⁰. They are ones who get promoted because they talk bad about others – Filipino and other nationalities alike – to the supervisor. [Eugene, 40, Cook, 11]

The ethnic segmentation of occupations on-board international ships (Sampson 2013; McKay 2014), particularly cruise ships (Wood 2000; Chin 2008b), is well documented in the literature. Research shows that employers hire certain ethno-national groups of workers to fill low level positions based on the perception that these workers are characteristically more 'subservient' than others (Datta et al. 2007; S. C. McKay 2007).

The Troubleds were often dissatisfied when differences in income levels between European and Asian workers were explained as resulting from differences in the costs of living in those different regions of the world. Whilst they disapproved, they had however accepted this practice as the norm. Gary, 46, a sous chef with 23 years of sea service said in the interview:

Your position does not determine your income. My White co-workers are surprised to know they are earning more even if we have the same rank...Income depends on which country you come from. My point is: This is an international job so you should not give me a Philippine-rate wage – that's wrong! Since we do the same job, I should earn what he earns. It is just their first or second contract but they are promoted easily. Many who have been here for long are still where they began.

⁴⁹ Tagalog term which literally means 'to suck up' and refers to a sycophant.

⁵⁰ (a) Colombian for snitch. [Source: <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=sapo> accessed on 12 October 2014]. (b) cunning or sly [Source: <http://www.spanishdict.com/translate/sapo> accessed on 12 October 2014]

Overworked and under-paid. With regard to economic rewards, the Troubleds felt that the job was not particularly satisfying because their income was not commensurate with their labour (s42, s47). As found in previous research (Mather 2002; Klein 2002; Bruns 2008), the Troubleds described cruise ship jobs as involving hard labour and entailing numerous health hazards:

Our tasks are just so many! Not just those that you would expect. When you begin working, new tasks and instructions will be given. Sometimes we work overtime. Sometimes I take on other's responsibilities. That's what happens. [Richard, 28, Cook, 4]

Regular land-based workers have at least one day off. But in our case, we work every single day for the duration of our contract. That means our work load is heavier compared to others. We are also sleep deprived. Our hair sometimes begin to fall due to water being too hot. The water and air we breathe is recycled. There are chemicals that can affect our health. [Randy, 29, Cruise activity staff, 1]

The Troubleds explained that cruise ship jobs would not be enjoyable for most workers when the job no longer paid well enough to support the needs of their families. They initially took the jobs for the money, which they could not earn if they worked locally. While there was no denying that cruise sector seafarers earn much better pay compared to their land-based counterpart in the Philippines, the Troubleds felt they were still underpaid (s42) based on the sheer amount of work they did. For example, Randy thought that a just rate of compensation should be twice that which they currently receive. John, 34, who had been a waiter for 14 years lamented that their income has been decreasing over the years:

Before, our income was not like that. It used to be big. But now it has become less and less. Pay in the shipping industry is getting small. But it is still better than nothing.

About a decade ago, most of the participants were paid in Euros but due to management change in the cruise sector seafarers are now paid in US dollars. For example, a seafarer who used to get €1000 a month is now paid \$1000. In Philippine

Pesos, the currency shift is very significant⁵¹. But as John reasoned, they are still better off with whatever they get than becoming unemployed. Even if income became smaller with the change from the Euro to US dollars, the equivalent amount of PhP48,000⁵² is still way better than a minimum wage earner in the Philippines whose monthly income is less than PhP10,000⁵³.

Spending beyond one's limit. From the perspective of the Troubleds, the family budget tends to be tight when they are 'off contract' (s41). Aside from household maintenance, earnings were commonly spent on shopping sprees, family holidays or gatherings with friends making them spend beyond their means. This spending pattern is typical of Filipino households with migrant family members (Sampson and Acejo 2016). Previous studies show that remittances are mostly allocated for consumption goods (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2008). Spending behaviour was a challenge even for two-income families. Vivian, 39, a cocktail waitress with 16 years of service, is married to a cruise sector seafarer who works as a head waiter. She said:

A seaman on vacation really has nothing if he has no business or other extra income. It is true – they are one day millionaire. My husband is about to come home from his contract. The whole family will go out of town for a week or two. After that we are back to uncertainty. No work, no pay.

This tendency towards conspicuous consumption after a completed contract is also typical among male migrant workers (Osella and Osella 2003; Datta et al. 2008; McIlwaine 2010) including seafarers (McKay 2015). Understandably, remittances for migrant workers has become a 'primary currency of care' (Hoang and Yeoh 2015 p.3) to family members in the country of origin. Extravagant spending is impractical and unreasonable given that seafarers are not permanent employees and their succeeding work contracts are not guaranteed. But conspicuous consumption also presents an

⁵¹ €1,000 = PhP54,000 (€1=PhP54); \$1000 = PhP48,000 (\$1=PhP48) (Exchange rate is correct as of September 2016)

⁵² About £774 (£1=PhP62, exchange rate is correct as of September 2016)

⁵³ About £161

opportunity for cruise sector seafarers to assert their agency/masculinity (McKay 2015) that may have been diminished after the long work hours, physical and emotional labour, and captive social life in place of leisure on-board ships.

Repayment of debt incurred before and during on-board employment is another reason for the rapid depletion of income. For the seafarer who is the main income provider for his immediate and extended families, substantial debts may be built up in obtaining the necessary training certifications required prior to a contract. The bulk of his income will be required to support the daily expenses of his household in the Philippines. Concerns over income were common amongst the 'Troubled' group of workers. Randy shared a story he believes will be the fate of most seafarers:

A man was asked by an interviewer: Why do you want to work on a ship? The man answered: I want to be rich. After 10 years, the interviewer called up the man to ask: Are you rich now? No, said the man. Then after 20 years the interviewer rang up the man who at that time is still working on a ship: Are you finally rich? The man said, No. You see, no seafarer really becomes wealthy.

In view of all the obstacles cruise sector seafarers encounter, the 'Troubled' group would not recommend the job to potential applicants (s36). For them, unless you are in dire need of a higher income, work and life on a cruise ship is generally difficult. Work where one will be near family members is preferable.

In summing up, the Troubleds portrayed cruise ship employment as a 'bad job' marked by challenges in every stage. In contrast to the Goodfits, the Troubleds claim that the high income paid to cruise ship workers and the opportunity to travel can be over rated. Potential workers need to prepare for physically demanding tasks, low pay, slim chances for career advancement, and difficult working relationships.

5.3 Factor-3: The ‘Professional’ work-view

5.3.1 A constructed narrative for the Professionals

Whilst I did not aspire to become a cruise sector seafarer (s33:0), my cruise ship job is the most important part of my life (s45:+3). I managed to accomplish all the requirements to obtain a job contract without any hassle (s12:-1).

Work on-board is generally a positive experience and the ship is most certainly not like a prison (s48:-5) as others would describe. The ship is a safe place to work (s34:-1). Our accommodation is appropriate to our needs (s29:+2). Work is not that tiring (s28:-1) and allowances are made for mistakes (s32:0). Ship policies are reasonably straight forward to follow (s40:-3). I have found workmates from other nationality whom I can call friends (s13:+2). I feel that my co-workers respect me (s20:-1) and my company values my contribution (s18:+1). I have a good working relationship with my immediate supervisor (s23:-4), other officers (s22:+1) and co-workers (s16:0). Given a chance, I would still prefer to work alongside Filipinos (s9:-3). Misunderstandings with Filipino co-workers are less likely (s30:+2; s11:0). Also every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10:+1). I am proud of my cruise principal (s17:+3) and satisfied with my crewing agency (s21:+3).

Although the chance to travel is not a strong motivation for me (s38:0), I was able to learn to converse in different languages (s35:+1) whilst on the ship. Also, I more or less, understand the common traits of my fellow crew members of other nationalities (s8:0). I can say that my perspective of life has widened (s46:+2) as a result of my work and life on a cruise ship.

Whilst other says that cruise sector seafarers have a greater chance of being unfaithful to their wives/partners, and this is a special risk for women workers, I believe that it still depends on the person (s5:-4; s6:-2). Since I do not receive the best salary I can imagine (s42:0), I am glad that my family has other income sources aside from what I earn on the ship (s1:+1). When I return home after a contract, I seldom bring gifts to family and friends (s14-1), and I am able to avoid excessive spending when off contract (s41:-1).

I am ambivalent as to whether I will still enjoy working on a ship should my family no longer need the money (s47:0). At this point however, I have a desire to remain a seafarer and not transfer to a land-based job (s43:-2). In my opinion, cruise ship work can suit a wide range of people (s25:-2). Overall, I would recommend to others to work on a cruise ship (s36:+1).

Factor-3 explains 15% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 3.60. Twenty-three participants had Q-sorts that loaded significantly on this factor and all were males. The average age was 37.9 years where the youngest was 23 and the oldest 54. Their average sea service was 10.5 years and six participants had worked on a cruise ship for 15 years or more. Among those who defined the Professional work-view 14 were technical seafarers (seven AB OS, three incinerator men, a sanitation supervisor, a motor man, a radio operator and an upholsterer) and nine were hotel workers (four waiters, two cabin stewards, a purser, a sous chef, a band member).

5.3.2 The “Professional” worker: ‘I am strongly committed to this job.’

Factor-3 was termed ‘The Professional’ because of its strong theme demonstrating work as central to the employee’s life (s45), an endorsement of the ship as a workplace (s17, s48, s29), and a commitment to remain in the cruise ship occupation (s43, s36). The Professionals did not feel burdened by the necessary requirements to secure a

contract (s33, s1), nor did they experience extreme fatigue at work (s28). Unlike the three other work-view groups, the Professionals were of the opinion that female workers were at low risk of being harassed at work (s6) and that unfaithfulness to partners was not common (s5). They got along with their co-workers (s13) including their immediate supervisors (s23). They felt proud to be part of the cruise company (s17) and would recommend to others to take up a cruise ship job (s36).

Meeting job tasks and risks

Managing job tasks. The Professionals, found the job tiring at the start but the task was seen as less physically demanding as you rise in rank (s28). Over time, 'Professionals' believed that the worker developed strategies to become more effective and efficient at tasks. For some of the participants in the Professional work-view, it was a matter of mentally preparing for the task ahead before a contract commences. Roy, 35, an incinerator man of seven years said:

It depends on the person. Others take it very seriously and let their emotions overwhelm them. You just have to like and enjoy your job. You went to the ship because you like it. You know your job even before you signed the contract: This is what I'm going to do. You should accept whatever job you have and love it.

Roy's sense-making strategy is congruent with the findings of Matuszewski and Blenkisonsopp (2011) who explain that cruise ship workers have realistic tacit expectations about the unusualness and difficulties of work on-board cruise ship. Roy accepts that new-entrants to the workplace will find the routine surprising or shocking, he retrospectively embraces the role and has remained in the job for almost a decade.

Remaining safe and faithful. The Professionals did not deny that some women workers experience unwanted advances (s6) but asserted that this can be averted by strong disagreement. They believed that women could always decline, say no and refuse to be harassed by a co-worker or supervisor. Moreover, participants cited the strict company policy against sexual harassment and that the offender would be dismissed from work.

Also in relation to this issue, the Professionals strongly disagreed with Statement-5 which stated that unfaithfulness was common among cruise ship workers. Similar to findings of previous research (Thomas 2003b; Thomas et al. 2013), the Professionals noticed that a number of employees had been involved in intimate relationships despite being in a committed relationship back home but maintained that these situations could be avoided. Firstly, married couples where both were cruise ship workers can sometimes request to be assigned a couple cabin when their contracts coincided. Secondly, they also reasoned that unfaithfulness was costly (e.g. buying gifts) and side-tracked them from their goal of saving money. Joseph, 41, with more than two decades of sea service and now working as a sous chef, was always in constant communication with his wife in the Philippines. He chose to keep focused at work to remain faithful:

The family is my priority. It is easy to be unfaithful but difficult to get out. I am very tired after my shift so I rarely hang out. I just work then sleep. I only go out of the ship when I need to relax or I buy something important. I only concentrate on my job.

Working in a favourable environment

Ship is not like a prison. Statement-48 which likened the ship to a prison where there is nothing to do but work. This issue received the strongest negative stance amongst the Professionals as illustrated in the following comments:

You won't describe it as slavery or imprisonment because you went there for a job. You are free to unwind after work. Since it is a passenger ship, you can go out to the port when you are off duty and return when you are to start another shift. We work from 8 am to 2 pm then return at 6:30 pm to work again until about 10. The rest of your time you can relax. [Agustin, 39, cabin steward, 14]

If you have that [negative] mindset you will never work on a ship. That is the reason why you have recreational facilities on-board. We have a gym and we can go out of the ship too once in a while. There is also a crew bar if you want to have a few drinks. The ship is far from being a prison where you feel you are in a box and is not free to do what you want. [Arturo, 37, waiter, 11]

Perhaps the prison metaphor (Lamvik 2012) applies more directly to tanker, cargo or container ships where there is a small workforce in a more confined working

environment, and less comparable to life on cruise ships. The space on board, the possibility of interaction with other people including passengers and a much larger crew, the availability of leisure facilities, the entertainment value, the touristic route of the ship and the image of pleasure all combine to minimise the tendency for the Professionals to feel isolated at sea. Secondly, the Professionals believed that the workers decision to work on a ship was a choice. The contract was clear on the job description and would-be workers more or less expect the challenges that come with it. The worker is unlikely to complain about a task (e.g. working 10 hours a day) he consented to when signing a contract. Thirdly, the ship provides recreational amenities for workers such as dedicated bars for the crew where workers can relax and mingle with other employees when off duty. Some ships also made pools and gyms available. Occasionally, there were ship-sponsored parties for crew members. Finally, they reasoned that the presence of an HR department was important in monitoring working conditions, such as allowance for shore leave and task performance/allocation.

Like the Good-fits, the Professionals also regarded the cruise ship as a safe environment in which to work (s34). Unlike the Troubled group who were concerned about all manner of possible risks, the Professionals argued that cruise ships were more stable and safe compared to other seagoing vessels. Clifford, an able-bodied seaman explained:

A cruise ship has better safety features than a cargo ship. It depends on the size of the ship, really. If the ship is small and without a stabilizer it will be wobbly when there are big waves. Passenger ships are different – even small ones have double hull and stabilizer. Besides tanker and cargo ships are in open seas so there is really more danger. [24, four years of sea service]

It is interesting to note that during the interview, the ‘Goodfit’ hotel crew associated risk with job-related hazards such as personal injury whilst working in a kitchen or the possibility of the ship sinking. By comparison, ‘Professional’ marine crew emphasised the overall structural safety of the ship.

Good workplace, relations. For the Professionals, accommodation on-board was deemed to be rank-appropriate (s29) and the ship management even recognised the

need to provide co-ethnic and/or couple cabins. The participants explained that sharing of cabins with one's fellow countrymen reduced the need for cultural adjustments. Husbands and wives serving together on-board were said to be sometimes assigned to a shared cabin. Furthermore, the availability of the internet, although attracting a fee, provided a welcome communication facility whilst on the ship.

The Professionals held their cruise company in high regard because of its good management practices and the accessibility of officers on-board (s17). They gave the company credit for promoting the welfare of workers and their families, for maintaining respect and equality on-board, and for repeatedly hiring them. In their view, the cruise ship job was a life improving opportunity:

I've been here for 14 years. I am proud of what I now have – my house, my car – everything came from working for one principal and one crewing agency. They gave me a good life. I am really proud of them. [Rufo, 45, AB OS, 14]

The positive working relationship experienced by the Professionals was evidenced by their view that, within the ship's chain of command, the supervisors were reasonably strict (s23). Meanwhile, they felt that the staff captain was helpful in ironing out complaints and human resource issues when on-board. Finally, it was noted that the Professionals got along with multicultural workmates (s13) and had kept in contact with them even after the end of their contract.

Commitment to the cruise occupation

Importance of job to life. The defining stance of the 'Professionals' was the assertion that their job was the most important part of their life (s45). The 'Professionals' cited five reasons why the cruise ship job was central to their identity. Firstly, the income from the job was a means to improve economic standing. Their claim for the central importance of the occupation in their life was an expression of loyalty and appreciation for a job that had provided a means for living. Through this job the worker was able provide for the basic needs of the household, send children to school, and acquire a house (see Rufo's quote above). Secondly, as the worker's economic situation

improved so did their social status. The worker enjoyed the respect and admiration of community members back home as he is able to secure a better life for the family (see Aguilar et al. 2009). Thirdly, the cruise ship job was important because it contributed to the development of one's personality. The cosmopolitan encounters that characterised work in a cruise ship developed independence and tolerance towards beliefs and practices that differed from one's own. The job here was understood as one's specific occupation in the marine department of the ship. Dominador, 29, explained that he takes pride in being an AB Seaman because without the marine department, the ship will not be able to sail. For him, the technical seafarers' job is the most crucial among all other job positions on a ship. Finally, the 'Professional' group felt that their occupation took centre stage by virtue of the sheer amount of time spent doing the job relative to their whole life.

To remain as a cruise ship worker. Comments from 'Professionals' showed that they wished to remain in their current occupation (s43) because of the perceived advantages of working on a cruise ship compared to the unattractiveness of transferring to a land-based job. It was important to note that the ship job was being compared to migrant work in another country and not only local jobs in the Philippines. For example, Manuel, who had served as AB seaman for 20 years, viewed his job as a fulfilled ambition that he wished to continue until the day he retires. Others had also become accustomed to working and living on the ship such as Joe, a motorman of 17 years. It can be argued that the desire to transfer to a land-based job was only feasible for younger workers who still had many years before retirement. People like Manuel or Joe who had spent most of their adult working life at sea might find it challenging to restart as a land-based employee. However, younger seafarers might opt to transfer to a land-based job because the likelihood of finding an alternative job and establishing a career was still high. The industry's relatively short contracts were favourable to workers who were married and/or parents who did not wish to be away from their families for too long. In contrast, land-based migrant workers were tied to a year or two of contractual work. Moreover, the Professionals were of the view that cruise ship jobs pay higher wages than a land-based job.

When asked if they would encourage others to take up a cruise ship job (s36), the Professionals said that a cruise ship job could be recommended to others only when this was an ambition for them. The job offered higher incomes and an opportunity to travel. They suggested that if one is ready to persevere one can develop a long career in a cruise ship occupation.

In summary, the Professionals' discursive representation of cruise ship employment is the closest account to the 'good job, good life' image of the industry endorsed in popular media. Out of the four work-views, the Professionals have the most positive views of their employers and have the strongest commitment to seafaring/service work on-board cruise ships. Larsen et al (2012) observed a similar trend in their study of cruise ship workers and found that organisational commitment increases when supervisors are fair, respectful, and flexible and there is a positive physical and social atmosphere on-board.

5.4 Factor-4: The 'Ambivalent' work-view

5.4.1 A constructed narrative for the Ambivalents

Right from the start, it is my ambition to work on a ship (s33:+4). The requirements needed to secure a contract are not exactly easy to acquire (s12:0). At present, my family relies on my income as a seafarer (s1:-4).

The job on a cruise ship can be extremely tiring for the mind and body (s28:+4) but there is room for error – you do not need to be precise and faultless all the time (s32:-2). In my experience every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10:+3). I feel that my service is valued by the cruise company (s18:+1): the officers promote a family culture whilst on board (s22:+1); and my immediate supervisors are not strict (s23:-1) – I am proud to be part of it (s17:+3).

My co-workers are respectful of each other (s20:-4) but I do not have other nationality workmates whom I can call true friends (s13:-2). Difficult co-workers are unavoidable (s16:+1) and conflicts may take time to resolve (s11:-1). Given my experience, there is a chance I would prefer to work with other nationalities than my fellow Filipinos (s9:0).

Travel was not a strong motivation in my decision to work on a ship (s38:-1). While I have been to many places, I cannot say that my view of life has widened (s46:-2). I am also not confident to say that I can converse in different languages (s35:-1) nor I can characterise my co-workers by their beliefs and practices (s8:-1).

One of the challenges of working away from home is staying faithful. Female workers are not really targeted by innuendoes from male workers (s6:-2). I observe that it is simply common to be tempted while on board (s5:+5). Moreover, our life is always at risk of accident while at sea (s34: +5).

Unlike other OFWs, I no longer bring presents to friends and family members at the end of my every contract (s14:-3). After all, my income can be quickly lost when on vacation – all money goes out, nothing comes in (s41:+2).

I am not completely satisfied with the income that I earn from my job (s42:0) and I would certainly not enjoy my job if I am no longer earning from it (s47:-3). Although the cruise ship job may only suit certain types of people (s25:0), I would still recommend this work to others (s36:+1). I am likely to continue to work as a seafarer (s42:-2).

Factor-4 explains 7% of the study variance and has an eigenvalue of 2.97. Factor-4 was exemplified by seven of the participants – five were males and two were females. The average age was 33.4 years with the youngest being 23 and the oldest 51. Their average

sea service was 5.7 years where one participant has been a cruise ship worker for 14 years already. Six of the employees were hotel workers (three cabin stewards, a baker, a waiter and a sous chef) and one was ordinary seaman.

5.4.2 The “Ambivalent” worker: ‘I see that working on-board cruise ships has both advantages and disadvantages.’

Factor-4 was called ‘The Ambivalent’ work-view because of its emphasis on making the most of a life at sea and balancing the positives and negatives that come with an overseas job such as cruise ship employment. A cruise ship job was advantageous for them because it was a fulfilling occupation, an ambition (s33) that offered equal opportunities for advancement (s10). They rejected the view that female workers experienced sexual advances (s6) and that discrimination was likely (s20). As with any other job, they recognised several challenges such as unfaithfulness being commonplace (s5), the possibility of extreme fatigue (s28) and being at risk of accidents. The job did expose them to travel and people from other countries but they thought that this neither created lasting friendships (s13) nor widened their perspective on life (s46).

Balancing advantages and disadvantages

Fulfilled ambition and advancement. Similar to the Good-fits, the Ambivalents from the hotel and marine departments aspired to work on a ship (s33) which they described as an equitable workplace. None of them had personally experienced being bullied or being regarded as inferior by their co-workers (s20). Unlike the ‘Troubled’ group, the Ambivalents took the view that their hard work was appropriately rewarded through promotion (s10). Like the Professionals, the Ambivalents believed that the ship was a risky place for young female workers. They asserted that company policies on sexual harassment were in place and that entering into a relationship during a contract was a personal decision.

Fatigue, risks and unfaithfulness. While they identified advantages to cruise ship work, the Ambivalents accepted that their occupation had inherent disadvantages.

They echoed the Troubleds (and the Good-fits) in describing their job as extremely tiring (s28) and stated that it placed them at risk of man-made and natural accidents (s34). But whilst Ambivalents disagreed with the statement that female workers often receive sexual innuendo, they strongly supported Statement-5: 'Married or not, it is common to be tempted whilst on-board'. This stance was contrary to the view of the Professionals who strongly disagreed with the statement. The Good-fits and the Troubleds both had a neutral view. The Ambivalents' confirmation that sexual relationships between co-workers was commonplace did not necessarily mean that they had personally engaged in extra-marital affairs. It simply meant that they had observed such behaviour amongst their workmates. The following extracts present possible scenarios:

In my observation since I started working on a cruise ship, it's really commonplace. It is very unlikely that she will not find a boyfriend. For this contract, this man will be her boyfriend. When contract finishes and moves to another ship, she will find a new one. That is true for males and females alike!
[Geneta, 39, carpenter, 6]

There are instances when even the husband and the wife, who were both cruise ship workers, break up their marriage. The wife had a relationship with a Puti (White). The abandoned husband eventually found another Filipina co-worker who at that time was already separated from her own husband. [Baet, 43, waiter, 10]

During the interview, two possible explanations for the pervasiveness of unfaithfulness were suggested. Firstly, they reasoned that the possibility of having a degree of involvement with another person was not surprising given the nature of work and workplace. Being away from the comforts of family and everyday life can create loneliness and drive seafarers to seek companionship from others. Secondly, as one respondent rationalised the situation, it may be argued that some people, especially men, were 'naturally' polygamous. Previous studies indicate that the liminal character of the ship, wherein people are physically and emotionally distant from the limits of home and family, promotes 'friendships of convenience' (Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp 2011 p.84; Thomas et al. 2013).

Realistically seeing the job as it is

Neither forming multicultural friendships nor broadening one's perspective on life. Out of the four work-view groups, only the Ambivalents made modest claims about working relationships on-board. Foremost was the Ambivalents' disagreement to Statement-13 about their ability to form friendships with non-Filipino workmates. Lino explained that his decision not to make friends stemmed from his general distrust of non-Filipino co-workers:

Unlike Filipinos, they are 'plastic'. If they really are your friends, they will give you advice. But they simply get ideas from you and bad mouth you with your supervisors. [Lino, 35, cabin steward, 9]

Gossip which refers to factual or fabricated talk about an non-present third party is common in insecure workplaces (Tebbutt and Marchington 1997) such as cruise ships. In the case of Lino's non-Filipino co-workers, gossip could result in favours or less work from supervisors. His fear was that gossip might also negatively affect his performance evaluation and his chances of contract renewal. Whilst gossip can be divisive and counterproductive, it may be alternatively viewed as a means of social bonding (Yue 2013). However, in the case of Lino, this only meant working more closely with his co-nationals.

The Ambivalents were less likely to think that cruise ship jobs widened a person's perspective on life (s42). One reason they gave was that work schedules meant that everyday life was oriented towards the performance of duties. The temporary nature of employment may also dissuade or constrain the Ambivalent seafarer from forming meaningful relationships and from anything that could qualify as improving one's appreciation of life. Moreover, cruise ship employment presented a life in contrast to that of a land-based job. A cruise ship waiter might argue that he earns more on the ship than when he is working in a five-star hotel in the Philippines. However, whilst shipboard employment provided better rewards for his labour, his life at sea did not always broaden his perspective on life. This was found to be the case despite the social and cultural environment experienced, both on and off duty, and during shore leave. Realising the importance of the job in most cases as the only financial resource (s1) the

Ambivalents, like the Professionals, were likely to remain as cruise ship workers for many years to come.

No more *pasalubong* (gifts from travels). Contrary to the usual observation that Filipino seafarers are fond of shopping (Lamvik 2012), the Ambivalents had stopped taking gifts home to family and friends (s14). In the past, they habitually filled their luggage with all kinds of gift items which resulted in them having excess baggage. They would hunt for bargains that they could distribute to friends, neighbours, immediate and extended family. The Ambivalents reasoned that the habit was not practical and they had become more frugal over the years. They realised that the gifting habit was not sustainable due to rising prices. What started out as an act to surprise and to be generous later became an expectation from friends and family - an obligation that the seafarer or the OFW had to fulfil. Mohamed explained:

I don't bring pasalubong anymore. I am now frugal. I hear complaints from family members when I bring them a gift: Why only this? They also complain when I bring them nothing. So I've decided I won't bring them any despite their comments.
[33, waiter, 2 years]

Like Mohamed, Rommel who worked as a chief purser also stopped giving presents because to him it reinforced financial dependence among his family members. He explained that he had to 'retrain' his family to not expect anything, just be happy to see him at the end of every contract.

In summary, the significance of the Ambivalent work-view lies in its 'realistic' and 'practical' assessment of the different aspects of cruise ship employment. The over-all story of the Ambivalents seem to be only marginally distinctive from the accounts of the three other groups. However, the Ambivalents' stance on certain issues (e.g. modest claims about fluency in foreign languages or becoming more cosmopolitan in outlook) provides a relevant contrast to the position of other groups (e.g. Good-fits and Troubleds). The Ambivalents' discursive representation of work and life on-board cruise ship lies in between the prominent 'good job' versus 'bad job' images in popular media. The distinctive viewpoints held by the Ambivalents illustrate that cruise sector seafarers' sensemaking combined with their tacit assumptions and their active

engagement in the dynamics of work and life on-board (Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp 2011).

5.5 Relationship between Work-view Groups and Participant Characteristics

Q data are not really designed⁵⁴ to answer questions of statistical inference (Brown 1980; Dryzek and Holmes 2004) such as how the work-views are distributed in the larger population or how the work-views relate to demographic variables⁵⁵. Nevertheless, tentative answers to the following questions are reported to suggest lines of interest for future exploration and analysis:

- Are male cruise ship employees more likely to subscribe to a particular work-view than female cruise ship employees?
- Are hotel staff more likely than marine crew to assume a particular work-view?
- Is work-view influenced by whether workers are in a supervisory role?
- Are the participants from one crewing agency more likely to assume a particular viewpoint than those from another?

For consistency, the succeeding analysis was based on defining Q-sorts (n=65). The sample included the participant Q-sorts which had a significant loading/correlation to only one of the four factors/work-views (See the first 65 participants in **Appendix 8**, p.282). The succeeding analyses were also ran on a 'larger' sample (n=89), where confounded Q-sorts were assigned to highest correlated factor, and found the same results.

⁵⁴ Moreover, the study sample is small and non-random. This often results into cells with very few cases (i.e. less than five) in a cross-tabulation (see Table 18) which make statistical comparison difficult and inconclusive.

⁵⁵ Social surveys using a representative, large (e.g. 1000) and randomly selected sample of participants will be more applicable for these types of questions.

A chi-square test of independence was conducted (see full SPSS tables in **Appendix 13**, pp.296-330) to determine the relationship between work-view grouping and (categorical) socio-demographic variables (i.e. gender, department, supervisory role, having face-to-face interaction with passengers, place of interview). Among the variables examined, only the relationship between department and work-view grouping was significant, $\chi^2 (3, n=65)=12.44, p<0.01$.

Table 18 Bivariate relationship between work-view and (categorical) social variables

N=65	Good-fit		Troubled		Professional		Ambivalent		χ^2	Sig
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Gender									5.6	.13
Male	14	24.1	16	27.6	23	39.7	5	8.6		
Female	2	28.6	3	42.9	0	0	2	28.6		
Department									12.4	.01
Hotel	14	32.6	14	32.6	9	20.9	6	14.0		
Marine	2	9.1	5	22.7	14	63.6	1	4.5		
Supervisory role									5.5	.14
No	15	27.3	18	32.7	17	30.9	5	9.1		
Yes	1	10.0	1	10.0	6	60.0	2	20.0		
Work area									3.7	.29
'Back stage'	6	18.8	8	25.0	15	46.9	3	9.4		
'Front stage'	10	30.3	11	33.3	8	24.2	4	12.1		
Interview location									6.3	.71
Crewing Agency-B	11	28.2	10	25.6	13	33.3	5	12.8		
Crewing Agency-C	3	27.3	5	45.5	2	19.2	1	9.1		
MARINA	1	16.7	1	16.7	3	50.0	1	16.7		
Home visit	3	27.3	5	45.5	2	19.2	1	9.1		

In Table 18 above, the participants from hotel department were more likely to assume either a Good-fit (33%) or Troubled (33%) work-view than the participants from the marine department. By contrast, the marine crew were more likely to assume a Professional work-view (64%) than the hotel staff. These findings provide general support to arguments raised in previous studies of service workers on-board cruise ships. Frontline hotel staff are often described as similar to actors in a theatrical

production because they perform repetitive physical and emotional labour in difficult working conditions (Tracy 2000; Zhao 2002; Weaver 2005a).

The results for the other social variables did not show any significant association with work-view grouping. At this stage, given that the sample is small and non-random, there is insufficient evidence to argue that cruise sector seafarers' shared viewpoints on their working lives vary according to gender, supervisory role, work area (e.g. waiters who directly deal with passengers versus cooks in the kitchen) or interview location (e.g. crewing agency versus home visit). Moreover, because the participants were mostly low to middle level service crew, it is difficult to ascertain whether work-views vary with hierarchy.

Table 19 Bivariate relationship between work-view and (continuous) social variables

N=65	Good-fit	Troubled	Professional	Ambivalent	F	Sig
Age					4.1	.02
Mean	29.4	32.9	37.9	33.4		
n	16	19	23	7		
Sea time					4.3	.01
Mean	4.9	7.6	10.5	5.7		
n	16	19	23	7		

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine the relationship between work-view grouping and the (continuous) variables 'age' and 'sea time' (see full SPSS tables in **Appendix 13**, pp.296-300). These variables are highly correlated with each other ($r=0.82$) which indicate that the 'older' participants are likely to have longer length of service compared to 'younger' participants.

The ANOVA results indicate that age [Brown-Forsythe (3, 22.15)=4.14, $p=0.02$] and sea time [F (3,61)=4.28, $p=.01$] do vary across the four work-view groups (see **Table**

19). However, among the work-view pairs compared⁵⁶, average age and length of sea time only differed significantly between the Good-fits and the Professionals. The ‘older’ Professional group had worked on-board for at least ten years whereas the ‘younger’ Good-fit group had an average sea time of five years. The results provided *partial* support to the hypothesis that work-views may be influenced by time, whether measured in terms of age or time at sea.

In this chapter, the Good-fits were characterised by a view that emphasised the importance of travel aspirations. By contrast, the Professionals were characterised by their strong identification and commitment to their cruise ship occupations. One possible explanation may be that ‘older’ and ‘younger’ workers look for different rewards from their employment. Younger workers seem to place a premium on fringe benefits associated with cruise ship work whereas older workers tend to have more varied motivation towards their work (see p.149). Consistent with the work orientation literature, this finding may also suggest that work-views are not fixed but are likely to change over time (Beynon and Blackburn 1972; Blackburn and Mann 1979; Watson 2012). It could be that young workers initially assume a ‘Good-fit’ work-view and eventually develop a ‘Professional’ work-view as they age in their jobs.

During an early pilot interview a senior crewing manager commented to me that she observed a high turnover among her agency’s hotel staff. Her observation is supported by the bivariate analyses in Tables 18 and 19 demonstrating the strong affinity of young service crew towards the Good-fit work-view. Unlike the ‘technical’ marine crew who were trained to work on a ship intending to build a long-term ‘career’, the younger hotel staff prioritised fulfilling travel aspirations and other personal ‘adventures’ over the development of a career. This may well explain why hotel staff, in contrast to the marine crew, show a higher tendency towards short-term service within the industry.

⁵⁶ Differences in age and length of sea service in all other pairs (i.e. Good-fit vs Troubled, Good-fit vs Ambivalent, Troubled vs Professional, Troubled vs Ambivalent, and Professional vs Ambivalent) considered were not statistically significant (see **Appendix 13**, pp.299-300).

This is evidenced by the higher average age of ‘Professional’ participants (Table 19) who were mostly marine crew (Table 18); and the relatively younger ‘Good-fit’ participants (Table 19) composed of several hotel staff (Table 18).

Chapter Summary

This chapter described the shared viewpoints about the working lives of seafarers on-board cruise ships identified in the study. Given a set of occupational, organisational and work-related issues that cruise sector seafarers had encountered in their working lives, four different viewpoints emerged. The findings suggest that there was no one generic account of employment on-board cruise ship. Instead, working life can be understood from the viewpoint of a Troubled, a Professional, a Good-fit or an Ambivalent cruise sector seafarer. The discursive representation of each work-view can be summarised as follows: The Good-fits said cruise ship employment was about meeting travel aspirations whilst delivering good service to passengers. The Troubleds painted a picture of the problematic life of a cruise ship worker before, during and after a contract. The Professionals described a strong identification and commitment to a seafaring occupation. And finally, the Ambivalents viewed cruise ship employment as a combination of advantages and disadvantages that every worker must realistically assess.

The factor array resulting from correlation and factor analysis presented a work-view’s stance on an issue and the overall structure of the viewpoint whilst the interview data revealed the stories and explanations behind a particular position. The four work-views ‘generally prove a genuine representation of that discourse as it exists within a larger population of persons’ (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993 p.52). The differing views had been the focus of the present chapter in order to highlight the distinctive perspective of each work-view. The issues of alignment cited in the previous subsections are only indicative of a wider commonality that is fully discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Alignment Between Work-views

After introducing the main features of the four social representations of the working lives of Filipino seafarers working on-board cruise ships, this chapter explores stance alignment between the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent work-views. The main argument of this chapter is that whilst they offer distinct viewpoints in relation to some issues, the four work-views also present a common narrative. A closer analysis of their aligned views show that they revolve around four themes: (1) positive attitudes towards the employer, (2) a conceptualisation of the job as both physical and emotional, (3) work relations based on shared identity, and (4) the continuing importance of family. Before discussing details of these four themes, the empirical basis for stance alignment is first clarified.

When work-views align

Stance alignment exists when any two perspectives contain a similar view on an issue (DuBois 2007). In Q-analysis, standardised scores (Z-scores) of statements across factor groups are compared and those that do not distinguish between any pair of factors/work-views are flagged as consensus statements. According to the results of factor analysis, there are only two statements that showed ‘statistical’ consensus: Statement-26 where inaccurate expectations about work-life on-board was rated negatively in all four work-views (i.e. participants disagreed with the statement saying that work-life on-board was not what they had expected) and Statement-44 in which being accustomed to working long hours received a unanimous +1 ‘Agree’ rating (**Table 20**). The magnitude of difference between the rating scores of the groups is too small and therefore not significant.

Table 20 Consensus of four work-views

Consensus Statements		Good-fit	Troubled	Professional	Ambivalent	Consensus Rating
s2	I would like to work on a ship until I am 65.	-5	-5	-3	-5	-4.5
s3	Homesickness on-board can be prevented by constantly communicating with loved ones.	+5	+3	+3	+2	+3.25
s4	The family I am supporting is the reason why I continue to work on a ship.	+2	+4	+5	+3	+3.5
s7	There is no one among my workmates that I give my full trust to.	-3	-3	-5	-1	-3
s15	Filipino seafarers are more hardworking and service-oriented than seafarers of other nationalities.	+3	+3	+4	+3	+3.25
s19	The cruise company I am currently working for regards profit as more important than taking care of seafarers' welfare.	-4	-2	-4	-4	-3.5
s21	I can say that I am happy with my current crewing agency.	+2	+2	+3	+1	+2
s24	I am ready to endure all hardships on-board if only to provide a better life for my family.	+4	+5	+5	+3	+4.25
s26	My work-life on-board is different from what I expected.	-2	-3	-2	-3	-2.5
s27	My job includes smiling and being cheerful to guests even when they are rude.	+4	+2	+4	+2	+3
s30	I strive to be understanding to avoid conflict with my co-workers on-board.	+2	+1	+2	+2	+1.75
s31	If I have a choice I will increase the length of standard work contracts.	-5	-5	-2	-5	-4.25
s37	When I am on the ship I feel that all my actions and behaviour are under surveillance.	-3	-1	-3	-3	-2.5
s39	Saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have.	+5	+4	+4	+4	+4.25
s44	I am used to working for long hours and irregular schedules when on board.	+1	+1	+1	+1	+1
Notes: The table only includes consensus statements and not the complete 48 statements. s2 means Statement-2.						

Alternatively, similar views can also be identified by simply looking at the rating scores for each statement. When work-view groupings have similar positive or similar negative ratings for an item, regardless of differences of magnitude, then such work-views are aligned with each other. To establish the common ground between the four work-views the focus will be on the ‘concurring’ and ‘consensus’ statements in the factor arrays.

Consensus across the four work-views. There is consensus when all four work-views contain the same positive or negative view on an issue. Similarly-rated statements

potentially establish common ground among the contending points-of-view. In the study's 48-item test statements, 15 are statements of consensus (see Table 20). These statements represent issues relating to task and demands (s26⁵⁷, 27, 44), value preferences (s7, 30), work relations (s15), the company (s19, 21), the workplace (s37), work motivations (s4, 24, 39), work intentions (s2, 31) and practices of maintaining close family relationships (s3). For example Statement-7: 'There is no one among my workmates that I give my full trust to,' has a weighted score of -3, -3, -5 and -1 for the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent work-views respectively. The 'disagree' opinion (negative rating) means that in general, cruise sector seafarers find friends in the workplace. While all four groups disagreed with the statement, it should be noted that the negative opinion of the Professionals (-5) on Statement-7 is markedly stronger than the negative opinion of the Ambivalents (-1). It is indeed possible to differentiate between the strength of opinion captured in the two work-views but this is not relevant at this point because the aim is to identify a general trend of opinion or similarity of stance between the four social representations. What is important instead is that the direction of opinion (agree/disagree) is the same. The difference in rating scores may be insightful in differentiating between the two work-views but since the aim of this chapter is to highlight the 'common ground' these differences in scoring magnitude are temporarily bracketed. In effect we can substantively say that the defining participants of the four work-views share a similar negative stance on Statement-7 and claim that cruise sector seafarers found people they could trust as friends whilst working at sea.

Since positive/negative ratings of each statement in **Table 20** are similar across the work-views an average rating can be computed to summarise a collective stance (see last column in **Table 20**) and arrange statements based on strength of evaluation. This makes sense because consensus statements are after all commonly shared by the four work-views. **Table 20** shows that seafarers broadly agreed that their work endured hardships (s24:+4.25) and that saving is necessary for an improved standard of living

⁵⁷ s26 means Statement 26. Please refer to relevant table for full statements.

(s39:+4.25). They also agreed that increasing the length of contracts (s31:-4.25) and working until age 65 (s2:-4.5) were undesirable. Clearly, the strongest stances represent the most critical issues for participants. The aim of this chapter is to examine the conceptual links between these issues and stances.

Concurrence of three work-views. Sometimes instead of an overall consensus among work-views only a simple majority (i.e. 50% +1) of stance alignment can be observed. Given a set of four distinct viewpoints, three have an aligned stance on a topic and one has a dissenting stance. **Table 21** enumerates concurring statements based on similar positive or negative ratings. In other words, these statements exemplify stance alignment for a group of work-views and also identify a distinctive counter-stance in a fourth work-view. These statements were important in characterising the distinctive nature of each work-view as discussed in the previous chapter. Here, the same statements are revisited to highlight the common ground found in three aligning work-views.

See Statement-46 in **Table 21** as an example. The Good-fits, the Troubleds and the Professionals agreed that their ‘view of life has widened after visiting different places’. However, the Ambivalents did not agree with this statement. The Good-fits (+3) and the Ambivalents (-2) best illustrate the contrasting stances for this issue since the two work-views have the highest positive and the lowest negative rating scores. Consequently, Statement-46 and its associated interview data can be used to characterise the divergence of opinion between the Good-fits (see **Section 5.1.1**, pp.125-126) and the Ambivalents (see **Section 5.4.1**, pp.151-152). Such comparison was the focus of the previous chapter. Here, Statement-46 is given emphasis as a statement of convergence that aligns the Good-fits with the perspective of the Troubleds and the Professionals.

Table 21 Concurrence of three work-views

Statements		Good-fit	Troubled	Professional	Ambivalent
s6	Female workers often receive unwanted sexual advances from male workers when on-board.	-1	+3	-2	-2
s8	I can describe the differences in beliefs and practices of other nationalities I have worked with.	-2	-1	0	-1
s9	Given a choice I would prefer to work with other nationalities over Filipinos.	-2	-2	-3	0
s17	I am proud that I am working for this cruise company (principal).	+2	0	+3	+2
s20	Some of my co-workers hold me in low regard.	-3	+1	-1	-4
s25	The seafaring job only suits a particular type of person.	-4	-2	-2	0
s28	It is in the performance of my cruise ship job that I experience the most extreme physical and mental tiredness.	+4	+2	-1	+4
s35	I learned how to converse in different languages because of my cruise ship job.	+1	+1	+1	-1
s36	I would recommend to others working on a cruise ship.	+1	-1	+2	+1
s40	I am just patiently obeying the policies and rules the company implements whilst on-board.	-4	-1	-3	0
s46	My view of life has widened as a result of visiting different places.	+3	+1	+2	-2
s47	Even if I no longer need to earn a large income, I would still enjoy cruise ship work.	-1	-4	0	-3
s48	The ship is like a prison where you have nothing to do but work, work, work.	0	0	-5	0
Note: The table only includes statements where three of four work-views have aligning stances and not the entire 48 statements.					

Constructing an alignment narrative

What analytical insight can be gained from alignment statements? Is there a logical link between these statements? I argue that these alignment statements can be summarised into four core thematic claims. By and large, the alignment statements supported the following: (1) a view that the current company is a ‘good employer’, (2) a

conceptualisation of cruise ship jobs as physically and emotionally-laden, (3) a need to maintain good relations with co-workers, and (4) the family as the central source of work motivation.

Although concurrence and consensus between work-view groups were established by having similar negative or positive ratings on an issue, it must be clarified that this was just a starting point for a more nuanced and qualitative interpretation. Consistent with the procedures described in the previous chapter (see pp.123-124), each group's stance on one issue must be understood in relation to their stance on all other issues as indicated in a group/specific factor array. Thus, the claim that there is a general direction of opinion' on an issue, as evidence of alignment between groups, could only be sustained if it made sense within the overall perspective of each group as defined by the relative agreement/disagreement with the statements described in the factor array. Bearing in mind plausible interconnections, an alignment narrative can be woven from consensus and concurring statements. The result was an account of working life that most participants identified with since it was composed from statements to which they held a similar stance. In other words, the alignment narrative is a common thread that links the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent work-views together. This is their common story about the work and life of cruise sector seafarers.

The statements listed in **Table 20** and **Table 21** were combined to compose an alignment narrative from a first-person perspective (see **Table 22**). Since the narrative represents the voice of three/four work-view groupings, the plural *we* was used. Note that in Chapter Six, the narrative representation of the viewpoint of a work-view was written in using the first-person pronoun 'I'. The main alignment narrative was composed from the 15 consensus statements and how they were organised into four themes. The expanded narrative amplified the argument of the four themes by including further support from concurring statements.

Table 22 A constructed 'alignment narrative' on cruise ship employment

<p style="text-align: center;">MAIN ALIGNMENT NARRATIVE</p> <p>We are fortunate to belong to a good company that takes care of our welfare (Theme-1: s19, 21, 37). When we started our respective jobs, we knew that it would involve hard physical tasks as well as consistent emotional labour (Theme-2: s15, 26, 24, 27, 44). As much as possible, we try to maintain a smooth interpersonal relationship with our co-workers (Theme-3: s7, 30). We do all these for the good of our families (Theme-4: s2, 3, 4, 31, 39).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EXPANDED ALIGNMENT NARRATIVE</p> <p><u>Theme-1: The 'company' is viewed as a 'good employer'</u></p> <p>We are proud to be working for this cruise company (s17: Good-fit, Professional, Ambivalent) and feel satisfied with our crewing agency (s21: all). Our principal takes care of the seafarers' welfare (s19: all). For example, sexual harassment is not tolerated (s6: Good-fit, Professional, Ambivalent). The company policies implemented on-board are not difficult to comply with (s40: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional). When we are on the ship, we do not feel that we are under surveillance (s37: all). Contrary to what others believe, the ship is not like a prison (s48: Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent).</p> <p><u>Theme-2: Cruise ship work involves physical and emotional labour</u></p> <p>We have endured all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24: all). Firstly, the job is physically demanding as you need to work long and irregular hours (s44: all). It is in this</p>
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job that we experience extreme physical and mental tiredness (s28: Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent). Secondly, it is an emotional form of labour that requires you **to be cheerful and polite towards guests even when they are rude** (s27: all). Although we are still learning to accommodate the variety of characters and beliefs of our multinational co-workers (s8: Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent), we have benefited from learning how to converse in different languages (s35: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional) and in the process the cruise ship job has helped widen our view of life (s46: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional). Given these traits, we believe that Filipinos are amongst the most **hardworking and service-oriented employees on the ship** (s15: all). By and large, **our life at sea has been what we expected it to be** (s26). We believe many people can do these jobs (s25: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional) and so we could recommend this occupation to others (s36: Good-fit, Professional, Ambivalent).

Theme-3: Shared inner self as basis for social relations

Whilst on-board, we **did our best to be understanding of others to avoid any conflict** (s7: all). We more or less received fair treatment from our co-workers (s20: Good-fit, Professional, Ambivalent). In fact **there are people whom we trust and call true friends** (s7: all). However given a choice, we would still prefer to work alongside our fellow Filipinos (s9: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional) because working relationships tend to be easier.

Theme-4: Close 'family' relationships are highly important.

Supporting the family is the main reason we continue to work on the ship (s4: all). When on-board, **we constantly**

communicate with them to prevent homesickness (s3: all).

If we have a choice, **we keep contracts short** (s31: all) so that we can spend more time with our family. **Should we have enough savings** (s39: all) for ‘our projects’ and to support the needs of the family we would cease to work on the ship (s47: Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent) and **choose to retire early** (s2: all).

Note: Statements in boldface are items of consensus. The rest of the narrative is broadly endorsed by three out of four work-views. The concurring work-views are specified at the end of the statement. Consensus statements are marked ‘all’.

In total, the expanded alignment narrative integrates 28 of the 48 statements used in the Q-study. With 58% of the statements described as ‘concurring’ or ‘consensus’ items, the area of convergence or commonality between the four work-views was quite wide⁵⁸ and deserved an entire chapter to elucidate. Nevertheless, as shown in the previous two chapters, there were sufficient practical and theoretical basis to retain four distinctive work-views (Mauldin 2014). These broadly similar views on majority of statements meant that work-view groups, and ultimately the seafarers who took part in the study, generally ‘agreed’ on many aspects that characterise the work and life of cruise ship workers. Understanding the links between these alignment statements may point to possible areas of intervention in future projects (Watts and Stenner 2012). This is particularly relevant given that most of the consensus statements generated strong negative and positive opinions (i.e. placed under ± 3 to ± 5) (see Table 20, p.163) and indicate that they are critically important for participants. To further substantiate the analytical themes around which concurring and consensus statements revolve, the succeeding sections draw situated examples of the alignment narrative from the interview data.

⁵⁸ **Appendix 7** (p.281) shows that the four factors are highly correlated. The wide convergence/overlap among the work-views is visually illustrated in **Figure 16** (p.201).

6.1 The ‘company’ is viewed as a ‘good employer’

The core of the first alignment theme is composed of three consensus statements which suggest an overall assessment of the current company as a good employer. Here, the term company relates to either the crewing agency (s21) they work with to secure a contract or the cruise principal (s19) who owns the ship they work in. Participants gave varied reasons for their view of their current employers as ‘good’ including a personalised approach to contract negotiation, provisions for safety and security, not being overly monitored at work (s37), the presence of programs benefitting workers, and an assessment of the rules implemented as generally fair.

6.1.1 The ‘good’ crewing agency

The participants explained in the interview that their positive stance towards the crewing agency (s21) stemmed from practices that benefited their welfare. For example, the agency managers and staff were reportedly easy to talk to and treated them as ‘family members’. The participants observed that the agency showed understanding when cruise ship workers extended their vacation and were not able to report in time to start a new contract. The participants added that their agency tried their best to match them to a suitable contract so that they could continue to be employed. There were instances too when employees married to each other said they could request to work on the same ship so that they could remain together for the duration of their contract. For example, Victoria and her husband were on the same ship before they had children. Subsequently, however, when the children arrived the husband and wife alternated their routines so that one parent would always be at home with the children.

Two points can be raised towards the view that participants were ‘happy with their current crewing agency’. Firstly, the consensus rating of ‘+2’ confirms a general endorsement of the statement but its placement in a Q-sort grid indicates that nine other work-life issues/cards were assigned a stronger +3, +4 or +5 rating score. This means that whilst cruise ship workers agreed that their current crewing agency was by and large ‘good’, this was not the matter which they felt most strongly about.

Secondly, agreement to Statement-21 should not be taken as a sweeping endorsement that crewing agency's performance was satisfactory. To be sure, these companies are not always the best work organisations to work for. For example, Freya raised the issue of the delayed remittance of her pay while Roberto mentioned the non-payment of social security dues. Under Philippine laws, 80% of a seafarer's basic salary is earmarked as 'home' allotment and is remitted to a designated family member monthly (POEA 2010). At one time, Freya's family in the Philippines received their allotted payment a week or more after the expected date.

In the Philippines, overseas workers also have the right to universal health and social security contributions (Battistela and Asis 2013). In the case of seafarers, the cruise principal paid the company contribution through the crewing agency whilst the employee contribution was deducted from the monthly home allotment. Seafarers were entitled to monthly contributions for the duration of their contract. Seafarers could opt to pay a voluntary contribution for the months that they were off contract. When Roberto checked his record of contributions with the local office of the Social Security System (SSS), he found that his crewing agency had not yet paid his SSS dues for his recently completed six-month contract.

Unlike most participants, Freya and Roberto were interviewed in their own households and did not hesitate to share their complaints. Participants interviewed at the premises of crewing agencies were understandably reluctant⁵⁹ during the interview to voice any current problem/issues they were dealing with. However, the complaints do not necessarily invalidate the 'agree opinion' for statement about crewing agencies. The

⁵⁹ However, it must be reported that participants were more vocal about their complaints towards their managers/supervisors and how day-to-day activities were run on-board. One reason could be that the crewing agency was a personal and more 'permanent' contact whilst the ship management was largely impersonal, temporary and fluid. A positive working relationship with the crewing agency potentially means sustained employment. Complaining about certain supervisors, managers or co-workers they encountered on a certain ship is potentially useless as these individuals may no longer be on the ship the participant is assigned next.

positive view towards the crewing agency can be understood in so far as the agency serves as a vital intermediary for an employment opportunity that can improve seafarers' economic circumstances. There seemed to be a debt of gratitude owed because, without a crewing agency, working on a ship would not be possible. Antagonising one's crewing agency could further make an already insecure employment more uncertain.

6.1.2 The 'good' principal

Safety and security. In general, participants declined to characterise their cruise company as favouring profit at the expense of employee welfare. Instead, participants saw the cruise principal as adequately addressing the basic needs of workers (s19). In their interviews, participants said that they felt that the ship's safety practices in place were the most tangible expression of the cruise principal's concern for seafarers. Ensuring the safety of everyone on the ship - the crew and passengers alike - is of great importance to the company. It is possible that cruise ship accidents in the past such as the Costa Concordia disaster in 2012 served to highlight the need for cruise companies to pay more attention to health and safety at sea. They continued that insurance coverage is another means by which seafarers feel that their welfare is overseen by the employer. Rhonel, who has worked for two years as a waiter, reported that in his company employees receive additional insurance cover and wages whenever the ship transited a high-risk piracy area.

Not under the lens. Whilst others may view the ship as a highly constraining workplace similar to a prison (s48), life on-board was not conducted completely under surveillance (s37) according to the participants. Contrary to popular perception (e.g. Hullinger 2016), close circuit TVs are installed only in public and work spaces and not in private spaces such as cabins. One participant commented that CCTVs were only examined when accidents happen and were not used to scrutinise employee behaviour. Participants observed that personal monitoring from supervisors was expected but was only likely for new entrants who needed direction in performing tasks. According to Lambert, 38, a waiter of nine years, supervisors eventually allow employees to work

independently and without close supervision after proving their ability to carry out tasks. Some of the participants further stressed that life on-board was 'normal' compared to land-based jobs as the company respected their off-duty hours and they were free to use that time as they wished inside the ship or if the opportunity arose outside the ship. They were also provided recreational spaces such as a crew bar and gym.

Pro-crew policies. More practically, the presence of actual benefits on-board strengthened the 'good' employer image. Freya cited that her cruise principal started providing maternity benefit of \$1000 to pregnant employees to assist in childbirth expenses. The Good-fit, Ambivalent and Professional participants also affirmed that there was a strict policy against sexual harassment in the workplace (s6), a point often emphasised in company narratives (e.g. NCL 2017).

Rufo, who elaborated on why he felt proud of his cruise principal in the previous chapter further added:

I am proud to say that our German principal has a policy for respect and equality in the workplace. For example, they really provide good accommodation and food to the crew. They abide by whatever is written in the POEA contract.

The programmes Rufo cited were commonly coordinated under a single office on-board. The presence of a Human Resources Office helped in promoting employee well-being. Reynaldo, 43, a storekeeper of 17 years said:

We have an HR coordinator and not every company has that on-board. Without the HR, officers can just shout at us. They treat you differently especially when you are a Filipino. HR keeps harassment at bay by implementing rules and regulations. They also have a Crew Welfare Committee that handles events so employees can also enjoy some time.

Respecting justifiable rules. Participants in three groups maintained that company policies were acceptable and justified (s40: Good-fit, Troubled, Professional). For example, as with other cruise ship workers (Kobus 2012c), participants found that weekly emergency and fire drills were repetitive, could be an 'added burden' and even annoying when you had just finished a day's shift or when you were having a rest time.

However, they all agreed that this practice was fundamental in making everyone prepared for any untoward incident leading to an emergency evacuation. Adherence and obedience to these policies were a consequence of seeing rules as serving some function:

Company policy is company policy. These rules are in place for your own good. There are no rules created just for one guy so he can suffer. Rules are there for everybody's benefit.
[Elmerado, 44, Sanitation supervisor, 14]

Doubting the 'good'

The 'good employer' image explored in this section should not be taken to mean that employers were 'perfect' in every respect. This stance must be scrutinised especially because most of the interviews were conducted in the offices of the crewing agencies participants were supposedly describing. The participants' positive views towards the crewing agency or the cruise principal could initially be interpreted as an example of social desirability response bias (Bryman 2012). When the employment relationship between the worker and employer is temporary and indirect, workers are unlikely to antagonise employers by giving critical comments as these may be detrimental to their future chances of work. Such situation may result into a tendency of participants to over-report the 'positive' and under-report the 'negative' aspects of their employers. It could also be that a negative view towards the company was unlikely from workers who were already keen to do the job such as the Good-fit and the Ambivalent participants whose ambition were to work on a cruise ship (s33). Their determination to pursue career goals could make them more tolerant towards difficulties presented by the job as well as other unpleasant practices in the workplace. However, whilst there was a consensus positive characterisation of the employer it must be recognised that there were some criticisms too. The 'Troubled' group which showed greater likelihood in taking a negative stance towards company-related issues was an example this contrary stance position. For example, the Troubleds did not feel that the company recognised the services they provided (s18) and they were undecided about being proud of the cruise principal (s17) (see **Section 5.2.2**, pp.132-143). The identification of this dissenting stance suggests that instead of a 'socially desirable' representation of 'employers' a more nuanced and diverse set of views are present among participants.

6.2 Cruise ship work involves physical and emotional labour

The second alignment theme is defined by five items (s15, 24, 26, 27, 44) which related to task demands and work relations experienced by workers during their on-board employment. Put together, the set characterises cruise ship jobs as involving not just physical but also emotional tasks. Cruise ship employment is first and foremost regarded as a physical job marked by long and irregular hours (s44) that employees may find exhausting after months of continuous work. Even before a contract starts, cruise sector seafarers were already anticipating (s26) the hardships that come with the job (s24). Cruise ship jobs, particularly for those in the hotel department, involve emotional labour whereby seafarers are required to display positive emotions when on duty and in passenger areas (s27). From the point of view of the participants, the Filipino crew on-board cruise ships have been exceptional in fulfilling these physical and emotional demands (s15).

6.2.1 Physical labour

Workload. Workload and schedule are explicit indicators of physical labouring among cruise employees. Working on a cruise ship means getting used to long and irregular work schedules (s44). On average, a cruise employee works for at least 10 hours every single day throughout the duration of a six-month contract. This includes ‘fixed overtime’ of two hours on top of a regular eight-hour work day.

Robert, 29 a waiter of five years described his typical working day in this way:

We normally work for 11 hours but when it's a full ship we can work up to 13 or 14 hours a day. For example, you will start at 7am and work 'til 10am. You'll have a two-hour break then resume working from 12 noon to 4pm. Afterwards, I'll take a nap then start working again from 5.30 pm until 12 midnight. You still have to clean after that. By 1am you are grabbing some food at the crew mess. I just choose to sleep when food is not appetizing. Sometimes friends hang out in the crew bar for an hour or so. There are unlucky days when you only manage a two-hour sleep before the next day begins. As they say, sleeping is not usual when you are on the ship. You sleep when you're in the Philippines.

Robert's day at work was organised around the restaurant's opening times. He distinguished 'rest' from 'duty' time, and 'leisure' from 'official work' hours but this was not always successful because seafarers live and work on the ship. Like everyone else on the ship, Robert adjusted his daily schedule according to time zones as the ship moves from one port to another. In certain situations, workers exceed fixed overtime and work extra hours when they cover for somebody else's task or when they help others finish their tasks. Whilst broken and long work schedules were tiring for workers, participants viewed the situation as a way by which they can contribute to the company's success – the harder they work the greater their chance of a continued contract or a renewal and any hours which they work over and above those agreed as 'fixed overtime' attract extra payment.

Contrary to the 'good employer' theme previously discussed, the physical and emotional demands of a cruise ship job described in this section are not strong indications of crew welfare. The tough conditions of everyday work schedule do not sit well with ideal working conditions. What is interesting is that participants generally accept these difficulties as inherent in the job. Stephen, 40, a bar supervisor with eight years of sea service reasoned:

We are really on-call 24 hours a day. You need to understand that the ship operates 24 hours a day. Expect that you may need to work round the clock as soon as you set foot on the ship.

Instead of complaining about a strenuous schedule, another participant felt that working on a ship as an assistant waiter was in itself an achievement because despite not having a university degree he was still able to get a job. He argued that cruise ship work however difficult may be seen as a 'privilege' which other high school graduates in the Philippines had no access to.

Expecting difficulties. In general, the everyday work life of participants is what they expected it to be (s26). Most participants learned about life at sea and what should be expected by asking current and former cruise ship workers amongst their family and local community. Through these 'insiders', participants learned that they would be

working long and irregular hours all day for six months. But despite being briefed on the working conditions, shipboard employment is a way of life every new worker must get used to. Aside from their regular tasks workers get additional assignments when the ship is busy or a section is understaffed. Difficult as it may be, new entrants with only land-based job experience get used to work routines on a ship over time:

It was my first time. In my previous job, I work five days then two days off. When I arrived in the ship I told myself, 'So this is how the job is done.' But that is fine. The off we have is unlike what we had in the Philippines. On the ship, off means not working during a lunch time or early afternoon then resume working dinnertime. [Rowel, 25, completed one contract as utility worker]

6.2.2 Emotional labour⁶⁰

Permanent smile. A distinguishing feature of cruise ship work is the requirement to be hospitable to passengers. According to the participants pleasantness at work, particularly for service workers on-board, meant providing constant warm greetings to passengers (s27). For example, one participant said that as a crew member of Royal Caribbean Lines he was expected to perform to a high standard in order to deliver good customer service. He said:

Regardless of how you feel inside, you have to be pleasant in front of passengers. We have a morning habit: When we wake up we face the mirror and greet ourselves good morning. You will smile and say it again with feelings. Good morning!!! That's part of our training. That's our GOLD standard: Greet and smile. Own the problem. Look the part. Deliver the wow.

Friendliness to passengers at all times may be experienced as laborious but the display of such emotion at work is an aspect of good quality service that can increase the tipping behaviour of passengers (Lynn 2006; Bodvarsson and Gibson 1997). Jeffrey, a waiter of seven years, shared that the workers' practice is to divide the collective tip of

⁶⁰ Although statements related to emotional labour (s15 and s27) generated consensus among participants, it is useful to be reminded that these issues are more directly applicable to hotel staff than to marine crew. As service workers – e.g. waiters, bartenders, receptionists, cabin stewards – they are more likely to have face-to-face interactions with passengers than other workers on-board.

the day equally amongst them. Good customer service then becomes a team effort – the better they are at their jobs, the greater the tips they can collect at the end of the day. The acceptance and performance of emotional labour also becomes the norm out of a desire to remain employed in the long term. Several participants reasoned that passengers who were happy with customer service were likely to cruise again with them or promote the ship through word of mouth: 'I have a great time with XYZ ship, their staff are fantastic!' To the participants, a thriving cruise business meant continuous employment on their part. They tended to believe that they were more likely to be rehired when there was a steady demand for workers who 'can deliver the wow' (RCI 2017) on every cruise experience.

Others might be quick to conclude that given the physical/emotional demands of a service-oriented industry, that perhaps only those individuals who are pleasant in appearance, young, skilful and unmarried will be most suited for the job. Young staff are perceived to be more adaptive, better able to do the job and less likely to be affected by the inevitable remoteness from close family members. However, participants aligned to Good-fit, the Troubled and the Professional work-views argued that a wide range of people could benefit from being employed on-board (s25). Certainly, a wide range of age groups is accommodated on-board as previously illustrated in **Table 15**, p.96.

It was noted by some participants that certain crewing agencies in the Philippines introduced minimum standards for certain types of jobs. For example, bar and restaurant employees had to meet height and/or weight requirements. Angelito, a waiter, protested:

'It should not matter whether you're good-looking or ugly. For as long as you have experience and you can do the job, they should accept you.'

Loving work. The term 'hard working', used in Statement-15 to describe Filipino cruise ship workers, was affirmed in several ways during the post Q-sort interview. Firstly, participants supported the positive description of Filipino cruise ship workers as 'hardworking' by stating that Filipinos were well trained prior to their first contract

on-board. They boasted of having a year or two of work experience in a hotel or restaurant in Manila in addition to their university degree in hospitality management. They explained that qualification and experience enabled Filipino workers to be reliable in their jobs. They said that Filipino cruise ship workers in general were able to understand and follow instructions quickly, were keen to respond proactively, and performed tasks according to expected standards. In contrast, they noted that other-nationalities had a tendency to pass on tasks specifically assigned to them to other crew members so that Filipino employees often ended up performing them. Several participants stated that 'knowledgeable and skilful' Filipino cruise ship workers were often assigned to teach and mentor workers of other nationalities, who were employed on-board with little or no prior relevant experience.

Other participants associated the notion of being hard working with the ability to endure difficult tasks without complaint. Having expected a physically-laden job (s26) Filipinos tended to have a 'long strand of patience' unlike others who were quick to complain at the earliest signs of discomfort. In recognition of their dedication to their job and hospitality towards passengers, four of the participants (one sous chef, two waiters, and one cruise activity staff) were recognised as 'employee of the month'. Mark summarised devotion to one's job in the following quote from his interview:

Loving your work means doing an excellent job. You do not allow yourself to underperform. Loving your work means being skilful at what you do. Your work meets the standard even when no one is looking. [27, waiter of 4 years]

The observed tendencies to accept the outward display of positive emotions towards passengers as an aspect of good service, and to be dedicated to one's job, suggest an emotive effort (Kruml and Geddes 2000) from the participants. Hotel staff in particular were able to embody the role they played by consciously internalising what was required from them by their jobs. This finding echoes the argument that workers become the very character of the cruise ship's enterprise because emotion is a fundamental aspect of their work and not just an individualistic response to events (Tracy 2000).

Enduring emotional hardships. The emotional aspects of labour among cruise ship workers also involves dissonance (Kruml and Geddes 2000) where, even if they experience painful internal feelings, their facial expressions must always appear to be pleasing and happy. The participants were all prepared to endure hardships and there was overwhelming agreement with the statement-24: 'I am ready to endure all hardships on-board... for my family.' Cruise sector seafarers agreed that supporting their family was the reason why they worked, and that they had a firm resolve to survive the tough conditions of ship employment. This declaration becomes more poignant because of the hardships they face throughout their working lives. The following responses of seafarers who were also parents illustrated their emotional suffering:

You are ready to suffer everything like being home sick. You are working yet you are thinking of what your family in the Philippines is doing. You just sleep after you work. Work starts again when you wake up. Nothing is on your mind except work and family; family and work. When you think about your family, you can do every task on the ship however difficult it may be. [Roberto, 43, waiter, 10 years]

It is really difficult. First, you need to leave your children while they are small. You won't be able to see them crawl or grow up. That is the most difficult for a nanay⁶¹. Everything is a sacrifice - you won't be able to earn that much when you work here in the Philippines. We just need to call our parents regularly and check how the kids are. Homesickness is really difficult even if your spouse is also on-board because you miss your kids. So now we take turns. My husband's contract is just four months and finishing in two weeks. When he comes back, I will be the one to go on-board. [Cathy, 39, cocktail waitress, 16 years]

As with land-based migrants, cruise sector seafarers work away from their family members in the Philippines. Longing was a constant feature in the responses from participants when asked about the hardships they endured. As parents, Roberto and Cathy both chose to work on-board so that they could earn more for their families. However, distance was a price they had to pay in exchange for a better income. Seafarers may be working on the ship but their minds remained occupied with their parental roles at home. Roberto tried to think of his family so that he could push

⁶¹ Filipino term for 'mom' or mother.

himself to finish tiring tasks. Meanwhile, Cathy remembered her repeated calls to her mother who was caring for her children while she and her husband worked. Cathy and Roberto showed that cruise ship work represents an emotional labour for parents who need to earn money while remaining relevant to their children from afar.

6.2.3 Advocating cruise ship employment

Despite the physical and emotional demands of cruise ship employment, it was interesting to note that the Good-fits, the Professionals and the Ambivalents (but not the Troubled) supported Statement-36: 'I would recommend to others working on a cruise ship.' They qualified this by explaining that a cruise ship job could be a positive experience if a ship life was aspired to from the very start. For example, the Good-fit and the Ambivalent work-views were made up of individuals who dreamed of working as seafarers (s33) or touring the world (s38). The Good-fits in particular were willing and even excited to do a physically and emotionally demanding job in exchange for the chance to see the world 'for free'. In general, participants believed that cruise ship jobs could be recommended to anyone looking for a relatively high income provided they could endure the tiring and demanding workload.

Indirect personal benefits may be another reason why a majority of the work-views supported the idea of recommending cruise ship employment to others. The Good-fits, the Troubled and the Professionals (not the Ambivalents) felt that their 'view of life had widened after visiting different places' (s46). They believed that their outlook on life had expanded because their jobs required them to improve their English-speaking skills, to meet people of other nationalities, and to experience progressive cities around the world. Moreover, a multi-cultural workforce afforded perspective-changing encounters that promoted tolerance of people with different beliefs and in other instances, relaxation of one's moral judgment on the behaviour of co-workers. For example, Mel, 45, a chief purser with 13 years sea service said that his opinion of extra-marital affairs among cruise ship workers had changed from outright disapproval to acceptance. While he still believed that relationships of convenience and unfaithfulness were inappropriate, he had also come to appreciate that his co-workers

‘come from different backgrounds, they have their beliefs and they have their own unique understanding of the world and how relationships should be’.

6.3 Shared inner self is a basis for social relations

The third alignment theme argues that Filipino cruise ship workers are not just dedicated to their jobs (s15), they are understanding and trusting towards co-workers. Two value preference statements define this theme, which on preliminary examination, emphasise the importance of keeping interpersonal relationships at work smooth: Filipino cruise sector seafarers aspire to co-exist with workmates of diverse origins (s30). Whilst it might be difficult to develop strong friendships in temporary and cyclical employments, participants claim that they have formed strong friendships with co-workers over the years (s7). From the outside, these may be interpreted as a strong tendency among Filipino cruise ship workers to avoid disharmony through compliance and passivity. However, viewed from an indigenous cultural perspective, such behaviour towards co-workers represents an application of *pakikipagkapwa-tao* – a core cultural value to treat another person based on ‘a recognition of shared identity, an inner self shared with others’ (Enriquez 1992 p.43).

6.3.1 Trusting and being understanding of others

Statement-30 posits the importance of maintaining social harmony in a multinational workplace: ‘I strive to be understanding of others and avoid conflict with my co-workers on-board’. Participants described in interviews that being understanding of others meant recognition and respect for others’ culture. This notion can be gathered from the following responses:

You must learn how to get along with other nationalities that you work with. You must adapt with whatever cultural practices they have. Others do that to us [Filipinos] but not all. Food is an example. Every nationality has their own delicacies. Whatever food is served in the crew mess, you need to join in. You need to try the food even if you don't like it. You need to be flexible whether he is your boss or co-workers from other countries. [Joey, 45, cook, 21 years]

You will meet different people in every contract. I have worked with Indians, Indonesians and Bulgarians and have learned to

get along with them all. Once during a break I was surprised to see my Indonesian co-worker kneeling and bowing down near the wall. He was praying. They pray at particular times so you just have to respect that by not being noisy. When you are the one tired and in need of rest and quiet, they too will respect you. [Patrick, 34, Bartender, 6 years]

I have interacted with many different races. Some have great skills in getting along with everyone, even better than my fellow Filipinos. They really keep the friendship once you've gotten to know them. [Dominador, 29, AB OS, eight years]

These encounters with others - via food, religion and friendship – suggest varying levels of competence in promoting inclusive social relations on-board, an indication of cosmopolitan sociability (Glick Schiller et al. 2011). On cruise ships, social diversity is a way of life because passengers and workers vary in terms of ethnicity, nationality, colour and culture. Cruise ship workers on their part are formally and informally socialised into dealing effectively with people from diverse backgrounds and in the process usually attain some form of transnational competence (Koehn and Rosenau 2002). For example, Joey's openness to try food that he is not used to can be a starting point for such competence in a place of multiple cultural influences. Patrick's awareness and respect for religious differences demonstrates functional adroitness via sensitivity in social interactions and analytic competence in understanding the core beliefs of another.

The participants' orientation towards social relationships on-board was contained in the participants' negative stance (-3) on Statement-7: 'There is no one among my workmates that I give my full trust to.' As shown in these extracts, most participants have found friends they could trust:

You really need to find somebody you can trust when you are on the ship. In case of an accident or an emergency, somebody will help you. But it really depends on the situation. It is really difficult to trust somebody when it comes to money matters. You are all there together for six months. There is no other way but to trust someone. [Joe, 39, Head waiter 14].

Before I started working on the ship, I was advised not to trust anyone. But there will come a time that a seafarer will find somebody to trust. In my experience, I have three Filipinos who have my full trust. We support each other in all things. We call each other when we are here [in the Philippines] and exchange stories about our families. I've also had other

nationality friends but we are not as close compared to my Filipino friends. I still get in touch with them up to now but because they are from another country I don't expect us to be extremely close. [Elmerado, 44, Sanitation supervisor, 18 years]

Joe and Elmerado affirmed that whilst there were sound reasons to be mindful when relating to other nationalities due to cultural differences, it was possible to find people on-board whom you could fully trust. For the participants, levels of trust with co-workers could range from superficial and guarded relationships to deep and full friendships. In their experience, a trusted person would possess such desirable attributes as showing kindness and helpfulness, an ability to get along well with others, show respect and have the capacity to empathise with one's personal and family struggles. In contrast, gossip and envy among co-workers were key reasons why participants were not 'relaxed' towards social relationships on-board. Others like Joe found that there were co-workers who could not be trusted when it came to financial matters and were not diligent in paying off their loan from him.

Although participants maintained that they remained friendly with all co-workers, it could be observed that their most trusted friends were Filipinos as highlighted in the case of Elmerado. When actually on duty participants in the Good-fit, the Troubled and the Professional work-views (but not the Ambivalent) indicated a preference to work alongside fellow Filipinos (s9) because working relationships tended to be more comfortable. The participants argued that, because of the better communication between fellow Filipinos, group tasks were more efficiently and quickly coordinated. People were more willing to help one another based on a common nationality. Andy explained:

Others would advise against working closely with Pinoys⁶² but in my case, I had a good experience working with our kababayan⁶³. You are understanding of each other. You have one flow, one culture. It is just easy to get along.

⁶² A nickname referring to Filipinos.

⁶³ Filipino term for country mate.

The issues of trust and friendship presented in this section highlight the Filipino core value for *pakikipagkapwa* which means to treat another as *kapwa*. The concept of *kapwa* is often mistakenly translated as ‘others’ but Enriquez (1992) argues that in the Filipino values system, *kapwa* signifies the unity of ‘self’ and ‘others’ as grounded in common humanity. *Kapwa* is about seeing the self in Others. This shared, non-oppositional identity was reflected on how the participants talked about ‘being understanding’ (s30) and ‘trusting’ (s7) others. Given any social interaction, particularly those that require understanding and trust, Filipinos ‘place’ Others in a *kapwa* category: the *Ibang-tao* (outsider) and the *Hindi-Ibang-Tao* (one-of-us). Filipinos interact with others based on these categories. Pe-Pua and Marcelino (2000 p.56) explained:

For example if one is regarded as *ibang-tao*, the interaction can range from *pakikitungo* (transaction/civility with), to *pakikisalamuha* (interaction with), to *pakikilahok* (joining, participating), to *pakikibagay* (in-conformity with/in accord with) and to *pakikisama* (being along with). If one is categorized as *hindi-ibang tao*, then you can expect *pakikipag-palagayang loob* (being in rapport/understanding/acceptance with), or *pakikisangkot* (getting involved), or the highest level of *pakikiisa* (being one with)

Applying the concept of *kapwa*, it can be said that the multicultural setting of cruise ships taught participants to be ‘understanding’ of *ibang-tao* and to ‘trust’ those who were *hindi-ibang-tao*. Using this perspective, the seemingly negative tendency of Filipino cruise ship workers to smooth interpersonal relationships may be re-imagined as just the accommodating part of the surface values, with the other set being confrontative. From the point of view of Filipinos everyone on-board – passengers, co-workers, fellow Filipinos and other nationalities alike – is by default included in the ‘not-one-of-us’ (*ibang tao*) group. Over time, they transact, interact, participate, be in accord with and aim to get along with everyone. Depending on how relations ensue, a select few of their co-workers are eventually regarded ‘one-of them’ (*hindi-ibang-tao*). As trusted friends, they accept each other, are involved in each other’s welfare, and in solidarity with each other’s endeavours.

6.4 Close ‘family’ relationships are highly important

The last alignment theme is composed of five work-related items dealing with motivations and intentions. These statements suggest that the cultural value ascribed to the ‘family’ drives the short-term and long-term career goals of cruise employees. Participants wanted to keep work contracts short (s31) and retire early (s2) so that they could be with their families in the Philippines. Recognising the central importance of family (s4), communication with loved ones became a constant activity whilst on-board (s3). The hope was to build enough savings and investment (s39) so that they could retire sooner and completely reunite with their family.

The Filipino seafarers’ emphasis on the significance of family was evident in explanatory and narrated responses in the interview. They all agreed that the family was the reason why they worked on a ship (s2). For them, the job provided an attractive means to earn and thereby fulfil financial obligations to family. This is a typical reflection on the importance of family to Filipino workers:

Family is very important for me. I want to fulfil my dream for my children: that they complete their studies. Once I covered all the needs of my family and children, I want a business for myself. I will stop working on the ship when that happens. My target is for this to happen in 10 years. I have a business idea in mind but I am still putting together an initial capital. [Joey, 45, cook, 21 years]

The income enabled them to send their own children, siblings and even nephews to school. For other participants, in addition to everyday maintenance of their own households they could provide for some emergencies within their extended family for example in-laws who may need help paying medical bills. Earning for these participants meant having enough savings for their own long-term health care and retirement.

Being family orientated is of course not a uniquely ‘Filipino’ trait but can be observed across different nationalities (Brown 1948). The significance of family in the working lives of Filipino cruise ship workers was important in a variety of ways. The relationship between occupation and family ties could be appreciated in the way income was used to maintain the household. The succeeding subsections will illustrate

how the value of family shapes intermediate and long-term work motivations and intentions.

6.4.1 Work motivation and the family's future

Constant communication. Studies have shown that the prolonged physical absence of seafarers from their family was a major stress factor for the workers and their family (Thomas et al. 2003; Thomas 2003a). The mobile nature of their work create temporal desynchrony (Thomas and Bailey 2009) and the difficulty of being co-present in celebrating important family milestones or events. Like many migrant family members (Parreñas 2005), seafarers have relied on internet mediated communication to cope with separation and sustain family relations (Tang 2009; Tang 2010; Tang 2012). As migrant fathers (Parreñas 2008) and mothers (Parreñas 2010), they negotiated their roles as parents (Carling et al. 2012; Leifsen and Tymczuk 2012) through mobile communication.

Keeping in touch is a main priority when a family member is away. Over the years, the means of communication between sea-based workers and their families have evolved. In the 1990s, families of OFWs were used to receiving snail mail and cassette tapes from their overseas relatives (Madianou and Miller 2011). Voice calls via landline phones were a relatively expensive alternative to hand-written letters that took a long time to arrive. Families who did not have landlines had to go to the nearest town centre where they could receive calls from their overseas family member. After taking into account different time zones, the seafarer and the family member in the Philippines could agree on a scheduled call. Family members received international calls through local shops. The advent of mobile phones meant that family members separated by thousands of miles could be in touch in real time - the financial cost was however high. Unless it was an emergency, it was the seafarers who would call their relatives back home rather than the other way around.

Nowadays seafarers have multiple means of keeping in touch with their families as internet access is often available on-board. Whilst cargo seafarers highlight the need to have internet access available to communicate (Ellis et al. 2012; Crewtoo 2015) cruise

sector seafarers have access to pre-paid connectivity on-board. Cruise sector seafarers were creative in searching for the cheapest Wi-Fi so they can go online and communicate with significant others back in the Philippines. Below, Joseph described the changes in the means of communication that he has experienced over time:

In 1992, we used to send snail mail (written letters) or call via land lines. These days we just need to send text messages or use Wi-Fi. We just need to buy a sim card. There is Wi-Fi on-board but it's expensive and slow. When we stop by in England we can just get a 3 Mobile sim that offers the cheapest 'eat all you can' data plan. That's what I use so I can save. Then I sometimes share that with others and not just Filipinos. Sometimes our friends would put in money and share the cost. That's our number one means of communication. [Joseph, 41, Sous chef, 22 years]

The issue now is not whether they will be able to communicate with family and friends back home but instead how much such communication costs. In the drive to minimise the cost of internet connection, cruise sector seafarers have devised several strategies exploring multiple means of getting in touch. One participant mentioned that whenever at ports where Wi-Fi connection was available, Filipino seafarers would take the opportunity to make audio (e.g. viber, iMessenger) and video calls (e.g. Skype, Facetime, Facebook calls). Of course, both parties needed to adjust to time zones. The seafarer would consider whether it was night-time or daytime in the Philippines and whether it would be possible for a loved one to receive the call. Some participants found it more effective to first send a text message to a family member and ask them if they could go online. This way, a text message was sent with minimal cost (way less than a call from a mobile phone) and then an audio/video call could proceed where the internet use is paid for.

Regular communication with family members serves socio-psychological functions. Seafarers may be absent from their households but are still able to retain their relevance as family member from a distance through communication technologies (Madianou 2012). Participants reported finding 'peace of mind' from hearing about the day to day life in their households back home. Seafarers who were parents were able to bond with their children despite distance. Contrary to the experiences of OFWs from previous decades, cruise sector seafarers were able to both hear and see their loved ones using

video calls. Maintaining family relationships via online communication has therefore become a critical means of managing physical absence amongst cruise sector seafarers.

Communication with the family was also a means to assuage growing frustrations with unsatisfactory aspects of ship life. Even when they did not directly discuss the difficulties they were facing with family members, regular communication reminded the participants of their goal: To complete their contract and not give up because the family relies on their income.

Family is the most important of all. They strengthen your inner resolve while on-board. I've been working on the ship for 11 years now and I started my own family five years ago. You cannot help it but sometimes you also get grumpy for whatever reason. In those times you just pray and think about your family. You just think of them until you finish your contract. [Michael, 25, baker, 1 year]

Priority to save. Regardless of whichever work-view participants were aligned with, saving money while employed was an important goal (s39). This was usually tied into a notion of *maginhawang buhay* (a comfortable life) – a vision they shared with the average Filipino. According to a national survey of the National Economic and Development Authority in the Philippines (NEDA), a comfortable lifestyle for Filipinos means ‘having a medium-sized home, having enough earnings to support everyday needs, owning at least one car/vehicle, having the capacity to provide children with a university education; and going on local trips for vacations’ (NEDA 2016).

The Filipino cruise ship workers however felt that the road to achieving a comfortable life was laced with difficulties such as performing an emotionally and physically demanding job (see **Section 6.2**, pp.176-183). ‘You need to toil before you can have a convenient life,’ said Patrick. To the seafarer, a convenient life means a family that live together in their own house and perhaps a small business to provide for current (i.e. household expenses and children’s education) and future needs (i.e. medical expenses and retirement income). Participants envisioned a future where they had enough resources and no longer had to work away to provide for their family. An affluent life

would of course be ideal but the modest future state they aspired to was to be ‘middle class’. Efren, 40, waiter with eight years of sea service said:

Right from the very start I am already saving because I know how it is to live a difficult life. I've been there and I don't want to be poor again. I need to be wise.

Although the term ‘saving’ in Statement-39 denotes setting aside a portion of salary to fund a long-term financial goal described as a ‘dream or project’, the statement served as an opportunity to discuss other personal finance concerns including, spending habits, insurance, investment and household practices of money management in the immediate and intermediate term. ‘Savings’, for the participants, were also a buffer against precarious employment. A work contract provides cruise sector seafarers with a continuous source of income for six to ten months. However, the nature of their temporary employment means that workers do not have income during vacations and whilst they are waiting for the next contract to start. At this time, workers rely on their own savings as financial support if there are no other income earners in the family. If off-contract vacations are extended for several more months or they are not renewed at all, savings can be very important. Marlon raised this argument:

You need to save because you don't know until when you'll have a job. Sometimes they can just fire you. You need savings so that you still can draw on something even when you're jobless. [25, galley utility, four years of sea service]

Conversations concerning savings showed that some participants have already fulfilled a number of financial goals that benefited the family. For example, Marlon felt proud that his family lived in his dream house after years of cruise ship employment. He suggested that owning a house was the most difficult of financial goals to accomplish for a seafarer because of the huge capital requirement and long-term commitment to a mortgage. Others reported that the construction of their house was still ongoing. In addition to their housing projects, participants reported placing their money in various financial ventures such as savings accounts, educational plans, life insurance, a business, or shares in a cooperative.

Fulfilling financial goals for the family was a very high priority for participants and this was behind the +4.45 rating for Statement-39 which said that 'Saving for a dream or a project is a main priority for every contract I have'. Interviews provided insight into the financial behaviour of participants. There were very different approaches taken by seafarers. Savers employed various strategies to achieve their financial goals. As far as possible they avoided incurring debt before and during their employment contract. They had learnt to 'live below their means' and manage their finances during and after their contracts by setting aside a portion of income as savings and spending only when necessary. Participants shared their strategies:

What they do is to remit 80% of salary to a family member. In my case I only give to Missis what's necessary. My wife and I have separate allotments in separate bank accounts. By the time I finish my contract, I can see that my savings account is untouched. At least I won't be irritated even if there are emergencies. Just give what is right and spend wisely. [Efren, 40, waiter, eight years]

We set goals and quotas. For example we set a target savings amount during a contract. We go shopping only after we have met the quota. My husband and I agreed that won't dip into what we have set aside [throughout the contract]. [Freya, 31, waitress, eight years]

Saving and adherence to a spending plan however were not easy habits to acquire especially when single or just starting with the job. For many, marriage and parenthood became important turning points for disciplined financial management.

My money mindset has changed over time. On my first three contracts, I spent a lot because I earned a lot. I just buy whatever I want besides I was single back then. When I got married, I realised that I should spend excessively, that I should save too. You know how much you are earning so my advice is: Have a goal every contract. For example you can aim to buy a car after a contract. You should focus on that goal. Then perhaps you might aim to buy a house. The trick is to work on it one after another because repayment can be difficult. [Vergel, 41, waiter, 14 years]

While some of the participants were successful in achieving their goals, others were still struggling with several obstacles. Here are two examples:

I was not able to save anything on my first three years because I was unmarried at that time and I am not really thinking about it. I also had a vice before - cockfighting. But it wasn't that bad.

Little by little I changed my habit and started saving. It is difficult when you have nothing. [Michael, 39, housekeeping, 11 years]

As of now, I've got no savings. Perhaps I will be able to start save some on my next contract. I am just a first-timer and we are still and I am helping my father and mother in constructing our house. I am also supporting my siblings' education. My mother is jobless while my father is a carpenter. They don't have permanent jobs so I am the family's bread winner. I am fifth of eight siblings but my elder brothers and sisters are also jobless. [Marlon, 38, waiter, 15 years]

Excessive spending was one of the biggest obstacles to saving for some of the participants. They reported that they had a tendency to be consumerist during and after a contract. Like most OFWs, many sea-based workers were fond of buying personal items that they could bring back to family and friends when they return home (see Statement-14 for Good-fits). This was especially true of cruise ship workers who had the opportunity to visit different tourist cities for a short period of time. The tiring six to ten months of work on-board was also used as an excuse to have their own small but costly vacations back in the Philippines. As in the case of Marlon, income from the first three contracts was often spent on luxuries so as to enjoy the fruits one's of labour.

Reckless spending sprees were also described by experienced workers. Cathy said that her husband, a head waiter in the same cruise company, had the habit, after completing a contract, of taking the entire family on an out-of-town trip or a few days stay at local hotel. To her husband, the trip was a reward for his hard work and to make up for lost time. Cathy however felt that these trips were expensive and unnecessary.

Indulgent spending was not an option for the likes of TJ whose earnings from his first three contracts were spent on repaying the loans he had incurred before starting his cruise ship job. Training for and the cost of processing papers to secure a contract, require a substantial amount of money. Would-be seafarers resorted to borrowing money from relatives and others to finance their application process. Once they were able, these loans were slowly repaid. Reckless spending coupled with repayment of debt made it difficult to start a long-term savings plan.

6.4.2 Work intentions and the family

Preference for short contracts. A work contract usually last for six months but some participants reported that there were instances when contracts were extended for up to 10 months. Although longer employment meant a source of income continuing for several more months and hence an opportunity to save more, this could additionally prolong the stresses attached to that employment. Participants revealed that long contracts were not typical for workers of other nationalities. For example, they observed that European officers and Brazilian employees only work for two to five months. The participants expressed that three to four months work with two months vacation would have been ideal in order to prevent workers becoming fatigued with workload and schedules. Thus, it was not surprising that participants across the four groups rated the statement ‘...I will increase length of contracts’ negatively. Long contracts were not preferred because:

Why would you want to lengthen a contract if you don't have a day off at all? You sometimes work up to 12 hours - it would be suicide to work like that in a long contract. On your fifth month, you feel like going home already. You are tired from work and tired from supervisor's sermon. If you don't want to die, you will just go home [laughs]. [Malena], 31, Buffet stewardess, two years]

Indirectly, shorter contracts were also advantageous from the point of view of the family. Unlike land-based migrant workers who were tied to annual contracts and often waited for years before they could visit family members in the Philippines, sea-based workers were able to return within the year. Apart from contracts that covered the holiday months of December and January, participants had a fairly frequent chance of ‘making up’ for their few months of absence especially so when as mothers and fathers they had growing children. The ability to undertake such frequent visits helped to lessen the sense of separation often experienced by family members.

Preference for early retirement. The prospect of early retirement from cruise ship employment was an aspiration shared unanimously among the participants (s2). They were all looking forward to finishing working on-board ship before the common retirement age of 65. In the interview, the primary reasons cited for early retirement

were given as follows. Firstly, participants longed to be with family: having been at sea for most months of the year and repeatedly so over a decade or more, participants expressed a desire to spend more time with the family. Previous studies of seafarer families reported that extended periods of separation from family members was a significant reason for cutting short their 'career' in seafaring (Thomas 2003a; Thomas et al. 2003).

The participants proposed various ages for retirement. From the interview data, some of the younger participants anticipated retirement in their mid-30s and did not mind serving long contracts if necessary. Participants in the middle-age group, who tended to be the more experienced workers, hoped to retire in their late 40s or early 50s. Mandatory and aspirational retirement ages also reflected differences relating to a participant's current stage of life. Single young workers had a different set of priorities to those of married and middle-aged workers. Efren, a 40-year old waiter explained:

I have worked for years and now and I want to be with my family. When I was still single, it was fine even if I don't go home. Now that I am a father, I need to be there to guide my children as they grow up. I want to be there to provide what they need.

However, voluntary early retirement has a financial precondition. Certain financial goals and responsibilities must be met before early retirement becomes an option. Most participants were the major income earners for their families. Parents in particular wanted to ensure that their children had first completed their university education before they stopped working on-board. In 2016, the Philippine government began implementing the policy of 13 years of basic education under the K-12 program (one year kindergarten, six years of primary education, four years of junior high school and two years of senior high school). If a four-year university degree were desired, a parent would need to have resources to cover cost of 17 years of education. Unless, the cruise ship worker was able to generate an income from business or other investments early in their career, early retirement would remain a distant prospect for most.

Another aim they wished to achieve before retirement was to build their dream house – a tangible representation of their accomplishment (Aguilar 2009). Others posited that

retirement would be possible if there was enough in their retirement fund, or they had sufficient capital reserves to start a small business that would replace the income from their cruise ship employment. Several participants had plans ranging from building apartments for rent, to opening a bakery, a restaurant, or purchasing passenger vehicles for hire to provide an income after ceasing work on-board. A great many however only had a vague idea of what business they wanted to pursue after retiring.

I guess the right time to retire is when my last son graduates from the university and my wife and I have established a small business. [Joseph, 41, Sous Chef, 22]

I will stop working once I accomplish my plans. Perhaps I have all that I need including a business by 30 or 35. [Conrad, 24, Busboy, 1 year]

Conrad had recently completed his first contract. He was hopeful about the prospects of his job and intended to retire at age 35. In contrast, Joseph who had 22 years of employment experience remained determined to work for at least another nine years until all his children had completed university, and he had accumulated enough capital for a small business. The 'novice' and the 'expert' seafarer developed their future plans based on their current station in life. Conrad's optimistic view of his immediate future would seem naïve compared to Joseph's declared intention to continue working as long as necessary to achieve his goals despite his already long period of service.

The second reason given by the participants was that retirement may be involuntary or enforced on health grounds because physical fitness was a necessary precondition in securing a work contract on-board. The majority of participants agreed that a 50-year-old worker might be considered 'old' and hence less fit for the job. They said that 'old' cruise ship workers may be more prone to accidents due to reduced physical strength. For seafarers, being physically fit for work is normally evidenced by a medical certificate and not just a personal declaration. Given a physically demanding job, it is uncertain whether workers can still do the job once over the age of 50. After years of working on a ship, seafarers normally find that their 'spirit is willing but the body is not'. Bobby, 46 and a baker explained his stance:

When you work on a ship you need to retire before you turn 65 because the job is really difficult. You need to be strong

and physically fit. Before we can get another work contract we need to pass a physical exam and prove we are fit to work. You cannot go on-board if you fail the exam. My plan is to work until I am about 55.

Moreover, some participants lamented that cruise companies now have an age limit and would prefer to hire younger workers than older ones. ‘Older’ workers may be more experienced after completing numerous contracts over the years but the supply of younger qualified workers is growing. ‘Older’ female workers are likely to cease working on-board before they are 50 especially if they are engaged in customer related jobs (e.g. reception, waitress, or cruise activity staff) because of the physical and social expectations. For example, Freya, 31 has worked for eight years already. Within that period she has given birth to a daughter and now feels that:

Forty is already old. My body can no longer do the job. Also, I don't think it befits me to work as a waitress at age 60!

Another possible reason for the low number of older females working on-board was that many of them may have discontinued cruise ship employment altogether after getting married or giving birth. Whilst the study sample only involved 12 female participants, all were of younger age and with shorter service when compared to male participants.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter sought to identify the commonality between the Good-fit, the Troubled, the Professional and the Ambivalent work-views. Alignment across work-views was established by examining concurring and consensus statements (i.e. three or four work-views with substantive similarity in stance) from factor arrays. It was possible to organise these statements of alignment into analytic claims: That Filipino cruise sector seafarers (a) were family-oriented workers and (b) related to their co-workers based on a shared inner identity, (c) tended to view the company as a ‘good’ employer and (d) understood their job as physically and emotionally demanding. This common ground account between the work-views resonated with the discursive image

of Filipino seafarers as 'hard-working', 'happy and nice' and 'family-oriented' (Terry 2013, see also Chapter Two).

In light of the participants' expressed prioritisation of 'family' relationships, the conceptual logic that links the alignment themes may be described as follows: The positive views towards the company could be expected of seafarers who were grateful to have found a viable means of providing for their family's present and future needs. As 'providers' and 'dutiful family members' who wanted to keep their jobs, Filipino cruise ship workers were willing to face whatever physical and emotional tasks demanded by their work. In this regard, getting along with workmates also meant taking care of one's job record which was instrumentally important in the support of present and future maintenance of their households. This suggests the 'the embeddedness of the individual in family and kin relationships' (Jallinoja and Widmer 2011 p.5; Smart 2011; Carsten 2000). In other words, there is a need to locate seafarers' work attitudes and behaviour within the network of relationships to which they belong especially, 'the family'.

It is relevant to note that the family and its role in social life is a universal cultural pattern (Brown 1948). The intimate connection between family life and working life had already been established in previous research (Hochschild 1997; Hodson 2001). Every worker from every country would cite 'the family' as a significant motivation for work and Filipino seafarers, along with millions of other OFWs, were no exception. As described in this chapter, relationships within and beyond the immediate family were significant in the participants' reasoning on decisions related to their employment such as regular use of mobile communication technologies to stay in touch with family members, the avoidance of conflict with co-workers, sending remittances, a preference for shorter contracts and the aspiration to retire early. These insights into cruise sector seafarers' 'global householding' practice (Douglass 2006) allow us to further contextualise their work attitudes and thereby understand the different ways employment experiences fit in their lives – this will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

ProblematISING Work orientations and Social representations

[T]o insist on only these negative stories is to flatten my experience, to overlook the many other stories that formed me. *The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete.* They make one story the only story...But there are other stories ...it is just as important to talk about them.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009)

After describing the main features (Chapter Five) and aligning perspectives (Chapter Six) of the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent work-views, this chapter discusses the results of the study in relation to scholarly and popular literature. The first objective is to explore the interrelationship of the work-views using the concept of work orientation. The argument here is that since the work-views represent the work life issues of cruise ship workers before, during and after their fixed term contracts on-board ships, it is equally true to say that that work-views reflect how seafarers' evaluate the different types of job rewards that characterise their orientation to work or what work means to them (Zou 2015). As participants represent their overall subjective experience of working on-board cruise ships, they also reveal their aspirations, motivations and expectations about work.

The second objective is to relate the four work-views to the popular/circulating representation of Filipino seafarers as 'perfect workers in a dream job' (see **Section 2.3**, pp.34-51). I argue that the shared work-views documented in the study are in themselves alternative social representations of the subjective experience of cruise sector seafarers because they communicate 'a network of ideas, metaphors and images' (Moscovici 2000 p.152) about work and life on-board cruise ships 'which enable things or persons to be classified, their characters described, their feelings and actions to be

explained' (p.152). These work-views reflect how the workers themselves 'make sense' of their own experience which may or may not concur with popular accounts of cruise ship employment promoted by cruise companies, the Philippine state or the media. These variations in perception and representation of work realities on-board cruise ships can be moderated by using the four work-views as alternative social representations to question the 'taken for granted' assumptions of the popular portrayals of work and workers in the cruise ship industry.

Having identified four shared accounts of the working lives of cruise sector seafarers, the study has moved away from the 'incomplete single story' Adichie (2009) mentioned in the opening quote. The participants' discursive representation of their working lives showed heterogeneous, not homogenous, work orientations. This meant that workers were simultaneously motivated by multiple types of rewards. The precarious nature of work emphasised the importance of extrinsic rewards particularly income but, from a cultural angle, the social recognition workers received from the employer/co-workers on the ship and the family/community back home was an equally significant work motivation. Moreover, whilst key assumptions of the popular narrative were referenced in the views of the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent seafarers, they also in various ways provided counter claims about the experience of working as cruise sector seafarers. This highlights the importance of considering a more inclusive, nuanced and situated understanding of working lives rather than being limited to employer/labour union accounts.

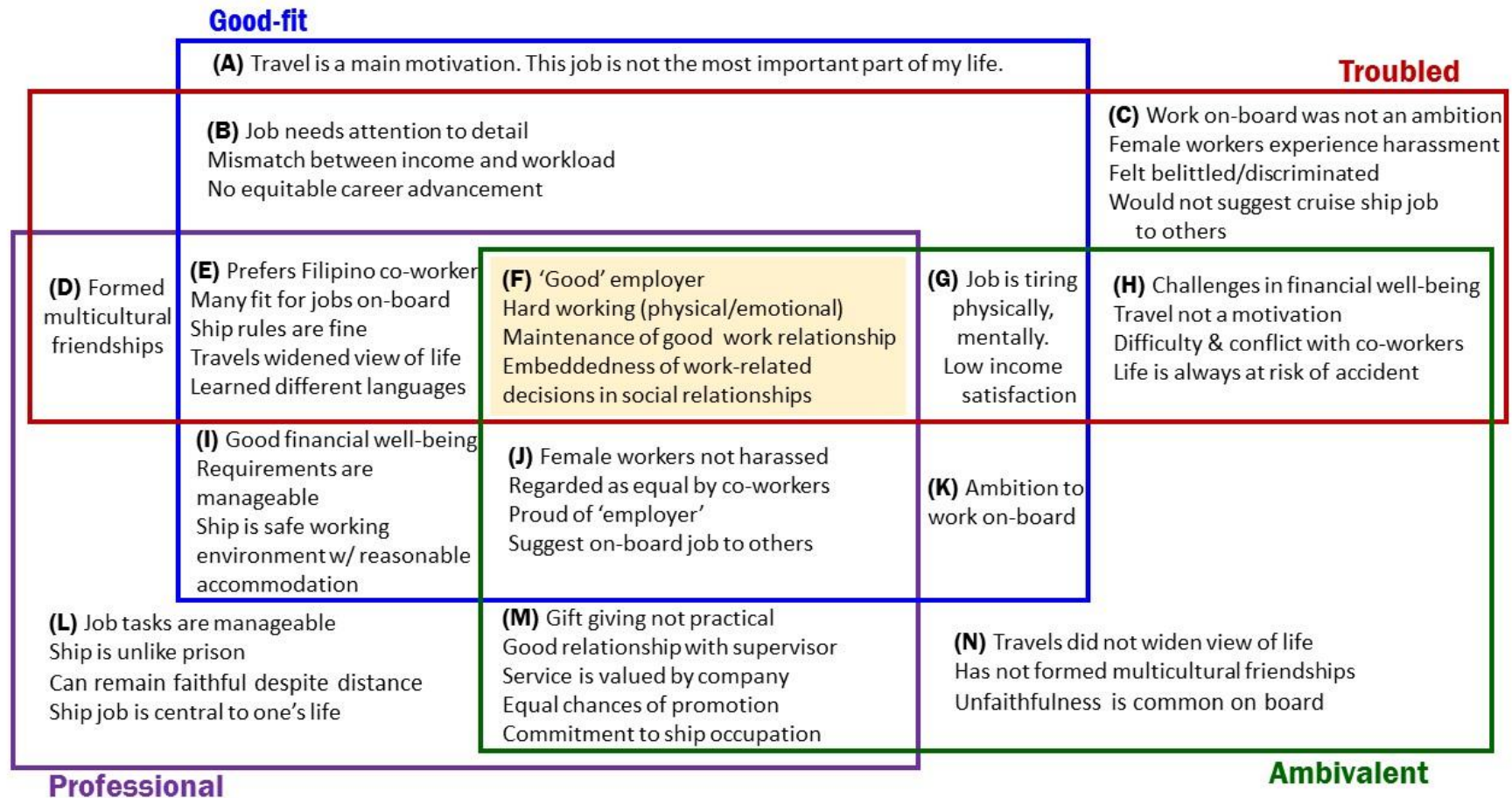


Figure 16 A schematic diagram of the inter-relationship of the four work-views

7.1 Work-views and Work Orientations

7.1.1 Relationship between Work-views

Figure 16 schematically⁶⁴ represents the interconnections of the work-views in the form of four overlapping rectangles. Within each rectangle are paraphrased statements/stances relevant to each work-view. The totality of statements inside the rectangle of a relevant work-view represents a holistic account of the work and life of cruise sector seafarers.

As shown in Chapter Five, these statements may be re-phrased based on the opinion they state and may be strung together to compose a distinct narrative about the working life of cruise sector seafarers. Some of these statements/stances are unique to a work-view and differentiate them from the three other work-views (e.g. area A for the Good-fits and area C for the Troubleds). The rest of the statements are in the overlapping areas which means that they shared by two (i.e. areas B, D, H, I, K, and M) or more work-view groupings. This includes ‘concurring statements’ (i.e. areas E, J and G) shared by three work-views and ‘consensus statements’ (area F) shared by all four work-views. Demarcating these areas of intersection between work-views is crucial in highlighting the extent of commonality between the narratives of experience they represent. The numerous overlaps indicate that the accounts are highly correlated but the four clusters remain distinct from each other. Exploring this ‘shared narrative’ (Areas, B, D, E F, G, H, I, J, K, M) in relation to the distinctive features (Areas A, C, L and N), and vice versa, offers a holistic understanding of the work-views as social representations and how they are linked together.

⁶⁴ The use of schematic diagram to illustrate the inter-relationship among factor groups in studies using Q was introduced by Hobson and Niemeyer (2011; 2013). **Figure 16** is essentially a visual representation of the similarities and differences of the work-view groupings as shown in the Table of Factor Arrays (see **Appendix 9** in pp.285-287) and as discussed in detail in the previous two chapters. **Appendix 14** in pp.301-304, which enumerates the dissenting stances of each work-view and their aligning and dis-aligning stances with other groupings, was also used as basis in forming Figure 16.

One way to make sense of the overall picture presented in Figure 16 is through the concept of work orientation. I argue that the cruise sector seafarers' work orientation is lodged within their social representation of their working lives. The Q-sort, as used in this study, was a tool for participants to model their individual points of view on organisational and occupational issues. Embedded within this task is the process of making sense of what rewards they expect to gain from the job and what meanings they attach to work. A sense of work orientation is implicated in the process of constructing an individual representation of working life. If work orientation was embedded within an individual representation of working life then the work-views that emerged in the process were social representations that illustrated socially-shared orientations to work. In the Q-sorting task, there were statements about extrinsic rewards such as income (statement-42), travel (s38) and promotion (s10). There were also statements about intrinsic rewards such as seeing the job as a form of expression (s45) or the sense of belonging gained through work groups (s17). In expressing a stance on these issues the participants invoked their own lived experiences and in the process inevitably revealed their underlying motivations and the meanings they attached to what work is.

The participants' work-views can be explained by the material conditions of cruise ship employment (e.g. global recruitment through crewing agencies, temporary contracts, job insecurity, etc.) and how the different meanings of work (e.g. seeing employment as a means to an end outside the work situation) may come into play given the life situations of the participants. Using information from factor arrays, supplemented by interview data, we can then examine empirical examples of how these inclinations towards particular job rewards may be combined together in the lived realities of cruise sector seafarers.

7.1.2 Work-views as Heterogeneous Work Orientations

In order to illustrate the types of work orientation embedded within each of the work-views, I use Matheson's (2012) typology (see **Section 3.2.1**, pp.62-65 for a full discussion), the most recent adaptation of ideal type work orientations originally

introduced by Goldthorpe et al (1968). In general, I argue that each of the work-views demonstrate a mixture of work orientation types. For example, there was an overwhelming agreement among the groups that their current income was crucial in fulfilling long-term financial goals for the immediate and extended family (Area F in **Figure 16**). Without diluting the significance of financial rewards, the groups argued that other forms of reward were just as important. As we have seen, some participants seemed to be most motivated by the opportunity for travel (i.e. Good-fit, Area A) whilst there were others who were more focused on the social identity accorded to them by their work (i.e. Professional, Area L). This was consistent with the findings of other studies that workers are generally motivated by a variety of job rewards (Crompton and Harris 1998; Hakim 2000; Matheson 2012).

Table 23 What work-orientations are embedded in each work-view?

Work Orientation	Work-views			
	Good-fit	Troubled	Professional	Ambivalent
Defensive		✓		
Instrumental	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thymotic	✓	✓	✓	✓
Solidaristic			✓	
Vocational				
Expressive				

Within each work-view, participants exhibited⁶⁵ a visibly Instrumental work orientation but they also showed features of either defensive, thymotic and/or solidaristic orientations (see **Table 23**). The Good-fits illustrated an instrumental and thymotic orientation because of their emphasis on income, fringe benefits and status. The Troubleds showed a mix of defensive, instrumental and thymotic orientations. For the Troubleds, income and career advancement were important but were not effectively addressed. The Professionals' heterogeneous orientation combined instrumental, thymotic and solidaristic orientations. For the Professionals, sense of meaning was important but so were career and utilitarian rewards. Finally, the Ambivalents'

⁶⁵ **Appendix 15** (pp.305-306) shows extracts from the constructed narratives of the four work-views that indicate a combination of work orientation types.

orientation could be described as instrumental and thymotic. In contrast to the Troubleds, the need for income and career advancement among the Ambivalents were generally addressed.

The Vocational and Expressive orientations were not observed in any of the work-views. The absence of these work orientation types does not necessarily mean that cruise ship employment is incompatible with these modes of thinking about work, nor that cruise sector seafarers are incapable of viewing their occupation as a 'calling' or as 'mentally stimulating'. Since there were participants whose Q-sorts did not correlate with any of the four functional groups identified in the study (see Participants 90 to 99 in **Appendix 8**, p.284) it is conceivable that vocational and expressive orientations exist at the individual level but not at the group level, the latter being the main focus of this analysis.

Instrumental orientation and work as a means to an end

What demonstrably linked the work-views to an Instrumental work orientation was the broad consensus across work-views on income as a means to an end (Area F in **Figure 16**). Regardless of whatever work-view the participants displayed, they declared that the family they were supporting was the reason why they continued to work hard on the ship and aimed to build a significant amount of savings for the purpose of buying a house or starting a business. As such, the participants collectively established a locus of commitment to a source of gratification outside the work context. Work, for them, was a means to support 'more important' areas of life which in this case was the family. It can be said therefore that cruise ship workers were primarily motivated by utilitarian or extrinsic rewards. The consensus across the work-views suggested that the cruise ship occupation was mainly valued for the income it generated so that the family's economic standing could be improved. Moreover, the strong emphasis on saving for some financial goals meant that they would like to maximise their earnings in every contract and this emphasised the instrumental value of cruise ship employment to participants. This means-to-an-end theme suggests a calculative involvement of the workers within the company. The workers maintained their

engagement (i.e. continue to work or remain dedicated to assigned tasks) insofar as it aligned to their desired future financial goals. Understandably, this was only a portion of the bigger picture as employment needed to be contextualised within the employer-employee relationship and the global labour market.

An instrumental orientation may also be defined by a focus on the fringe benefits that come with a job. In the study, the participants in the Good-fit group were the only ones among the four who valued their cruise sector job because of the opportunity for world travel (Area A in **Figure 16**). The Good-fits' stance was consistent with a means-to-an-end view of work documented in previous studies: the cruise ship job was a 'ticket' to visit different world cities for free (e.g. Gibson 2008; Sehkaran and Sevcikova 2011; Artini and Nilan 2014). A closer reading of their narrative showed that the travel motivation drove their overall weak involvement with the occupation. The Good-fits were definite that despite their travel, they did not consider their job to be the most important part of their identity. Following Goldthorpe typology, within an Instrumental orientation, work was not a central life interest and was mainly viewed as a contractual relationship that accords the worker certain extrinsic rewards.

Whilst there was consensus on the orientation towards extrinsic job rewards, the extent to which this expectation was effectively addressed in the work setting varied. The Professionals and the Ambivalents were uncertain whilst the Good-fits and Troubleds strongly disagreed that their income was commensurate with the amount of labour they invested in doing their work (Area B in **Figure 16**). When asked about promotion, the Professionals and the Ambivalents felt that equal chances were given to all employees (Area M in **Figure 16**) but the Good-fits and Troubleds felt they were at a disadvantage when it came to career advancement. Even if the match between what was expected and what was perceived to be provided by the employer differed across work-view groupings, the generally instrumental orientation remained the same because the main point of working was still about the material benefits the work provided.

The comparison between the Good-fit and Troubled work-views as empirical examples of Instrumental orientation deserves a closer look. While participants on both groups agreed on the importance of material rewards and the inability of cruise companies to provide adequate income and equitable promotion schemes, it could be said that Good-fits were in a better position in terms of getting what they wanted out of their jobs. Unlike the Troubleds, the Good-fits aspired to a ship occupation so that they could fulfil the goal of travelling around the world (Area K in **Figure 16**). By contrast, the Troubleds voiced a gloomy representation of work experience and revealed a more Defensive orientation. Based on the difficulties the Troubleds faced before (e.g. feeling burdened by the paper requirements of every application, being a main income earner), during (e.g. being at risk of accidents, conflict with co-workers, poor accommodation) and after (e.g. steep expenses when 'on vacation' from ship, Area H in **Figure 16**) their contract on-board, it could be inferred that they adopted 'survival values' and worked out of necessity. Unlike other groups (Good-fits and Professionals) who had additional income sources, Troubled workers who were generally sole income earners were likely to bear the brunt of unemployment. Since the Troubleds came from families who were wholly dependent on the remittances they sent home regularly, they found that their accumulated income after months under contract was easily depleted whilst 'on vacation' and awaiting the start of the next contract.

Whilst I describe the discursive content of work-views groups as characteristically instrumental in their orientation to work it must be clarified that the globalised context of seafarers fundamentally departs from the conditions of the land-based 'instrumental' workers described in the literature. All studies previously done on work orientations have focused on industrial workers who may be, or may become permanent workers of the company. For most sea-based workers, their economic relationship with their employer is defined by fixed-term contracts, an employment contract that ends at a particular date, e.g. after eight months (Ellis et al. 2012). They are temporary workers throughout their years of sea service and it is possible for them to work in different shipping companies over time. The economic relationship between the cruise sector

seafarer, the crewing agency and the principal within a globalised industry enables work to be flexible (Chin 2008a) and precarious (Dacanay and Walters 2011).

Work contracts are short-term but length of service may appear long-term because workers repeatedly apply to the same employer/ship over the years. Indeed, the study participants had at least seven years of sea service, and 14 out of 99 had worked on the ship for 15 years or more (see **Table 15**, pp. 96-97). It is important to remember that this ‘time at sea’ was only a semblance of a long-term career spanning decades because work was really built around fixed-term contracts renewed one after another and not out of a secure permanent employment. In work orientation typologies instrumental and thymotic orientations implied a view of work as a transaction whilst solidaristic and vocational orientations suggested that work was valued as a significant basis of social identity (Reed 1997; Matheson 2012). We would expect that because of the insecure nature of employment among seafarers, they were likely to assume either a defensive or an instrumental orientation. However, participants from the Professional group appeared to illustrate a solidaristic orientation which emphasised occupational identity. This suggests that within non-permanent employment relationships, non-defensive and non-instrumental work orientation could also emerge. In contrast to the three other work-views, the Professionals were the only group who strongly agreed that their job was the most important part of their life (Area L in **Figure 16**).

Another fundamental difference between on-board employment and land-based jobs is the blurring of the division between work and non-work spheres. Goldthorpe et al. (1968) described the social life of Vauxhall workers in Luton as clearly separated between work and non-work such that ‘work experiences and relationships were not likely to be carried over into “out-plant” life, and workers were unlikely to participate in “social activities” associated with work’ (p.39). In the case of cruise sector seafarers, the line that divides ‘work’ and ‘home’ or the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ was blurred, at least for the duration of a contract because they lived and worked on a ship. It was for these reasons that some scholars have described cruise ships as contemporary examples of total institutions (Tracy 2000; Ritzer 1998; Ritzer and Liska 1997).

Goffman (1961 p.xiii) originally defined a total institution as ‘a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together, lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life’. Although some cruise sector seafarers have shore leave most of their time is spent in the confined space of the ship for the duration of the contract. The lack of control they exerted over their daily lives was most evident in the emotional labour they were required to perform as part of the overall service. Despite the intertwining of work and life spheres due to the contingencies of cruise sector employment, an Instrumental work orientation was still observed.

Thymotic orientation and the social embeddedness of status recognition

After discussing the basis of an Instrumental orientation among the four work-views, I now argue that they also exhibit a Thymotic orientation. In other words, the Good-fits, the Troubleds, the Professionals and the Ambivalents were empirical examples of accounts that demonstrated heterogeneous work orientations – that workers in each group were simultaneously motivated by different types of rewards. The different groups did vary in terms of their manifestation of these motivations but their orientation to work was both Instrumental and Thymotic. An understanding of what thymotic means is necessary to appreciate the conceptual logic of this claim.

Matheson equated the Thymotic orientation with being driven more by social status⁶⁶, as a non-economic reward, than by the material rewards of a job. Matheson borrowed the notion of thymotic orientation from Fukuyama (1992; 1995) who used the term to articulate the ‘struggle for recognition’ among contemporary workers after they have

⁶⁶ In the study, Statement-10 (*On the ship every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder.*) relates to the issue of status as job reward (See **Appendix 9**, pp.285-287, for a comparison of rating scores). The Professionals and the Ambivalents felt that workers in general were given equal chances at promotion whereas the Good-fits and the Troubleds indicated that career advancement seemed to be an unmet need.

sorted life's basic necessities. The term is from the Greek word *thymos* which means courage and vitality (Lee 2014) or spiritedness (Tillich 2000).

What I want to argue is that Matheson's focus on 'status' as a form of reward in his usage of the concept dilutes Fukuyama's theorising on the thymotic origins of work. To recapture the original argument, the process of recognition should be the focus. If *thymos* refers to workers' 'desire for recognition', three important issues can be raised: Recognition of what? Recognition by whom? How does the desire for recognition manifests? Fukuyama (1992) explains:

...human beings seek recognition of their own worth, or of the people, things, or principles that they invest in worth. The propensity to invest the self with a certain value, and to demand recognition for that value, is what ...we would call "self-esteem"...People believe that they have a certain worth, and when people treat them as though they are worth less than that, they experience the emotion of *anger*. Conversely, when people fail to live up to their own sense of worth, they feel *shame* and when they are evaluated correctly and in proportion to their worth, they feel *pride* (p. xvii)

In every employment relationship, it is clear that workers seek to affirm their own value with reference to their employers and co-workers. Within the work setting, workers expect fair recognition of their value from employers. It is for this reason that social status as a function of one's placement in the organisational hierarchy, as postulated in Matheson's typology, becomes an important means by which the worker's self-esteem is recognised. Career advancement means an increasing recognition of one's value. Indicators of such desire for recognition becomes visible via the workers' 'spirited' expression of desire for recognition in such areas as the sense of pride felt on promotion or when their contribution to the company is commended. In the present study, this sense of pride could be observed in the Professionals and the Ambivalents' view that workers had equal access to career advancement and that their employers valued their services (Area M in **Figure 16**).

In the individualist Western culture, such framing makes sense. The workers' self-worth is intimately connected to 'how hard and how skilfully they work, how quickly

they are moving up the corporate ladder, and the respect in which they are held by other people' (Fukuyama 1992 p.226). This attitude was consistent with the idea of a 'bureaucratic' orientation (Goldthorpe et al. 1968; Reed 1997) wherein employees had deep involvement with their work because it accorded them a continually increasing status in the company (and by extension, rising income). Within the immediate work setting, the employer/boss grants or accords the worker a promotion (e.g. the Professionals and the Ambivalents) to recognise the value contributed to the company's product or service. For example, Rufo (45, Ordinary seaman of 14 years) suggested:

'They recognised my efforts and gave me 'Employee of the Month' Award once. I got a certificate and some cash prize!'

Here, the worker felt proud because the employer had proportionately rewarded the effort invested through his labour.

Once a certain level of material comfort is attained, social status within the organisation becomes the next relevant source of motivation (Maslow 1954; McClelland 1961; Herzberg 1966). Workers are now driven by both monetary compensation and career advancement. However, this is not always the case because a different kind of Thymotic orientation can be observed in collectivist Asian cultures. Fukuyama (1997) continues:

Japanese culture (like most others in East Asia) is more oriented toward groups rather than individuals. These groups begin with the smallest and most immediate, the family, and extend through the various patron client relationships...: *he does not work for his own short term benefit but for the well-being of the larger group or groups which he is a member...*His attachment to the group therefore has a highly thymotic character: he works for the recognition that the group accords him, and for the recognition of the group by other groups, and not simply for the short-run material benefit constituted by his salary (sic, p.231, emphasis added)

Fukuyama suggests that Asian workers in general pursue status-affirming promotion inside a company but for different reasons and meanings. Several studies have highlighted the salience of kin relationships in the working lives of Filipino seafarers (McKay, D. 2007; Galam 2016; Sampson and Acejo 2016). These studies suggest that the status recognition through career advancement is not just personal but more

importantly social because the worker is always embedded within a social group such as the family or the community they represent and belong to.

The significance of social relationships in thymotic work orientation can be further understood using the concept of ‘displaying families’ introduced by Finch (2007). Her main point is that ‘families need to be “displayed” as well as “done”’ (Finch 2007 p.66).

Finch defined displaying as:

the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions constitute doing family things and thereby confirm that these relationships are ‘family’ relationships. (p.67)

In the case of seafarers, ‘family practices’ (Morgan 1996) or the ‘actions [that] constitute doing family things’ range from the often taken-for-granted activities of communicating via Facebook messages and video calls, to the periodic giving of gifts at the end of a contract, regularly sending remittances to designated family members (McKay 2015), meeting financial commitments towards siblings and parents (Sampson and Acejo 2016), donating money to sick relatives and to building a house for the family (Aguilar 2009). These practices became recognisable actions and interactions between seafarers and people back home. Through these practices, seafarers convey, affirm, and establish their relationships with a group of individuals as a ‘family relationship’.

Given the need and expectation to ‘display the family,’ it could now be understood that for the participants, the more relevant but distant audience of the recognition process on-board, was actually ‘the family’ at home. The honour and the feeling of pride attached to a career promotion was extended to the worker’s own family. This is because ‘...the identity and social status of Filipinos are defined largely by their families which also serve the major source of economic, social, emotional and moral support’ (Miralao 1997 p.193). The monetary consequence of a promotion was undeniably important in improving the economic situation of the family and its elevated social status in the community. The worker, through his promotion and its accompanying

material rewards, was better placed to fulfil his duties to, and the expectations of, the family.

This could be illustrated by the following quote from Joyce, 28, a cabin stewardess of three years. She is the eldest of two and both of her parents are living. Her maternal grandmother also lived with them. She was a breadwinner for a family of five. When asked about her ‘family responsibility’ she replied:

That's OK because I love them. Besides, I am also the eldest and you cannot avoid the responsibility. That's our role as children of our parents. As they say, the good that you give your parents will return to you.

Within Joyce's personal and cultural frame, the breadwinning role⁶⁷ for the nuclear and extended family was not viewed as a burden. Her ability to provide for the household needs, support medical expenses, or pay for her brother's education were ways to perform the identity and social status of a good daughter. Joyce seemed to be ‘instrumentally’ oriented to work when her attitudes were only assessed within the context of the ship: She wanted to earn whilst travelling for free. However, when her ‘financial’ family displays were taken into context, a ‘thymotic’ work orientation was revealed: As the eldest child of her parents and sibling to her brother, she was expected, even obliged, to assist in the family's economic welfare⁶⁸. By financing her brother's education and subsidising household expenses she had simultaneously ‘done’ and ‘displayed’ what it meant to be daughter, sister, and grand-daughter within ‘a family’.

In Joyce's context, her kin group was the relevant audience of family display. However, the embeddedness of Filipino seafarers (and migrant workers in general) in social

⁶⁷ Within European culture and more broadly, there has historically been strong ‘status’ attached to the breadwinning role (see Warren 2007). The emphasis however in the above example is on the degree to which responsibility is stretched out to the ‘extended’ family. Among Filipino families, this practice seems to be more of a norm than an exception.

⁶⁸ See Aguilar (2009) for similar practices of filial and sibling ‘obligations’ among Filipino migrant workers.

relationships is not limited to close kin ties but also includes ‘people who may not be strictly “kin” at all but who occupy the same place in the emotional, cultural, locational and personal senses’ (Smart 2007 p.46). In this regard, the local community is another relevant audience to consider in seafarers’ orientation towards status recognition. The community of origin serves as an external audience to witness and recognise the worker’s display of success as a migrant worker. For example, studies show that remittances are significant in establishing an improvement in class identity of the (nuclear and extended) family in the local community. The migrant worker is perceived to be successful and therefore more respected (Thai 2012; 2014). According to Aguilar (2014) the situation of migrant workers may be understood as ‘a journey of achievement’:

In their origin community they attain new elevated status. Migrants return to the homeland with a sense of accomplishment in having literally seen the world outside the Philippines, overcome challenges, and arrived at a degree of cosmopolitanism. (p.13)

For seafarers, this sense of achievement is an ongoing negotiation throughout their recurrent migration. Whilst on-board, seafarers depend on their family members to establish and maintain their links to the community at large. In the absence of the seafarers, their wives/partners who manage the remittances also assume the tasks of ‘doing’ and ‘displaying’ the ongoing journey of achievement. Together they are able to maintain their social status in the community via charitable donations in community events, conspicuous consumption and in building a house (Sampson and Acejo 2016; Galam 2016).

In the present study, the recognition process of social and economic status was reflected in the participants’ overwhelming agreement to Statement-39 which emphasised the importance of ‘saving for a dream or a project’. This could be interpreted as a strong indication of cruise ship workers’ instrumental orientation to work because the focus was on the capacity to earn income to buy a house, send the children to school, or start a business. It is only when the cultural context is considered that we can truly appreciate the social meaning of cruise ship employment and not just as an economic behaviour alone. For example, the dream of building a large house that

imitated the houses found in cities around the world visited by the cruise ship workers, was not entirely about conspicuous consumption. Seen from a cultural perspective, the house is the most tangible marker of one's improving economic standing and a token of migrant work (Aguilar 2009). This shows that the bases for an Instrumental and a Thymotic orientation in the working lives of Filipino cruise ship workers are intimately connected. It is often the case that the material benefits of work are highlighted when workers are from non-affluent backgrounds (e.g. the Troubleds and the Ambivalents). However, a closer look at the dynamics of cultures of relatedness (Carsten 2000; Aguilar et al. 2009), particularly in the context of the family and the community, allows for a more nuanced understanding of why people work the way they do.

7.2 Work-views and Social Representations

7.2.1 Assumptions of 'Perfect Work(er) representation

A second argument of this chapter is that the work-views may be used as heuristic devices to problematise (Alvesson and Sandberg 2013; 2011; Bacchi 2012; 2009) popular portrayals of work and workers in the cruise ship industry. The accounts of experience of the Good-fits, Troubleds, Professionals and Ambivalents may be used to compare, challenge and question the assumptions underlying a particular social representation. There are different types of assumptions that can be questioned (e.g. in-house, paradigm, ideology or field assumptions) given a theory or social representation.

According to Alvesson and Sandberg (2011 p.255), root metaphor assumptions 'are associated with the broader images of a particular subject matter'. **Table 24** in page 216 summarises the root metaphor assumptions of the 'perfect worker in a dream job' representation (see **Section 2.3**, pp.34-51 for a full discussion). There is a need to specify these root metaphors because they characterise, portray or construct two related aspects: the seafarer/worker as 'perfect worker' and the work on-board cruise ship as a 'dream job'.

The use of a conceptual space diagram (Stenner et al. 2000; Watts and Stenner 2005b) is helpful in illustrating how the work-views support or reject⁶⁹ the root metaphor assumptions of the ‘perfect worker in a dream job’ representation. **Figure 17** in page 217 shows diagrams which plot the four work-views against two relevant issues/root metaphor assumptions. Each diagram positions the work-views relative to each other and relative to the parameters of the root metaphors. The respective location of the work-views in each diagram, which are based on the combined ranking scores of several statements (from factor arrays) relevant to the issue, is only an approximation instead of an exact position.

Table 24 Dissecting the Perfect Work(er) Narrative

Social Representation	‘Perfect Worker’	‘Dream Job’
Who/What is being idealised?	The Filipino cruise sector seafarers as employees	The occupation and the work environment on-board cruise ships
Who promotes this representation?	<input type="checkbox"/> Cruise companies <input type="checkbox"/> Crewing agencies <input type="checkbox"/> Cruise passengers <input type="checkbox"/> Philippine government <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino cruise sector seafarers (Current and potential)	<input type="checkbox"/> Cruise companies <input type="checkbox"/> Crewing agencies <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino cruise sector seafarers (Current and potential)
Root metaphor assumptions	Filipino cruise sector seafarers are ideal employees on-board the ship because they are: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) hard-working (2) happy and nice (3) family-oriented (4) flexible (5) subservient 	Cruise sector seafarers are engaged in a: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) glamorous job (2) that offers opportunity for global travel and (3) high income.

⁶⁹ Appendix 16 (p.307) shows the specific stances/opinions of the four work-view groups that support or reject the root metaphor assumptions of the ‘perfect worker’ image associated Filipino cruise workers. Conceptual diagrams A and B in **Figure 17** (p.217) were based from the data in Appendix 16.

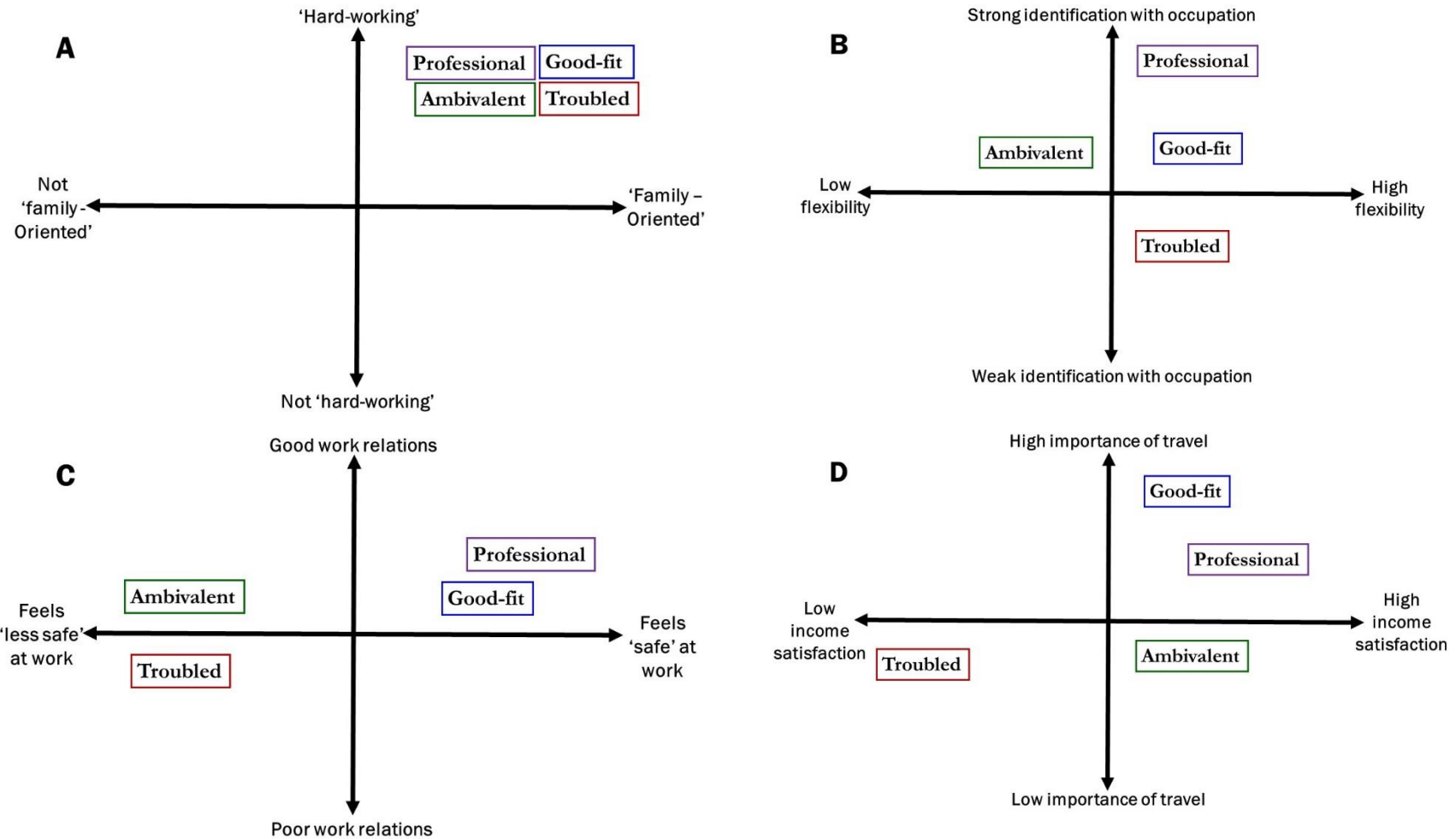


Figure 17 Hypothetical conceptual space diagram illustrating the position of the four work-views on selected issues

7.2.1 The Work-views and the ‘Perfect Worker’ image

Reinforced assumptions

The first three out of the five (i.e. ‘hard-working’, ‘happy and nice’ and ‘family-oriented’) root metaphor assumptions of the ‘perfect worker’ image (see **Table 24**) received overwhelming support from the work-views. **Diagram A**⁷⁰ in **Figure 17** shows that all four work-view groups clustered in the quadrant which supports the idea that Filipino seafarers in particular are ‘hard-working’⁷¹ (physically and emotionally) and are family oriented.

Firstly, participants sustained the assumption of being hard working when they claimed that, from their point of view, Filipinos were the most service oriented workers on-board the ship. Similar to the observation of Terry (2013), the discourse that Filipinos are hardworking employees is often cited in relation to their competitors/co-workers of other nationalities. In doing so, participants differentiated themselves from other workers on-board by highlighting an advantage. One example was Freya’s comment:

You cannot rely on other nationalities during busy times on the ship. Even if you hammer them or you get angry, they will just ignore and stay with their pace. Filipinos are just more industrious than others. [31, waitress of eight years]

Other participants who mostly worked in the hotel division of the ship further affirmed the attribute of being hardworking by reporting how they have endured difficulties

⁷⁰ Diagram-A compares the four groups based on the view that Filipino seafarers are ‘hard-working’ and ‘family oriented’. To locate a group’s position along the ‘hard-working’ axis, responses to test statements about service oriented-ness (s15), expectations for high work load (s26), long work hours (s44) and emotional labour (s27) were considered. The group’s position along the ‘family oriented-ness’ axis was based on the group’s stance on issues related to early retirement (s2), shortening of work contracts (s31), regular communication with family members (s3), willingness to endure difficulties (s24) and prioritising savings (s39) for the family.

⁷¹ I will return to this point later in **Subsection 7.2.3** (pp.224-226) as this may be criticised as a simple reproduction of stereotypes.

associated with cruise ship jobs, including working in long and irregular hours whilst serving guests as diligently as possible (e.g. Good-fits and Troubled).

The second assumption that garnered support from the work-views was the attribute of being ‘family oriented’. All of the participants maintained that the family they were supporting – whether nuclear or extended – was their primary motivation for employment. Amor (39, quartermaster of 10 years) illustrated this point when he said:

‘I work to give them a good future – my children, my family. It is really for them and for me.’

From the point of view of the cruise company⁷², being a ‘family-oriented’ person is associated with being an ‘ideal employee’ because when the immediate and long-term economic security of loved ones is at stake, the assumption is that workers will be more committed and hardworking. The more dedicated the workers, the better it is for the company. In this sense, the ‘family-oriented’ assumption provides a context for the ‘hard-working’ assumption. The commercial value of being family-oriented is also related to the assumption of being happy and nice as a characteristic of the ideal cruise ship worker. The importance of caring for the family in the Filipino culture is often tied to a notion that they will also be caring towards the cruise passengers (Terry 2013). The argument is that they will accord the guests the same care they would give their family members. The pervasiveness of such discursive construction is observed in other studies of Filipino migrant workers. For example, migrant nurses from the Philippines had the ‘reputation’ and were marketed to overseas employers as technical medical professionals with ‘TLC or ‘tender loving care’ (Guevarra 2009). For cruise ship workers, the ‘happy and nice’ characteristics were shown in the participants’ friendly and respectful attitude even to rude guests. As the ‘face and voice’ of the ship’s

⁷² By contrast, the tendency of the participants to be ‘hardworking’ at work to keep one’s job could also stem from the lack of employment alternatives in the country of origin. If employees had greater possibilities of earning good salaries ashore then employers would be facing competition for the supply of workers on-board their cruise ships. Other land-based industries would also be filled with ‘family-oriented’ employees but unlike cruise sector seafarers these workers may have had more employment opportunities than opting to work at sea.

product and service, the ship's hotel staff become the 'characters of commerce' (Tracy 2000) in which smiling, friendliness, respectfulness, and composure during tense situations are 'not just a response to work but actually is the work' (p.91).

Challenged assumptions

The root metaphor assumptions of 'flexibility' and 'subservience' of the 'perfect worker' representation gathered mixed views from the work-view groups. **Diagram-B**⁷³ in **Figure 17** compares the work-view groups based on their 'flexibility' in dealing with others and their strength of identification with the company and occupation. The concept of 'subservience' or deference to authority was indirectly described through the participants' attitudes towards their employer and their job. A work-view was aligned to the 'perfect worker' assumption if they characterised themselves as highly 'flexible' and they exhibited strong affinity to the company and their job. Diagram B suggests that the Professionals and the Good-fits were aligned with the 'perfect worker' position because they claimed to have 'strong identification' and were 'flexible'. The other two work-view groups partly refuted the 'perfect worker' stance. The Ambivalents exhibited low flexibility (skills in sociability) but strongly identified with the company and the occupation. The Troubleds described themselves to be skilful in dealing with others but had a weak identification towards the employer and occupation. The succeeding paragraphs elaborate these points.

The attribute of flexibility associated with the 'ideal cruise ship worker' means that the worker exhibits a strong sense of cosmopolitan sociability, i.e. 'forms of competence and communication skills that are based on the human capacity to create social

⁷³ Each group's relative position along the 'strength of identification with company and occupation' was based on their views on feeling proud to be part of the company (s17), whether they feel valued in the company (s18), being satisfied with their crewing agency (s21), whether they aspired to work on a ship (s33) and viewed the job as an important aspect of life (s45), and their intention to remain in the job (s43) and recommend it to others (s36). The group's relative position along the x-axis (flexibility) was based on issues of trust to co-workers (s7), preference to work with other nationalities (s9), ability to describe beliefs of others (s8), converse in different languages (s35) and resolve conflicts quickly.

relations of inclusiveness and openness to the world' (Glick Schiller et al. 2011 p.402). Such attributes are particularly important in a cruise ship setting that require competence in intercultural understanding. The work-view groups manifest these skills and competence in different degrees.

Apart from the claim that they had found people whom they can fully trust, the characteristics of what was called 'transnational competence' (Koehn and Rosenau 2002) which involves analytic, emotional and behavioural skills were not completely observed across the groups. What the participants demonstrated was a limited form of cosmopolitan sociability or flexibility towards (non-Filipino) others. One aspect was analytic competence which involved 'the ability to convert culture specific and culture-general information into understanding' (Koehn and Rosenau 2002 p.109). The participants, on average, had spent eight years working on cruise ships and most (i.e. Good-fit, Troubled and Professional) had acquired a considerable level of communicative facility in handling basic conversations in different languages. However, despite this considerably long time at sea, several groups (i.e. Good-fit, Troubled and Ambivalent) felt they were still in the process of grasping the differences in beliefs and practices of their co-workers of other nationalities.

The emotional dimension of cosmopolitan sociability involves genuine interest, respect and openness to diverse cultural influences. When asked, however, most of the groups (i.e. Good-fit, Troubled, and Professional) said that if they were given the choice, they would prefer to work alongside fellow Filipinos. This shows that the reality of extended social interactions that arise out of relatively lengthy contracts (Gibson and Perkins 2015) set against a backdrop of a broad mix of cultures at any one time on a cruise ship do not always successfully translate into developing a bicultural perspective – i.e. 'identification with both one's culture of origin and counterpart nationals' (Koehn and Rosenau 2002 p.112) – among employees at sea such as in the case of Filipino seafarers. Similar to land-based Filipino migrants, the participants seemed to be engaged but were not fully immersed (Ong and Cabañes 2011) in the cosmopolitan culture of the ship. They were heavily involved with the social environment on a daily basis as demanded by their jobs but they retreated to the comforts of their own culture whenever possible.

They also showed what looked like a prejudiced view in terms of stereotyping non-Filipino co-workers as less hardworking than they were.

Secondly, the characterisation of Filipino seafarers as ‘subservient’ workers generated divergent responses from the work-view groups. Participants’ accounts indicated that they were ‘docile’ insofar as they were compliant with imposed company policies and their capacity to be understanding of others in order to avoid conflict among co-workers. To a certain extent, some of the groups’ (i.e. Good-fit, Professional and Ambivalent) positive opinions about their employer, including feelings of being proud of their current cruise company, being recognised for their services, and the intention to remain as cruise ship workers in the long-term were extensions of their unquestioning obedience. However, there were cases when the ‘timid’ worker became vocal for instance when participants expressed their intention to shorten work contracts to periods of only four to six months instead of the usual eight months or more. In contrast to the majority, only the Troubleds held a less positive view of their employers which demonstrated a certain level of assertiveness. Participants in the ‘troubled’ group did not feel that they were generally valued by their employers in terms of the services that they rendered and said that they would not recommend working on a cruise ship to others.

7.2.2 The Work-views and the ‘Dream Job’ image

As mentioned earlier, the root metaphor assumptions of the ‘dream job’ representation portrays cruise ship jobs as glamorous and provides an opportunity for travel and a high income. When the workers’ own representation of experiences was considered, working on a cruise ship was not exactly a luxurious job but at best was a modest one⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ **Appendix 17** (pp.309-311) shows the specific stances/opinions of the four work-view groups that support or reject the root metaphor assumptions of the ‘dream job’ image associated with employment on-board cruise ships. Conceptual diagrams C and D in **Figure 17** (p.217) were based from the data in Appendix 17

To assess how the work-views align with the ‘glamorous’ assumption, **Diagram C**⁷⁵ in **Figure 17** compares the work-view groups based on their perception of risk and work relationship. These issues do not directly connote luxury but we would expect that a ‘good’ job, at the very least, has less exposure to different types of risk and that employees work in a positive work environment.

Diagram C suggests that only the Professionals and the Good-fits support this description of work on-board cruise ships. They claimed that cruise ship companies implemented welfare programs for employees including the provision for suitable living accommodation on-board. In the workplace, scrutiny and supervision were expected and within reasonable bounds. They claimed that as workers they were generally safe from the hazards of accidents (i.e. Good-fit and Professional) and sexual harassment (Good-fit, Professional and Ambivalent). Moreover, most of the participants experienced good working relationships with their co-workers, officers and supervisors. Both the Ambivalents and the Troubleds perceived cruise ship workers as being exposed to various types of risks. They claimed that workers were prone to accidents (i.e. Troubled and Ambivalent) and that female employees often received unwanted sexual advances at work (Troubled). For them, work relations were also problematic at times because of difficult co-workers or those who saw them as inferior (Troubled).

The ‘dream job’ representation also has the assumption that cruise ship employment provides an opportunity for free travel alongside prospects of high income and career

⁷⁵ The relative position of the four groups along the Y-axis (work relations) was composed from their views on whether they quickly resolve conflicts with co-workers (s11), their ability to develop multicultural friendships (s13), and the extent to which they get along with co-workers (s16, 20) and supervisors (s22, 23). The X-axis was composed from their opinions about the risks of infidelity (s5), sexual advances from co-workers (s6) and physical injury from accidents (s34).

advancement. However, as **Diagram-D**⁷⁶ in **Figure 17** shows, these material benefits seem to appeal to specific groups of workers only. The attractiveness of the opportunity to travel the world was not appealing to all the participants. Certainly, there were workers who aspired to work on a cruise ship right from the very start especially because of the chance to visit world cities (e.g. Good-fit) but others believed that the financial benefit of having a job was most important and that the fringe benefit of travel was not a ‘deal breaker’ (i.e. Troubled). Consistent with the dream job assumptions, the Good-fits and the Professionals portrayed themselves as workers who valued the importance of travel and were satisfied with their income. They further affirmed that their view of life had widened as a result of their travels.

In terms of material rewards, the Troubleds manifested the least income satisfaction compared to the three other groups. The Troubleds felt that they were inadequately compensated and that it was hard to manage their saved earnings whilst off contract. It was not surprising that they (i.e. Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent) were of the view that the job would cease to be enjoyable without their current remuneration rate. This position was further strengthened considering that some groups (i.e. Troubled and Good-fit) felt that other nationalities were favoured in terms of getting a promotion.

7.2.3 Interpretation

The previous sections illustrated that the Filipino cruise ship workers’ representations of their working lives had significant similarities and differences in stance compared with the Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job representation commonly endorsed by cruise companies. This means that neither the positive nor the negative narrative (i.e. exploited workers on sweatships) completely and accurately captures the experience of

⁷⁶ The group’s position in relation to the importance of travel (Y-axis) was based on whether they were motivated by opportunity to visit different touristic places (s38) and whether this has broadened their perspective of life (s46). Each group’s position along the X-axis (income satisfaction) was composed from their views on high spending behaviour at the end of a contract (s41), intrinsic job satisfaction (s47), chances for career advancement (s10) and whether income was commensurate to workload (s42).

working and living as a cruise sector seafarer. The distinct viewpoints offered by the Good-fits, the Troubleds, the Professionals and the Ambivalents were evidence against the dangers of making sweeping generalisations about particular groups of workers. The discursive elements of these work-views that reinforce or reject the assumptions of the dominant representation, point to the need to consider the situated understandings of the people who are the very subjects of certain social representations (i.e. the ‘national branding’ of Filipino workers as ‘ideal employees’).

The continuities and discontinuities between popular and alternative representations are sources of important analytic insight. What does it mean if the root metaphor assumptions of the Perfect Worker narrative are broadly supported separately and collectively by the four work-view groupings? This should not be seen as evidence of Filipinos are being ‘the best’ cruise employees there are. What it demonstrates is the *sui generis* character of social representation that function as ‘societal prescriptions that bear on the way people interpret events and what they will hold to be legitimate courses of action’ (Sammut 2015 p.108). In the course of data collection, the participants were not briefed about these stereotypes attached to Filipino cruise ship workers. The focus of the interviews and sorting task were for the participants to model their current thinking about their own lived experiences.

The deviations from generic social representation that have been identified in the thesis reveal two important insights. Firstly, the shared viewpoints empirically located the individual *within* the dominant social representation. This means that the ways in which the participants view their own working lives largely mirror the root metaphor assumptions of the Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job social representation. By and large, the participants developed their accounts of employment experience from within the discourse provided by the circulating narrative about Filipino cruise ship workers. The institutionally constructed image of the hardworking, docile, friendly and caring employee had been communicated to Filipino cruise ship workers and had consequently been the anchor of their own narration of experience. The participants were aware, understanding, accepting and most importantly, assimilating (Breakwell 2001) of the discursively constructed attributes of the ideal Filipino seafarer (Terry

2013). Presumably, the participants understood that it was in their economic interest to accentuate the positive and resist the negative stereotypes about them.

Secondly, it was equally important to remember that the assumptions of the dominant social representation were not completely reproduced in the group viewpoints or participants' narrative. In fact, the root metaphor of the ideal work(er) was repeatedly rejected collectively and separately when the alternative narratives were given a closer look. This departure from the circulating narrative demonstrates that the participants are agentic human beings whose standpoint on issues is not a matter of impulse but involves volition, purpose and meaning (Sammut et al. 2015). They endorse the stereotypes in general but when you ask a series of questions, consider the overall configuration of their opinions on issues, and consider their non-work context, the weaknesses inherent (i.e. incompleteness) in any stereotype are revealed. The dominant social representation may be prescriptive of how aspects of daily life (e.g. keeping the reputation of a 'hard-working' family oriented employee) are perceived but there is enough 'space' to carve out one's own stance on an issue (e.g. working on a cruise ship is not a dream job).

Viewpoints, Social Representations and Work Orientations

In this chapter I have provided answers to two analytic questions. The first question discussed was: How did the responses of the Good-fits, the Troubleds, the Professionals and the Ambivalents support or refute the 'Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job' narrative? The institutional discourse from the Philippine state, the cruise companies and the cruise passengers, branded Filipino cruise sector seafarers as 'hardworking', 'flexible', 'subservient', 'skilful and happy' workers who earn well whilst visiting holiday sites around the world. By looking at the work-view narratives we saw a more complicated picture than that painted by the Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job narrative. Whilst key elements of the dominant story such as their being 'hardworking', 'flexible' and 'happy' were broadly reproduced, the work-view groupings showed particular stances that disrupted common assumptions about cruise ship workers and their experiences. At best, cruise ship jobs were only 'good' jobs, not 'dream' jobs,

depending on which work-view was under consideration. In contesting the circulating and conventional social representations, the conversation on work experience becomes more inclusive and cognizant of the situated understandings of working lives according to actual cruise ship workers.

The second question addressed was a conceptual one: What types of work orientations were lodged within the work-views? I have argued that work-views as shared viewpoints on issues of working life revealed heterogeneous work orientations. Using the typologies introduced by previous scholars such as Goldthorpe, Reed and Matheson, narratives built from the stances of work-view groups suggested a strong instrumental orientation. Cruise sector seafarers were motivated by extrinsic rewards of pay or travel associated with the job. However, when the cultural logic of work was examined, a thymotic orientation also emerged. Work, for Filipino cruise sector seafarers, included not just a source of livelihood but also a process of recognising one's value within a reference social group such as the family and the local community in the Philippines. This shows that work matters not just because of the money associated with the job but also because it offers a means and a site to fulfil expectations in a web of relationships.

Given the analytic insights gained in problematising social representations and work orientations, what alternative assumptions can now be made about Filipino cruise sector seafarers and cruises ship work? The four work-views presented in this study have demonstrated that some of the often-mentioned descriptions and portrayals of cruise sector workers are 'untrue' from the point of view and subjective experience of Filipino seafarers. The mapping of the four work-views generates new information with which to rethink the circulating narratives in the media and challenge their status as conventional knowledge about Filipino cruise sector seafarers. In the process of questioning these assumptions, it is important to bear in mind that the dominant representation of the 'Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job' is contingent on particular interests that are not always for the benefit of the workers. The social representation is potent at a specific time period precisely because it serves a function for particular groups, such as cruise companies in need of 'desirable' workers or a government that

attempts to create an advantage in the global labour market (see **Section 2.3.2**, pp.39-51 and **Table 24** in p.216). In the past, the perfect work(er) representation may have been useful in defending the case of Filipino seafarers against their competitors from other nations who might otherwise be hired by the cruise companies. The disruptions to the stereotypical representation introduced by the Good-fits, the Troubleds, the Professionals, and the Ambivalents can be used as starting points in re-evaluating the opportunities and challenges for the future of Filipino seafarers in the global cruise industry.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

Given the contrasting and dominant portrayals of cruise ship employment as either romanticised work or hidden toil, the central research question explored by the study is: *Using the case of Filipino seafarers working on cruise ships, how do workers in a globalised industry make sense of their employment experience in relation to the wider context of their lives?* The study demonstrated, via Q-methodology and qualitative interviews, four social discourses relating to the working lives of cruise employees. These were termed ‘Good-fit’, ‘Troubled’, ‘Professional’, and ‘Ambivalent’ work-views – which in various ways problematise the assumptions of the prevailing and idealised representations of cruise ship employment. The work narratives developed from these social discourses demonstrate that the working lives of cruise personnel, particularly those from the Philippines, can neither be reduced to stereotypes of ‘perfect workers’ versus ‘exploited workers’ nor to sweeping claims that cruise ship occupation is either a ‘glamorous’ or a ‘tough’ job. The study has taken a more fruitful approach by considering the workers’ shared stances on organisational, occupational and work-related issues over the cycles of temporary employment so that a diverse, situated and holistic understanding of what it means to be a cruise sector seafarer can be documented whilst recognising the influence of established tropes associated with cruise ship personnel and cruise ship employment. In a sense, this bottom-up approach has privileged the workers’ understandings of their working lives rather than readily ascribing potency to institutionally produced images and narratives of work in the cruise industry. The study focused on five specific objectives:

1. To capture working life issues that are relevant to cruise sector seafarers.
2. To map work-views or shared viewpoints on working life issues of cruise sector seafarers.
3. To compare the differences and similarities of the work-views identified.
4. To contrast the work-views with the idealised portrayal of cruise ship employment.

5. To identify types of work orientations embedded in representations of working life.

8.1 The Study Findings

The results of the study were presented in two empirical chapters. Chapter Five differentiated the four work-views from each other whereas Chapter Six discussed their consensus on key issues. This section by contrast provides concise answers to the study's research questions.

8.1.1 Social and Temporal Dimensions of Working Life

Question-1: What working life issues are most relevant to cruise sector seafarers?

In contrast to previous research on cruise ship workers (Dennett et al. 2014; Lee-Ross 2008) the concept of working life, in this study, was construed more broadly and the issues workers face were situated within a socio-temporal context: before working on board, whilst on the ship, and after the seafarer goes home (see **Section 4.2.1**, pp.81-84). I argued that understanding how cruise sector seafarers make sense of their working lives requires looking beyond the immediate context of the ship because the family and the community, including their prior work socialization, also impinge upon a person's negotiation of work-based identity (Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp 2011). The approach implemented considered the participants' local non-work context in the country of origin alongside the occupational and organisational contexts of the ship (see **Section 3.1**, pp.55-61).

The first research question was addressed in a 'pre-study stage' characterised by 'early and preliminary yet intense confrontation with data' (Swedberg 2014 p.25). Several hundred statements that tackle issues about the life of cruise ship workers were gathered from various printed (i.e. academic literature), online (e.g. Facebook pages, YouTube videos) and primary sources (i.e. background interviews with 14 Filipino cruise ship workers). These statements were thematically analysed (Braun and Clarke

2013; 2006) and abstracted into 10 clusters of issues which represent the social (i.e. occupational, organisational, and non-work contexts) and temporal dimensions (i.e. before, during and after cruise ship employment) of cruise sector seafarers' working life. In particular, the occupational dimension focused on (a) the technical and aspirational pre-requisites of a cruise occupation, (b) the job tasks throughout the contract, (c) and its associated extrinsic and intrinsic rewards during and after employment. The organisational dimension involved issues dealing with (d) preferences in relating to co-workers, (e) perceptions of work relations with supervisors and co-workers; attitudes towards (f) the company, and (g) an assessment of the ship as a workplace. Finally, the non-work context of cruise sector seafarers was represented by including issues on (h) work motivations, (i) practices of maintaining family relationships during and after contracts, and (j) short-term and long-term work intentions.

Out of these themes, 48 statements were selected to represent the array of working life issues. These statements formed the initial Q-set which was pilot tested in a sample of cruise ship workers (n=37). The final Q-set instrument was developed based on the results of the pilot study wherein items with more or less similar content were removed and others were re-phrased for clarity and brevity of content.

8.1.2 Individual and Socially Shared Discourses

Question-2 What work-views or patterns of shared viewpoints can be identified and described within a sample of Filipino cruise sector seafarers?

The study employed Q-methodology, a qualiquantological approach in studying viewpoints, and interviews in order to document cruise ship seafarers' own representations of their working lives. Each participant (n=99) was asked to perform a Q-sorting task where they assembled statements of cards into a bell-shaped response grid in order to impress stance on a range of issues. The completed Q-sort captures the participant's holistic point of view, an individual representation of working life. When Q-sorts from all participants were factor analysed by person, four groups of similarly configured Q-sorts were identified. The commonality shared by each group

indicates a social discourse or 'patterns of subjective views and attitudes held by a certain group of people' (Addams 2000 p.14). This means that the individuals who belong to a group have more or less similar ways of perceiving, making sense of and representing their work and life as cruise sector seafarers. A model Q-sort was computed to represent this shared point of view which can now be treated as a social representation of working life. Since the discourse that characterised each group was related to work and was built from the participants' attitudes to different working life issues, these groups were called work-views. To differentiate work-views from each other and to highlight their distinctive overall stance, the work-views were labelled as the Good-fit, the Troubled, the Professional and the Ambivalent.

The point of view of the Good-fits emphasised that cruise ship employment serves both the worker and the employer. On the part of the worker, they were able to fulfil an aspiration to travel the world. On the part of the cruise company, they were able to provide 'good service' to passengers. The viewpoint of the Troubleds, as the name suggests, was the most negative and critical of the experience of cruise ship employment. Participants who typified the Troubled work-view highlighted the different challenges faced by the worker before, during and after temporary but repeated employment in the cruise sector. The third shared viewpoint, called the Professional, took a more positive stance towards cruise ship employment as evidenced by their strong commitment to the occupation and overall satisfactory experience of work. Finally, participants positioned in the Ambivalent work-view took a more hesitant stance on their description of working life suggesting more nuanced expectations given the advantages and disadvantages that cruise occupations present.

8.1.3 Consensus and Divergence among Social Discourses

Question-3: To what extent are the work-views (dis)aligned with each other?

Although the four work-views were statistically and characteristically distinctive from each other, there were work-life issues in which their positions were in alignment with each other. As shown in Chapter Six, fifteen issues of consensus (i.e. the four viewpoints have similar stance) and 13 issues of concurrence (i.e. only three of the four

viewpoints have similar stance, a fourth viewpoint has a contrary stance) composed the points of agreement among the work-views groups. Their common ground revolved around four themes: (a) a generally positive evaluation of the company they work for; (b) the acceptance that working on a cruise ship normally entails both physical and emotional labour; (c) the notion of a shared inner self as a basis for relating to Others; and (d) the strong emphasis they place on maintaining family relationships.

The points of divergence in opinion among the work-views were discussed in Chapter Five. Firstly, in terms of occupational issues, there were contrasting views on job aspirations and perceptions of job demands and rewards. There were those (i.e. Good-fits and Ambivalents) who aspired to work on a cruise ship and found the application process to be manageable whilst others (i.e. Troubleds) claimed that they did not intend to work long-term on the cruise industry and felt burdened by the stringent requirements in securing work contracts. The Professionals and the Troubleds gave the most sharply contrasting accounts of the tasks and rewards of cruise ship jobs. The Professionals felt that they worked in a safe environment and that their daily tasks were manageable whereas the Troubleds characterised the shipboard experience as being exposed to potential risks, such as physical harm and sexual harassment, whilst performing physically and emotionally demanding jobs. Rewards attached to cruise ship employment were also viewed in different ways. Two groups (i.e. Good-fits and Troubleds) recognised that the experience of working on-board and the opportunity to travel exposed them to different ways of living that to a certain degree, broadened their perspectives on life. They commented however about the general inadequacy of monetary rewards and scarcity opportunities for career advancement. The other groups countered this view and argued that cruise ship employment does provide equitable access to promotion (i.e. Ambivalents) and that the job can be satisfying in itself even if it does not always offer the best monetary reward (i.e. Professionals).

The second area of disagreement among the workviews focused on organisational issues. The majority of the groups of work-views conveyed a generally positive working relationship with their co-workers on-board and even emphasised the strong friendships they have formed over time. Only the Troubleds offered a critical account

of their co-workers and their employer. For example, they have in the past worked with others who viewed them as inferior, and in their assessment, the employer did not adequately recognise their efforts.

The final set of issues that generated differences in points of view dealt with the motivations and intentions towards work and the maintenance of family relationships. Whilst the opportunity to travel the world seemed to be a significant reason why people engaged in cruise ship employment (e.g. Good-fits), income was the more relevant motivation for work among the breadwinners (i.e. Troubleds and Ambivalents) versus those with supplementary sources of income (Good-fits and the Professionals). Weighing all the advantages and disadvantages of working on a ship, some participants declined to recommend to others the prospect of working in the cruise sector (i.e. Troubleds) whilst others, given their personal experiences, looked forward to continuing their cruise ship jobs in the long-term (i.e. Professionals and Ambivalents). Lastly, cruise ship employment as overseas work meant that seafarers were physically distant from their families and were in close proximity with co-workers and passengers in the contained spaces of the ship. There were fears that this living environment may lead workers to be unfaithful to their partners back home. Expectedly, there were those (Ambivalents) who affirmed that the risk of unfaithfulness on-board was very strong whilst others (Professionals) denied that dalliance was the norm.

8.1.4 Dominant versus Alternative Representations

Question-4: How do these work-views relate to popular representations of Filipino cruise sector seafarers as ‘perfect workers in a dream job’?

The need to consider the cruise employees’ own representations of working lives instead of relying on the prevailing portrayals of work on-board cruise ships was the main impetus of this study. One particular example relevant to cruise ship seafarers from the Philippines is the portrayal produced by the Philippine state in conjunction with the cruise companies and their cruise passengers. In the employer narrative, Filipino seafarers are seen as ‘perfect workers in a dream job’. The basic assumption is that as employees, Filipinos are ideal because, they are ‘hard-working’, ‘flexible’,

‘subservient’, ‘family-oriented’, ‘happy and nice’. Moreover, the representation also suggests that they are involved in an ideal job that is glamorous, allows them to travel for free and provides high income. Even though cruise ship workers are the very subject of what the labour brokers, such as the state, call the ‘perfect workers’ or when cruise companies market job positions as a ‘dream job’, the point of view of the worker is often marginalised. Within these representations, it is not the workers’ voice that is heard but instead the institutional stakeholders. It is only when spaces for discussion are opened up and when the dominant perspectives in the media are treated as just one of the various ways of representing the experience of working on-board cruise ships that these marginal voices can be recognised and mapped.

The analysis of the narratives emerging from the four work-views showed that some of the assumptions of the ‘Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job’ representation were supported whilst some were refuted. In particular, the assumptions with regard to being hard-working, family-oriented and happy workers were generally supported across the four work-views. This is not a confirmation that Filipino seafarers on cruise ships embody such attributes. Instead, the alignment between the workers’ own representation and the dominant representation illustrates the way in which current cruise ship workers are hailed (Terry 2013; Fajardo 2011) as ‘docile’ subjects of global capitalism and ‘patriotic’ subjects of the state via different representational strategies (e.g. news reports, brochures of cruise packages, online advertisements, posters of national celebrations etc.). The ubiquitous narrative of work emerging from the state and cruise companies was likely to have been internalised by the workers (at least in part) and thus manifests in their own viewpoints.

It is important to point out however that whilst the generic narrative of the dominant representation was largely replicated and expanded in the social discourses of workers, some aspects were also contradicted and transformed. The assumption that Filipino workers were flexible and subservient was refuted. At best, the social discourses of the participants only claim to have limited cosmopolitan sociability skills (Glick Schiller et al. 2011; Koehn and Rosenau 2002) – emotional, analytical, behavioural competencies in creating inclusive social relations in an intercultural setting. Moreover, as illustrated

by participants who clustered under the Troubled work-view, there was a limit to the accommodative/subservient stance. Of all the groups, the Troubleds were the most critical of the employer and the shipboard work environment.

Finally, rather than perpetuating a romanticised portrayal of cruise ship employment, the accounts of the workers suggested a more modest and realistic claim: Work can be physically and mentally exhausting with no guarantees of huge income but that the ship is a generally safe work environment with good work relations among employees. These disruptions to the dominant narrative were important because they highlight the value of the workers' own representations of their working lives in understanding the experiences of precarious workers in a specific industry.

8.1.5 Heterogeneous Work Orientations

Question-5: What do work-views reveal about the work orientation Filipino cruise sector seafarers?

As participants represented their working lives via Q-sorts and brief narratives, they also opened up about their motivations and their expectations of cruise ship employment not just their ongoing experience on-board. This process afforded the opportunity to examine the four work-views as empirical cases of how various types of work orientations combine or blend together. I argued in Chapter Seven (see **Section 7.1.2**, pp.204-216) that viewed from the outside, the work-views seem to demonstrate either a defensive, instrumental or solidaristic work orientation. The Good-fits illustrated an instrumental work orientation because they were largely motivated by the fringe benefits of travel. For them, the job was a means to an end. The Ambivalents' strong emphasis on career advancement can be interpreted as also stemming from an instrumental orientation to work. By contrast the Professionals emphasised the strong sense of meaning which they derived from work and therefore indicated a solidaristic orientation to work. For them, work fulfilled a need for belonging. The Troubleds generally subscribed to a defensive work orientation – they put emphasis on income and career advancement yet these rewards remained unmet.

However, when understood from a psychosociocultural perspective, the logic of work between the four work-views revealed an internally thymotic orientation defined by the need to achieve social recognition within the extended family, and prestige in the community. In particular, the study suggested that the relationships within and outside the immediate family were significant in the participants' reasoning on employment-related decisions such as avoidance of conflict with co-workers, preference for shorter contracts, and aspiration to retire early. These findings support the claim that meanings attached to work as an area of life are complex and multiple – that people are simultaneously drawn to various types of rewards in their job (Crompton and Harris 1998; Hakim 2000). This also highlights the importance of understanding these meaning of work within the person's psychosociocultural context (Fajardo 2011); that 'economic' decisions and behaviour such as employment has a social context. The work-views allow us to explore the complexity of work orientations that is sometimes overlooked when the links between expectations, priorities and work attitudes are understood in terms of 'ideal types'.

8.2 Contributions to Knowledge

8.2.1 Empirical Contributions

Overall, the main empirical contribution of the study is the identification, description, and comparison of seafarers' own representations of the experience of working on cruise ships. Firstly, this empirical task was carried out in reaction to the dominant and pervasive portrayals of work and workers on-board cruise ships, largely promoted by institutional stakeholders in the industry (e.g. cruise companies, manning agencies, the state), which dilute the voice of the very cruise ship workers that they seek to depict. Secondly, recognising that there are multiple ways by which people subjectively experience work, the study explored and mapped such subjectivity and diversity (Kitzinger 1999). The singling out of work-views as isolable social discourses from individual representations of working lives took into account not only dominant but also marginal understandings of how it is to work and live as cruise ship seafarers. Through this, the situated narratives built from the points of view of the Good-fit, the

Troubled, the Professional and the Ambivalent workers are set apart from the simplistic and reductive yet ubiquitous accounts of ‘the-Perfect-Workers-in-a-Dream-Job’ or the ‘Exploited-Workers-on-Sweatships’. In a sense, these alternative representations developed from the point of view of workers themselves served as heuristics tools to reflect on and question what has been said about cruise ship seafarers and the work that they do. These distinct accounts of working lives illustrate how seafarers, despite the precariousness of employment, are able to make sense of and craft meaning in their experience (Hodson 2001). The subtle differences between the views of the Good-fits, the Troubleds, the Professionals and the Ambivalents highlight the diversity of workers’ situated understanding that needs to be considered alongside dominant discursive representations of cruise ship employment. More broadly, the four groups’ unified vision for ‘a good family life’ shows an attempt to reclaim dignity at work despite difficult circumstances.

By the work-views as narrative heuristics which ‘propose changes in the way reality is described’ (Abbott 2004 p.146), this study breaks up the simplistic and sometimes misleading image of cruise ship work as an romanticised or tragic experience. Mindful of the varied possibilities the stance positions illustrated by the four work-views, future and current cruise ship workers can then carefully weigh their career options. Future workers can moderate their expectations and not assume the ideal nor be dismayed by grim anecdotes from ‘below the decks’. Meanwhile, current cruise employees can use narrative summaries developed from the four work-views to reflect on their experience and chart future options.

A related empirical contribution of the study to cruise literature is via the socio-temporal conceptualisation of working lives. The research instrument used in the main study carefully considered the non-work context alongside the person’s work and labour market situation. This expanded the worker’s ‘work and life context’ beyond the confines of the job being done on the ship. This conceptual framing of work life issues recognised that the tasks undertaken by cruise sector seafarers whilst on the ship also embedded the notion of work within the family, among peers and the local community back home. Moreover, there was an implicit time-order among the statements (see

Appendix 4, p.272) which referenced the issues cruise ship workers face before, during and after their employment. Cruise researchers have paid some attention to the prior (Chen and Wang 2015; Artini and Nilan 2014) and post work experiences of workers but most studies are understandably focused on what happens whilst they are on the ship and fulfilling a contract (Gibson 2008; Tracy 2000; Weaver 2005a; Larsen et al. 2012). Temporality, as used in the present study, recognised the importance of how work was experienced on-board but also gave equal weight to ‘before’ and ‘after’ work issues that may shed light on how people understood their working lives. Such framing re-asserted the idea that work orientations need to be enmeshed in the totality of life experience (Blackburn and Mann 1979) particularly the external social context prior to the start of work (Watson 2012). This way the approach to work orientation was more holistic and not limited to the ‘now/during’ phase of working life.

Having framed working life issues according to social contexts (occupation, organisation, non-work) and temporal stages (before, during and after employment), working lives in general and work orientations in particular can be ‘storified’ or described as a plausible story of experience (Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers 1990). The combined data from the Q-sorts and interviews can be strung together to produce a relatively coherent narrative about a work experience. As shown in the Chapter Five, each of the work-views presented a story of work experience whilst *on* the ship but in a narrative that it is rooted with what happened *before* workers went on-board and what is possible in the *future*. Thus, instead of hypothetical examples of individuals that demonstrate a particular work orientation (e.g. Wrzesniewski et al. 1997), the socio-temporal frame introduced in this study empirically built a situated account from the participants themselves (see narrative summaries in Chapters Five and Six).

8.2.2 Theoretical Contributions

Having explored how a sample of seafarers from the Philippines portrayed their own experiences of working as cruise ship personnel, two key contributions to theoretical literature can be specified. Firstly, the study operationalised the theoretical links

between stance, point of view, discourse and social representation. The connection among these concepts are summarised by Sammut (2015 p.105):

...social representations exist across rather than inside individual minds. They include the conglomeration of diverse points of view that define the object in multifarious ways for a certain public at some particular point in time....the point of view provides an explicit focus on an individual's frame of reference as embedded in a network of social relations.

Here he suggests a mutuality between viewpoints and social representations wherein an 'individual' phenomenon becomes a 'social' phenomenon in the course of social interaction. For example, in a conversation of four people every person has position or perspective on a topic which may be similar to or different from the rest of the individuals involved. Through a discussion where each individual's ideas, beliefs, perceptions collide with others, areas of agreement and disagreement are defined. They, in the process, arrive at a representation of the topic, a reflection of all their points of view considered together. Given this conceptualisation, the notions of 'point of view' and 'social representation' assume the status of social facts and are therefore placed within the realm of sociology (Ritzer 2010b). Social representation, as shared points of view, is a phenomenon that transcends and influences an individual's behaviour. What is left unspecified in this theorising is how the links can be systematically illustrated in empirical terms – an issue addressed throughout the thesis.

Whilst I concede that points of view are best situated within social interactions (e.g. actual face to face conversations), one must also recognise that capturing this social fact *in situ* is not always feasible or practical especially in the case of mobile workers such as seafarers. Nevertheless, there are other ways of capturing points of view in action within 'a certain public at some particular point in time' such as the use of Q-methodology in this study. This may be a significant intersection between these methodological and theoretical fields. Whilst Q-methodology is described as an approach to mapping understandings, representations, and policies (Stainton-Rogers 2011), the language of social representation theory is not widely used in previous Q-studies. Moreover, within social representations research, the use of Q-methodology is largely unknown (Flick et al. 2015).

Operationally, using the social representations approach, I differentiated between ‘an individual point of view’ and ‘a shared point of view’. The former refers to a cruise ship worker/participant’s overall configuration of stance on an array of issues concerning various aspects of working life and is evidenced in a Q-sort. In keeping with the social representations definition, a shared point of view refers to an overall configuration of stance on an array of issues concerning various aspects of working life held by a group of participants and is evidenced by their significantly correlated Q-sorts. To further unpack the concept of point of view and to facilitate the description and comparison of shared viewpoints identified through Q-methodology, I applied DuBois’ (2014; 2012; 2007) concept of stance. I argued that the point of view of cruise sector seafarers on their working lives may be accessed by considering the sum total of stance-taking acts or stated opinions on a range of occupational, organisational and other work-related issues. As the participants evaluated each of the issue statements in a Q-sorting task, they also constructed a position that either aligned or dis-aligned them with others. In the process, the participants may then be clustered into groups of individuals who more or less have a ‘shared’ point of view as evidenced by their similarly configured Q-sorts. The same vocabulary was applied in comparing the similarities and differences between the four work-views which were understood as distinct social representations of working lives. For example, Chapter Six discussed the alignment narrative constructed from the concurrence and consensus stances of the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent workers.

A second theoretical contribution of this study is the evidence on heterogeneous work orientations (Hakim 2000; Crompton and Harris 1998). In contrast to previous studies, the ‘taxonomy of shared representations’ introduced in the study is quite different from the various work orientation typologies available in the literature (Matheson 2012; Reed 1997; Goldthorpe et al. 1968). The four work-views served as heuristic tools in illustrating how the ‘pure’ work orientation types (e.g. defensive, instrumental, thymotic, solidaristic) merge in at least four different ways among Filipino seafarers on cruise ships. In general, it is claimed that the four groups may generally appear to be ‘instrumentally’ oriented to work (i.e. work is a means to an end) but a closer analysis of their perspectives reveals a more ‘thymotic’ orientation to work (i.e. a culture of

relatedness based on kinship ties and local community is implicated in work attitudes). This theoretical insight suggests that in the case of Filipino cruise sector seafarers, thymotic orientation appears to be driving their defensive, instrumental or solidaristic orientations to work. As shown in the previous chapter (pp.206-216), the extrinsic rewards of income and promotion enabled seafarers to simultaneously address their 'responsibility' towards family and to elevate their economic and social status in the local community. Although the study was not a thoroughgoing 'measurement' of work orientation it nevertheless offered a potential way of exploring the multiple and layered social reality of how people assess and judge different aspects of work including rewards. This suggests that the economic importance of cruise ship employment could be appreciated more fully by considering its social embeddedness in contexts outside the confines of the ship.

8.2.3 Methodological Contributions

Within tourism studies, Q-methodology has been previously applied to identify how travellers perceive tourist destinations (Dewar et al. 2007) and tourism packages (Davis 2003). To the best of my knowledge the present study is the first to use Q-methodology to explore cruise sector seafarers' representations of their experiences. Despite the 'trials and errors' expected in using a 'growing' mixed method approach, I made considerable practical adjustments (e.g. production of a large Q-board, lamination of Q-cards, and use of pictures to capture completed Q-sorts) that facilitated a more effective and efficient collection of data. Q-sorts and interviews were the data sources for the main study but the pre-study drew from a wide corpus of data including background individual and group interviews, documentaries about cruise ship workers and the industry, printed and online news reports, promotional materials, and discussion threads in websites and social networking sites. The value of data mining from these online sources was recently noted as providing relevant information that cruise researchers and industry stakeholders have had limited access to in the past (Papathanassis et al. 2012). What this underscores is the 'mixed' nature of research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004) and the importance of becoming a 'pragmatic researcher' who is flexible in using different techniques in the investigation of a topic

(Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005). Throughout the thesis, the complementary role of quantitative (i.e. ranking of statements on a Q-board, correlation and by-person factor analysis) and qualitative (i.e. generating and thematically analysing concourse statements, conducting post-sorting interviews, and narratively interpreting theoretical Q-sorts) methods in arriving at the findings were evident and fundamental.

It is a fair assessment that the empirical and theoretical contributions discussed above are driven by the research approach adopted. However, I argued that the use of Q-sorts as a tool to model individual representations of working lives that eventually revealed four alternative social representations (i.e. the Good-fit, Troubled, Professional and Ambivalent work-views) were useful in rethinking and balancing the employer ('perfect worker in a dream job) or labour union ('exploited worker on sweatships') narratives. Indeed, the study opened up the discussion by considering different ways of thinking about cruise ship employment and the workers that are not exclusively framed by prevailing depictions. This demonstrates an important point about research methods. Instead of reducing social research method as a matter of technique it is more productive to think that 'methods are fully of the social world that they research; that they are fully imbued with the theoretical renderings of the social world' (Law et al. 2011 p.4). It is now clear therefore that more than logistical reasons, the Q-sorting technique served methodological and theoretical functions. Methodologically, the design and analysis of Q-sorts address what other studies appear to have overlooked – to take into account the variety of work orientations among cruise sector seafarers without prejudice to either homogeneous or heterogeneous types; and to indirectly represent a person's ongoing point of view at certain point in time. Theoretically, the Q-sort used in combination with interview data offered an alternative tool of representation where the shared points of view uncovered bridge the notions of what is individual and what is social.

8.2.4 Limitations of the Study

Several limitations should be kept in mind in relation to the empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions of the study summarised above. Firstly, the work-views

documented in the study are specific to Filipino seafarers in the cruise sector. The study participants are from single sector (cruise ship sector) of the shipping industry, from one country of origin (Philippines) and are engaged in non-managerial positions. The study collected data at a single moment in time. Taking into account the criteria on sampling of participants (Patton 2002) or recruiting respondents based a 'relevant range' of characteristics (Mason 2002) and the way in which the Q-statements are sourced and designed, there is no claim that the four work-views exhaust all the existing or possible representations of working life among Filipino seafarers. The ten participants whose Q-sorts did not significantly align to any of these work-views (see **Appendix 8**, p.282) indicate that there are certainly other plausible representations not currently addressed by the present study. What is important is that the 'finite diversity' of subjective viewpoints (Stenner et al. 2003) accounted for in this study provides some basis from which to understand the working lives of cruise ship workers and re-think the popular perceptions perpetuated in the media.

Secondly, it is significant to recognise that various aspects of the study such as topic, focus, methods and theory all evolve throughout the research process. For novice researchers, there is never a straight line between the initial idea for a research topic and the final bound thesis. The 'trials and errors' and necessary improvements discussed in Chapter Four (see pp.93-96) are examples of the iterative and adaptive process of conducting a research. The socio-temporal framework of working life used in this study involved occupational, organisational and non-work issues to provide a 'holistic' understanding of employment experience. Despite attempts to create an 'inclusive' and 'balanced' set of statements for Q-sort task there are still 'blind spot issues' that may be relevant in understanding how cruise sector seafarers represent their employment experience. Whilst close relationships (family, friendships at work, working relationships with supervisors) were discussed the political affiliations and spiritual beliefs and practices at work of cruise sector seafarers were not given full attention at this time. These are issues that could be addressed in future studies.

Thirdly, it is important to remember that the Q-sorting task used in study is a subjective measurement, and not an objective measurement, of stances on the different aspects

of working lives. This meant that the heterogeneous work orientations observed across the work-view groups were also measured subjectively. Previous studies of work orientations quantitatively measured/tested participants against pre-determined dimensions of extrinsic and intrinsic job rewards (e.g. (Malka and Chatman 2003; Doorewaard et al. 2004). Participants in these studies obtained a rating score in each dimension so that they may be classified into ‘money-oriented’, ‘job-oriented’ or ‘people-oriented’ group of workers (Doorewaard et al. 2004). In contrast, the Q-sort’s modified ranking procedure meant that statements on job rewards were considered in relation to all other statements. Therefore, statements in a Q-sorting task ‘have no salience until sorted according to self-reference’ (McKeown and Thomas 2013 p.5) (see **Section 4.1.2**, p.82-84 for a discussion of the concept). ‘Measuring’ work orientation subjectively via Q-sorts or objectively via a survey has advantages and disadvantages. The present study has prioritised the identification of ‘holistic’ viewpoints of working lives rather than foregrounding the issue of extrinsic/intrinsic rewards. This may have resulted into mapping more nuanced accounts of experience but in a way it also positioned the idea of work orientations in the background.

Finally, the knowledge claims made in this study are cases of *moderatum generalisation* (Payne and Williams 2005; Williams 2000) that may vary subject to breadth of topic, time period, and the contingent social processes. It was stated in Chapter One that the study aimed for substantive inference instead of statistical inference. The data accounted for ‘stances’, ‘viewpoints’, or ‘discourses’ and not the statistical distribution of certain characteristics in a target population. The work-views are evidence of ‘cultural consistency’ or the finding of a shared culture (Fairweather and Rinne 2012) given the sample. The study offers generalisations *about* the experience of Filipino cruise ship workers, not generalisations *to* the entire population of Filipino cruise ship workers (Thomas and Baas 1993). The quantitative aspect of the study’s research design (i.e. Q-sorting, by-person factor analysis) proved to be useful in mapping existing shared points of view. It may appear similar to a survey because of the ranking procedure and use of statistical tests but unlike traditional surveys, the study cannot and is not designed to make claims on how these work-views are distributed in the population. Although the study sample (n=99) is larger than the usual sample sizes

(e.g. less than 48) in most studies employing Q-methodology, the observation that demographic variables may help explain workers' affinity towards a work-view (see **Section 5.5**, pp.157-161) is only preliminary and not definitive. Given the current research design, the findings tell us 'what' shared viewpoints exist but they only partially answer 'why' these shared viewpoints exist. After considering the contributions to knowledge and limitations of the study, the next section ends this chapter with some policy implications and suggestions for future studies.

8.3 Implications and Future Directions

8.3.1 Policy Recommendations

Training seminars on Personal/Family Finance. Due to the financial difficulties experienced by seafarers and their households, it was previously suggested that it would be helpful if their partners left at home had access to credit assistance, a hospitalization fund and housing loan (Galam 2011). Seafarers may be 'high-income earners' compared to their counterparts at home but they tend to have very little savings because their spending increases as their income increases. Chapter Six provided evidence that early retirement and saving for 'dreams' were unanimous aspirations among the four groups yet it was not uncommon to learn from the interviews that most of the participants lacked a reasonable plan to achieve these financial goals. For example, some participants (e.g. Troubleds and Ambivalents) despite their years of working as seafarers continued to struggle in making ends meet when they were off contract. They spoke of retiring from their sea jobs but they were not really aware of, and had not given much thought to, the costs of retirement such as estimating the amount of money they would need to cover their daily living, medical and other expenses from the day they stopped working and throughout their remaining years alive.

Crewing agencies and the Philippine state may address these 'common' concerns among seafarers in the cruise sector. Since cruise companies in general do not provide any private pension options and the Philippine government's social security plan,

which is subscribed to, is unlikely to be enough to cover expenses during old age, seafarers should assume more responsibility for establishing and executing a long-term retirement savings plan as soon as they are able. The precarious nature of employment (i.e. job insecurity through fixed term contracts) demands that the seafarer is able to effectively and efficiently manage financial affairs (e.g. budgeting, spending, saving, investing) on the personal and household levels. These financial skills are particularly relevant knowing that Filipino seafarers are instrumentally and thymotically oriented to work – that they value social recognition from the family and the community as much as the material rewards of the job – and therefore are under some pressure to spend most of the money they earn.

Designing intervention programs based on work-views. The work-views represent functional divisions among Filipino cruise sector seafarers based on holistic perspectives. These grouping of participants based on their views provide an opportunity to develop and design intervention programs (Ramlo 2015; Ramlo and Newman 2010; Chinnis et al. 2001) that are linked to the perspectives of cruise sector seafarers themselves. By recognising that these are some of the principal ways that seafarers think and talk about their work and life as cruise ship workers, the crewing/government agency can situate the expectations and rewards that matter for the employee to feel more fulfilled from the employment. Several examples can be mentioned.

- (a) Given the four work-views, prospective employees and employers alike might think in terms of person-organisation fit. Since that the appeal of free travel is only relevant to some (e.g. Good-fits) or that its attractiveness wears off over time (e.g. Ambivalents), cruise companies may need to rethink the over-emphasis placed on this benefit when producing job advertisements and focus on other non-material rewards.
- (b) If the perceived reputation of Filipino seafarers as ‘a global maritime professional’ (MARINA 2015) is to be maintained, particularly in the cruise industry, then there must be a conscious effort to improve the cruise ship workers’ limited cosmopolitan sociability (see Chapter Seven) particularly on

improving emotional and behavioural skills that promote engaging with others and immersing with the community on-board (e.g. Good-fit, Troubled, and Ambivalent).

- (c) This study demonstrated that cruise ship employment meant different things to different people and that some more than others were likely to remain in the occupation despite current conditions (e.g. Professionals and Ambivalents). It might be in the interest of cruise ship workers who lean towards a 'Troubled' viewpoint to connect with each other so that together they can explore avenues and actions to address their various concerns within the companies or more broadly. As shown in the 'Troubled' account, the challenges of application process, vulnerability to sexual and physical risks, discrimination, and inadequate compensation may of be some of the points for discussion in collective organising. Alternatively, worker organisations may find it useful to emphasise the case of 'Troubled' seafarers who continue to experience challenges and even abuses before going on-board, during their time on the ship, and after completing their contract.

8.3.2 Recommendations for Future Study

In considering areas for potential future research, it is worth bearing in mind the impact of knowledge claims that can be made given the strengths and limitations of the current study. Future researchers may focus on improving various aspects of the research design and issues raised by the findings such as in the following.

- (a) **Improving the Q-set design.** In studies such as this, the research instrument (statements included in the Q-set) needs to be balanced and broadly representative of the totality of what has been said and thought about the topic of investigation (Watts and Stenner 2012). Whilst the selection of the 48 statements was structured by using a socio-temporal frame, the number of statements in each cell of the 3 x 3 matrix (i.e. occupation, organisation, beyond work x before, during, after) was unequal. In a way this results in an over representation or under representation of certain dimensions. What social

discourses will emerge if a balanced block approach (Brown 1980) is used instead? In such design, there will be equal numbers of statements in each cell of the matrix. If five statements are selected for each of the nine cells, the Q-set will have 45 statements. How will this affect the aim of representing diversity in the concourse of issues? Will an entirely different set of discursive social representations emerge? The results of such future study may provide evidence on whether the shared viewpoints captured via Q-methodology are indeed 'reliable schematics' (Thomas and Baas 1993).

- (b) **From a general to a more specific representation/understanding.** The main topic of the study was deliberately broad in asking the participants to represent their own 'working lives'. Future studies may focus instead in going 'deeper' into particular dimensions of the cruise sector seafarers working life: How do cruise sector seafarers perceive 'decent work'? 'Emotional labour'? Job satisfaction? Quality of life?
- (c) **Including 'persons of influence' as participants.** The study explicitly focused on seafarers from one country working in a specific sector of the global maritime industry. The argument is that the point of view of workers are often blurred when the dominant representations of cruise ship employment are considered. Filipino seafarers were an important analytic case because of their perceived reputation in the industry. However, the depictions are largely defined by the interest of institutional stakeholders and less by those who actually had the experience of working on-board the cruise ship. Social representation as a process does not exist in a vacuum. People, groups and institutions are intentionally and unintentionally producing representations of ideas and realities. With this premise, what social representations of cruise ship employment can be mapped when a broad spectrum of 'persons of interest' are included in the sample? For example, crewing managers and maritime officials may be included as participants in addition to cruise ship workers. What viewpoints do crewing managers hold? Is there a viewpoint exclusively defined by maritime officials? This could be an exercise in reflexivity by becoming

‘aware of and acknowledging the assumptions, values, expectations and interest’ (Roper et al. 2015 p.8) of ‘persons of influence’.

- (d) **Viewpoints of comparable groups.** The social discourses identified and described in this study are specific to Filipino cruise sector seafarers but may also be relevant to seafarers from other developing countries that are perceived as having similar characteristics of being ‘hard working’ and ‘subservient’ (Artini et al. 2011; Klein 2002). The ‘other’ national groups within the multicultural workforce on-board cruise ships merit some research focus as there may be issues unique to particular groups of workers. Whilst workers from developing countries are often perceived as disadvantaged within the ship’s hierarchy, this does not mean that workers from developed nations are immune to the vulnerabilities of cruise ship employment. It is important that their voices are also included.

- (e) **Exploring viewpoints as a dependent variable.** Q-studies only require a small sample, usually less than the number of statements included in the Q-set, to identify existing shared discourses. Given this, the 99 participants involved in the main sample is arguably ‘large’ but still ‘insufficient’ if the more traditional research questions on statistical generalisation are to be asked: To what extent are the viewpoints distributed in the larger population? How are shared viewpoints influenced by socio-demographic variables (e.g. gender, age, class, etc.)? These questions are arguably against the spirit of Q-methodology (Brown and Good 2010; Brown 1980) but nevertheless valid and are possible to be addressed given the resources for a significantly large random sample.

Appendices

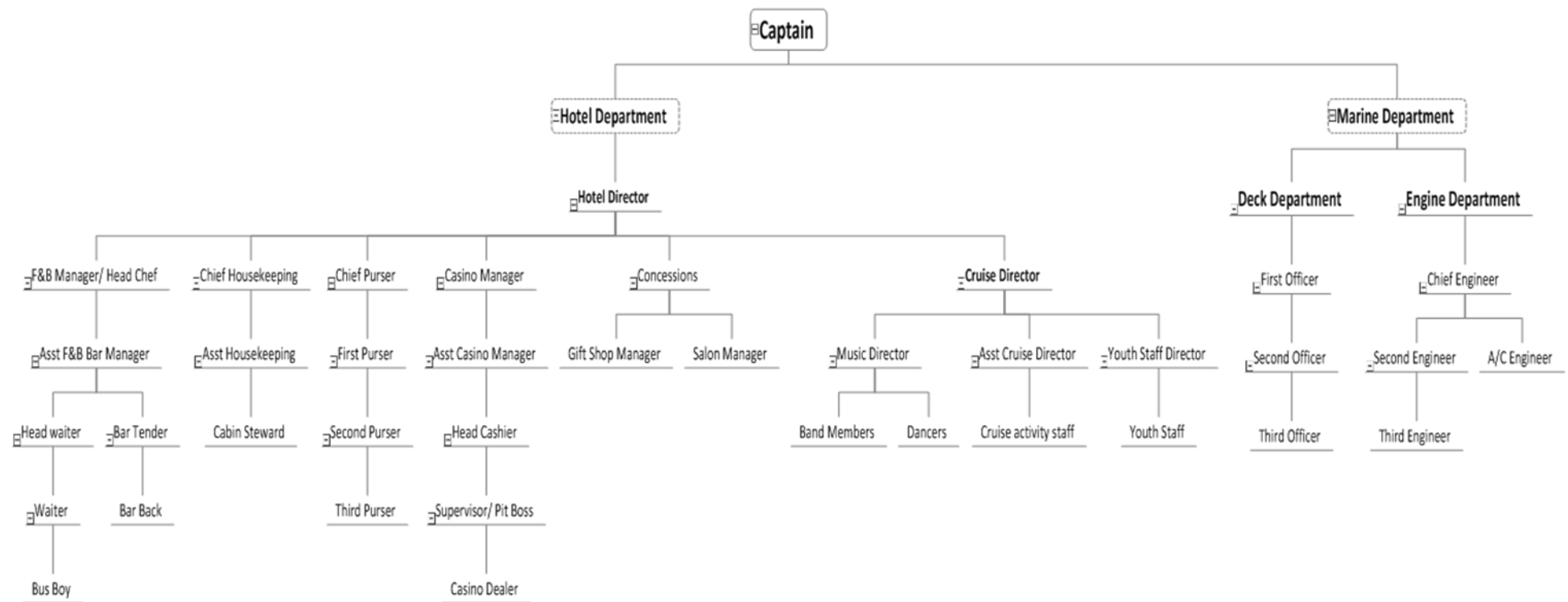
Appendix 1

Major Cruise Lines

Parent/Holding Company	Cruise Line Brand	Registry	Capacity (2016)			Market Share (2015)	
			Ship count	Passenger Capacity	Crew	% of passengers	% of revenue
Carnival Corporation (CC) Traded as NYSE: CCL Headquarters: Miami Florida, USA	Carnival	Panama, Malta, Bahamas	25	69,447	26,996	21.3	8.0
	Princess	Bermuda, UK	18	47,070	19,302	7.9	8.8
	Costa	Italy	15	41,866	14,344	7.4	6.7
	Holland America	Netherlands	14	23,509	10,265	3.0	4.4
	AIDA	Italy	11	21,794	6,299	3.7	3.4
	P&O Cruises	Bermuda, UK	8	18,241	7,502	1.7	3.7
	P&O Cruises Australia	UK	5	7,336	3,157	1.2	2.3
	Seabourn	Bahamas	4	1,882	1,440	0.2	0.7
	Cunard	UK	3	6,811	3,053	0.9	2.6
	Fathom	Bermuda	1	777	380	No data	No data
	TOTAL		104	238,733	92,738	48.1	42.2
Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd (RCCL) Traded as NYSE: RCL Headquarters: Miami, Florida USA	Royal Caribbean	Bahamas	25	93,071	29,900	16.7	14.2
	Celebrity	Malta	12	25,804	10,370	4.2	5.7
	Pullmantur	Malta	2	5,656	1,683	1.6	1.2
	Azamara Club	Malta	2	1,380	815	0.2	0.7
	Croisieres de France	Malta	2	3,628	1,340	0.5	0.4
	TUI (joint venture)	Malta	5	12,647	4,969	1.3	1.8
	TOTAL		48	142,186	49,077	24.5	24.0

Appendix 2

Sample Organisational chart on-board a cruise ship



Appendix 3

Working life issues of cruise sector seafarers: a preliminary thematic analysis

This section unpacks each of the 23 organising themes identified in a thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001) of 457 concourse statements. Each organising theme is further disaggregated into basic themes. Each basic theme is composed of several statements but for purposes of illustration, only the quotation that best articulates the basic theme is shown in the succeeding tables. At the end of each illustrative quotation is a number code in the concourse collection of 457 statements. Since the substantive content of the statements is the main concern at this stage of the study and not whether a specific statement can be linked to specific participants, only a generic identifier of the source is given (i.e. FG for focus groups, Pseudoname for interviewees, title of video series). It is also important to note that background interviews referenced throughout the section were conducted in *Taglish* (Tagalog and English). The illustrative quotes shown in the tables are my translations of the participants' original statement. Also, a summary of each organising theme is used to introduce a brief discussion of the basic themes (see italicised topic sentences).

Individual

The first global theme has five organising themes relating to the *individual* such as gender-linked risks, age-related concerns, family roles, personal strategies at work and individual traits.

Table 25 Gender-linked risks

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Risks of straining relationships back home	I have known a number of people whose families back home became broken because they had an affair in the ship [#298 Ray].
Risk of intimate involvement	It is difficult for a woman to work on a cruise ship. First, you will feel lonely and look for a companion. When you are on a land-based job you just go out after work. On a ship, when you feel sad you just stare at the sea. Some

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
	become emotionally vulnerable and turn wayward [#337 FG1].
Risk of sexual harassment	Risk of being sexually harassed is part of what a female worker would have to deal with when accepting a job on-board [#429 Chin 2008].

(1) *Both men and women workers faced gender-related risks as cruise sector seafarers (Table 25).* Married men had strained their relationships back home due to intimate involvements on-board. Participants from the background interviews reported that individuals turned to others for companionship on-board during their work contract [#298] even if they were already in a committed relationship back home. Women workers were also exposed to the risks of sexual harassment [#429] or were being targeted by male co-workers to flirt with [#337].

(2) *Cruise ship employment was perceived as job best suited to young workers (Table 26).* Due to gender-related risks, others [#37] have reasoned that the job may be best for those who are young and uncommitted in order to avoid straining relationships left back home. Although cruise ship employment is only a per-contract basis type of job, and therefore a temporary form of employment, workers are well aware that they want to engage with it repeatedly over time [#361]. The extent to which work a contract can be secured is dependent on many factors (e.g. labour demand and supply etc.) but primarily a person's health. In this case, a younger worker was often perceived to be better qualified than an older worker who might already be experiencing health problems and so be unfit for the physical demands of the job.

Table 26 Age

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Work until able	I will work on a cruise for as long as my body [strength and health] will allow it [#361 FG2].
Better suited to younger workers	Cruise ship jobs are best for those who are young and single [#37 <i>Cruise Ship Diaries</i> 2009 Episode2]

Table 27 Family

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Work for the family	I just have to keep working on because I have families to feed and keep sending money back home. [#213 <i>Cruises Undercover</i>]
Family responsibility	Even if you don't want to leave [the Philippines and work overseas] you leave because it is necessary. [#353 FG2]
Regular communication	When you are able to get off the ship you will most likely head straight to where there is wifi to talk to your family [#111 Video: Ship Life].
Homesickness	It is very tough to be away from my family for so long. [#178 <i>Cruises Undercover</i>].
Children are most missed	The hardest part is when children begin to speak on the phone, you tend to have a chest ache. They appreciate what you do, that you work in a good company and earn good money. [#41 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2].
Family as most important	When you experience being away from your wife and children you will realise how important family is. You will appreciate the value of family when you are on the ship [#310 Ray].

(3) For cruise sector seafarers, family was of central importance (**Table 27**). Workers often cited their responsibility as father/mother or eldest sibling to earn a living for one's family as a main driver to taking a cruise job [#213, #353]. Workers who were also parents [#310, #178] long for their spouses and children [#41]. Thus to deal with homesickness, cruise sector seafarers regularly communicate with loved ones via mobile phone, Viber, Facebook and Skype among others.

Table 28 Personal strategies at work

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Taking care of oneself	You are only as good as your contract so you have to take care of yourself. Don't kill yourself by working too hard. [#395 Venia]
Guarded trust	On the ship, you should trust no one even fellow Filipinos. Unless of course you have enough proof that he can be a friend. [#378 Marc]
Giving personalised service	So that the passenger will remember me, I make sure that I give them a personalised service. That is my advantage. [#431 Maricon]
Solitude and rest	What I like to do after I finish work is to have a little relaxation - go around, talk with people, have a cigarette, a drink. After you have unloaded your stress then it is better to go to sleep. [#59 Cruise Ship Diaries, 2009 Episode3]

(4) *To survive, the cruise sector seafarer must rely on one's self to protect and advance interest* (Table 28). The temporary nature of employment meant that workers have health and accident insurance only for the duration of their contracts. The worker was hired by the employer for an eight-month contract which involves physically demanding jobs. Realising this, the workers need to de-stress and not over extend the limits of their body [#59, #395]. Doing so can increase the likelihood of being physically fit to take on another contract in the future, and avoid fatigue or accidents that undermine one's chances of re-employment. On-board, it was in the worker's best interest to guard oneself from others who might take advantage [#378]. As the contract only lasts for several months, the worker must be mindful of the safekeeping of one's income – and not spend it unnecessarily on shopping and drinking with 'trusted' friends. Choosing who to trust was also seen as a protection against workplace gossip (see Table 28) that can influence promotion in status. Other workers found it useful to inject 'endearing strategies' that helped guests to remember them [#431]. In doing so, the worker was evaluated positively by the guest in feedback forms.

Table 29 Individual Traits

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Maintenance of good health	Your body is your capital that is why you have to take care of it. Don't get sick. Don't let anything happen to you. [#297 Ray]
<i>Lakas ng loob</i> (Courage)	Perhaps my difference from others is that I have firm resolve. I really wanted to have this job. If turns out that this job is not for me, I will just go home. [#393 Venia]
Flexibility	You have to learn how to get along very well with your boss. Always take care of yourself. Eat well. [#403 Marc]
Discipline	In this kind of job, I challenge myself by having a higher standard of discipline at work and saving my money. [#334 FG1]

(5) *A cruise sector seafarer should be physically and emotionally strong – with firm resolve, flexible and disciplined* (Table 29). Good physical health was understood as a basic requirement [#297] for would-be workers given the physical demands of the job. The decision to work overseas, meant giving up the comforts of being with one's family and the familiarity of local setting. They needed to have the ability to endure the distance from loved ones and complete a work contract [#393]. The multicultural setting of the cruise

ship – supervisors and co-workers coming from different parts of the world – requires the cruise sector seafarer to adapt to differences in culture particularly to beliefs and management style [#403]. And since the possibility of securing another contract was dependent on the worker's previous performance, it was important to demonstrate a high standard of dedication to one's job [#334].

Socio-cultural

The second global theme focuses on the *socio-cultural* dimension of cruise ship employment and includes four organising themes: the advantage of Filipino workers over other nationalities, their attitudes towards co-workers, the relative poverty of workers that drive them to cruise jobs, and the implementation of basic rules that apply differently to different nationalities.

(6) *The Filipino cruise sector seafarers' competence, warm hospitality and persevering work ethic spell out their advantage within the global labour market* (Table 30). Participants from the background interviews reported that every Filipino cruise worker was competent and qualified for their job position because of their training and related work experience prior to their contract [#359]. Moreover, they also performed their work with cheerful and friendly hospitality towards the guests [#434]. Despite the physically demanding tasks involved in cruise ship jobs, Filipino workers were eager to endure this until a contract was completed [#349]. They view these hardships as part of the sacrifice [#343] they must go through to achieve their goals for the family.

Table 30 Filipino advantage

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Competence	Other cruise workers only have head knowledge. Filipino workers can execute their jobs well. They put their job positions into practice. [#359 FG2]
Friendliness, cheerfulness, and service-oriented	Compared to other nationalities working on-board the ship, Filipinos are more friendly, polite and service-oriented. [#434 Chin 2008 Ch5]
Endurance and eagerness	Others cannot stay to endure work. Filipinos fight a good fight. [#349 FG1]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Acceptance of sacrifice	The job is a real sacrifice. People think it is easy but it is not. You endure all hardships and you do everything to get along with others. [#343 FG2]

(7) *Filipino seafarers found solace among fellow Filipinos and only encounter and tolerate “Others”* (Table 31). As one of the largest segments of cruise ship workforce, the participants found comfort in having fellow nationals within their respective departments [#389] because this meant easier to communicate with each other and build camaraderie. However, their interactions with non-Filipinos had been limited. They were comfortable in working in a multicultural setting, and were tolerant of these differences [#394]. Whilst this might indicate that overseas work does not translate effectively into cosmopolitanism, their stances towards compatriots and others formed a basis for smooth interpersonal relations in the workplace.

Table 31 The ‘Other’ and the Compatriots

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Tolerance with Others	When employees are of different nationalities, people are more understanding of each other. They are very conscious of where the other person is coming from. Everyone, as a result, is nice and forgiving. [#394 Venia]
Ability to encounter other cultures	There are days that I am completely overwhelmed... Now in a mixed culture I am getting a chance to learn the many different cultures of Europe. [#48 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode3]
Filipino compatriots are source of comfort	It is a huge advantage that I have many Filipino workmates. [#389 FG2]

Table 32 Poverty

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Workers from poor country	As with everything global, people from developing countries are most eager to do this work for the pay offered. As an American, I'm glad that they are there: both to learn about their countries as well as for the quality of their work. [#251 Comment to video <i>Staff</i>]
Hard work for income	I admire my Phillipino [sic] and Indonesian fellows, cooking and cleaning the rooms all day (really, all day long), no days off, 10 months at sea, no fun for them, no women and during the emergency they are in charge of launching the boats and looking

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
	for people remaining on their cabins... they have a family to feed, those guys grow balls [#258 Comment to video <i>On-board</i>]

(8) *Cruise sector seafarers come from developing countries did the hardest jobs on the ship* (Table 32). Commentators to uploaded videos observed that the most physically demanding jobs on a cruise ship such as those of cooks and cleaners [#258] were often assumed by workers from the developing countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia [#251]. Labour from developing countries was cheaper to hire than from a first world counterpart. Moreover, workers from developing countries were more likely to apply for the job since their income has higher purchasing power when spent in their home countries.

(9) *Among cruise sector seafarers, White workers earned better salaries and were promoted more easily than their non-White counterparts* (Table 33). Commentators on videos uploaded about housekeeping staff on-board cruise ships cited unequal pay and opportunity [#249-250] as the norm in the cruise industry. Among workers in the same job positions White workers, particularly Europeans, received higher income and were promoted more quickly than their Asian counterpart [#350].

Table 33 Double Standard

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Better income for white workers	The Italians have the best life on board. They are like kings with big pay for less work. If you are from a different country of the same position like them, you will have smaller salary. [#250 Comment on video Staff]
Faster career advancement for first world workers	You know that if you have a good passport, you get promoted really fast. [#249 Comment on video Staff]
Slow career advancement for third world workers	It is so unfair that they [White Workers] have no proper qualification and yet they are given the job. But we cannot do anything because we are Filipinos. [#350 FG1]

Organisation

The focal point of the third global theme is the *organisational* dimension of cruise seafaring. Specifically, five organising themes are of interest: the cruise company, the

crewing agency, interaction within departments, relationships with supervisors, and relationship with co-workers – each of which has an upside and a downside.

(10) *There were ‘good’ and ‘bad’ cruise principals* (**Table 34**). On the one hand, there were cruise companies who took care of the employees’ welfare such that their employees have remained loyal to them over many years [#215]. On the other hand, there were those who overworked their employees to the extent that the workers needed to pay other workers out of their own salaries just to finish their tasks [#204].

Table 34 The cruise company

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Satisfaction with company	I have stayed on with the company for a number of years now. That says how I like this job. [#215 Comment on video <i>Food</i>]
Unfair rules	I am given way too much work and instead of getting assistance from the company to finish that work, they are the one's paying you to pay those assistance. [#204 <i>Cruises Undercover</i>]

(11) *There were many ‘bad’ crewing agencies* (**Table 35**). Acting as an intermediary between the workers and the cruise principal, a number of crewing agencies had resorted to painting a too-good-to-be-true image of a cruise ship employment [#71]. Gullible workers were then surprised by the real-life situation they had to endure during their contracts. Another reported having to shoulder the cost of his own flight just to secure a work contract [#199].

Table 35 The crewing agency

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
False advertisement	My agency painted a beautiful work life on a cruise ship but what I experienced was far from it. [#71 <i>Sweatships</i>]
High placement fees	I had to pay my agency and flights in order to join the ship. [#199 <i>Cruises Undercover</i>]

(12) *Broadly, cruise ship departments might present a family-like environment where employees’ efforts were recognised but a closer look reveals restrictive boundaries and company politics by gossip* (**Table 36**). There were two sides to a cruise ship department. On the one hand, the management team could create a family-like environment [#226] where each worker’s contribution to the workplace was valued [#147]. On the other hand, certain workers

(e.g. an oiler in the deck department) found that there were specific places that were off limits (e.g. hotel hallways) [#402] to them. Competition for the scarce resource of promotion had also encouraged workers to engage in gossip as a tool to advance one's interest or weaken the chances of others [#61] in career advancement.

Table 36 Interaction within departments

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Family-like environment	We are a big family in the ship. I do not feel alone or scared. [#226 Disney]
Recognising effort	The work that I do is an important element of what my department does. I feel appreciated. [#147 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode6]
Restrictive boundaries	When you work here [in the Philippines] you are free to go where you want to but there [on the ship] you aren't. There are certain department where you are not allowed to be. It's a small place I feel like I am imprisoned. [#402 Marc]
Gossip	Cruise ship is like a little village. They are always gossiping at your back. [#61 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode3]

(13) *There were easy bosses as there were difficult bosses* (Table 37). An easy boss was described as a person who created a positive working environment for workers. They reasoned that when workers were happy this could translate to providing better service to passengers [#362]. In contrast, other workers characterised a strict immediate supervisor as a person who pressured them all the time even when tasks were completed according to a standard procedure [#34].

Table 37 Relationship with supervisors

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Positive	In my experience, I felt that the officers promote a sense of belonging and family within the workplace. They believe that a happy crew means happy guest. [#362 Andy]
Negative	Puts a lot pressure on us. We all know that work is done in a proper way. But when you have a supervisor you are always scared that they might just see that little tiny thing. [#34 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]

(14) *Co-workers could either make your burden lighter or heavier* (Table 38). Unlike the ship doctor participant [#370] who enjoyed the respect and esteem of his workmates there were others who were less fortunate and had to deal with awful co-workers instead

[#245]. For example, work for these participants became difficult when co-workers took longer breaks than usual or those who simply passed on one's tasks to others.

Table 38 Relationship with Co-workers

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Positive	My co-workers think highly of me. [#370 Andy]
Negative	It would be a horrible nightmare if you have awful co-workers and bosses. [#245 Comment on video Housekeeping]

Occupation

The next four organising themes revolve around the global theme of *occupation* as a dimension of cruise sector seafarers' work-life. This subsection tackles ship employment as a potentially isolating occupation, its job rewards, job tasks and form of sacrifice it requires.

(15) *Working on-board cruise ship was viewed as an isolating job only a certain type of worker can assume* (Table 39). One of the disadvantages of working on a ship was that the worker can be isolated from the rest of the world [#133] because it was a self-sustaining workplace. It was a place of work but it is also where workers live for 10 straight months or so. The job demands, recurrent changes in time zones and sailing through rough seas at times could only be endured by a specific segment of the population [#257]. Newly hired employees who were unprepared for these hazards often found themselves disappointed when they realised that the ship was far from the luxury they initially imagined [#64, #100].

Table 39 Seafaring as an occupation

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Isolation	When you have started working on a cruise ship it is difficult to get another job because you don't have access to real life. [#133 Cruise Ship Life]
Suited for specific people	It is true not everyone can handle ship life, but those of us that can – we love it. [#257 Comment on On-board]
Disappointment on working life	When I first got on the ship it was tearing headlights and trying it all in. You think, 'what a party'. You realise it is not so much of a party. [#100 Cruise Ship Diaries Episode2]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Disappointment in income	Cruise ship work is not a lot of money but instead a lot of work and less money [#64 Sweatships]

(16) *Cruise ship employment was valued for its extrinsic and intrinsic rewards* (Table 40). In general, income was one of the most often cited benefits of why a person would choose to work on a ship and overseas [#367]. The ability to earn more than a person would normally have in their country of origin made seafaring an attractive alternative. Secondly, cruise ship employment promised an opportunity to see the world for free [#347] as the ship tours different global destinations. The characteristically multinational crew also presented an avenue to form lasting friendships from different countries [#444]. More broadly, the mere chance of being exposed to the different ways of living in countries of destination and the personalities and cultures a worker encounters on-board seemed to have created an appreciation for other ways of life and have expanded of worldviews of participants [#373].

Table 40 Job rewards

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Income	You have to work doubly hard before you can earn [here in the Philippines] the income you get on the ship. You will have to work for a year here [in the Philippines] to have one month's earning there [on the ship]. [#367 Andy]
Travel	You can post on Facebook the places you have visited. You feel proud and people might envy you. Viewers will find you unique even if you were just there for a few hours, even if you just stood there and took a picture. [#347 FG1]
Formation of multicultural friendships	You meet people from all over the world and may forge some enduring friendships. [#444 cruisejobs.com]
Cruise job as a privilege	Your outlook in life changes. When you go out of the country and work elsewhere you see how life moves and get to compare how things are. You realise we are still lucky. [#373 Andy]

Table 41 Job tasks and demands

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
On speaking English	Misinterpretation is one of the common sources of disagreement because you don't speak the same language. You have to be flexible and adjust especially in speaking English. [#329 FG1]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Learning different languages	I know conversational French, German and Italian. I also know Spanish and a little bit of Portuguese. I learned all of it on the ship and I am learning up to now. [#399 Marc]
Being precise at doing tasks	Service is impeccable, highly attentive and flawless. [#185 Cruises Undercover]
Physical exhaustion	I can honestly say that I have never felt physically and mentally exhausted in my entire working life. [#212 Cruises Undercover]
Emotional labour	You wake up in the morning and you see and wash your face. You put on a smile and work with that smile all day. You put your problems inside and not show it. This is the job. [#43 Cruise Ship Diaries Episode2]
Emotional struggle	There are emotions that lay behind friendly smiles. We are smiling on the outside, inside we are ripping apart. [#198 Cruises Undercover]

(17) *As a service industry in a global market, a cruise ship employment demands linguistic, physical and emotional skill* (Table 41). English is the medium of communication at work but it is reasonable to expect that a multicultural workforce will have varying levels of spoken English skills [#329] that may pose challenges in communication at times. Working on-board may also expand the linguistic capabilities of workers as they accommodate the non-English languages of some passengers and co-workers [#399]. From the passenger's point of view, the cruise was a round-the-clock holiday service. To provide such an experience, the workers needed to be precise in their tasks [#185] from the moment the passengers embark until they disembark at the end of their holiday. For the passengers, leaving the ship was the end of a 'holiday in style' but for the workers, this signalled yet another cycle of work as new passengers will arrive in two hours. This routine physically exhausted [#212] most workers after several months of continuous work. Moreover, the 'production of pleasure at sea' (Chin 2008) was anchored on the workers' ability to deliver service with a smile at all times [#43] regardless of their emotional state [#198].

Table 42 Job as a sacrifice

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
For money	It is really a difficult situation but I will endure for the sake of money [that I can earn]. If I feel like I want to just go back home [to Philippines], I just remind myself of how much money I can earn. [#352 FG2]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Hard work	Thanks to hard work for many hours a day on the ship I have been able to see the world, otherwise it would be impossible. I have spent up to 8 months at sea per contract, it drives you crazy but it is part of the job. [#259 Comment On-board]
Long hours	Work is crazy. You work for 75 hours a week at least. [#116 Ship Life]
Difficult people	I regularly experience a difficult guest. Nevertheless we accept them. [#32 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]
Homesickness	Even men cry when they feel homesick. [#321 FG1]
Perseverance	You need to persevere through all the difficulties of work in the beginning. Eventually, it becomes part of your system. [#391 Venia]
Risk to life	The job requires diligence and perseverance, sometimes even your life. At any time a disaster may come. [#351 FG1]

(18) *Cruise sector seafarers were willing to suffer in exchange for a good income (Table 42).* Working on a cruise ship involves arduous work [#259] of at least 10 hours a day, seven days a week [#116]. It involved working with difficult guests and co-workers [#32], of battling homesickness [#321], and exposing one's life to whatever accident at sea that may happen [#351]. Observers might be puzzled why a person would be willing to take on such jobs and persevere [#391] despite the serious costs. But these hardships become meaningful in light of a job that promises to provide a living for immediate and extended families back home [#352].

Work

The fifth and final global theme is about *work* in general and is unpacked into five organising themes, namely: regulation of movement, time and space while fulfilling a contract, perception of these rules, work as a human activity, and financial literacy.

Table 43 Regulated movement

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Surveillance	I am not bothered that my movement is closely monitored by surveillance cameras. [#165 Big Money]
Recreation	You have to be aware that when you are on a ship that you are sort of in your workplace all the time. You can never fully relax your self completely. [#46 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]
Little rest	At work you don't have much rest. It is like a 24/7 service. But even then I am still happy because I am well compensated. [#391 Venia]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Sleep	As they say, sleeping is not that popular when you are on the ship. You sleep when you go home to Philippines. [#331 FG1]
Food	When you are on ship you don't have to pay for food but the problem is you could not eat the food. [#125 Cruise ship Life]
Appearance	Appearances are important to everyone. I like our uniform. It has a very stately look to it. Something that will be appreciated in the photos that I send back home. [#61 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode3]
Drill	Every drill is treated as a real emergency. [#44 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]

(19) *At work, a cruise sector seafarer's movement was regulated* (Table 43). Behavioural regulation did not only concern surveillance of tasks directly related to one's job [#165] but also and more broadly on the disciplining of everyday activities including meal times [#125], appearance [#61] and sleep [#331]. Whilst every seafarer understood that there was a need for CCTV in work areas and why it was important to treat an emergency call as a real emergency and not a drill, most struggled to keep up with repetitive food and the lack of rest and sleep.

Table 44 Regulation of time and space

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Long Work Hours	I do 10 hour shifts, seven days a week up to six months without a single day off. [#196 Cruises undercover]
Shore leave	Time off at ports of call are very precious. I use them to tour around the place I have never visited before. [#26 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode1]
Artificial/recycled environment	Things have changed a lot for me in terms of daily life (food, water, light, air). I find ways to deal with it. But they have not prevented me to enjoy my job. [#235 Fosgreen]
Limited accommodation	Your roomies can be good or bad. You will learn to wear earplugs when you sleep Expect cramped rooms, weird food smells, constant bells, gongs and other noise when you sleep, the work can be satisfying or the pits. Best thing to do is prepare yourself for one of the most unpleasant experiences in your life and get tough. [#272 Comment on video On-board]
Rationalising accommodation	Crew cabins are tiny yes...that's because you are working and NOT on vacation. [#262 Comment on video On-board]
Restricted areas	I never get to see the upper deck of the ship. I have worked all my contracts without ever entering a guest area. [#145 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode6]
Belonging	Your house is there [on the ship]. Here [in the Philippines] is just a vacation. [#358 FG2]

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Social Space	In the crew bar, no guests are ever allowed at any time. It is the one place they can truly relax and be themselves [#45 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]
Safety and security	I feel that the cruise ship where I work is a safe and secure environment to work on. [#164 Big Money]

(20) *Time and space at work were also regulated* (**Table 44**). Since time and space were scarce resources crucial to the creation of a cruise experience, the use of time and spaces on the ship, and ones conduct within them, were regulated. As mentioned, cruise sector seafarers worked for up to 10 hours a day, seven days a week, for 10 straight months [#196]. Thus, instead of days off, they spoke of ‘hours off’ [#26], which they could either spend on visiting ports or simply sleeping inside their cabins. However, their living quarters on Deck Zero was reportedly not conducive to the enjoyment of rest and relaxation as there was no natural light, and the water and air were recycled [#235]. Furthermore, the limited space of cabins was shared with two or more co-workers [#272]. With respect to work spaces, passenger areas were restricted from non-hotel workers even if they were off duty [#145]. Employees who were not on duty were however allocated their own crew bar for social activities [#45]. By and large, the ship was a place of work as much as it was a place where seafarers live. The rigid regulation of movement, time and space had lead others to treat the ship as a ‘house’ and their time in the Philippines as ‘just vacation’ [#358]. In comparison to tanker or cargo ships, cruise ships were understood to be safer and more secure vessels since they carry thousands of passengers and crew [#164].

(21) *Whether they like it or not, cruise sector seafarers must obey ship rules* (**Table 45**). Each and every cruise sector seafarer was well acquainted with the general and departmental rules they must follow [#90] and was well aware of the necessity to standardise their everyday ship life [#138]. Others may not have liked these rules, particularly those that curtail habits (e.g. alcohol consumption) or the repetitive drills. Nevertheless, everybody remained obedient on the pain of receiving a warning [#103] or dismissal [#104].

Table 45 Rules perception

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Knowledge of rules	Everybody knows the rules. It is important that all crew members move the ship in the same direction. We don't want anyone to pull the ship on the right or the left. [#90 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode2]
Rules standardise	We need to maintain certain standards. I am meant to be on a ship. [#138 Cruise Ship Diaries 2009 Episode4]
Dislike too much rules	I hate rules, I cannot stand it. Why should it always be like that? [#93 Cruise Ship Diaries 2010 Episode2]
Warning	Infractions or warnings signed by the captain are handed out for misdemeanours like not wearing a name badge, not attending a safety drill, and for public affection in guest areas. [#103 Cruise Ship Diaries 2010 Episode2]
Dismissal	People need to be told what they can and can't do. Five warnings and you are off. [#104 Cruise Ship Diaries 2010 Episode2]

(22) *Cruise sector seafarers strongly identified with their job to define an identity (Table 46)*. After successive contracts spanning years of sea service, cruise sector seafarers were less likely to leave the ship in exchange for a land-based job [#438]. The benefits perhaps outweighed the costs to the extent that they derived satisfaction from being a cruise worker [#271] and considered their job as a primary means by which they define a sense of self [#2]. Nevertheless, there were participants who presented a different argument and said that in general, the cruise ship was an exploitative workplace for 'modern slaves' [#73].

Table 46 Work as a human activity

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Turnover intention	Sometimes I think of working on land, but I'm not ready to give up the money, the travel and the friends just yet! [#438 howtoworkonacruise.com]
Job satisfaction	Working on board was the greatest life experience I've ever had. [#271 Comment On-board]
Job centrality	My cruise ship job is one of the most important aspect of my self. [#2 Bothma 2011]
Akin to slavery	When I am on a cruise I know I am a slave. [#73 Sweatships]

Table 47 Financial Literacy

Basic Themes	Illustrative Quotations
Good or bad end	You will only have two outcomes as a seaman: Either you become rich or you become buried in debt. [#388 FG1]
Excessive Spending	I go through the vicious cycle of working hard and earning on board then sign off for a while and spend everything I earned by going out or drinking with friends. [#311 On the Money]
Intentional Saving	This is where you see the fruits of your labour. When I feel very tired, I put out the cash I saved and smell it to ease the heaviness of my feeling. That is how I survive and remain on track with my dreams. [#320 FG1]
Savings consciousness	Saving for a specific dream/project is a main priority for every contract I take. [#315 On the Money]

(23) *Cruise ship workers were not always financially literate* (Table 47). Cruise ship work, as highlighted in the third organising theme in Table 47, was a means to an end: they work to support and provide a good future for the family. The income they earn served to address not just the immediate needs of the family (e.g. utility bills and medical expenses) but also its future needs (e.g. children's education and acquiring a house). The completion of several contracts gave cruise sector seafarers a viable means of fulfilling their dreams. As food and accommodation were free, most seafarers became intentional savers whilst on-board [#320 FG1]. With their eyes on their goal, they consistently delayed indulgences by being frugal [#315]. However, the sense of achievement in accumulating substantial amounts of cash was repeatedly tested when they return home. A great many fell victim to excessive spending to demonstrate their perceived elevation in economic status [#311] brought about by the financial rewards of an overseas job. The cycle of working, earning and spending went on until they ended up 'rich' or buried in debt [#388].

Appendix 4

Distribution of Q-set statements by social and temporal dimension

	Before (12 statements)	During (25 statements)	After (11 statements)
Occupation (16 statements)	1. Pre-Requisites s12 Requirements too strict s25 Cruise ship job is for specific people s33 Cruise job is an ambition	2. Tasks and Demands s6 Sexual advances to female workers s26 Work-life is different from expected s27 Smiling and cheerful always s28 Experienced extreme fatigue s32 Precise and faultless at tasks s34 Always at risk of accident s35 Converse in different language s44 Used to long work hours 3. Rewards s42 Income is commensurate s10 Equal opportunity for promotion	s45 Cruise job is important aspect of life s46 Wider life perspective s47 Intrinsic job satisfaction
Organisation (19 statements)	4. Value Preferences s7 Guarded trust to workmates s9 Preference for the other s30 Understanding and no conflict s21 Satisfied with crewing agency	5. Work relations s11 Resolve conflicts with others quickly s15 Hardworking and service oriented s16 Has difficult co-workers s20 Regarded low by others s22 Officers promote family culture s23 Very strict immediate supervisors 6. The Company s17 Proud of cruise principal s18 Service is valued by company s19 Cruise company is profit oriented 7. The workplace s29 Accommodation is appropriate s37 Feels under surveillance on-board s40 Patient obedience to rules s48 All work like prison	s8 Can describe beliefs of others s13 Forming multicultural friendships
Non-Work (13 statements)	8. Work Motivations s1 Presence of supplemental income s4 Work to support the family s24 Ready for the hardships at work s38 Travel is a motivation s39 Saving is a priority	9. Maintenance of Family Relationships s3 Communicate to avoid homesickness s5 Temptation is common	s14 Gifts to friends and family s41 High spending when off contract 10. Work Intentions s2 Work until 65 s31 Lengthen work contract s36 Recommend job to others s43 Transfer to land-based job

Appendix 5

Pilot Q-set

	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	Source
1	Jobs on cruise ship is something that I just have to do but not for long.	Ang trabaho ko sa cruise ship ay isang trabaho na kailangan ko lang gawin sa ngayon pero hindi pang-matagalan.	Youtube: Cruise Ship Life
2	We are the ones who smiles and makes the guest happy. When I am smiling on the outside, inside I am ripping apart.	Lagi nga kaming nakangiti at pinapasaya ang mga pasahero. Sa panlabas ay nakangiti pero ang kalooban naman namin ay nagdadalamhati.	Documentary: Cruises Under Cover
3	Flexibility in adjusting to co-workers is the most important trait one should have in order to survive ship life.	Ang pinakamahalagang katangian para mag survive ka sa barko ay yung flexibility na mag aadjust ka sa mga katrabaho mo.	Pilot Focus Group 1
4	When you are starting you just endure your difficult job but time comes it becomes part of your system.	Sa umpisa ay tiniis mo ang hirap sa trabaho pero darating ang panahon na kasama na sya sa system mo.	Pilot Interview with Venia
5	It would be a horrible nightmare if you have awful co-workers and bosses.	Parang bangungot kung magkakaroon ng mahirap pakisamahang mga katrabaho at mga nakatataas.	Comment of a cruise worker on a YouTube video on Housekeeping Staff
6	The experience of ship life is not quite what I expected but it is OK.	Ang karanasan ko sa barko ay hindi tugma sa aking inaasahan pero ayos lang ito para sa akin.	Youtube: Cruise Ship Life
7	Smiling all the time and cheerfulness even to rude and difficult guests are part of my job.	Kasama sa aking trabaho ang ngumiti palagi at maging magiliw kahit na hindi maging kaaya-aya ang pakikitungo ng ilang pasahero.	Chin 2008
8	I can honestly say that I have never felt physically and metally exhausted in my entire working life.	Sa lahat ng aking naging trabaho, sa barko ko lang naranasan ang pinakamatinding pagkapagod ng katawan at isipan.	Documentary: Cruises Under Cover
9	Crew cabins are tiny yes...that's because you are working and NOT on vacation.	Totoo na napakaliit ng kabina ng crew. Ito ay dahil sa nagtatrabaho kami at hindi nagbabakasyon.	Comment on a YouTube video on Life On-board
10	Many of those who choose to work on the ship come from poor countries where their wages can support whole families.	Karamihan sa mga nagtatrabaho sa cruise ship ay galing sa mahihirap na mga bansa kung saan ang kita nila ay makakasuporta ng buong pamilya.	Documentary: Cruises Under Cover
11	I am proud to work on my current cruise company. Given the choice	Ipinagmamalaki ko na sa kumpanya ng cruise ship na ito ako nagtatrabaho. Kung ako ang	Bothma 2011

	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	Source
	this is where I would like to work for a long time.	papipiliin ay dito ko gustong magtrabaho ng pangmatagalan.	
12	I try my best to be understanding and not to have a conflict with anyone. I tell my self, 'I went here for work and not to be pissed off'.	Sinisikap kong maging maunawain at walang makaaway. Iniisip ko na lang "Ang ipinunta ko dito ay trabaho at hindi para mabugnot."	Pilot Interview with Ray
13	When I am 65 I can now retire from working on a ship.	Kapag 65 na ako pwede na akong mag retire sa pagtatrabaho sa barko	Pilot Interview with Ray
14	Even though cruise ship work is very physically demanding it becomes worthwhile when you think about the opportunity to travel and earn dollars/euros.	Bagamat ang pagtatarabaho sa cruise ay mabigat (sa katawan) ay nasusulit naman ito dahil sa pagkakataong makapagbyahe at kumita ng dolyar/Euro.	Chin 2008
15	Given the choice, I feel more comfortable to work with other nationalities than with Filipinos.	Kung papipiliin, mas komportable akong katrabaho ang ibang lahi kaysa sa kapwa Pinoy.	Chin 2008
16	I accept that White people have higher position and earn more than Filipinos.	Tanggap ko na mas mataas ang antas at mas malaki ang kita ng mga puti kumpara sa mga Pinoy.	Chin 2008
17	Without a doubt, cruise ship work is really difficult but I choose to endure it because I know that this will fulfil my dreams.	Mahirap kung sa mahirap ang pagtatrabaho sa cruise ship pero ganoon pa man ay tinitii ko ito dahil ang trabahong ito ang tutupad sa aking mga pangarap.	Bothma 2011
18	My cruise company recognizes the value of my service. The success of the company is also my success.	Nararamdaman ko ang pagkilala sa akin ng aking cruise na pinagtatrabahuhan. Ang tagumpay ng cruise ay tagumpay ko din	Bothma 2011
19	Saving for a specific dream/project is a main priority for every contract I take.	Ang pag-iimpok (saving) para sa isang pangarap o proyekto ang aking pangunahing prayoridad sa bawat kontrata ko sa barko.	On the Money
20	Appearances are important to everyone. I like our uniform. It has a very stately look to it. Something that will be appreciated in the photos that I send back home.	Importante na maging kaaya-aya ang aming hitsura sa lahat. Gusto ko ang aming uniporme - napakagandang tingnan. Pwedeng kuhanan ng litrato at ipadala sa kapamilya.	Documentary: Cruise Ship Diaries Season 1 Episode 3
21	When there are more nationalities on a cruise ship, people are more patient and more understanding of one another.	Pag mas marami ang nationalities sa barko, mas pasensyoso ang bawat isa at mas maunawain sa pinang-gagalingan ng iba.	Pilot interview with Venia
22	On the ship, there are so many rules that I need to follow. Sometimes I could not stand it anymore.	Sa barko, napakadaming alituntunin (rules) na kailangang sundin. Hindi ko na ito matagalan minsan.	Documentary: Cruise Ship Diaries Season 1 Episode 2
23	Cruise ship jobs are best for those who are young and single.	Ang trabaho sa cruise ship ay mas bagay para sa mga bata pa at wala pang asawa.	Pilot interview with Andy

	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	Source
24	My job requires me to be precise and to keep attention to detail.	Sa aking trabaho kailangang tiyak at walang mali (precise) ang aking ginagawa kasama ang maliliit na detalye.	Documentary: Cruises Under Cover
25	For my current cruise company, profit is more important than the welfare of seafarers.	Mas mahalaga para cruise line na aking pinagtatrabahuhan ang kanilang kikitain kaysa sa kapakanan ng mga seafarers	Chin 2008
26	When a seafarer is off-contract, he loses money very quickly - all goes out, nothing comes in. Sometimes they even have to lend.	Ang seafarer kapag nasa baba ay talagang nauubos ang pera kasi puro labas at walang pasok. Minsan kailangan mo na ding mangutang.	Pilot Interview with Marc
27	My job is difficult because my life is always at risk due to accidents.	Mahirap ang trabaho dahil nasa panganib ng sakuna lagi ang buhay.	Pilot Focus Group 2
28	I experienced that when you are far from your spouse and children you realise the importance of family.	Naexperience ko na kapag nawalay ka pala sa asawa at anak mo ay maiisip mo na mas importante pala ang pamilya mo.	Pilot Interview with Ray
29	The ship's management is proactive in taking care of the health and welfare of all employees.	Ang management ng barko ay proactive sa pangangalaga sa kalusugan at welfare ng mga empleyado.	Sampson 2012
30	The income I get is not commensurate with the amount and difficulty of the job I do.	Ang aking kita ay hindi tugma sa dami at bigat ng ginagawa kong trabaho.	Chin 2008
31	If other nationalities lack qualification they should not get the cruise ship job. There should be fair play.	Kulang naman sa qualification ang ibang lahi ay hindi sila dapat makapagtrabaho sila sa cruise ship. Dapat patas lang ang laban.	Pilot Focus Group 1
32	If there are other opportunities, I will change jobs and not work on a ship.	Kung may ibang oportunidad, mag-iiba na ako ng trabaho at hindi na sa barko.	Addams 2011
33	I learned how to converse in different languages while on board. I am improving this skill up to now.	Natuto akong ang makipagusap sa iba't ibang lenggwage (French, German and Italian, Spanish atbp) habang nasa barko. Hanggang sa ngayon ay nag-aaral pa din ako.	Pilot Interview with Marc
34	It is common and unavoidable to have an affair on-board even if you are in a committed relationship/family in the Philippines.	Karaniwan at hindi maiiwasan magkaroon ng karelasyon sa barko kahit na may karelasyon ka na o pamilya sa Pilipinas.	Pilot interview with Ray
35	It is true not everyone can handle ship life, but those of us that can we love it	Totoo na hindi lahat ay kayang makayanan ang buhay sa barko. Sa nakakayanan ito, talagang mahal nila ang trabaho sa barko.	Comment on a YouTube video on Life On-board
36	I gained many friends on-board. When you leave your country you have to be friendly.	Marami akong naging kaibigan sa barko. 'Pag umaalis ka ng bansa mo, kailangan ay palakaibigan ka.	Pilot Focus Group 1

	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	Source
37	Working for long and irregular hours even during weekends and holidays is part of my job and this is not a problem for me.	Malinaw at hindi problema sa akin na kasama sa pagtatrabaho sa cruise ang pagtatrabaho ng mahaba at walang regular na oras kasama na ang weekend at holiday.	Chin 2008
38	Every female who wants to work on a ship must face the risk of sexual harassment that comes with the job.	Ang risk ng sexual harrasment ay kasama sa mga risk na kailangang harapin ng mga babaeng gustong magtatrabaho sa barko.	Chin 2008
39	I do not feel that I belong to any group or race on-board. I was just there to work. I belong to my home and family in the Philippines and not to the ship.	Hindi ko nararamdaman na kabilang ako sa anumang grupo, barkadahan o lahi sa barko. Naandoon lang ako para magtatrabaho. Kabilang ako sa pamilya ko at tahanan sa Pilipinas at hindi sa barko.	Sampson 2012
40	Compared to other nationalities working on a cruise ship, Filipinos are more friendly, polite and service-oriented.	Kumpara sa ibang lahi na nagtatrabaho sa barko, ang mga Pinoy ay mas palakaibigan, magalang at service-oriented.	Chin 2008
41	My work on a cruise ship is the most important part of my self.	Ang aking trabaho sa cruise ang isa sa pinaka importanteng bahagi ng aking sarili.	Bothma 2011
42	As an employee, I can say that I am satisfied with the cruise company that I work in.	Bilang isang empleyado, masasabi kong masaya ako sa cruise company na aking pinagtatrabahuhan.	Documentary: Cruises Under Cover
43	Your perspective of life changes when you go out of your country and see how people's lives move in other places. You realise we are still very lucky.	Naiiba rin ang pagtingin mo sa buhay. Pag lumalabas ka ay nakikita mo kung paano gumagalaw ang buhay ng tao sa ibang lugar. Naiisip mo pa rin na swerte tayo.	Pilot Interview with Andy
44	In my experience, I felt that the officers promote a sense of belonging and family within the workplace. They believe that a happy crew means happy guest.	Sa aking karanasan, sinisikap ng mga officers na maiparamdam sa mga nagtatrabaho na isa kaming malaking pamilya. Kapag masaya ang crew, masaya ang mga guests.	Pilot Interview with Andy
45	Not all places and departments are accessible to us. The area where we can move about is very small - I am like in prison.	Hindi lahat ng lugar o department sa barko ay pwede mong puntahan. Napakaliit ng pwede naming kilusan - para kaming nakakulong.	Pilot Interview with Marc
46	On the ship you should trust no one even your fellow Filipino unless you are able to prove that he is trustworthy.	Sa barko kasi ay dapat na wala ka talagang pagkatiwalaan. Kahit kapwa mo Pilipino ay hindi mo dapat pagkatiwalaan. Not unless na Makita mong tapat siyang talaga.	Pilot Interview with Marc
47	I do not mind that I am always on-call at work even if sometimes I only have very little sleep.	Para sa akin ay ayos lang na lagi akong on-call kahit pa minsan ay kaunti na lang ang tulog ko.	Comment on a YouTube video on Life On-board
48	Ship life is not a life. It is like slavery.	Ang buhay sa barko ay hindi isang buhay. Ito ay para nang pag-aalipin (slavery).	Youtube: Cruise Ship Life

Appendix 6

Final and Revised Q-set

#	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	SOURCE
1	My family has other income sources aside from what I earn as a seafarer.	Bukod sa aking trabaho sa barko, may iba pang pinagkukuhanan ng ikabubuhay ang aking pamilya.	Swift 2010
2	I would like to work on a ship until I am 65.	Nais kong magtrabaho sa barko hanggang ako ay 65.	Ray, Pilot Interview
3	Homesickness on-board can be prevented by constantly communicating with loved ones.	Naiiwasan ang homesickness sa pamamagitan ng constant communication sa mahal sa buhay.	<i>Disney Cruise</i> , Documentary
4	The family I am supporting is the reason why I continue to work on a ship.	Ang pamilyang sinusuportahan ko ang dahilan kung bakit ako patuloy sa pagbabarko.	<i>Cruises Undercover</i> , Documentary
5	Married or not, it is common to be tempted while on-board.	May asawa man o wala ay karaniwan na ang matukso kapag nasa barko.	Ray, Pilot Interview
6	Female workers often receive unwanted sexual advances from male workers when on-board.	Ang mga babaeng empleyado ay malimit na kursunadahin ng mga lalaking kanilang ka-trabaho.	Maricon, Pilot Interview
7	There is no one among my workmates that I give my full trust to.	Wala akong lubos na pinagkatiwalaan sa sinuman sa aking mga kasamahan sa barko	Marc, Pilot Interview
8	I can describe the differences in beliefs and practices of other nationalities I have worked with.	Kaya kong isalarawan ang pagkakaiba sa gawi at paniniwala ng mga taga ibang bansang nakasama ko sa barko.	Koehn 2002
9	Given a choice I would prefer to work with other nationalities over Filipinos.	Kung papipiliin, mas gusto kong kasama sa trabaho/department ang ibang lahi kaysa sa Pinoy.	Chin 2008
10	On the ship every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder.	Sa barko, may pantay na oportunidad ang bawat isa na tumaas ang antas sa trabaho o ma-promote.	Focus Group 1
11	I can quickly fix any misunderstanding I have with other-nationality workmates.	Mabilis kong naayos ang anumang hindi pagkakaunawaan/gusot sa katrabahong ibang lahi.	Koehn 2002
12	I feel burdened by certifications, clearances, trainings and other requirements needed before the start of any contract.	Nabibigatan ako sa mga kinakailangang certification, clearances, training at iba pang requirements bago magsimula ang kontrata.	Mario, Pilot Interview

#	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	SOURCE
13	There are other-nationality workmates whom I can call true friends.	May mga naging tunay na kaibigan ako na mula sa ibat ibang bansa.	Focus Group 1
14	I make sure I bring presents to family members and friends at end of my every contract.	Sinisikap kong may pasalubong ang mga kamag-anak at kaibigan sa bawat pagtatapos ng aking kontrata.	Lamvik 2012
15	Filipino seafarers are more hardworking and service-oriented than other nationalities.	Ang mga Filipino seafarers ay mas masipag at service-oriented kumpara sa ibang lahi.	Chin 2008
16	I have co-workers who are difficult to work with.	May mga katrabaho akong mahirap pakisamahan.	Comment of a cruise worker on a YouTube video on Housekeeping Staff
17	I am proud that I am working for this cruise company (principal).	Ipinagmamalaki ko na sa kumpanya ng cruise ship (principal) na ito ako nagtatrabaho.	Bothma 2011
18	The cruise company is valuing and recognising the service I provide.	Binibigyan ng pagpapahalaga at pagkilala ng ng cruise company ang serbisyong aking ginagawa.	Bothma 2011
19	For the cruise company I am currently working in, profit is more important than taking care of seafarers' welfare.	Para sa cruise line na aking pinagtatrabahuhan, mas mahalaga ang kikitain nila kaysa sa matugunan ang kapakanan ng mga seafarers.	Chin 2008
20	Some of my co-workers think low of me.	May mga katrabaho akong mababa ang tingin sa akin.	Andy, Pilot Interview
21	I can say that I am happy with my current crewing agency.	Masasabi kong masaya ako sa kasalukuyan kong crewing agency.	Mario, Pilot Interview
22	The officers try their best to make the employees feel that we are one family on the ship.	Sinisikap ng mga officers na iparamdam sa mga empleyado na isa kaming pamilya sa barko.	Andy, Pilot Interview
23	My immediate supervisor is the strictest of all even more than the captain.	Pinakamahigpit sa lahat ay ang aking immediate supervisor/boss, mas mahigpit pa sa kapitan.	Sampson 2012
24	I am ready to endure all hardships on-board if only to provide a better life for my family.	Handa kong pagtiisan ang lahat ng hirap sa barko para guminhawa ang buhay ng aking pamilya.	Lamvik 2012
25	The seafaring job suits only a particular type of people.	Ang pagiging seafarer sa barko ay may binabagayang mga klase ng tao.	Comment on a YouTube video on Life On-board
26	My work-life on-board is different from what I expected.	Ang naging buhay-trabaho ko sa barko ay taliwas sa aking inaasahan.	<i>Cruise Ship Life</i> , Youtube

#	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	SOURCE
27	My job includes smiling and being cheerful to guests even when they are rude.	Kasama sa aking trabaho ang ngumiti palagi at maging magiliw sa pasahero kahit pa hindi kaaya-aya ang kanilang pakikitungo.	Chin 2008
28	It is on my cruise ship job that I experienced the most extreme physical and mental tiredness.	Sa pagbabarko ko naranasan ang pinakamatinding pagkapagod ng katawan at isipan.	<i>Cruises Undercover</i> , Documentary
29	Our on-board accommodation is appropriate to our needs.	Ang accomodation sa barko ay angkop sa aming mga pangangailangan.	<i>Life On-board</i> , Youtube
30	I strive to be understanding to avoid conflict with my co-workers on-board.	Sinisikap kong maging maunawaain at walang makaaway	Ray, Pilot Interview
31	If I have a choice I will increase the length of standard work contracts.	Kung ako ang papipiliin, nais kong pahabatin pa ang bilang ng buwan ng standard na kontrata sa barko	Focus Group 2
32	In my line of work it is important to be precise and faultless up to the smallest details.	Sa aking trabaho, kailangang tiyak at walang mali ang aking ginagawa hanggang sa maliliit na detalye.	<i>Cruises Undercover</i> , Documentary
33	Right from the very start it is my ambition to work on a ship.	Sa simula't simula ay ambisyon ko na talaga ang makapagtrabaho sa barko.	Marissa, Pilot Interview
34	Our life on-board is always at risk of accident.	Ang aming buhay sa barko ay laging nasa panganib ng sakuna.	Focus Group 2
35	I learned how to converse in different languages because of my cruise ship job.	Dahil sa aking trabaho sa barko, natuto akong makipag-usap gamit ang iba't ibang lenggwahe.	Marc, Pilot Interview
36	I would recommend to others working on a cruise ship.	Mairerekomenda ko sa iba ang pagtatrabaho sa cruise ship.	Andy, Pilot Interview
37	When I am on the ship I feel that all my actions and behaviour are under surveillance.	Kapag nasa barko, lahat ng aking kilos at gawain ay minamatyagan (under surveillance).	<i>Cruise Ship Diaries</i> , Se1 Ep2, Documentary
38	The chance to travel to other countries is the primary reason why I work on a ship.	Ang pagkakataong makapaglakbay sa ang dahilan kung bakit ko gusto ang trabaho sa barko.	Chin 2008
39	Saving for a dream or a project is a main priority for every contract I have.	Ang pag-iimpok (saving) para sa isang pangarap o proyekto ang aking pangunahing prayoridad sa bawat kontrata.	On the Money 2014
40	I am just patiently obeying the policies and rules they implement whilst on-board.	Pinagtitiyagaan ko lang ang mga patakarang kailangang sundin habang nasa barko.	Cruise Ship Diaries Se1 Ep2, Documentary
41	All income of a seafarer is quickly lost when on vacation - all money goes out, nothing comes in.	Ang seafarer kapag naka-bakasyon ay talagang nauubos ang kita: puro labas at walang pumapasok na pera.	Venia, Pilot Interview

#	ENGLISH	TAGALOG	SOURCE
42	The income I receive at my cruise ship job is commensurate to the volume and weight of the work I do.	Ang aking kita ay tugma sa dami at bigat ng ginagawa kong trabaho	Chin 2008
43	Eventually, I can see myself leaving my sea-based job and transferring to a land-based job.	Sa kalaunan, nakikita ko ang aking sarili na magkakaroon ng land-based na trabaho.	Addams 2011
44	I am used to working for long hours and irregular schedule when on board.	Sanay na akong magtrabaho ng mahaba at irregular na oras kapag nasa barko.	Venia, Pilot Interview
45	My cruise ship job is the most important part of my life.	Ang trabaho ko sa cruise ship ang pinakamahalagang bahagi ng aking buhay.	Bothma 2011
46	My view of life has widened after visiting different places.	Matapos makarating sa iba't ibang lugar masasabi kong lumawak ang aking pananaw sa buhay.	Andy, Pilot Interview
47	Even if I no longer need to earn big, I would still enjoy cruise ship work.	Kung halimbawang hindi ko na kailangang kumita ng malaki, magiging kasiya-siya pa din para sa akin na magtrabaho sa cruise ship.	Work Orientations Survey
48	The ship is like a prison where you have nothing to do but work, work, work.	Ang barko ay maitutulad sa isang kulungan na wala kang ibang pwedeng gawin kundi trabaho, trabaho, trabaho.	Lamvik 2012

Appendix 7

Factor correlation matrix and characteristics

	Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4
Factor-1	1	0.5588	0.6756	0.6253
Factor-2		1	0.4160	0.5379
Factor-3			1	0.4391
Factor-4				1
Eigenvalues (unrotated factors)	30.65	6.33	3.60	2.97
Explained variance (unrotated factors)	31%	6%	4%	3%
Explained variance (rotated factors)	11%	11%	15%	7%
Defining Q-sorts	16	19	23	7
Composite reliability	0.985	0.987	0.989	0.966

Appendix 8

Factor loading

Participant Characteristics (Sex, age, job title, years of sea service)					Degree of correlation of each Q-sort with each factor			
					Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4
Participants whose Q-sort correlates with just one factor								
1	M	41	Waiter	14	0.6227	0.0932	0.3038	0.1973
2	M	25	Pastry	1	0.6162	0.1411	-0.0050	-0.1039
3	M	27	Jr Seaman	5	0.5602	0.1815	0.2674	0.3544
4	M	33	Bartender	9	0.5515	-0.1122	0.3705	0.2480
5	M	33	Cook	12	0.5489	0.2551	0.1824	0.2371
6	M	32	Bartender	8	0.5454	0.1655	0.0934	0.0400
7	F	31	Buffet Stewardess	2	0.5286	0.2234	0.2158	0.1994
8	M	28	Waiter	5	0.5090	0.3311	0.2177	0.2506
9	F	31	Bar Waitress	7	0.5086	0.0993	0.3571	0.3232
10	M	33	Cook	3	0.4970	0.1920	0.3540	0.1421
11	M	25	Room Steward	2	0.4752	0.3571	0.1886	0.0524
12	M	24	AB Ordinary Seaman	1	0.4751	0.1866	0.3372	0.1639
13	M	32	Officer Steward	6	0.4418	0.2812	0.3258	0.2758
14	M	23	Bartender	1	0.4021	0.3647	0.1880	0.1826
15	M	25	Waiter	2	0.3911	0.0286	0.2988	0.2729
16	M	28	Casino Dealer	1	0.3909	0.1743	0.3300	0.2335
17	M	27	Mess man	4	0.2881	0.6907	0.0707	0.0422
18	M	30	Waiter	6	-0.0746	0.6869	-0.0640	0.0795
19	M	28	Cook	4	0.2652	0.6694	0.1577	-0.1303
20	M	27	Bar Assistant Waiter	3	0.0479	0.6400	0.1776	0.2392
21	M	28	Bus Boy	4	0.0448	0.6296	0.0519	0.3661
22	M	34	Waiter	13	0.3013	0.5971	-0.3597	-0.1115
23	M	30	Oiler	8	-0.0196	0.5921	-0.1175	0.0794
24	M	44	Provision Master	15	0.2226	0.5902	0.1707	0.2335
25	M	32	Deck Maintenance	8	0.1271	0.5727	-0.0731	0.1173
26	M	33	Waiter	14	0.1869	0.5400	0.3346	0.2845
27	F	34	Cocktail waitress	11	0.3516	0.5203	0.2280	0.0793
28	M	30	Room Steward	3	0.0793	0.4775	0.3110	0.3150
29	M	39	Deck hand	7	0.1273	0.4724	0.2093	0.2430
30	M	23	Bar tender	1	0.3157	0.4382	0.0759	0.0181
31	M	37	Plumber	6	0.2844	0.4379	0.2668	0.0775
32	F	39	Cocktail waitress	16	0.1855	0.4194	0.3355	0.3484
33	M	32	Waiter	7	0.3293	0.4120	0.2044	0.1350
34	F	33	Room Steward	7	0.093	0.4050	0.2038	0.2072
35	M	46	Carpenter	8	-0.0242	0.3837	0.3557	0.1734
36	M	44	Upholsterer	6	0.2727	0.0550	0.8101	0.0152
37	M	40	Deck Officer	18	0.2909	0.1926	0.6989	0.2918
38	M	35	Incinerator Man	7	0.2617	0.2185	0.6962	-0.0643

Participant Characteristics (Sex, age, job title, years of sea service)					Degree of correlation of each Q-sort with each factor			
					Factor-1	Factor-2	Factor-3	Factor-4
39	M	45	Chief Purser	13	0.1684	-0.0223	0.6858	-0.1354
40	M	41	Sous Chef	22	0.3490	0.1100	0.6835	0.1874
41	M	41	Radio Operator	15	0.1412	-0.0181	0.6811	0.1839
42	M	39	Cabin Steward	10	0.1385	0.0646	0.6296	0.1925
43	M	48	Incinerator Man	15	0.1368	0.1384	0.6015	0.0225
44	M	23	Jr Seaman	1	-0.0042	0.2821	0.5931	0.3625
45	M	43	Waiter	10	0.2504	0.1549	0.5702	0.1365
46	M	27	Stage Band	2	0.0788	0.2577	0.5653	0.3672
47	M	29	AB Ordinary Seaman	8	0.1344	0.2456	0.5576	0.2835
48	M	31	Motorman	4	-0.0644	0.0130	0.5473	0.1582
49	M	42	Housekeeping manager	13	0.1341	0.2058	0.5300	0.3303
50	M	49	Waiter	13	0.2439	-0.2462	0.5275	0.2249
51	M	54	AB OS	22	0.3575	-0.1231	0.4768	0.294
52	M	24	AB OS	4	0.2433	0.2655	0.4696	-0.1681
53	M	26	AB OS	5	0.0749	0.2318	0.4165	0.2584
54	M	34	Waiter	10	0.2720	0.1591	0.4129	-0.1942
55	M	37	Sanitation Supervisor	9	0.3564	0.2094	0.4018	0.115
56	M	44	Sanitation Supervisor	18	0.2668	0.1780	0.4018	0.2566
57	M	45	AB OS	14	0.2964	-0.0422	0.3854	0.2800
58	M	32	Waiter	3	0.2282	0.2091	0.3804	-0.0619
59	M	35	Cabin Steward	9	0.0712	0.1700	0.0107	0.6307
60	M	23	Baker	1	0.2052	0.2846	0.0302	0.6088
61	M	24	Waiter	2	0.3709	0.2302	0.0446	0.5208
62	F	34	Accommodation asst.	1	0.2099	0.2034	0.2448	0.4860
63	M	51	Cook	14	-0.0199	0.0274	0.246	0.4143
64	F	28	Cabin Steward	3	0.3442	0.2458	0.2553	0.4106
65	M	39	Quarter Master	10	0.2659	0.3653	0.2982	0.3726
Participants whose Q-sort correlate with <u>MORE THAN ONE</u> factor								
66	M	28	Bartender	7	0.5188	0.4791	0.2882	0.1655
67	M	40	Cook	11	0.4633	0.5515	0.2119	-0.2435
68	M	38	Waiter	9	0.4504	0.4168	0.1867	0.1682
69	F	31	Waiter	8	0.4499	0.4644	0.2839	-0.1107
70	M	52	Head Buffet	22	0.3990	0.6440	0.0348	-0.1394
71	M	25	Cook	3	0.5380	0.2018	0.5242	0.2375
72	M	37	Waiter	11	0.5065	0.1864	0.5831	0.1761
73	M	39	Waiter	13	0.4616	0.0508	0.6436	0.2393
74	F	23	Casino Dealer	2	0.4502	0.3296	0.5680	0.0817
75	M	33	Store Keeper	10	0.4347	0.2558	0.4229	0.3578
76	M	38	Waiter	15	0.4329	0.1881	0.6435	0.0060
77	F	25	Cocktail waitress	2	0.4229	-0.1483	0.4817	0.3203
78	M	40	Cabin Steward	14	0.4071	0.3784	0.2498	0.4428
79	M	43	AB OS	8	0.3773	0.1811	-0.0695	0.4146
80	M	34	Bartender	6	0.0924	0.4454	0.5453	0.2944
81	M	30	Asst. Storekeeper	3	0.1699	0.4360	0.3829	0.3031

Appendix 9

Factor array for a four-factor solution

#	Statements	Factor-1 Good Fit	Factor-2 Troubled	Factor-3 Professional	Factor-4 Ambivalent
s1	My family has other income sources aside from what I earn as a seafarer.	+1*	-2	+1*	-4
s2	I would like to work on a ship until I am 65.	-5	-5	-3**	-5
s3	Homesickness on-board can be prevented by constantly communicating with loved ones.	+5**	+3	+3	+2
s4	The family I am supporting is the reason why I continue to work on a ship.	+2	+4	+5**	+3
s5	Married or not, it is common to be tempted while on-board.	0	0	-4**	+5**
s6	Female workers often receive unwanted sexual advances from male workers when on-board.	-1	+3**	-2	-2
s7	There is no one among my workmates that I give my full trust to.	-3	-3	-5**	-1*
s8	I can describe the differences in beliefs and practices of other nationalities I have worked with.	-2	-1	0	-1
s9	Given a choice I would prefer to work with other nationalities over Filipinos.	-2	-2	-3*	0**
s10	On the ship every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder.	-1**	-3**	+1*	+3*
s11	I can quickly fix any misunderstanding I have with workmates of other nationalities.	0	-2	0	-1
s12	I feel burdened by certifications, clearances, training and other requirements needed before the start of any contract.	-1	+3**	-1	0
s13	There are workmates of other nationalities whom I can call true friends.	0**	+1	+2	-2**
s14	I make sure I bring presents to family members and friends at end of every contract.	+1	0	-1**	-3**
s15	Filipino seafarers are more hardworking and service-oriented than seafarers of other nationalities.	+3	+3	+4	+3
s16	I have co-workers who are difficult to work with.	-1*	+2**	0	+1
s17	I am proud that I am working for this cruise company (principal).	+2	0**	+3	+2
s18	The cruise company values and recognises the service I provide.	0*	-1**	+1	+1
s19	The cruise company I am currently working for regards profit as more important than taking care of seafarers' welfare.	-4	-2**	-4	-4
s20	Some of my co-workers hold me in low regard.	-3*	+1**	-1*	-4**
s21	I can say that I am happy with my current crewing agency.	+2	+2	+3*	+1*

#	Statements	Factor-1 Good Fit	Factor-2 Troubled	Factor-3 Professional	Factor-4 Ambivalent
s22	The officers try their best to make the employees feel that we are one family on the ship.	0	0	+1	+1
s23	My immediate supervisor is the strictest of all—even more than the captain.	0	0	-4**	-1
s24	I am ready to endure all hardships on-board if only to provide a better life for my family.	+4	+5	+5	+3
s25	The seafaring job only suits a particular type of person.	-4**	-2	-2	0**
s26	My work-life on-board is different from what I expected.	-2	-3	-2	-3
s27	My job includes smiling and being cheerful to guests even when they are rude.	+4**	+2	+4	+2
s28	It is in the performance of my cruise ship job that I experience the most extreme physical and mental tiredness.	+4	+2**	-1**	+4
s29	Our on-board accommodation is suitable for our needs.	+1*	-1	+2**	0
s30	I strive to be understanding to avoid conflict with my co-workers on-board.	+2	+1	+2	+2
s31	If I have a choice I will increase the length of standard work contracts.	-5	-5	-2**	-5
s32	In my line of work it is important to be precise and faultless right down to the smallest detail.	+2	+2	0	-2
s33	Right from the very start it is my ambition to work on a ship.	+3*	-4**	0**	+4*
s34	Our life on-board is always at risk of accident.	-2	+5	-1	+5
s35	I learned how to converse in different languages because of my cruise ship job.	+1	+1	+1	-1**
s36	I would recommend to others working on a cruise ship.	+1	-1*	+2**	+1
s37	When I am on the ship I feel that all my actions and behaviour are under surveillance.	-3	-1**	-3	-3
s38	The chance to travel to other countries is the primary reason that I work on a ship.	+3**	-3**	0	-1
s39	Saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have.	+5**	+4	+4	+4
s40	I am just patiently obeying the policies and rules the company implements whilst on-board.	-4	-1	-3	0
s41	All income of a seafarer is quickly lost when on vacation—all money goes out, nothing comes in.	-1	+4**	-1	+2**
s42	The income I receive from my cruise job is commensurate with the volume and weight of the work I do.	-2*	-4*	0	0
s43	Eventually, I can see myself leaving my sea-based job and transferring to a land-based job.	0	0	-2	-2
s44	I am used to working for long hours and irregular schedules when on board.	+1	+1	+1	+1
s45	My cruise ship job is the most important part of my life.	-3**	0	+3**	0

#	Statements	Factor-1 Good Fit	Factor-2 Troubled	Factor-3 Professional	Factor-4 Ambivalent
s46	My view of life has widened as a result of visiting different places.	+3	+1**	+2	-2**
s47	Even if I no longer need to earn a large income, I would still enjoy cruise ship work.	-1	-4**	0**	-3
s48	The ship is like a prison where you have nothing to do but work, work, work.	0	0	-5**	0

Note: Rating scores of (statistically) distinguishing statements per factor are marked with asterisk; (*) is significant at $p < 0.05$ while (**) is significant at $p < 0.01$. s26 and s44 are statistically consensus statements – they do not distinguish between any pair of factors.

Appendix 10

Idealised Q-sorts

Factor-1: GOOD-FIT										
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2 Work until 65	19 Cruise company is profit oriented	7 Guarded trust to workmates	8 Can describe beliefs and of the Other	6 Innuendos to female workers	5 Temptation is common	1 Presence of supplemental Income	4 Work to support family	15 Hardworking and service oriented	24 Ready for hardships at work	3 Communicate to avoid homesickness
31 Lengthen work contract	25 Cruise job is for specific people	20 Regarded low by some	9 Preference for the Other	10 Equal opportunity for promotion	11 Resolve conflicts with others quickly	14 Gifts to friends and family	17 Proud of cruise principal	33 Cruise job is fulfilled ambition	27 Smiling and cheerful always	39 Saving is priority
	40 Patient obedience to rules	37 Feels under surveillance onboard	26 Work-life is different to expected	12 Requirements too strict	13 Form multicultural friendships	29 Accommodation is appropriate	21 Satisfied with crewing agency	38 Travel is motivation	28 Experienced extreme fatigue	
		45 Cruise job is important aspect of life	34 Always at risk of accident	16 Has difficult co-workers	18 Service is valued by company	35 Converse in different languages	30 Understanding and no conflict	46 Wider life perspective		
			42 Income is commensurate	41 High spending when off-contract	22 Officers promote family culture	36 Recommend job to others	32 Precise and faultless at tasks			
				47 Intrinsic work satisfaction	23 Very strict immediate supervisor	44 Used to long work hours				
					43 Transfer to land-based job					
					48 All work like prison					

Loaders = 30
 Definers = 16
 Explained variance = 11%

Note: *Consensus* statements are shaded in brown. *Distinguishing* statements which characterise this factor from another are highlighted in red, yellow or blue. *Loaders* refer to the total number of participant Q-sorts that significantly correlated with the factor and include *confounders* or those Q-sorts which are significantly correlated to more than one factor. *Definers* are Q-sorts which are exclusively correlated to one factor only. The idealised Q-sort was computed from the Q-sorts of the 'definers'.

Factor-2: TROUBLED										
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2 Work until 65	33 Cruise job is fulfilled ambition	7 Guarded trust to workmates	1 Presence of supplemental Income	8 Can describe beliefs and of the Other	5 Temptation is common	13 Form multicultural friendships	16 Has difficult co-workers	3 Communicate to avoid homesickness	4 Work to support family	24 Ready for hardships at work
31 Lengthen work contract	42 Income is commensurate	10 Equal opportunity for promotion	9 Preference for the Other	18 Service is valued by company	14 Gifts to friends and family	20 Regarded low by some	21 Satisfied with crewing agency	6 Innuendos to female workers	39 Saving is priority	34 Always at risk of accident
	47 Intrinsic work satisfaction	26 Work-life is different to expected	11 Resolve conflicts with others quickly	29 Accommodation is appropriate	17 Proud of cruise principal	30 Understanding and no conflict	27 Smiling and cheerful always	12 Requirements too strict	41 High spending when off-contract	
		38 Travel is motivation	19 Cruise company is profit oriented	36 Recommend job to others	22 Officers promote family culture	35 Converse in different languages	28 Experienced extreme fatigue	15 Hardworking and service oriented		
			25 Cruise job is for specific people	37 Feels under surveillance onboard	23 Very strict immediate supervisor	44 Used to long work hours	32 Precise and faultless at tasks			
				40 Patient obedience to rules	43 Transfer to land-based job	46 Wider life perspective				
					45 Cruise job is important aspect of life					
					48 All work like prison					

Loaders = 31
 Definers = 19
 Explained variance = 11%

Note: *Consensus* statements are shaded in brown. *Distinguishing* statements which characterise this factor from another are highlighted in red, yellow or blue. *Loaders* refer to the total number of participant Q-sorts that significantly correlated with the factor and include *confounders* or those Q-sorts which are significantly correlated to more than one factor. *Definers* are Q-sorts which are exclusively correlated to one factor only. The idealised Q-sort was computed from the Q-sorts of the 'definers'.

Factor-3: PROFESSIONAL										
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
7 Guarded trust to workmates	5 Temptation is common	2 Work until 65	6 Innuendos to female workers	12 Requirements too strict	8 Can describe beliefs and of the Other	1 Presence of supplemental Income	13 Form multicultural friendships	3 Communicate to avoid homesickness	15 Hardworking and service oriented	4 Work to support family
48 All work like prison	19 Cruise company is profit oriented	9 Preference for the Other	25 Cruise job is for specific people	14 Gifts to friends and family	11 Resolve conflicts with others quickly	10 Equal opportunity for promotion	29 Accommodation is appropriate	17 Proud of cruise principal	27 Smiling and cheerful always	24 Ready for hardships at work
	23 Very strict immediate supervisor	37 Feels under surveillance onboard	26 Work-life is different to expected	20 Regarded low by some	16 Has difficult co-workers	18 Service is valued by company	30 Understanding and no conflict	21 Satisfied with crewing agency	39 Saving is priority	
		40 Patient obedience to rules	31 Lengthen work contract	28 Experienced extreme fatigue	32 Precise and faultless at tasks	22 Officers promote family culture	36 Recommend job to others	45 Cruise job is important aspect of life		
			43 Transfer to land-based job	34 Always at risk of accident	33 Cruise job is fulfilled ambition	35 Converse in different languages	46 Wider life perspective			
				41 High spending when off-contract	38 Travel is motivation	44 Used to long work hours				
					42 Income is commensurate					
					47 Intrinsic work satisfaction					

Loaders = 38
 Definers = 23
 Explained variance = 15%

Note: *Consensus* statements are shaded in brown. *Distinguishing* statements which characterise this factor from another are highlighted in red, yellow or blue. *Loaders* refer to the total number of participant Q-sorts that significantly correlated with the factor and include *confounders* or those Q-sorts which are significantly correlated to more than one factor. *Definers* are Q-sorts which are exclusively correlated to one factor only. The idealised Q-sort was computed from the Q-sorts of the 'definers'.

Factor-4: AMBIVALENT										
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2 Work until 65	1 Presence of supplemental Income	14 Gifts to friends and family	6 Innuendos to female workers	7 Guarded trust to workmates	9 Preference for the Other	16 Has difficult co-workers	3 Communicate to avoid homesickness	4 Work to support family	28 Experienced extreme fatigue	5 Temptation is common
31 Lengthen work contract	19 Cruise company is profit oriented	26 Work-life is different to expected	13 Form multicultural friendships	8 Can describe beliefs and of the Other	12 Requirements too strict	18 Service is valued by company	17 Proud of cruise principal	10 Equal opportunity for promotion	33 Cruise job is fulfilled ambition	34 Always at risk of accident
	20 Regarded low by some	37 Feels under surveillance onboard	32 Precise and faultless at tasks	11 Resolve conflicts with others quickly	25 Cruise job is for specific people	21 Satisfied with crewing agency	27 Smiling and cheerful always	15 Hardworking and service oriented	39 Saving is priority	
		47 Intrinsic work satisfaction	43 Transfer to land-based job	23 Very strict immediate supervisor	29 Accommodation is appropriate	22 Officers promote family culture	30 Understanding and no conflict	24 Ready for hardships at work		
			46 Wider life perspective	35 Converse in different languages	40 Patient obedience to rules	36 Recommend job to others	41 High spending when off-contract			
				38 Travel is motivation	42 Income is commensurate	44 Used to long work hours				
					45 Cruise job is important aspect of life					
					48 All work like prison					

Loaders = 15
 Definers = 7
 Explained variance = 7%

Note: *Consensus* statements are shaded in brown. *Distinguishing* statements which characterise this factor from another are highlighted in red, yellow or blue. *Loaders* refer to the total number of participant Q-sorts that significantly correlated with the factor and include *confounders* or those Q-sorts which are significantly correlated to more than one factor. *Definers* are Q-sorts which are exclusively correlated to one factor only. The idealised Q-sort was computed from the Q-sorts of the 'definers'.

Appendix 11

Gallagher's (2010) Card content analysis

(Steps in doing) **Consensus Card Content Analysis**

1. Create a category (or free node) for each consensus statement.
2. Search the transcript for instances where participants have discussed the statement.
Repeat for all statements
3. Extract quotes and place in their respective free node or category
4. Analyze response statements for themes, looking for similarities and differences
5. Identify a representative quotation for presentation with the relevant consensus statements in the results.

(Steps in doing) **Distinguishing Card Content Analysis**

1. Create a category (or free node) representing each distinguishing statement.
2. Place text segments from each interview transcript into their respective category or tree node.
3. Create a subcategory (or free node) representing each of the distinguishing statements in that factor
4. For each statement, search the interview transcript of exemplar participants in that factors for instances where participants discussed them.
5. Place each quote in their respective free node
6. Analyze statement response for themes looking for similarities and differences
7. Identify a representative quotation for presentation with the relevant distinguishing statements in the results.

Appendix 12

Approval from the Research Ethics Committee

Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Director Professor Malcolm Williams
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd
Cyfarwyddwr Yr Athro Malcolm Williams



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28th May 2013

Our ref: SREC/1063

Mark Llangco
PhD Programme
SOCSI (SIRC)

Dear Mark

Your project entitled "*The experience of working on cruise ships: Work identities of Filipino cruise ship workers*" has now been approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University and you can now commence the project.

Please note that since your project involves data collection abroad you may need approval from a competent body in the relevant jurisdiction.

If you make any substantial changes with ethical implications to the project as it progresses you need to inform the SREC about the nature of these changes. Such changes could be: 1) changes in the type of participants recruited (e.g. inclusion of a group of potentially vulnerable participants), 2) changes to questionnaires, interview guides etc. (e.g. including new questions on sensitive issues), 3) changes to the way data are handled (e.g. sharing of non-anonymised data with other researchers).

In addition, if anything occurs in your project from which you think the SREC might usefully learn, then please do share this information with us.

All ongoing projects will be monitored every 12 months and it is a condition of continued approval that you complete the monitoring form.

Please inform the SREC when the project has ended.

Please use the SREC's project reference number above in any future correspondence.

Yours sincerely

Professor Tom Horlick-Jones
Chair of the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: E Renton / Supervisors: H. Sampson & P. Brown
Mae Prifysgol Caerdydd yn elusen gorfforestedig, rhif 1136855

Participant Information Sheet

THE EXPERIENCE OF WORKING ON CRUISE SHIPS

An invitation to take part in a research project with cruise ship workers

Information sheet for people who works or has worked on a cruise ship for at least one full contract.

Who is doing the research?

Mark Oliver Llangco is doing a study on the experiences of Filipino cruise ship workers and how they feel about themselves and their lives. He is a PhD student at the School of Social Sciences (SOCSI) Cardiff University, Wales, UK. His project is supervised by Professor Helen Sampson and Professor Phil Brown. Mark was born and raised in Calamba City, Laguna, Philippines.

Who is invited to participate?

The study hopes to involve 90 cruise ship workers to take part in this study. It doesn't matter what occupation they have on board (e.g. singer, waiter, spa attendant, doctor, electrician or captain) for as long as they have had at least one full contract then they may take part in the study.

What will happen if I take part and what is involved?

Mark will have a conversation with you about your experiences of working on a cruise ship and what it meant to you. More particularly, the interview meeting will involve the following:

Task 1: Identify five memorabilia (three photos and two objects) that will best represent your time on a cruise ship.

Task 2: Sort cards of statements relative to one another to express how best it reflects your work on cruise ships.

These tasks are designed to facilitate a conversation about your own experiences on a cruise ship. To do this, it is necessary to schedule a meeting at your convenience.

What are the risks involve?

It is estimated that there may be a potential but minimal risk when you agree to be interviewed. It is possible that you may feel upset when telling about specific unpleasant experience you had whilst working on a cruise ship but it is viewed that such discomfort will be minimal. You have the freedom to narrate only that which you are willing and are ready to share.

Do I have to say 'yes' to talking to you?

No. It is your choice. No one will mind if you don't want to take part. It is also important to know that you have the right to withdraw participation to the study at any point (before, during or after) without having to explain. Just let Mark know about your decision.

Where and when will we meet?

It could be your house, or any other place where you usually spend your time, wherever you feel most comfortable and it is possible for you and Mark to have a conversation. You can also choose a good time to meet.

Who will be there? Will it be recorded?

Mark will be there to interview you and with your permission, the interview will also be audio recorded. With your verbal consent, Mark will also take pictures of your five work memorabilia for analysis purposes.

What will you do with the photographs and other visual materials?

With your permission, some photos of your work memorabilia may appear in presentations and written output based on the study – of which your written consent will be necessary. You may also

want to get a copy of these for yourself. You also have the right to choose which images can be shown or not in presentations and written outputs.

Will you tell anyone what I say?

Everything that you say will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purpose of the study. Your identity will be protected at all times. Your identifying information (e.g. name, name of cruise ship, address) will be changed to respect your privacy. All data records from the interview (e.g. images, photos, transcripts, etc.) will only be accessible to Mark and his supervisors during data analysis. On the agreement of confidentiality, other genuine researchers may access these data later on. These data records will be kept at a locked cabinet inside SIRC's office for a minimum of five years and will be destroyed afterwards.

What happens after the study?

Mark hopes to learn a lot from you about what it means to be a Filipino working on cruise ships. He will then write a thesis, and from there articles and books may be written. These written outputs are means to share what he has learnt with many others, including cruise ship workers like you. In this way, the project will give people a better understanding of cruise ship workers' lives from their own point of view.

Who has reviewed the study?

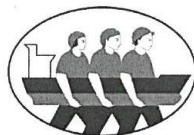
The study has been reviewed and approved by the School Research and Ethics Committee (SREC) of SOCSI, Cardiff University. SREC approval was granted on 28 May 2013 (Ref No: SREC/1063).

Who is funding the study?

Mark's four-year fellowship is sponsored by the Nippon Foundation. He is a Postgraduate Fellow at Cardiff University's the Seafarers International Research Centre.



School of Social Sciences
Cardiff University



Seafarers International Research Centre



Contact Information

For further information you may reach Mark Llangco at the following contact details:

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Appendix 13

SPSS Output for bivariate analysis: Work-view grouping and categorical variables

1. Sex and work-view

Crosstab

			Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?				Total
			1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	3 Professional	4 Ambivalent	
Sex	1 Male	Count	14	16	23	5	58
		% within Sex	24.1%	27.6%	39.7%	8.6%	100.0%
	2 Female	Count	2	3	0	2	7
		% within Sex	28.6%	42.9%	0.0%	28.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	19	23	7	65
		% within Sex	24.6%	29.2%	35.4%	10.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.633 ^a	3	.131
Likelihood Ratio	7.410	3	.060
Linear-by-Linear Association	.012	1	.914
N of Valid Cases	65		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .75.

2. Ship department and Work-view

Crosstab

			Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?				Total
			1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	3 Professional	4 Ambivalent	
Dept Which ship department to you belong to?	1 Hotel Department	Count	14	14	9	6	43
		% within Dept Which ship department to you belong to?	32.6%	32.6%	20.9%	14.0%	100.0%
	2 Marine Department	Count	2	5	14	1	22
		% within Dept Which ship department to you belong to?	9.1%	22.7%	63.6%	4.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	19	23	7	65
		% within Dept Which ship department to you belong to?	24.6%	29.2%	35.4%	10.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.435 ^a	3	.006
Likelihood Ratio	12.713	3	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.469	1	.063
N of Valid Cases	65		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.37.

3. Supervisory role and Work-view**Crosstab**

			Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?				Total
			1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	3 Professional	4 Ambivalent	
Supervision Are you supervising others at work?	0 No	Count % within Supervision Are you supervising others at work?	15 27.3%	18 32.7%	17 30.9%	5 9.1%	55 100.0%
	1 Yes	Count % within Supervision Are you supervising others at work?	1 10.0%	1 10.0%	6 60.0%	2 20.0%	10 100.0%
Total		Count % within Supervision Are you supervising others at work?	16 24.6%	19 29.2%	23 35.4%	7 10.8%	65 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.480 ^a	3	.140
Likelihood Ratio	5.717	3	.126
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.181	1	.041
N of Valid Cases	65		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.08.

4. Area of work

Crosstab

			Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?				Total
			1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	3 Professional	4 Ambivalent	
Stage Area of work	0 Back stage	Count	6	8	15	3	32
		% within Stage Area of work	18.8%	25.0%	46.9%	9.4%	100.0%
	1 Front stage	Count	10	11	8	4	33
		% within Stage Area of work	30.3%	33.3%	24.2%	12.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	19	23	7	65
		% within Stage Area of work	24.6%	29.2%	35.4%	10.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.732 ^a	3	.292
Likelihood Ratio	3.779	3	.286
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.422	1	.233
N of Valid Cases	65		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.45.

5. Site of data collection and work-view

Crosstab

			Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?				Total
			1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	3 Professional	4 Ambivalent	
Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	1 Crewing Agency B	Count	11	10	13	5	39
		% within Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	28.2%	25.6%	33.3%	12.8%	100.0%
	2 Marina	Count	1	1	3	1	6
		% within Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	16.7%	16.7%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0%
	3 Crewing Agency C	Count	1	3	5	0	9
		% within Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	11.1%	33.3%	55.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	4 Home Visit	Count	3	5	2	1	11
		% within Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	27.3%	45.5%	18.2%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	19	23	7	65
		% within Access Where was the Q-sorting conducted?	24.6%	29.2%	35.4%	10.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.302 ^a	9	.709
Likelihood Ratio	7.346	9	.601
Linear-by-Linear Association	.136	1	.712
N of Valid Cases	65		

a. 13 cells (81.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .65.

SPSS Outputs for Bivariate analysis: Work-view grouping and continuous variables

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Age What is your age as of last birthday?	1 Good Fit	16	29.44	4.690	1.172	26.94	31.94	23	41
	2 Troubled	19	32.95	5.921	1.358	30.09	35.80	23	46
	3 Professional	23	37.96	8.499	1.772	34.28	41.63	23	54
	4 Ambivalent	7	33.43	9.744	3.683	24.42	42.44	23	51
	Total	65	33.91	7.741	.960	31.99	35.83	23	54
Service How many years have you worked on a cruise ship	1 Good Fit	16	4.94	4.123	1.031	2.74	7.13	1	14
	2 Troubled	19	7.63	4.336	.995	5.54	9.72	1	16
	3 Professional	23	10.52	6.119	1.276	7.88	13.17	1	22
	4 Ambivalent	7	5.71	5.219	1.973	.89	10.54	1	14
	Total	65	7.78	5.467	.678	6.43	9.14	1	22

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Age What is your age as of last birthday?	2.989	3	61	.038
Service How many years have you worked on a cruise ship	1.795	3	61	.158

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Age What is your age as of last birthday?	Between Groups	715.890	3	238.630	4.666	.005
	Within Groups	3119.556	61	51.140		
	Total	3835.446	64			
Service How many years have you worked on a cruise ship	Between Groups	332.458	3	110.819	4.277	.008
	Within Groups	1580.526	61	25.910		
	Total	1912.985	64			

Robust Tests of Equality of Means

		Statistic ^a	df1	df2	Sig.
Age What is your age as of last birthday?	Brown-Forsythe	4.143	3	22.148	.018
Service How many years have you worked on a cruise ship	Brown-Forsythe	4.456	3	38.176	.009

a. Asymptotically F distributed.

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?	(J) Factor Which workview is your Q-sort most aligned to?	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Age What is your age as of last birthday?	1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	-3.510	2.426	.476	-9.92	2.90
		3 Professional	-8.519*	2.328	.003	-14.67	-2.37
		4 Ambivalent	-3.991	3.241	.609	-12.55	4.57
	2 Troubled	1 Good Fit	3.510	2.426	.476	-2.90	9.92
		3 Professional	-5.009	2.217	.119	-10.86	.85
		4 Ambivalent	-.481	3.162	.999	-8.83	7.87
	3 Professional	1 Good Fit	8.519	2.328	.003	2.37	14.67
		2 Troubled	5.009	2.217	.119	-.85	10.86
		4 Ambivalent	4.528	3.087	.464	-3.63	12.68
	4 Ambivalent	1 Good Fit	3.991	3.241	.609	-4.57	12.55
		2 Troubled	.481	3.162	.999	-7.87	8.83
		3 Professional	-4.528	3.087	.464	-12.68	3.63
Service How many years have you worked on a cruise ship	1 Good Fit	2 Troubled	-2.694	1.727	.409	-7.26	1.87
		3 Professional	-5.584*	1.657	.007	-9.96	-1.21
		4 Ambivalent	-.777	2.307	.987	-6.87	5.32
	2 Troubled	1 Good Fit	2.694	1.727	.409	-1.87	7.26
		3 Professional	-2.890	1.578	.269	-7.06	1.28
		4 Ambivalent	1.917	2.251	.829	-4.03	7.86
	3 Professional	1 Good Fit	5.584*	1.657	.007	1.21	9.96
		2 Troubled	2.890	1.578	.269	-1.28	7.06
		4 Ambivalent	4.807	2.197	.138	-1.00	10.61
	4 Ambivalent	1 Good Fit	.777	2.307	.987	-5.32	6.87
		2 Troubled	-1.917	2.251	.829	-7.86	4.03
		3 Professional	-4.807	2.197	.138	-10.61	1.00

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 14

Alignment and Dis-alignment between Factors

	Factor-1 Good-Fit	
Dissenting stance	No dissenting stance.	
	Alignment with...	Dis-alignment with...
Factor-2 Troubled	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Precision at tasks necessary (s32:+2, +2) Income is not commensurate to effort (s42:-4,-2) Unsure if supervisor is strict (s23:0,0) Unsure if officer promote family culture (s22:0,0) There is no equal chance of being promoted (s10:-3,-1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Requirements too strict (s12:-1,+3) Has difficult co-workers (s16:-1,+2) Travel is a motivation (s38:+3,-3) Ship is a safe working environment (s34:-2,+5) Able to manage income when off contract (s41:-1,+4)
Factor-3 Professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Requirements are manageable (s12:-1, -1) Has other income sources (s1:+1,+1) Can manage spending when off contract (s41:-1,-1) Ship is a generally safe working environment (s34:-2,-1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cruise job is important aspect of life (s45:-3, +3)
Factor-4 Ambivalent		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Precise and faultless at tasks (s32:+2,-2) Gifts to friends and family (s14:+1, -3) My family has other income sources (s1:+1,-4)

	Factor-2 Troubled	
Dissenting stance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (s6:+3) Female workers experience sexual advances • (s20:+1) Looked-down upon by others • (s17:0) Reluctant in feeling proud of cruise principal • (s36:-1) Would not recommend cruise job to others 	
	Alignment with...	Dis-alignment with...
Factor-1 Good-Fit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Precision at tasks necessary (s32:+2) • Income is not commensurate to effort (s42:-4,-2) • Unsure if supervisor is strict (s23:0,0) • Unsure if officer promote family culture (s22:0,0) • There is no equal chance of being promoted (s10:-3,-1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requirements too strict (s12:+3,-1) • Has difficult co-workers (s16:+2,-1) • Travel is a motivation (s38:-3,+3) • Life is always at risk (s34:+5,-2)
Factor-3 Professional		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accommodation is appropriate (s29:-1,+2) • Service is valued by company (s18:-1,+1) • Income is quickly lost when on vacation (s41:+4,-1) <p>Income is not commensurate to labour that I do (s42:-4,0)</p>
Factor-4 Ambivalent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has difficult co-workers (s16:+2,+1) • Opportunity to travel is not a motivation (s38:-3,-1) • Has no other income sources (s1:-2,-4) • All income is lost when on vacation (s41:+4,+2) • Conflicts with co-workers difficult to resolve (s11:-2,-1) • Life onboard is always at risk of accident (s34:+5,+5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cruise job is an ambition (s33:-4,+4) • Has no equal chance of being promoted (s10:-3,+3)

	Factor-3 Professional	
Dissenting stance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (s28:-1) Job is not mentally and physically tiring. • (s47:0) Job can possibly be enjoyable without huge income • (s8:0) More or less able to describe common traits of other nationality co-workers • (s48:-5) Ship is unlike prison 	
	Alignment with...	Dis-alignment with...
Factor-1 Good-Fit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requirements are manageable (s12:-1, -1) • Accommodation is appropriate (s29:+2,+1) • Has other income sources (s1:+1,+1) • Can manage spending when off contract (s41:-1,-1) • Ship is a generally safe working environment (s34:-1,-2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cruise job is important aspect of life (s45:+3,-3)
Factor-2 Troubled	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formed multi-cultural friendships (s13:+2,+1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accommodation is appropriate (s29:+2,-1) • I get along well with my immediate supervisor (s23:-4,0) • I will remain as seafarer (s43: -2,0)
Factor-4 Ambivalent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service is valued by company (s18:+1,+1) • Gets along well with supervisor (s23:-4, -1) • Equal chance at promotion (s10: +1,+3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forming multicultural friendships (s13:+2,-2) • Temptation is common (s5:-4,+5) • Has other income sources (s1:+1,-4)

	Factor-4 Ambivalent	
Dissenting stance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncertain if many can be fit for the job (s25:0) • Cannot converse in different languages (s35:-1) • Perspective of life has not really widened because of job experience (s46:-2) • Reluctant to prefer Filipino as co-worker (s9:0) • Uncertain if ship rules are easy to obey (s40:0) 	
	Alignment with...	Dis-alignment with...
Factor-1 Good-Fit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cruise job was a fulfilled ambition (s33:+4,+3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Precise and faultless at tasks (s32:-2,+2) • Gifts to friends and family (s14:-3,+1) • My family has no other income sources (s1:-4,+1)
Factor-2 Troubled	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has difficult co-workers (s16:+2,+1) • Opportunity to travel is not a motivation (s38:-3,-1) • Has no other income sources (s1:-2,-4) • All income is lost when on vacation (s41:+4,+2) • Conflicts with co-workers difficult to resolve (s11:-2,-1) • Life onboard is always at risk of accident (s34:+5,+5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cruise job is an ambition (s33:+4,-2) • Has an equal chance of being promoted (s10:+3,-3)
Factor-3 Professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not practice gift-giving (s14:-3,-1) • Service is valued by company (s18:+1,+1) • Gets along well with supervisor (s23:-4,-1) • Equal chance at promotion (s10: +3,+1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has not formed multicultural friendships (s13:-2,+2) • Temptation is common (s5:+5,-4) • Has no other income sources (s1:-4,+1)

Appendix 15

Work-views and Work Orientation

In Chapter Seven it was argued that work-views demonstrated heterogeneous work orientation – that workers were simultaneously motivated by a mixture of job rewards. The table below shows relevant parts of constructed narratives for each of work-views to illustrate this point. For example the italicised texts, which incidentally were consensus statements (i.e. all four groups support such view), demonstrated an instrumental orientation. The statements emphasised the fundamental importance of income (extrinsic rewards) to support ‘the family’ back home.

The Good-fit: Instrumental and Thymotic
<p><i>Supporting the family is the main reason I continue to work on the ship (s4). For them, I am ready to endure all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24). With this in mind, saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39).</i> Without the pay and associated benefits I derive from this job, I don't think I would continue to work here (s47; s43). It would be better if there is commensurate recognition (s18), promotion (s10), and remuneration (s42) for the job that I do. I make sure that I bring home presents for family members and friends at the end of every contract (s14). Back home, my family has other sources of income (s1) – not just my salary from my cruise job – so I am able to keep expenditure low whilst off contract (s41).</p> <p>The chance to travel the world is another reason why I decided to work on a cruise ship (s38). Overall, I can say that my view of life has widened after visiting different places (s46) and learning to speak different languages (s35). Truly, it was an ambition fulfilled (s33). Despite these, I do not consider my job to be the most important part of myself (s45).</p>
The Troubled: Defensive, Instrumental and Thymotic
<p><i>Supporting the family is the main reason I continue to work on the ship (s4). For them, I am ready to endure all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24). With this in mind, saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39).</i> Let me be clear however that right from the very start, I did not dream of working on a ship (s33). Also, I did not work on a ship because I wanted to see the world for free (s38).</p> <p>The income I receive from my job is not commensurate with the workload I do (s42) but remains important because my income is the main financial resource of my family (s1, s4). Expecting that expenses are high when I am on vacation (s41) I am less consistent in bringing presents home to family and friends (others of importance to me – others who are significant in my life – loved ones) at the end of my contract (s14). I am ready to face any hardships (s24) so as to make their lives better. Due to my current situation, I am likely to look for another job if the financial rewards of my ship job are no longer sufficient (s47, s43).</p>
The Professional: Instrumental, Thymotic, Solidaristic
<p><i>Supporting the family is the main reason I continue to work on the ship (s4). For them, I am ready to endure all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24). With this in mind, saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39).</i> Even though I do not receive the best salary I can imagine</p>

(s42), I am glad that my family has other income sources aside from what I earn on the ship (s1).

I have found workmates from other nationality whom I can call friends (s13). I feel that my co-workers respect me (s20) and my company values my contribution (s18). I have a good working relationship with my immediate supervisor (s23), other officers (s22) and co-workers (s16). Also every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10). I am proud of my cruise principal (s17) and satisfied with my crewing agency (s21)

Whilst I did not aspire to become a cruise sector seafarer (s33), my cruise ship job is the most important part of my life (s45). At this point however, I have a desire to remain a seafarer and not transfer to a land-based job (s43). In my opinion, cruise ship work can suit a wide range of people (s25). Overall, I would recommend to others to work on a cruise ship (s36).

The Ambivalent: Instrumental and Thymotic

Supporting the family is the main reason I continue to work on the ship (s4). For them, I am ready to endure all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24). With this in mind, saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39). At present, my family relies on my income as a seafarer (s1). I feel that my service is valued by the cruise company (s18): the officers promote a family culture whilst on board (s22); and my immediate supervisors are not strict (s23) – I am proud to be part of it (s17).

Right from the start, it is my ambition to work on a ship (s33). Travel was not a strong motivation in my decision to work on a ship (s38). While I have been to many places, I cannot say that my view of life has widened (s46). In my experience on-board every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10). I feel that my service is valued by the cruise company (s18): the officers promote a family culture whilst on board (s22); and my immediate supervisors are not strict (s23) – I am proud to be part of it (s17).

I am not completely satisfied with the income that I earn from my job (s42) and I would certainly not enjoy my job if I am no longer earning from it (s47). Although the cruise job may only suit certain types of people (s25), I would still recommend this work to others (s36). I am likely to continue to work as a seafarer (s42).

Appendix 16

Problematizing the 'Perfect Worker' image of Filipino cruise sector seafarers

Root metaphor assumptions	Views SUPPORTING the assumptions of the 'perfect worker' image	Views REFUTING the assumptions of the 'perfect worker' image
1. Hard-working	<p>Hard work and endurance [Consensus]: We are hardworking and service oriented (s15). We have endured all hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24) including working in long and irregular work hours (s44).</p> <p>Outstanding service: I seek to deliver an outstanding service for our guests as precisely and faultlessly as possible, right down to the smallest detail (s32, Good-fit and Troubled).</p>	
2. Happy and Nice	<p>Emotional labour: We are pleasant to guests even when they are rude (s27, Consensus).</p>	
3. Family oriented	<p>Importance of family: The family we are supporting is the reason why we continue to work on the ship (s4, Consensus). Supporting the family is the main reason I continue to work on the ship (s4). For them, I am ready to endure all the hardships that come with a cruise ship job (s24). With this in mind, saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39).</p>	
4. Flexible	<p>Trust: There are people whom I can fully trust (s7, Consensus).</p> <p>Analytic competence: I more or less, understand the common traits of my fellow crew members of other nationalities (s8, Professional).</p> <p>Emotional competence: I have no clear preference on who to work with, Filipino or otherwise (s9, Ambivalent).</p> <p>Strong communicative facility: I learned how to converse in</p>	<p>Weak analytic competence: I am still learning to grasp the differences in beliefs and practices of other nationalities I have worked with (s8, Good-Fit, Troubled and Ambivalent).</p> <p>Weak emotional competence: Given a choice I would prefer to work with fellow Filipinos over other nationalities (s9, Good-fit, Troubled, Professional).</p>

Root metaphor assumptions	Views SUPPORTING the assumptions of the 'perfect worker' image	Views REFUTING the assumptions of the 'perfect worker' image
	different languages because of my cruise ship job (s35, Good-fit, Troubled, Professional).	<p>Weak communicative facility: Despite working on a cruise ship, I am not confident in my ability to converse in different languages. (s35, Ambivalent)</p> <p>Low Flexibility: I am unable to quickly fix any misunderstanding I have with workmates of other nationalities (s11, Troubled and Ambivalent).</p>
5. Subservient	<p>Understanding of others: We did our best to be understanding of others to avoid conflict (s30, Consensus).</p> <p>Compliance to rules [I]: I have no difficulty obeying the policies and rules the company implements whilst on-board (s40, Good-fit, Troubled, and Professional).</p> <p>Identification with company [Good-fit, Professional and Ambivalent]: I am proud of my cruise principal (s17). I would recommend to others working on a cruise ship (s36).</p> <p>Organisational satisfaction, commitment to occupation [Professional and Ambivalent]: The cruise company values and recognises the service I provide (s18). I will remain as seafarer in the long-term (s43).</p> <p>Job centrality: For me, my job is the most important part of life (s45, Professional).</p>	<p>Vocal, not timid [Consensus]: If we have a choice we will shorten the length of standard work contracts Should we have enough savings (s39) we will choose to retire early (s2).</p> <p>Weak organisational identification [Troubled]: I am reluctant to say that I am proud that I am working for this cruise company (principal) (s17). I do not feel my contribution is valued and recognized (s18). I would not recommend to others working on a cruise ship (s36).</p> <p>Jobs' non-centrality: My cruise ship job is not the most important part of my life (s45, Good-fit).</p>

Appendix 17

ProblematISING the 'Dream Job' image of cruise ship employment

Root metaphor assumptions	Views SUPPORTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment	Views REFUTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment
1. Glamorous job		
'luxurious work and life'	<p>Good company [Consensus]: We can say that we are happy with our current crewing agency. (s21) The cruise company I am currently working for takes care of seafarers' welfare (s19)</p> <p>Suitable work environment [Consensus]: When I am on the ship I do not feel that all my actions and behaviour are under surveillance (s37). My work-life on-board is similar to what I expected (s26). Ship is not like a prison (s48, Professional). Our on-board accommodation is suitable for our needs (s29, Good-fit and Professional)</p> <p>Safe workplace: Our life on-board is generally safe from risk of accident (s34, Good-fit and Professional). Female workers are unlikely to experience sexual advances when working on-board (s6, Good-fit, Professional, and Ambivalent). Whilst on-board, I have remained faithful to my partner despite distance (s5, Professional)</p> <p>Good workplace relations. [Good-fit, Professional and Ambivalent] My co-workers regard me as their equal (s20). The officers try their best to make the employees feel that we are one family on the ship (s22, Professional and Ambivalents). My co-workers who are easy to get along with (s16, Good-fit). My immediate supervisor is easy to work with (s23,</p>	<p>Distance. Homesickness on-board can be prevented by constantly communicating with loved ones (s3, Consensus).</p> <p>Poor work environment. Our life on-board is always at risk of accident (s34, Troubled and Ambivalent). Our accommodation on-board does not fit needs (s29, Troubled).</p> <p>Risky workplace. Female workers often receive unwanted sexual advances from male workers when on-board (s6, Troubled). Married or not, it is common to be tempted while on-board (s5, Ambivalent).</p> <p>Poor workplace relations. I have co-workers who are difficult to work with (s16, Troubled and Ambivalent). Some of my co-workers hold me in low regard (s20, Troubled). Over the years, there are no workmates of other nationalities whom I can call true friends (s13, Ambivalent).</p>

Root metaphor assumptions	Views SUPPORTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment	Views REFUTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment
	Professional). There are workmates of other nationalities whom I can call true friends (s13, Troubled and Professional).	
'minimal effort'	<p>Accessibility of the job. I find it easy to complete certifications, clearances, training and other requirements needed before the start of any contract (s12, Good-fit and Professional).</p> <p>Manageable job demands. I did not experience extreme physical and mental tiredness in the performance of my cruise ship job (s28, Professional). In my line of work, I am given leeway for error at tasks (s32, Ambivalent)</p>	<p>Inaccessibility of the job. I am uncertain if many can be fit for the seafaring job (s25, Ambivalent). I feel burdened by certifications, clearances, training and other requirements needed before the start of any contract (s12, Troubled).</p> <p>Heavy job demands. It is in the performance of my cruise ship job that I experienced the most extreme physical and mental tiredness (s28, Good-fit, Troubled and Ambivalent). In my line of work it is important to be precise and faultless right down to the smallest detail (s32, Good-fit and Troubled).</p>
2. Opportunity for global travel	<p>Cruise ship job as an aspiration. Right from the very start it is my ambition to work on a ship (s33, Good-fit and Ambivalent)</p> <p>Travelling as a motivation. The chance to travel to other countries is the primary reason that I work on a ship (s38, Good-fit). My view of life has widened as a result of visiting different places (s46, Good-fit, Troubled, Professional)</p>	<p>Non-material motivation. It is not my ambition to work on a ship (s33, Troubled). The chance to travel to other countries is not the primary reason that I work on a ship. (s38, Troubled and Ambivalent).</p> <p>Unimpressed with travel opportunity. Even though I have visited different places around the world, I cannot say that view of life has widened. (s46, Ambivalent)</p>
3. Good income		
'competitive salary'	<p>Material benefits. [Consensus] The family I am supporting is the reason why I continue to work on a ship. (s4) Saving for a dream or a project is a main priority of every contract I have (s39). I make sure I bring presents to family members and friends at end of every contract. (s14, Good-fit). I can manage my spending when off contract (s41, Good-fit and Professional).</p>	<p>Income dissatisfaction. The income I receive from my cruise job is not commensurate with the volume and weight of the work I do (s42, Good-fit and Troubled). This job is not enjoyable without income (s47, Good-fit, Troubled, Ambivalent). All income of a seafarer is quickly lost when on vacation—all money goes out,</p>

Root metaphor assumptions	Views SUPPORTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment	Views REFUTING the assumptions of the 'dream job' image of cruise ship employment
	<p>Reliance on remittance. My family has no other income sources aside from what I earn as a seafarer (s1, Troubled and Ambivalent).</p>	<p>nothing comes in (s41, Troubled and Ambivalent).</p> <p>Good economic standing: My family has other income sources aside from what I earn as a seafarer (s1, Good-fit and Professional). My job is not necessarily the most important part of life (s45, Good-fit).</p>
'career'	<p>Career progression. On the ship every person has an equal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10, Professional and Ambivalent). The cruise company values and recognises the service I provide (s18, Professional and Ambivalent)</p>	<p>Slow career progression. On the ship there is unequal chance of being promoted and rise up the career ladder (s10, Troubled and Good-fit). I do not feel my service is valued by company (s18, Troubled and Ambivalent)</p>

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