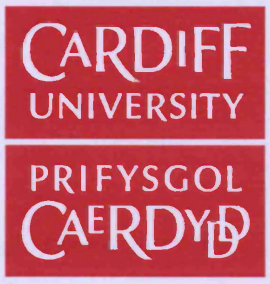
Women Seafarers and their Identities



Momoko Kitada

School of Social Sciences

Cardiff University

Prifysgol Caerdydd

This thesis is presented to Cardiff University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2010

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Declaration

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed ..... 北田 桃子 ..... (candidate)

Date ..... 14/12/10 .....

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

Signed ..... 北田 桃子 ..... (candidate)

Date ..... 14/12/10 .....

STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.
Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

Signed ..... 北田 桃子 ..... (candidate)

Date ..... 14/12/10 .....

STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed ..... 北田 桃子 ..... (candidate)

Date ..... 14/12/10 .....

Acknowledgements

This PhD project was part of the SIRC-Nippon Fellowship programme, sponsored by the Nippon Foundation. The Nippon Foundation (Tokyo, Japan) has been enthusiastically working on maritime affairs since 1962, and their spirit of *"The World is one family; all mankind are brothers and sisters"* lives on in my thesis, wishing seafarers' equality and peace at work. I extend my special thanks to the Nippon Foundation for their generous sponsorship which has provided me with this wonderful opportunity in the UK.

This thesis, "Women Seafarers and their Identities", is dedicated to all women seafarers who are working in the male-dominated environment. I would like to particularly thank those who participated in this project and shared their experience and views on identity management between ship and shore. My interviewees were diverse in terms of their charming characters, and they never ceased to amaze me throughout this research project. Many of these informants were discovered through key personnel in the countries of my fieldwork and I thank those who kindly helped me in the data collection process.

My supervisors, Professors Helen Sampson and Teresa Rees, have patiently guided me to present level of knowledge about women seafarers' identity management. I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to these two guiding stars, who were my lifeline in navigating this thesis to its final port.

My sincere appreciation is reserved for Professor Clara Greed and Dr Jane Salisbury, the examiners of this PhD dissertation. Thank you for your encouragement and feedbacks about this piece of work.

I was fortunate enough to receive endless help and expertise from the SIRC staff as well

as my colleagues (the Nippon Fellows). I thank all of them, but in particular I owe, Dr Lijun Tang, Dr Syamantak Bhattacharya (and his wife, Susmita), Dr Victor Gekara (and his wife, Yvonne), Mr Lin Li (and his wife, Xu) and Ms Priscilla Leong for their 'everyday' support and 'personal' care. I thank my best friends in Cardiff, Dr Christine Mady, Mrs Iveta Evans and Ms Kate Jones, who were pillars of emotional support. To an amazing couple of Doctors, Vincent Knight and Zoë Prytherch, who kindly allowed me, Taisei and Emiko to stay in their house during my last three months in Cardiff. They welcomed us as a family and made us really at home – thank you very, very much.

My network of people, both inside and outside the UK, have supported me and provided encouragement throughout this journey. I thank all the staff at the Japanese Shipowners' Association (JSA), London who occasionally invited me to their gatherings and treated me as part of the family. Captain Koichi Akatsuka has rendered me generous assistance since I first met him when he was still working as a Director of JSA, thank you. I owe my great professor from Kobe University, Japan, Professor Kinzo Inoue, has provided continuous emotional support since I moved from his research laboratory to Cardiff University. Professor Takeshi Nakazawa, of the World Maritime University (WMU), Sweden, has also encouraged me with greatly appreciated useful advice. My special thanks remain to the former Secretariat, Mr Hisashi Yamamoto and the Coordinator, Ms Etsuko Komatsu, of the International Association of Maritime Universities (IAMU) for their kind support.

Finally, I admit that this PhD project would not be completed without the everyday help from my own family. My mother, Emiko, has visited me twice, for eight months in total, in order to assist her daughter's study as well as helping with her first grandchild's daily care. She witnessed the most difficult part of my PhD life, before and after having a baby. Special gratitude goes to my seafaring husband, Naohiro, for his love, understanding and patience. I am immensely proud of him and appreciate his acceptance of me, as I am and providing the emotional and financial support needed

during my studies. Cardiff has become a very special place for me and my husband, as our first child, Taisei, was born here. This little "person" has also encouraged me so much to complete this project and I have seen him grown as my thesis progressed. Thanks to my family I was also able to develop my own identity from a single woman, to a wife and now a mother during my engagement in research into women seafarers' identities.

Many thanks to all,

Momoko Kitada, 2010

Abstract

This study explores how women seafarers' identities are affected by their work. For a long time seafaring has been a male-dominated profession all over the world. However, due to market factors relating to a shortage of ship officers and to factors relating to their strategic promotion within the labour market, women seafarers have recently drawn more attention. Despite this economic and political trend, there is very little research about women's experience of seafaring, which is why I believe my study on this population is important and can contribute new knowledge to this area of research.

The seafaring profession is highly mobile which allows seafarers to regularly move between ship and shore. These two spaces may have different gender norms and values which could pose a number of challenges for women seafarers in managing their identities. This research, therefore, begins by shedding light on the occupational culture of seafaring using the accounts of both male and female seafarers. Within the wider framework of gender identity issues of female workers in male-dominated professions, this study explores how women seafarers' identity management is affected by the occupational culture.

The research employs qualitative feminist methods, particularly in-depth interviews, in order to examine the identity management strategies of women seafarers. The analysis then focuses on patterns of identity management strategies: how women changed strategies chronologically as well as multi-dimensionally (e.g. across space as well as time). The project concludes with several suggestions for future research. The findings of this study emphasise the need to increase the employment of women seafarers in the industry in order to improve living conditions of life on board for both male and female seafarers.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii
ABSTRACT vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS vii
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xiii

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction 1

1.1. About this thesis 1
1.2. Women seafarers – historical background and statistics 3
1.3. Structure of the thesis 10

CHAPTER TWO
'She' in Distress – In the Gales of a Man's World 12

2.1. Introduction 12
2.2. Why gender matters 12
Gender roles and patriarchy 14
Gender segregation 16
2.3. Cultural impact in gender studies 18
Occupational cultures 21
Seafaring culture and gender 22
2.4. Understanding identities 24
Questioning identity 24
Multiplicity of identities 26
Fluidity of identities 27
2.5. Other gendered occupations and identity issues 28
Negotiating gender boundaries at work 29
Acquiring different personalities 31
2.6. Identity management strategies 32
"Assimilation" – masculine strategies 34
"Self-redefinition" – feminine strategies 35
Sameness and difference strategies 36
Confusion of switching identities 37
2.7. Summing-up and locating my study 39

CHAPTER THREE
Researching Gender, Work and Culture 41

3.1. Introduction 41
3.2. Qualitative feminist research 42
3.3. Knowledge – women's studies 46
3.4. Research questions and operationalising the concepts 49
The research methods 50
The research design 52
3.5. The research process – data collection and analysis 54
Recruitment of women seafarers 54
Keeping a research diary 59
Interviewing in depth 59
Analysing the data 61
Flexibility of the research design 63
3.6. Challenges, limitations and ethical considerations 65
3.7. Summing-up 68

CHAPTER FOUR
A Voyage of Discovering Self – Women Seafarers' Identities 73

4.1. Introduction 73
4.2. The ship is our life 73
It's a small world 74
It's male culture 75
It's a way of life 78
It's home, it's my ship 80
4.3. Happy me or Hated me? 81
Hello, women, welcome on board! 81
Go home and marry a rich man! 83
4.4. Altering "personality" 87
Moulding into the seafaring culture 87
"It's not my way – I am still a woman" 89
"I am a person" 91
4.5. Switching the roles 92
"Be your own man" – back to the ship 93
"A double identity" – back to the shore 94
4.6. Summing-up 97

CHAPTER FIVE
'Survival' in a Sea of Men – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While on Board 98

5.1. Introduction 98

5.2. Four distinctive identity management groups 98
5.3. Entering a shipboard community 105
Wider T-shirt and baggy overalls 105
Woman "overboard" – be strong and tough 108
One of the boys 110
Crafting my own femininity 111
Feeling like a girl 114
Masking true self 116
I am the same everywhere 118
Flying out of the cage 120
Be my baby 123
5.4. Summing-up 125

CHAPTER SIX
From the Beast to the Beauty – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While Ashore ... 127

6.1. Introduction 127
6.2. Arriving in port – crossing the border between ship and shore 128
"It's time to use my make-up kit!" 128
6.3. Returning to the shore-side community for vacation 131
Mini-skirts and high-heels 131
Unpredictable women 133
Tomboys 134
"I don't know how to dance!" 136
"I am not exactly a mother" 138
Giving up marriage and family 142
Belonging to both camps 145
6.4. Immigrating into shore culture 147
Climbing again from the bottom 147
Re-learning to be a woman 149
Creation of femininity 150
6.5. Summing-up 151

CHAPTER SEVEN
A Gift from the Sea – The Crafting of Selves 154

7.1. Introduction 154
7.2. Ships changed my life 154
The sea is tougher than the shore 155
Susceptible women seafarers 159
(i) "Asylum-seekers" – the maintenance of femininity 160
(ii) "Activating a switchboard" – between masculine and feminine identities 161
(iii) "Being trapped" – always under pressure 162

(iv) "Holding my ship on course" – women who are less influenced by the culture ... 163
Close-up of identity management strategies ... 166
7.3. Shifting and changing over time ... 169
Modelling identity management shifts ... 170
(i) 'Forwards' and 'Backwards' flows ... 172
(ii) Hopping, stepping and jumping between strategies ... 173
(iii) Common patterns of changing strategies ... 176
(iv) Assessing changes between strategies ... 179
Growing selves – frequency of changing strategies ... 181
No-one stayed the same ... 183
7.4. Summing-up ... 183

CHAPTER EIGHT
Changing Code of Signals – Multiple Identity Management ... 185

8.1. Introduction ... 185
8.2. Coping with cultural difference ... 185
8.3. Juggling various strategies while at sea ... 188
8.4. Filling the emotional gap of self while ashore ... 193
8.5. Situation awareness and multiple identity management ... 198
8.6. Summing-up ... 199

CHAPTER NINE
Conclusions ... 201

9.1. Introduction ... 201
9.2. Connecting the new knowledge to the literature ... 202
The impact of the occupational culture of seafaring ... 202
Various cards to play ... 204
Keep on, move on ... 206
Becoming a different person ... 206
Double identity management ... 207
Combining multiple methods ... 209
9.3. Gender management in male-dominated occupations ... 210
Why do women need a strategy? ... 210
Less feminine, more masculine ... 211
Femininity can be a weapon ... 213
Dilemma of identity management ... 215
Never let femininity go ... 216
Transitions between ship and shore ... 217
9.4. Analytical challenges and achievements ... 218
9.5. Limitations and significance of this research ... 220
9.6. Discussion of feminist research ... 224

Feminist challenge 224
Benefits of contemporary feminism 225
9.7. Suggestions for future research 226
9.8. Conclusions for the maritime industries 227

BIBLIOGRAPHY 229

APPENDICES 242

Appendix One: A Typical Merchant Cargo Ship's Hierarchy 242
Appendix Two: Research Access Letter 245
Appendix Three: Research Participant Information Leaflet 246
Appendix Four: Research Informed Consent Form 248
Appendix Five: Ethics Committee Approval Letter 249
Appendix Six: Interview Guide 250
Appendix Seven: Interview Quotes 255
Appendix Eight: Brief Biographies of the Participants 259
Appendix Nine: Data Analysis 266
Appendix Ten: The List of Presentations 268

List of Tables and Figures

Table 3-A: Female participants in this research, *n*=36 56

Table 3-B: Male participants in this research, *n*=8 58

Table 3-C: Examples of themes and sub-themes..... 72

Table 5-A: Women seafarers' "ideal-typical" identity management strategies 102

Table 5-B: Vignettes of each ideal-typical behaviour and attitudes of women seafarers 103

Table 7-A: The relationships from one identity management group to the other 180

Figure 7-1: Ideal-types of women seafarers' identity management while at sea (*n*=36) 157

Figure 7-2: Ideal-types of women seafarers' identity management while ashore (*n*=36) .. 157

Figure 7-3: Utilised identity management strategies by space 167

Figure 7-4: Basic model of the vectoral flows of women seafarers' identity management shifts 171

List of Abbreviations

BIMCO	Baltic and International Maritime Council
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMO	International Maritime Organization
ISF	International Shipping Federation
ITF	International Transport Workers' Federation
SIRC	Seafarers International Research Centre
SOCSI	School of Social Sciences (in Cardiff University)
WAVES	Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services (in the Navy)
WISTA	Women's International Shipping & Trading Association

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. About this thesis

The focus of this thesis is women seafarers' identity management and the impact that the occupational culture of seafaring has upon their identities. In particular, the study examines what kind of identity management strategies are utilised by women in order to cope with gender-related issues both on board and ashore. The analysis attempts to find patterns within women seafarers' identity management strategies, especially how they may have changed strategies in chronological and multi-dimensional processes. In order to develop this analysis, I have used "ideal-type" categories, which allow me to explore patterns of identity management. The analyses and discussions are developed within the wider framework of gender identity issues of female workers in male-dominated occupations.

Seafaring is an extreme example of a male-dominated profession. Indeed, for many years women were almost totally excluded from all seafaring occupations. Apart from as wives of high-ranking officers or disguised as men, women were rarely seen on board merchant cargo ships. Recently, the International Maritime Organization (IMO) has led campaigns promoting the recruitment of women seafarers and the shortage of officers has encouraged more employers to recruit women to work on board. The population of women seafarers, however, is still small, estimated at only one or two percent of the total work force of seafarers (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). There are a number of issues relating to women seafarers which have not yet been explored. This thesis focuses on how the occupational culture of seafaring impacts upon women seafarers' identities and the ways in which they cope with identity management both at sea and

ashore.

The inspiration for this research came originally from my awareness of the lack of research into the personal aspects of women seafarers' lives. Although one report highlighted sexual harassment and discrimination women seafarers receive from their male colleagues (Belcher *et al.* 2003), it focused on social aspects of their lives rather than personal issues. In addition, it only paid attention to shipboard activities within the job, and the link between ship life and shore life has not been studied hitherto. Furthermore, my own position as a former woman seafarer provoked much thought and concern about this issue. Hence, unlike most studies in this area, attention in this research is given to the experiences of women seafarers in terms of the strategies they use to manage their identities on board and ashore, and involves an exploration of the ways in which women seafarers' identities are affected by their work.

The occupational culture of seafaring has been described from masculine perspectives for many years. As a former woman seafarer, I think that certain aspects of life on a ship are illustrative of masculine norms and values. For example, the design of ships is informed by the assumption that seafarers are men. I am five feet and six inches tall, the equivalent of a short or medium sized man; therefore I could reach most of the places on board. One of my female colleagues, however, was less than five feet and found some tasks difficult. For example, she could not place the ships' flags where they were stored on the shelves as they were attached to the ceiling of the navigation bridge. The design of space, therefore, reflects an assumption that the environment of the ship is a male territory.

In addition to such physical shocks when entering ship culture, to our surprise my female colleagues and I experienced a mental culture shock when leaving the ship. When embarking a ship, we were prepared to behave as seafarers and it was a relatively easy transition. On the other hand, when disembarking for either a half-day shore leave or a couple of months' vacation, we often felt as if we were different species of

"women" while ashore. *Normal* "women" who we saw on the streets, in department stores, and in cafés, dressed decently, used beautiful make-up, and smiled more than us. These women seemed to enjoy their lives as "women", compared to us, who had become accustomed to being dressed in working clothes (often a boiler suit or similar), going without make-up and generally de-feminising our appearance. This shock hit us every time we left the small ship-based culture for the larger shore-based culture.

While ships have been overwhelmingly dominated by men for hundreds of years, it is problematic to make assumptions about seafaring culture using such 'man-made' knowledge. Hence, this research first examines the occupational culture of seafaring through both male and female seafarers' own words and interpretations, before exploring the relationship between the work culture and women seafarers' identity management.

The study mainly utilised qualitative feminist methods of in-depth interviews in order to explore the experiences of women seafarers. The participants in the research included women seafarers of various nationalities, age groups and job ranks. The sample of women seafarers was mainly drawn from European countries (and included a few women from Japan and an African country); the participants were deck officers, engineers or radio officers between nineteen and fifty-four years old. The analysis was undertaken with an awareness that participants' different social and cultural backgrounds might produce different views and reflections and could affect their responses.

1.2. Women seafarers – historical background and statistics

The term 'women seafarers' may carry different images of women at sea depending on what kinds of sailing crafts are concerned, for example, Navy women (warships), female officers/engineers (merchant cargo vessels), fisherwomen (fishing boats), and

female crews (sailing yachts and cruisers). With such a diversity of seafaring women, this research focuses on those women working in the operational sections of merchant cargo ships (i.e. on deck or in the engine and radio departments). Women seafarers in this study, on a typical merchant cargo vessel, tend to find themselves the only female among fifteen males or more working at sea for several months.

The history of women seafarers is sparsely covered in literature. There are a few documented cases of early women seafarers on merchant ships around the 19th century, for example, Mary Ann Arnold[1] and Ellen Watts[2]. However, most of the earliest records about women seafarers are those who served on warships, including female pirates, such as Anne Bonny (Cordingly, 2002).

Several Navy women's biographies highlight the significance of women on board during the Age of Sail. In the eighteenth century, a famous Navy woman, Hannah Snell, dressed like a man for four and a half years but later revealed her true gender. At twenty-seven, she became a celebrity and entertained audiences with her singing at a theatre in North London (Cordingly, 2002:77-85). Mary Ann Talbot also became famous for her adventures at sea, but she was not as successful as Snell (pp.85-9). The black, married able sea(wo)man, 'William Brown' (real name unknown) was renowned for her distinctive talent and sea(wo)manship and became a Captain of the foretop on one of the largest ships in the Royal Navy (pp.62-3). Mary Lacy pretended to be a man called 'William Cavendish' and joined a 90-gun ship as a carpenter's servant and later worked in the dockyard. Although early literature about Navy women included many fictional stories, Stark (1996) identified twenty examples of women seafarers in the Royal Navy between 1650 and 1815, and most (excepting two) seemed to be "genuine".

These women are probably just a few of the anonymous Navy women around the period,

[1] The Charter on 29th December 1839.

[2] Freeman's Journal on 24th July 1841.

because the only ones we know about today are those who disclosed their true gender and talked openly about it in public. There might well have been many more women who cross-dressed and lived at sea. Some might have been wounded or killed without being identified as women. In addition, whether fictional or non-fictional, stories of outstanding Navy women continued to fascinate the public. Women seafarers gained popularity and respect and were treated as heroines. These male-looking Navy women also went to bars ashore with other male seafarers and socialised as if they were men (Cordingly, 2002:54-62). However, even though their lives were sensationalised, they were successful in remaining at sea only because they concealed their feminine identity and acted like men.

Employing women in the Navy became common in various parts of the world in the twentieth century. Quoting records from 1930, for example, Aggrey (2000) notes that Russia made good use of women seafarers. When World War II started, some women radio officers served on the Allied ships although in the United States women were excluded from certain military jobs, for example, working at sea, or in combat in the air or on land. Permanent positions in the US military, however, became open to women after the Armed Services Integration Act of 1948. Unlike the US Air Force, where women have been fully integrated into the high-technology sector, the US Navy has a more traditional structure despite its own high-technology base (Segal and Segal, 1983: 255). And today, Iskra (2007:220) points out that, although American women are now at the forefront of combat at sea, they are still excluded from permanent assignment to submarines. She considers submarine culture in the United States to be outdated since women serve on submarines in other countries, such as Australia, Canada, Norway, and Sweden (see also Pettersson *et al.*, 2008; Winslow and Dunn, 2002).

The increasing number of women seafarers on merchant cargo ships reflect a broader trend of more women entering traditionally male-dominated professions. From the beginning of the twentieth century, more women have been recruited to the merchant navy, mostly on cruise/passenger ships. These women did not generally work in the

marine department of vessels and worked mostly in the service sectors (e.g. hotel and catering sections). Wu (2005) reports that 19% of the cruise seafarers in his study were women: the highest proportion worked in guest services (34%), followed by the cabin department (23%), bar and food section (20%), "other" departments (mainly concessionaire) (17%), and galley (4%). Fewer than 2% of women were in marine sections, where navigation or engineering operations take place. His research reveals that women workers on cruise ships are under-represented at senior levels in both absolute (number) and relative (percent) terms. There are fewer women seafarers working in ship-operational sections (i.e. on deck or in the engine and radio departments) than in the service sectors on cruise vessels. Hence, it is necessary to consider these two groups of women seafarers separately in terms of the degree of male-dominance in their workplaces.

Generally, data about the number of women seafarers on merchant ships are scarce. Only an estimation could be made by IMO in 1992, when it considered the under-utilised resource of women, who represent just one to two percent of the world's 1.25 million seafarers. In the post-war era, Scandinavian countries tended to recruit more women on ships than other countries. An ILO-commissioned study of women seafarers (see Belcher *et al.*, 2003) found that Sweden was the top supplier of women seafarers, who represented 23.3 percent of the Swedish maritime workforce in 1997. In other Scandinavian countries, such as Denmark (1997) and Norway (2001), women were reported to constitute more than 10 percent of the total seafarers' population: This contrasts with only 8.3 percent in the UK (2000), 4.2 percent in Germany (2001), and 1.2 percent in Italy (1998). Fairplay[3] reported that in 1988 only three out of 43,000 seafarers registered in India were women, and by the end of 2002 the number had only increased to twelve. The largest supplier of seafarers is now the Philippines, where a mere 225 out of 230,000 mariners registered during the period from 1983 to 1990 were women. However, most women seafarers in the Philippines who appeared

[3] Fairplay International Shipping Weekly on 05 February 2004.

in these figures were assigned to the hotel or catering sections, and were considered as ratings. Women's representation in the officer class in the Philippines was even lower; only seven percent of women seafarers held the status of officer.

A report by the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) (2006) reveals that more women joined the seafaring trade union between 1998 and 2004/5 proportionately than men. The figures in 2001 showed an increase of 7.7 percent (from 22,390 to 24,110) compared with only one percent (from 671,587 to 678,474) respectively.

Unfortunately there have not been any regular surveys conducted to monitor women's participation in shipping; therefore the presence of women seafarers remains largely invisible, despite these diverse estimates and figures. Nevertheless, women seafarers have recently been attracting much more attention than ever before partly due to political movements and their strategic promotion as workers, and partly due to market forces and an associated shortage of ship officers. The political factor relates to worldwide trends of promoting women. For example, following the United Nation's promotion of women's employment in the late 1970s, the IMO implemented the program 'Women in Development' in 1988. Market forces have been a more recent factor because in recent years, there has been a critical shortage of seafaring labour, particularly officers. The Baltic and International Maritime Council (BIMCO) and the International Shipping Federation (ISF) reported in 2005 that the shipping industry as a whole would face a serious shortage of labour. For example, by 2015, a 5.9 percent shortfall was estimated, which corresponds to 27,000 officers. Accordingly, entry to maritime academies and universities has become more open to women than ever before (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Nevertheless, the status of women seafarers may not necessarily be improved "significantly".

Despite the trend to employ more women in onboard jobs, the literature about women's sea experience is scarce. Only a few international studies have been conducted on women seafarers on merchant vessels (Aggrey, 2000; Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Although

some research studies on women seafarers have been published in other languages, for example, in Swedish (Kaijser, 2005), many issues relating to their lives and experiences remain unknown.

This should not, however, be misunderstood to mean that there is no history of women at sea. Rather, it would suggest that women have rarely participated in seafaring and their presence has been substantially overlooked within accounts of the male-oriented culture of the seas. There are some publications from the early eighteenth century in the UK about woman sailors, for example the fictional Lucy Brewer and Almira Paul, who disguised themselves as men for years with her hair tied up and breasts bandaged (Cordingly, 2002). Today, to join the shipping industry (or Navy), women no longer need to wear the mask of a man. However, the seafaring culture seems to retain strong male features just as it did in the eighteenth century.

For example, my strong enthusiasm to study nautical science and become a seafarer was neutered by a Captain who was a professor at the maritime university in Japan. He assumed that in order for women to be happy they needed to marry and raise children. The fact that I was not welcome in the academy even before joining the industry seemed to come from the notion of gender roles and patriarchy, but it did not stop me in my dream to become a seafarer. Such uncomfortable experiences caused by the words of male counterparts are not unique.

In fact, many women seafarers have some experience of being sexually harassed and abused by the words and/or actions of their male colleagues (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Some male seafarers and non-seafarers still believe that women should not be on the ship (Thomas, 2004, 2006). Although they do not have to hide their gender identity any more, women seafarers are still aware of the importance of playing down their femininity in order to overcome or avoid bullying by men, and many women seafarers are annoyed by male assumptions of women's incompetence at work (Belcher *et al.*, 2003).

The history of women seafarers informs us that they have, at times, intentionally utilised male identities to become a member of a crew on ships. There are no data, however, to help us understand what happened to their female identity while they were on board as men. It is also a mystery why some women seafarers revealed their female identity in the end. Where had it been hidden while they behaved as "men" and what convinced them to finally disclose the truth? Whilst this research cannot shed light on these past events, it can consider what happens to the gender identity of women at sea in the contemporary world and how they manage identities to allow them to survive in a male-dominated world of work. Women seafarers may have conflicting identities and these need to be understood through their own words and interpretations.

There are all sorts of ships where women seafarers can be found. Nevertheless, I have chosen large merchant cargo ships (which may be as long as 300 meters) but their crew size be only twenty on an average. I have focused on them for the following reasons:

1. Unlike most ferries and leisure crafts, seafarers on merchant cargo ships are committed to work on board for a long period of time, typically several months at a time, which would not afford them to have a "normal" shore-based life.
2. On merchant cargo ships, cooking and cleaning are not normally undertaken by women. Therefore in effect, there are no 'typically' female roles on board cargo ships. This compares with hotel and catering service sectors on cruise ships and cross-channel ferries etc.
3. The organisational structure on merchant cargo ships is a classic example of a total institution (Chapman, 1992:115).

I am particularly interested in these kinds of ships in order to investigate the ways in which women seafarers in the male-dominated work environment manage their identities (see also Appendix One: 'A Typical Merchant Cargo Ship's Hierarchy').

1.3. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organised into eight broad chapters, with an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter two considers the relevant literature on gender and identity, and provides the background to the research and the platform upon which it is located. It begins by theoretically exploring how gender norms and values are socially and culturally constructed, and how they relate to our understanding of gender roles and patriarchy. This is followed by a discussion about occupational cultures and seafaring. Other sociological and feminist empirical studies of women workers in male-dominated occupations are also reviewed in order to explore issues and problems in relation to gender identities. The chapter then focuses on the literature of gender identity management employed by females and discusses women seafarers and gender identity issues.

Chapter three provides an outline of the research questions, and discusses the methodology and methods employed in this research. The chapter attempts to respond to some of the epistemological questions in qualitative feminist research. The main research questions are presented with three sub-questions. In order to answer these research questions, the research design and methods of data collection and analysis are discussed. The limitations and challenges associated with the research design and fieldwork are considered, as are the ethical issues.

Chapter four presents an overview of interview data from male and female seafarers in relation to how they understand the occupational culture of seafaring. This chapter draws attention to how the seafaring culture reflects masculine norms and values, which may pose various gender-related problems for women. It provides general background information about the reasons why women seafarers tend to feel the need to manage their identities by modifying their behaviour and attitudes.

Chapters five and six, as a set of data analysis chapters, explain the categorisation of

women seafarers' identity management strategies. Chapter five gives an outline of four distinct typologies used in this thesis, and women seafarers' identity management strategies while at sea, whilst chapter six discusses their strategies ashore. Each chapter uses examples of women seafarers' quotes to illustrate their strategies and their feelings about using the strategies.

Chapters seven and eight present further analysis of my interview data in terms of the process of women seafarers' identity management. Chapter seven takes particular interest in how they utilise various identity management strategies over time, and patterns of identity management are explained. Chapter eight looks at how some women seafarers employ more than one identity management strategy in the same space in the same period of time ("multiple identity management").

Chapter nine presents the discussion of the research findings and attempts to combine these with the findings from the literature review in order to address the research questions. The chapter examines how the occupational culture impacts on women seafarers' identity management. In exploring the relationship between seafaring culture and women's identity management, the chapter seeks to theorise how this research could respond to challenges in feminist knowledge in these areas of sociological inquiry.

The final chapter summarises how this thesis has responded to the research questions. It addresses the limitations and the significance of the findings as well as identifying suggestions for future study. The concluding chapter emphasises the key findings from this project and assesses the extent to which the masculine norms and values underlying the occupational culture of seafaring affect women seafarers' identity management.

CHAPTER TWO

'She' in Distress – In the Gales of a Man's World

2.1. Introduction

In the twentieth century, particularly since the 1970s, more women have started to participate in labour markets formerly dominated by men (Adams, 1998). Seafaring, despite being highly traditional and male-dominated, was no exception to this trend, and the shipping industry became increasingly aware of women as a potential source of labour. This chapter examines the literature on gender, and looks in particular at male-dominated environments in which heightened awareness of gender is an issue. This has the potential for a considerable impact upon women's self identity and notions of femininity and masculinity. Therefore, understanding gender is essential to any understanding of women seafarers' experiences. This chapter outlines the subject of gender and identity in wider contexts in relation to occupational cultures. Various identity management strategies that women in male-dominated environments adopt will be explored. This chapter also provides a sociological framework within which to explore women seafarers' experiences and identity issues in relation to gender, national, and occupational culture.

2.2. Why gender matters

The term 'gender' is relatively new in social science and came into popular use among social and cultural anthropologists in the early 1980s (Udry, 1994). Money and Ehrhardt (1972) are regarded as the first authors to propose a differentiation between the words 'gender' and 'sex'. They suggested the term 'sex' should be used to refer to the

biological classification of males and females whilst the term 'gender' should refer to differences in behaviour by sex. Holdstock (1998:61) places more emphasis on the process of gaining the sense of 'gender'. This understanding suggests that gender is "acquired" in the process of learning with the encouragement of parents, peers or teachers, and emphasises the importance of these groups in determining social behaviour. Greed (2005:303) also notes the importance of gender as 'gender should be seen as one of the most important 'minority' categories because it affects the entire population'.

Gender identity has also been discussed among researchers. Diamond (1977:13) explains gender identity as 'the sex, male or female that we feel ourselves to be'. This definition is more specifically given by Bem (1974) who offers several options of gender identity: masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. On the other hand, the term 'sexual identity' refers to sexual orientation, for example, heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual and lesbian (Stacey, 1993) and this should be considered separately from 'gender identity' used in this thesis.

In this research the term 'women seafarers' is used to emphasise two issues. The first is the 'sex' of *female* seafarers. The industry is overwhelmingly male-dominated and women are still treated as a special or unusual case in entering the shipping industry, thus their sex is crucial in this context. The second is the 'gender' of women seafarers. Ships' culture is often regarded as a reflection of masculine norms and values. The pressures and norms of seafaring occupational culture might even "force" women seafarers to acquire masculine ways of behaviour on board in order to succeed or even to "survive" (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). This may impact significantly upon women seafarers' identities both at work and at home.

In this dissertation, the term 'female seafarers' is occasionally employed in order to contrast them as a group with 'male seafarers'. The expression 'female seafarers' may carry nuances of femininity to which I am not necessarily referring. Although the term

'women seafarers' is preferable, the opposite term to 'women seafarers' could be 'men seafarers'. However, this sounds nonsensical because the term 'seafarers' is almost automatically translated into 'male seafarers'. In other words, the word 'seafarers' excludes 'female seafarers' and ignores their existence and presence. This is why I call the female participants 'women seafarers' in order to emphasise their active participation in such a male-dominated industry.

Furthermore, in employing the term 'women seafarers', I do not seek to categorise all women in one homogeneous group, and this study strongly emphasises the great diversity of women, as has been argued elsewhere. For example, Jackson *et al.* explain:

> A major reason why the category 'women' was called into question was that it often served to conceal differences among women. Analyses of the subordination of women had often been framed from the perspective of white, Western, middle-class heterosexual women. Not all women share a similar position, have similar experiences or similar political priorities. (1993:5-6)

Gender roles and patriarchy

The idea of gender roles can be found in many cultures and tends to centre on issues of work and family. The question of how and why gender roles develop and change has been addressed by several scholars. Some sociologists, for example, suggest that the female gender roles are constructed as an opposite to an ideal male role and so helps to perpetuate patriarchy (Delphy, 1984).

The term 'patriarchy' has been adopted within social science to describe 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1990:20). This definition is a little different from the original meaning of patriarchy, which was based on the authority of father over his sons in early societies in

Western Europe (although the relationship between the two meanings is self-evident). It is relevant that the term 'patriarchy' in its original sense can be applied to social relationships aboard single-sex (male) ships. The relationship between the Master (Captain) of a modern-day vessel and "his" crew (the rest of the seafarers) resonates strongly with the idea of an authoritarian father figure whose rule cannot be challenged but who is expected to act in the best interests of those in his "care". Within ship culture, the authority of the Master over the crew is absolute.

On the other hand, the term 'patriarchy' also implies that men's oppression over women in the private sphere is generally extended to include domination outside the home in the realm of the 'public' (Cockburn, 1991). Notions of 'natural roles' within the family, the 'private', are frequently thought to underpin a gendered division of labour within and outside the home (Collinson *et al.*, 1990). In the case of women seafarers, they may be considered as not being fully incorporated into a patriarchal system on a daily basis because of their absence from home. This assumption, however, may not be correct since the notion of patriarchy can also be observed outside the home. Therefore, as long as their onboard and on-shore environments are possibly influenced by patriarchal mechanisms, patriarchy and its potential impact upon women seafarers should not be ignored.

Unlike traditional gender roles, which establish clear distinctions between masculine and feminine, contemporary society seems to accept a greater diversity of different male or female gender roles and blurs some of the clear distinctions between masculinity and femininity. Yet, patriarchy still persists. This problem has been observed in various parts of our lives, and Salisbury and Riddell (2000:307) discuss it primarily in the context of education: 'gender relations, both within and outwith the sphere of education, have in some respects, changed radically and in other ways not at all'. Since women's domestic roles have barely changed, many of them have a "double burden" of child care and work (Rees, 1992). If their partners were contributing equally to child care, perhaps this would not be the case and women would have no reason for suffering from

associated "guilt". But in fact, many women are reluctant to get a job, even if offered one, because of their children and family (Marshall, 1995). Visible and invisible gender roles can become affirmative conditions for the existence of patriarchy, politically and economically. The assumption that women are in a subordinate position has shaped the labour market and wage structures (Pateman, 1988), and this has altered their relationship with 'the state' for example, in relation to taxation and social policy.

The relationship between a breadwinner and a homemaker will affect people's way of thinking and control behaviour and manners against the opposite position. Where roles are reversed and men are unemployed and reliant upon the wages of women, research indicates that they often fail to thrive and may become depressed and unwell (Jump and Haas, 1987). This does not apply to women seafarers because they are breadwinners. Thus, this could make an impact on shaping their identities and their way of thinking as well as on the ways in which they are understood and seen by their partners, families and friends.

Gender segregation

The division of labour has been thought of as a common problem, particularly for women, in Western economies. Understanding the maintenance of gender segregation at work is central to explaining the sexual division of labour (Walby, 1988). Gender segregation is often categorised in different forms: vertical and horizontal segregations (Cockburn, 1991; Crompton, 1988; Hakim, 1979) and contractual segregation (Rusconi and Solga, 2008).

Vertical gender segregation can be observed in jobs which accept women but in assistant roles to male "managers". Furthermore, this structure of men at the top and

women at the bottom remains for the rest of their career. Some feminists argue that even though both men and women are assigned to the same rank within the organisation at the first stage of work, men will possibly be promoted faster than women or women may not be promoted in the real world (Hearn *et al.*, 1989; Powell and Graves, 2002). This has been evident among politicians (Cohen, 1979; Krook and Childs, 2010), lawyers (Coffey and Walker, 2009; Spencer and Podmore, 1986, 1987), doctors (Allen, 1988; Kilminster *et al.*, 2007), professors and teachers in higher education (Hampton, 1982; Monroe and Chiu, 2010), and other higher educated and qualified jobs.

Horizontal gender segregation refers to occupations where one sex numerically dominates the working population, while the other sex is excluded (see '2.5 Other "gendered" occupations and identity issues'). Seafaring is a good example as women represent at only one or two percent of the total seafaring population (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Women's entry into male-dominated jobs is considered as part of "feminisation" from the viewpoint of masculine culture (Webster, 1996). Women seafarers in this position may also be considered to be "invading" male territories.

Various social scientists have attempted to explain why and how gender segregation is socially constructed in relation to patriarchy and gender roles. In many cultures, women's role at home prioritises taking care of husband and rearing children. Brannen and Moss explain:

> Dominant ideologies about motherhood emphasise women's primary responsibility for children and remain highly ambivalent about women with very young children having full-time jobs...Fathers did not equally share childcare or other domestic tasks, nor did they accept equal responsibility for these areas...Many women who returned to work experienced hostile attitudes from relatives, friends and work colleagues...women were forced by circumstances to rely largely on personal solutions to the demands and tensions of managing the dual earner lifestyle, which fell largely upon them. (1991:251-252)

Whilst such issues relating to the balance between family responsibilities and work are

of tremendous significance for all women, for women seafarers the tensions between work and home life are all the greater due to the enforced long absences from home. The role of the extended family in certain cultures, for example in West Africa, where it *may* (or may not) be seen acceptable for women to leave children with grandparents for the sake of earning dollars for the greater good of the whole family may be of some significance (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). How far this is true or how far it is the case that across a broad range of cultures contemporary women are torn by a desire or need to both work and take care of young children is an area of focus within the fieldwork underpinning this thesis, where, throughout, issues of gender roles and patriarchy are brought into stark relief.

2.3. Cultural impact in gender studies

The increasing number of women seafarers means that ships are more diverse workplaces than they were in the past. However, this needs to be examined in relation to today's shipping industry which is culturally more heterogeneous environment than in former times as a result of globalisation. Whilst globalisation is a contested norm (Giddens, 1999; Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Saul, 2005), its impact has been observed in the shipping industry (Alderton *et al.*, 2004; Sampson, 2003; Sampson and Schroeder, 2006). Ships are no longer homogeneous communities occupied by single nationality crews. Multinational crewing has become more common in practice worldwide (Alderton *et al.*, 2004). The biggest reason for this phenomenon is the spread of the Flag of Convenience (FOC) system since the late 1960s, allowing ship owners to exploit global differences in regulation and taxation, and increase more flexible crewing (Alderton and Winchester, 2002; DeSombre, 2000). This has enabled many modern ships to accommodate two, three, sometimes even more, different nationalities to work on the same vessel (Sampson and Zhao, 2003). It also implies dynamic geographic movements from home country to others in search of work, as seen with trans-migrant seafarers in northern Germany (Sampson and Schroeder, 2006) and Filipino seafarers in

transnational communities (Sampson, 2003).

It has been rarely discussed how women seafarers are regarded within such mixed cultures aboard ships. Many studies have shown that women are not a homogenous group although their experiences may be shared in similar ways (Thomas, 1999). They indicate that women are still different under the same cultural environment. Even within single nation states, monolithic cultures do not prevail, but several different cultures/subcultures affect gender norms in complex ways.

Williams (1961) defines 'culture' as the 'whole way of life' of a social group as it is structured by representation and by power. It is also 'a network of embedded practices and representations', for example, 'texts, images, talk, codes of behavior, and the narrative structures organizing these' (Frow and Morris, 2000:316). Culture contains complex relationships between various elements of life, which are, of course, diverse. Likewise, women's experiences may vary by culture and cannot be compressed into a single and simplistic form. This applies equally to women seafarers who may come from various cultural backgrounds in terms of geography, religion, ethnicity and politics.

However, the idea of 'difference by culture' is ignored by some feminists who treat white middle class women's experience as representing all women in the world (Amos and Parmar, 1984; Hooks, 1982). Stanley and Wise (1983), for example, emphasise the commonality of women's experiences, allowing research to be "feminist". Wrapping up women's experiences as if all women feel the same way is problematic and may limit our understanding of women and invite misinformation. Cultural diversity and the fact that notions of gender vary by cultural backgrounds should be central to any account of gender in an international or multi-ethnic context. Several comparative studies conducted by Goodwin (1990, 1998), Evaldsson (1993), and Corsaro (1997) showed that children of various cultures differ in their construction of gender and behaviour. Maynard (1994) alerts us to researchers' behaviour in dealing

with gender, because they sometimes attempt to include all the different categories of women to express their opinions. Their excessive stress on women's differences causes bundling every issue together unnecessarily under the category of "difference".

Some scholars emphasise that men and women have different cultures. For example, Michaud and Warner (1997) and Basow and Rubenfeld (2003) develop the idea that in different cultures, men and women have different forms of "troubles talk" and that they should be regarded as members of different communication cultures or speech communities. Women are taught that talk is the primary vehicle through which intimacy and connectedness are established and maintained (Maltz and Borker, 1982). Men, on the other hand, are socialised to regard talk as a mechanism for getting work done, accomplishing instrumental tasks, imparting information, and maintaining status and autonomy (Wood and Inman, 1993). Thus, each gender has preference to its community's own unique style of expressing and communicating emotions and feelings. For instance, when women are trying to express understanding and sympathy, men allegedly perceive it as demeaning or self-focused. Likewise, when men are trying to offer support with respectful and non-assuming manner, women allegedly perceive it as dismissive or belittling. Therefore, each gender feels comfortable in its own style of providing support and prefers members of their own culture as support agents (Wood, 1997).

This view is criticised as a myth by MacGeorge *et al.* (2004) who reveal that gender differences for a variety of communicative behaviours are generally of small magnitude. 'Although men and women exhibit differential skill with respect to the provision of supportive communication, they are not members of different cultures (p.171).' This research into women seafarers does not contribute to the discussions of different cultures for each sex; however, these arguments are worth considering when understanding gender-related problems in the occupational culture of seafaring. For example, the ways in which male and female seafarers think, feel, talk and communicate may present gender difference, which would be useful when examining how women

seafarers adopt identity management strategies within the occupational culture of seafaring.

Occupational cultures

An occupational culture is broadly called a subculture in sociology, and Paoline (2003:2) defines it as 'a product of the various situations and problems which all vocational members confront and to which they equally respond'. Studies of occupational cultures include nurses (Lembright, 1983), teachers (Carlson, 1986; Osam and Balbay, 2004), police (Bellingham, 2000; Goldsmith, 1990), and journalists (Marr *et al.*, 1999). These studies verify that occupational cultures make a huge impact on the values, attitudes, norms, shared issues and problems of the group members, which are developed and transmitted across them. Salacuse (1998) conducted a survey of 310 persons of different nationalities and occupations about their negotiation styles and process. His research appears to support the proposition that culture, occupational background, and gender can influence their negotiating styles. He concluded that professional and occupational culture is as important as national culture in shaping a person's negotiating style and attitudes.

Occupational culture is also frequently discussed in relation to gender, because 'jobs are not gender-neutral' (McDowell, 1999:135). Occupational gender segregation tends to label a job either more suitable for a man or a woman, thus occupational cultures are also characterised either as 'masculine' or 'feminine'. For example, John (1980) discusses women workers in the coal mining industry of South Wales who performed hard and heavy labour which was characterised as "unwomanly" work in the seventeenth century. Brown (1998) and Holdaway and Parker (1998) surveyed police women's experiences and concluded that the male-dominated occupational culture related to the imagery of danger and physical strength, turned the workplaces of

policing into engendered spaces that disadvantaged women police officers. From this viewpoint, occupational culture and gender are closely related.

Dellinger (2002) explored the origins of workers' definitions of appropriate/inappropriate expressions of gender and sexuality at work. This highlights the ways in which organisational cultures, as well as occupational cultures, play a large part in determining notions of gender in unwritten and informal ways. Whilst recognising this and taking it into account in the course of data analysis, my intention is not to dig into organisational culture as such, but to focus upon occupational culture and its impact upon women seafarers. The occupational culture of seafaring contextualises this research to provide an understanding of the ways in which individuals are influenced by entering this specific occupational group. Shaping women seafarers themselves into the occupational culture of seafaring may require a certain adjustment of their gender identities. If any particular patterns of behaviour and attitudes are expected and standardised within the occupational culture of seafaring, especially when it relates to gender norms and values, it may be a good starting point to understanding why, and how, women seafarers manage their gender identities.

Seafaring culture and gender

Seafaring has its own jargon, laws, traditions, and working conditions. For both men and women, joining a ship requires a certain degree of self-adjustment from a shore-based, larger culture to a ship-based, "micro" culture. The process of seafarers' assimilation into their occupational group can be seen in the sociolinguistic theory of 'language code' by Basil Bernstein. He explains how the language people use in everyday communication reflects and shapes the assumptions of a certain social group. Lutz (2003) in writing about her experience as a woman seafarer on a merchant ship refers to her conversation with the Captain when he apologised to her for swearing and

using inappropriate words in front of her. He explained that he uses such language only at sea, never around his wife or mother. Relationships established within the social group affect the way that people in the group uses language, and the type of speech that is used (Bernstein, 1975).

Individuals are less important than work on board ships, and this reflects the ways that seafarers call each other by rank, rather than name, for example, a Captain, chief officer, motorman etc. Seafarers work according to their rank within the ship's hierarchy, and this can encompass and dissolve their individuality. Alderton *et al.* (2004) highlight the hierarchical structure in human relationships on board, both in public and private. This aspect of seafaring culture lies in the very traditional context of ship's culture, even in the new era of globalisation. Ships have tightly retained formal hierarchical structures of rank, which are often inflexible and essential.

Shipboard life is contained, and Goffman (1961)'s theory of a total institution resonates with the seafaring culture (Chapman, 1992:115). A total institution exerts absolute control over seafarers' onboard lives, including their behaviour and language. It also makes their lifestyle on ships extremely routinised and scheduled, allowing little individual freedom. All the shipboard activities are rigidly regulated according to ship's schedules. An onboard "team" must fulfil official goals and the needs of the institution; many restrictions apply and most prohibit privacy. Within the hierarchical structure, a Captain is a "father" over *his* crew in the original rule of patriarchy and this authority controls the total institution of a ship, even in relation to tiny decision making processes. In fact, seafarers are on board for 24 hours a day in their workplace, and they live in a space over which they have no control (e.g. making or choosing their own meals and accommodation). Such extraordinary hyper-penetrating circumstances make the ship a total institution and influence seafarers' values and norms (Goffman, 1961).

Ships as total institutions may limit women seafarers' access to resources that assist

them in maintaining their own female identities. The absence of femininity from a total institutional setting of ships is evident and the hegemony of masculinity is likely to affect women seafarers' lives in various ways. Besides divisions of shipboard spaces and permitted use of facilities strictly by rank, women may be informally excluded or may not feel comfortable in a certain area of ships where particularly male habits (e.g. watching pornographic films, displaying naked women posters on walls) are practised in male seafarers' everyday life.

2.4. Understanding identities

The word 'identity' is popularly used in relation to a multiplicity of sources, for example, race, class, gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion and any other particular communities (Woodward, 1997). In considering gender identities, a personal sense of what is feminine or masculine depends upon each respondent, because a person is the one who determines who she or he is and extracts the individual from the generalised other (Mead, 2003). Therefore this research focuses upon the way in which women seafarers describe themselves in relation to their ideas or concept of gender, for instance, femininity, masculinity or others. This research also attempts to reveal the way of choosing gender identities; how interviewees maintain their original gender identity and how much they retain or lose.

Questioning identity

Clarke *et al.* (2007) considered how people construct their identities, and asked whether we can choose our identity or if it is beyond our control. They found that the notions of identity and community are based in an extremely strong sense of boundary in both physical and mental ways: belonging and not belonging; in-groups and outgroups. An emotional attachment to certain ways of life or to, what they call, "tradition" relates to how people feel they create and maintain their identities. Their study also reveals 'a

strong emphasis on the notion of a shared identity that linked in with the notion of community' where 'people have often created their perceptions of others in their own imagination, which helps them create who *they* are' (p.100).

Identity, recognition of alikeness and disparity between self and others in social interaction, may be a good starting point for understanding women seafarers' identity management. Mary Douglas (1966) argues that cultural order is not stable when things appear in a wrong category or when things fail to fit any category. In such an event, women seafarers may need to question their identities and constantly modify their behaviour if necessary; otherwise, they would be trapped as 'matter of out of place' (Kristeva, 1982). Holly Devor studied fifteen (mostly heterosexual) "gender blending" females whose gender role patterns incorporate the attribution of both the standard feminine and the standard masculine gender roles because of their mixed characteristics. She points out female adults are expected to discard their tomboy behaviour and reproduce their femininity and support patriarchy:

> Before they reached reproductive age, there was no loss to patriarchy in their learning to enjoy masculine pursuits. Once they began to reach adulthood they were expected to leave behind their youthful "tomboyishness" and become feminine adults. A major component of that adult femininity revolved around the requirement that they should be heterosexually active so that they might perform their appointed support roles to men and to patriarchy. (Devor, 1989:103)

Devor explains that women who have developed a masculine type of identity may feel excluded from their local community because of their constant participation in a more male-dominated world. Consequently, women may have pressures to conform to gender stereotypes in relation to feminine appearance and behaviour. Such dilemmas, experienced by masculinised women, may be seen in women seafarers. Because of practical necessity, women seafarers, when being dressed for work and having their hair short or tied back at work, might be misidentified or mislabeled as tomboys or lesbians. Goffman (1963) considered stigmatized individuals who are told that they are members

of a wider society in the same manner as "normal" human beings, but who are still regarded as different to some extent. Such contradiction and challenges of the stigmatized individuals resonate with the politics of women seafarers' identity management in the male-dominated environment. This point will be discussed later in this thesis, with an examination of the ways in which women seafarers perceive and feel about their masculine and feminine attributes in their characters both in the shipboard and shore-side cultures.

Multiplicity of identities

In this research, the term 'identity' may be used in the plural form, emphasising the multiplicity of women seafarers' identities. This allows us to accentuate the diversity of women seafarers and their strategic options to present a particular personality in terms of gender identity management. One of the challenges in feminist research today is not to simply refer one category of women (Butler, 1999).

Multiplicity of identity has had more scholarly attention recently, because the concept of identity is particularly complex in today's multicultural societies (Parekh, 2007). 'It is commonly said that an individual has multiple identities, and that which of these one emphasizes depends on the context' (p.132). Brah (2007:144) also states that 'people will admit that identities are plural' but reification of multiple identities, by addressing 'we have multiple identities', can be problematic. Such a statement implies that 'identities are possessions rather than forms of relationship; also that they are fixed and objective rather than constantly in the making and products of human decisions' (Parekh, 2007:132). Parekh anticipates that the notion of possession of identity may trigger an image that people can somehow transcend all of their multiple identities and have one elusive core of selves. He understands that 'identities do not and cannot passively coexist' because 'they form part of an individual's life and cannot be neatly

compartmentalized' as identities which 'overlap, interact and shape each other' (p.132).

The theory of a dual identity is proposed by the idea that individuals' representations of their multiple group memberships are complex, and overlapping subjectivities between groups are perceived (Hewstone *et al.*, 2007). The idea of multiple identities is also explored in this research. Understanding the ways in which women seafarers utilise identity management strategies will reveal crossover interactions between their multiple identities. For example, Beckwith (1998) attempted to study the identities of working-class women in the coal-mines of South-western Virginia, who supported a strike during the late twentieth century. Their identities, 'working-class' and 'women', are used in the different contexts. While their 'working-class' identity comes from their status of coal-miners, their identity as 'women' is treated as a 'collective identity' which can be seen as 'a negotiated process in which the "we" involved in collective action is elaborated and given meaning' (Gamson, 1992:56-57). The collective identity of these women had been constructed during the process of gathering and fighting against the company on strikes as activists, and this specific political action against authority helped women coal-miners to shape and evoke their collective identity.

Fluidity of identities

The idea that identities are not fixed but fluid (Parekh, 2007) was illustrated by Bradatan *et al.* (2010) who discovered that the social identity of transnational migrants is flexibly defined and redefined according to the audiences. McDowell (1999:134) points out that 'gendered identities are created and recreated at work, rather than individuals entering the labour market with their unchanging gender identity fixed firmly in place'. It is highly unlikely that women seafarers' gender identities are fixed firmly in place without having any impact from masculine norms and values in the occupational culture of seafaring.

Bernstein (1996:79) explains that social identities are 'not necessarily stable positions and shifts can be expected depending upon the possibility of maintaining the discursive or in some cases on the economic base of the identity'. Women seafarers' gender identities are part of their individual identity and on the constant negotiation by its capacity of being changed, reshaped and redefined (Woodward, 1997). This may suggest that women seafarers' gender identities are fluid rather than fixed, and gender identities may be flexibly managed within one's capacity.

2.5. Other gendered occupations and identity issues

Gendered occupations refer to those horizontally segregated jobs occupied predominantly by one sex and excluding the other at the stage of recruitment. Gendered occupations include two extremes: masculine-type and feminine-type of work. Masculine-type careers are represented by, for example, engineers and carpenters (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2005), surveyors and construction workers (Fielden *et al.*, 2001; Greed, 1991), military officers (Suter *et al.*, 2006; Weinstein and White, 1997), politicians (Cohen, 1979; Krook and Childs, 2010), lawyers (Coffey and Walker, 2009; Spencer and Podmore, 1986, 1987), doctors (Allen, 1988; Kilminster *et al.*, 2007), and professors and teachers in higher education (Hampton, 1982; Monroe and Chiu, 2010). Feminine-type jobs often reflect the spheres of domestic labour, for example, cleaning and cooking, caring jobs like nurses (Simpson, 2005), and assisting jobs like secretary (Judd and Oswald, 1997; Lee *et al.*, 2009).

In the case of seafaring, where men are preferred and women rarely accepted as members, there is little academic literature and limited interest in output from other organisations, such as governments' reports and media. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to looking at other gendered occupations to allow us to understand what happens to people in such workplaces and how it impacts on their identity management.

Negotiating gender boundaries at work

Women who enter the male domain of work are likely to encounter various gender-related problems. Weinstein and White (1997: xvii) explain that 'military women are expected to be strong and independent (masculine norms)'. However, while an overly strong and independent manner is problematic, being 'too weak and too dependent on the men (feminine norms)' is viewed as incompetence. Maddock (1999:66) argues that a woman in a male-dominated profession cannot be a 'proper woman' as soon as she behaves as a man. However, she cannot join a group of men if she is a woman. She called this dynamic, where women tend to be trapped by traditional gender cultures, a 'Catch 22' situation. Martin (1980:185-6), who studied police women, also emphasises that women police officers confront a number of dilemmas related to the conflict between the norms of behaviour appropriate for a police officer and those appropriate for women. The "defeminized" policewomen work the same as men under the limited interaction conditions and with little support, although they still remain a 'sex object' and outsider. The "deprofessionalized" policewoman, on the other hand, needs to work as a junior partner and accept receiving men's treatment and exemptions appropriate for being a "lady". Thus, she would not threaten the subcultural solidarity of the men. Her feminine behaviour is, however, categorised as unwillingness or incapability to perform her professional role.

Davis and Thomas (1998), who studied Canadian females in the Army, point out that physical strength and stamina are not issues, because their research suggests that 'when women meet the standards, the standards are questioned, the social and sexual activities of women are scrutinized, women's leadership ability is questioned, and women's perceptions of harassment and inequitable treatment are questioned (p.7).' 'A woman's motivation to take on a 'male role' is suspect' but at the same time 'they will have to become 'one of the guys' if they are going to succeed. In the end, there is nowhere for them to go because they cannot achieve either of these conflicting roles (p.13).'

Yoder and Aniakudo (1995,1996) examined the experiences of African American women fire-fighters. The most significant claim is that they have experienced a variety of sexual harassment by the words and actions of their male co-workers, and such bullying attitudes seemed to include the male workers' assumption that she was employed because she was a black woman. For example, sometimes women fire-fighters were not provided with proper gear or facilities and ignorance of women's presence at work was also occasionally practised. Their competence at work was generally disregarded or disrespected while their mistakes were often deliberately magnified and exaggerated. Many women fire-fighters perceived the existence of "double standards", which apply only to women to rigidly keep the rules in spite of allowing men much looser enforcement.

Pettersson *et al.* (2008:202-203) studied Swedish female officers' experiences in the Army and illustrated various gender-related challenges for female officers. Threats of anonymous telephone calls at night, whispering 'we don't want any female officers' and 'we will do anything to get rid of you' represent a few examples. Another officer who was the only woman working alongside ten male colleagues described how viewing of pornographic magazines and films was an everyday pastime. She found this insulting, but her male colleagues blamed her for choosing the wrong career.

Likewise, other literature highlights women's experiences of sexual harassment in the police (Brown, 1998; Holdaway and Parker, 1998) and the Navy (Newell *et al.*, 1995). These studies also illustrate how gender stereotypical actions have been practised on daily basis in the male-dominated world and highlight examples of gender discrimination and sexual harassment. As Greed (1991) states, issues of identity in this context are considered less frequently; the investigation of the impact on women's identity were often missed out.

Acquiring different personalities

One of the small number of studies to explore women's identity issues was conducted by Suter *et al.* (2006). Their research considered twenty-eight American Navy women who registered in the regional veteran organisation, the Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services in the Navy (WAVES). The paper reports that their military experiences contributed to the development of a new, transformed identity. These female veterans described how they almost became totally different persons, because the military service trained them to be self-confident, strong and capable. They felt growing from 'shy, naive young women' to 'mature, self-confident adults' (p.10). They discovered that the female veterans constructed a collective identity in the Navy, but at the same time, they maintained and reproduced 'the atypical gender identities they constituted during their time of service' (p.14). Their research took a linguistic approach to identify the construction, maintenance and reproduction of women's identities, for example, by 'sharing sea stories, commiserating, and affirming one another's transformed identities' (p.14). Many participants, however, found it difficult to adjust back to civilian life at the transition moment from work to home, and some missed their military service and the sense of being special. A few women reported that they re-identified themselves with their pre-service identities.

This research is probably the closest to my project, yet it investigated the quite specific context of Navy women in the United States and my research aims to explore women seafarers on merchant ships internationally. How women manage their identities at work is reported by other literature, specifically, discussing "strategies" that they employ in male-dominated workplaces. The next section focuses on identity management strategies and conceptualises the usage of strategies in relation to occupational cultures.

2.6. Identity management strategies

Identity management is not a new topic in social sciences and one of the most distinguished theories is 'code switching', addressed by Bernstein (1975). He studied the ways in which school children use language, and found that the working class group use less formal speech with shorter phrases ('restricted code') and do not have an access to complete well laid out language ('elaborated code'). On the other hand, middle class individuals use both codes, because they are supposed to be more geographically, socially and culturally mobile. Middle class children switch these codes strategically by location; therefore, they use 'restricted codes' at school in a wider social setting whereas 'elaborated codes' are used at home in narrower social interaction. This illustrates how identity management can take place by switching speech codes, and this research aims to identify how women seafarers feel about utilising such strategies.

Another theory of significant for this thesis was developed by Goffman (1959) on 'impression management' where a person attempts to influence the perceptions of other people about them. In the expression of self-presentation, Goffman explains that people construct an image of themselves to claim personal identity and present themselves in a manner that is consistent with such images. In order to achieve this, people use strategies, which are often defensive or assertive. Hence, they are able to establish and maintain impressions that are congruent with the perceptions they want to convey to their publics. Furthermore, Goffman illustrates such behaviour of impression management in 'stages' or 'regions' where the performance takes place and the performers and the audience are present ('front stage') or where performers are present but audience is not, and the performers can step out of character without fear of disrupting the performance ('back stage'). This understanding of self-presentation will be useful when analysing how women seafarers manage their identities during on-duty and off-duty.

Various literatures suggest that female workers in male-dominated occupations tend to

encounter problems at work related to their gender identities. Cockburn (1991:164) states that 'if you want to join men as equals in the public sphere you must leave behind womanly things, you must be indistinguishable from a man, you must, in short, assimilate'. Such techniques of women being accepted in male-dominated workplaces are sometimes called 'strategies'.

The strategies used by female workers to manage their identities are widely documented. For example, Cassell and Walsh (1993:111) point out that women who have reached the higher echelons of organisations tend to use 'gender management strategies' to modify their behaviour when matching organisational expectations and coping in male-dominated cultures.

Hall (1989:135-7) studied lesbians' sexual orientation within the work culture and found they adopted a variety of strategies to manage their sexual orientation. For instance, For example, in their neutralised strategy, some chose computer-related jobs, which allowed them to work in a masculine aspect of technology as well as in a feminine aspect of keyboard work, because 'femaleness is the discredited and visible side of one's lesbianism'. Others strategically emphasised their masculine qualities from their gender identities in the workplace, because being a man was likely to be more advantageous at work, or at least, a masculine strategy reduced the chance of being seen as feminine. In Hall's study, lesbians are socially a minority group and their coping strategies are carefully selected through the thorough observation of others. Disclosing or behaving who they really are is rare unless they feel secure.

Although Hall's example is limited to the specific context of lesbians and their sexual orientation, there seem to be issues which resonate in the case of women seafarers. Both are minority groups of women at work and both seem to consider carefully how to behave in terms of their identities within their local settings. In women's identity management, the use of masculine strategies has also been discussed in other literature.

"Assimilation" – masculine strategies

Women in male-dominated occupations need to forget about their female qualities in order to assimilate into a man's world (Cockburn, 1991). Making themselves as invisible as possible is the key issue for many women when entering a male profession. In the process of this assimilation, women are inclined to use masculine strategies to present themselves in a less feminine and more masculine way. 'A female graduate engineer cannot dress in lace and frills because she won't be taken seriously' (Kvande, 1999). Hacker (1989) found that in the occupational culture of engineering, women had to work hard and suppress emotions to 'become one of the guys'. She explains that having suppressed their feminine qualities, they take on a core element of the identity for the ideal middle-class white men in these situations; that is 'arid technical rationality'. Marshall studied female managers and states:

> Whatever women do, it will never be 'right'. ... Women are also faced with a series of double-binds, which essentially encourage them to copy men's characteristics and behaviour to become acceptable managers, but punish them for departures from stereotypes of female behaviour. (1984:40)

In Marshall's study, masculine strategies are described by some female managers: they utilised 'male tactics' which included 'aggression, shouting the odds, and playing political games' (1984:164-6). Although copying men's aggressiveness may be seen as out of date by younger female managers, this survival strategy seems still to be effective at senior levels. 'Shouting the odds at meetings' is another effective technique for female managers to gain attention when they do not have much to say. Marshall explains that men play political games and this is a reflection of men's traditional societal positions. However, no further explanation about the male tactics of playing political games was given in Marshall's literature and the description of how women played political games like men was omitted.

The use of masculine strategies by women is understood as the process of assimilation

into a man's world. Such 'male tactics' seem to be effective for female workers to enter a male-dominated workplace. However, the importance of feminine strategies should not be underestimated, as 'femininity' can be highly valued in male-dominated occupations.

"Self-redefinition" – feminine strategies

In terms of women's identity management at work, feminine strategies have been discussed in various studies. Sheppard (1989:143-7), who studied Canadian women managers and professionals, noted that femaleness was a central issue rather than maleness when she interviewed both men and women about their perceptions of gender and sexuality. Sheppard states that such a focus on femaleness is because it is considered as problematic in the organisational culture where 'maleness remains embedded'. In her theory, women "immigrants" moving into male-dominated culture deploy the strategies to manage the personal boundaries in relation to sexuality and gender by redefining 'femaleness'. Such strategies include various versions, from 'blending in' by being 'feminine enough' in appearance and self-presentation as well as 'businesslike' in behaviour, to a level of asserting or raising femaleness to awareness that is challenging and threatening to men.

Marshall (1984:159-164) describes the elements of 'feminine' strategies as a "softer" technique in personal relationships; listening and empathising with others; and perceiving freedom of choice (being flexible in adopting a feminine methodology as well as an existing masculine one). In her study, female managers used gender management strategies of redefining and managing their 'femaleness'. Furthermore, this includes non-managerial female employees (Cassell and Walsh, 1991).

These studies reveal that women in male-dominated occupations are likely to

experience a certain degree of identity problems within the organisations, regardless of their positions. Gender management strategies seem to be used by many working women in male-dominated workplaces, and managing 'femininity' may be the key to coping with their gender-related problems at work.

Sameness and difference strategies

Some strategies employed by women in male-dominated workplaces do not have clearly distinguished categories of either masculine or feminine strategies. For example, Pettersson *et al.* (2008) found that Swedish Army women utilised either the 'running track' or the 'take the heat' strategy. A 'running track' strategy is to challenge colleagues who question one's competence and gain individual acceptance. One of their interviewees actually ran around a track and beat her male colleague. As a result, he admitted her competence yet only at an individual level and did not change his whole view towards women's ability. A 'take the heat' strategy is to accept and participate in the established culture and jargon, and this adaption to the norms and values in the occupational culture is also practised amongst women in the Swedish Army. These examples show strategies adopted by women in a male-dominated environment cannot be clearly assigned to either masculine or feminine.

Whilst various examples of gender management strategies in male-dominated occupations are addressed elsewhere, Kvande (1999) investigated such strategies in relation to the occupational culture of engineering. Instead of 'masculine' or 'feminine' strategies, she calls them 'sameness' or 'difference' strategies in terms of assimilation into a man's world or distinguishing themselves from men. The focus of her research is on 'the dilemma of difference' which women engineers face and how they need to 'negotiate whether the meaning of gender should be sameness or difference from men' (p.306).

Kvande developed a further analysis of women's coping strategies by using the concept of 'ideal-types'. She identified four ideal-typical behaviours in Norwegian female graduate engineers who utilised gender identity management strategies at work. The ideal-type of "homeless" women engineers includes those who are in the early career stage and adopt the rules of behaviour and take on assignments in order to fit into the male-dominated work environment (*sameness* strategy). "One-of-the-boys" indicates the ideal-typical behaviour of Norwegian women engineers who have adopted a strategy of behaving like male colleagues (*sameness* strategy). "The compensators", on the other hand, keep a low profile without support or feedback about their professional work. For them, 'the problem is so large and the opportunities so few that their main strategy is *escape* or *withdrawal*' (p.318) (*difference* strategy). "The challengers" appear to be highly motivated women in managerial positions or on the way to give such positions. They often have a family and children that, they believe, have given them a wider perspective and a stronger foundation in order to challenge the work culture. The strategy of "the challengers" is to 'meet the men's domination head on' and 'construct themselves as different' from men as professionals (p.320) (*difference* strategy).

Kvande's research is significant in terms of demonstrating a way of understanding women's identity management strategies by using 'ideal-types'. This research will also use this analytical method, and it will be discussed further in chapter three.

Confusion of switching identities

Whilst the literature on gender management strategies in other male-dominated occupations provides knowledge of women's common problems when working in such environments, my concern is how they use identity management strategies in their

everyday lives. If identity management strategies are utilised in public, do they influence women's private lives and to what degree?

Marshall (1984:167-8) notes that female managers in retailing experienced great pressure outside work. Their traditionally valued skills of being competitive and assertive led them far away from socially acceptable female behaviour. The masculine profile (e.g. competent, professional, business-like, unsentimental and managing) was not acceptable to others outside work and 'conflicted with their own images of womanhood' (p.168). Young and single female managers tended to face 'general difficulties of social unease and inability to find an identity which was both acceptable to others and compatible with their views of themselves' (p.169). As a result, this impacted on their intimate relationship with potential sexual partners, and most of them felt dissatisfied with this area of their private lives. This point raises the question of whether women seafarers' shipboard identity management affects their shore-based lives where certain gender roles may be expected. This will also be examined in this research.

Furthermore, Marshall reveals that most of the difficulties for women in retailing come from the nature of the industry: particularly, geographic dispersal and small management teams. These prevented female managers from forming 'a ready-made circle of friends based on work to mix with' and 'regular geographic moves also confounded people's efforts to establish viable social lives' (p.167). This resulted in a 'sharp divide between their work and private lives', because aspects of their identity appeared to be accentuated in ways which 'inhibited or shaped their private and social lives' (pp.167-8). Thus, married women were likely to lead highly self-contained lifestyles with their husbands, allowing them to socialise with only a few close friends and family members. However, single women did not follow such a lifestyle, as it seemed inevitably to lead to a miserable life and lonely old age.

The impact of regular geographic moves on women's identity, therefore, seems

significant. This would be one of the major concerns for women seafarers, especially when they start thinking of marriage and family commitments. While women seafarers are isolated from home for weeks or months, women in shore-based male-dominated occupations (e.g. coal-miners, fire-fighters) are situated within the community where the distance between work and home is minimal. Such mobility may allow shore-based workers to switch their occupational identity on and off on a daily basis, either in work-mode or home-mode, without being absorbed in a particular identity for a long time. Ship culture constitutes the life of seafarers for twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, therefore the intervals of negotiation, penetration, and re-negotiation of their identities on ship could be extraordinarily long compared to other occupations. The differences in time and distance may significantly influence women's mental detachment from the traditional women's domestic roles as well as accentuate their identity problems.

2.7. Summing-up and locating my study

Women seafarers can be seen as a minority group in the male-dominated workplace, thus notions of gender and sex are very important. Under such conditions, the descriptions of how women seafarers perceive their identities in relation to the occupational culture of seafaring will be the focus of this research.

The findings from other studies on female workers in male-dominated jobs illustrate that many have faced a number of difficulties, for example sexual harassment and discrimination from their male colleagues. Hence, in order to cope with gender-related problems, many women in male-dominated environments tend to utilise identity management strategies. Some changed their appearance, making them less feminine, and showed aggressiveness at work (masculine strategies); others redefined their femininity, for example by keeping a low profile, and thus incorporating their expected gender roles (feminine strategies).

One of the closest studies to this research into women seafarers' identities is the recent study of American Navy women veterans (Suter *et al.*, 2006), which extends sociological inquiry by exploring women's identity issues in a similar situation. In particular, the emotional gap between civilians and these Navy women when they returned ashore suggests changes in personality. The research into Norwegian female engineers (Kvande, 1999) uses 'ideal-types' to analyse identity management strategies. Her approach of understanding identity management strategies exhibits how the occupational culture of engineering impacts on female engineers shaping their identities.

This review of the literature highlights the need for research into women's identities in relation to specific occupational cultures. Seafaring is a unique occupation in terms of the nature of the work, as it demands that women leave home for extended periods. Additionally, ships, as total institutions, rigidly regulate their onboard lives both in public and private, and this may also make an impact on management of women seafarers' identities.

CHAPTER THREE

Researching Gender, Work and Culture

3.1. Introduction

This research aims to explore how women seafarers' gender identities are affected by the occupational culture of seafaring. In order to do this, the thesis examines the ways in which women seafarers manage their identities between ship and shore. The literature explains that women in male-dominated occupations tend to use 'gender management strategies'. Therefore, this research carefully investigates whether women seafarers also utilise such strategies to manage their identities and their feelings. The primary method employed in the data collection for this project was qualitative in-depth interviews and other methods, including group interviews, telephone interviews and e-mail interviews, were used as alternatives when necessary. These data were transcribed and analysed using ideal-types after coding by qualitative research software (NVivo).

The literature review reveals that gender-related problems faced by women in male-dominated occupations tend to be connected with occupational cultures. Therefore, this research investigates how seafarers experience their work culture and define it in their own words. Even though the occupational culture of seafaring is often described as masculine, the norms and values of the seafaring culture have been under-researched in relation to gender and identity. Understanding the occupational culture of seafaring from the seafarers' point of views is, therefore, essential and this part of the research will be accomplished by listening to both male and female seafarers' voices.

This study focuses on the identity management strategies of women seafarers which they may adopt in order to cope with gender-related difficulties associated with working at sea. In order to examine how the male-dominated work culture affects women seafarers' identity management, this research only targets women in the operational sectors of cargo vessels (i.e. deck (navigation), engine, or radio departments). Female sailors on cruise ships, in particular those who work in hotel or catering sections, are excluded in this study, because their work environment is different in terms of the gender ratio at work. This approach allows me to explore how the male-dominated workplace where women seafarers live relates to their gender identity management. The qualitative data are collected by interviewing women seafarers from various backgrounds (e.g. nationalities, age groups, ranks, lengths of seafaring career, type of vessels, marital status).

This chapter provides a discussion of the research design and description of the research process, including an outline and discussion of the methods used for data collection and analysis. The chapter starts with the reasons why qualitative feminist research methods are important and preferable in this study. The research questions are then presented and the research design, including the suitable methods for data collection and analysis, are discussed. A detailed description of the research process is provided and the justification of the data collection and analysis is briefly explained. Finally, a discussion of the challenges, limitations and ethical considerations in conducting this research is presented as well as a critical assessment of the research process.

3.2. Qualitative feminist research

Qualitative research is generally recognised as the most common approach adopted by feminist social science researchers. Maynard (1994) expresses her preference for qualitative over quantitative research and explains that surveys and questionnaires in particular often generate data via the detachment of the researcher and the collection

and measurement of 'objective' social facts. Natural science or positivist social science fails to investigate social processes by which 'objective' social facts arise as data (McLennan, 1995). This view is also stated by Bernard (1973), who realises that most of what we have previously known as the study of society is only the male study of male society. This problem, that the experiences and understandings of the female half of the world's population are not reflected in the description of the world has been acknowledged by many feminist researchers (Harding, 1987; Spender, 1981).

However, there are many researchers, for example, Dale *et al.* (1988), who make a very good case for possibilities of a feminist methodological approach using quantitative data (i.e. survey data for secondary analysis). Using questionnaires in feminist research itself is not problematic; as Kelly *et al.* (1994) mention, it may produce more reliable data than interviewing because questionnaires promise participants' anonymity when revealing sensitive and painful experiences. The authors attempt to challenge qualitative feminist methods by utilising quantitative methods in feminist research practice, and put more emphasis on the view that 'feminist research is 'on' and 'with' women' rather than on the accuracy, complexity, depth and integrity of data (p.34). Indeed, in-depth interviews, ethnography, grounded theory and other methods which have been endorsed as 'feminist' were not born from feminists. This suggests that feminist research does not consist of the methods as such, but the framework within which they are located and the particular ways in which they are displayed (p.46).

In the course of choosing the methods, the nature of research is one of the most important factors. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) remark that the differences between feminist-based interviewing and positivistic research relate to levels of detachment and involvement:

> British sociologist Oakley (1981) and other feminist scholars have identified a major contradiction between scientific, positivistic research, which requires objectivity and detachment, and feminist-based interviewing, which requires openness, emotional engagement, and the development of a potentially

> long-term, trusting relationship between the interviewer and the subject. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:633-634)

This research is more engaged than detached and I endeavour to build a relationship of trust with my participants. Qualitative research enables the researchers to generate such rich, in-depth data. By contrast, quantitative research strategies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables rather than the exploration of meaning and experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In this study, quantitative research is not particularly applicable, because the themes cannot be explored convincingly with quantitative methods. Nevertheless, rejecting quantitative methods does not imply that it is impossible to do feminist quantitative research. Rather, they are simply inapplicable to this research and the feminist qualitative approach to data collection is far preferable.

Whilst this study follows the qualitative feminist approach, I must make it clear that this research is not set up on the basis of any polarised understandings of quantitative versus qualitative. My position does not support 'masculinist' forms of research, yet this does not suggest my endorsement of the supposed competitive struggle between two methodological paradigms. I would rather encourage the selection of appropriate methodologies for particular studies. In this thesis I am concerned that the limitations of quantitative research design might allow me to construct a simple matrix of standardised variables and pre-categorised questions but would not offer an opportunity to acquire an in-depth understanding of women seafarers' lives. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:8) claim that 'the word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency'. Qualitative research, thus, is regarded as being full of potential that quantitative research may not be able to claim.

Consequently, how can we explore women's experience as women's knowledge?

Hartsock (1984;1997), and other feminist standpoint theorists, insist that systems of male domination allow men as rulers to have visions which are "partial". Deconstructing existing research styles encourages our knowledge to be more provocative and productive and to unpack taken-for-granted ideas about women in specific cultural contexts (Olesen, 2000). This has encouraged me to conduct this research within a more qualitative social science framework so that I can explore otherwise invisible aspects of women's lives, especially the identity issues they face.

In addition to my methodological affiliations, there are two practical reasons why I have chosen to adopt a qualitative approach. Firstly, the population of women seafarers is very small; only one or two percent of the whole seafaring labour force is made up of women (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Hence, the expected number of participants rules out any possibility of a statistical analysis or even creation of an overview. Informants in the sample will not be particularly suited to quantitative research. Secondly, this study investigates gender identity management and this kind of rich and nuanced data are, I believe, only accessible by qualitative research. Researchers requiring such data have long-since recognised the value of qualitative approaches in data collection. Maynard (1994:11), for example, highlights the necessary centrality of qualitative methods in feminist research. She explains that the use of qualitative methods, which 'focus more on the subjective experiences and meanings of those being researched, was regarded as more appropriate to the kinds of knowledge that feminists wished to make available'.

Furthermore, qualitative feminist research has rejected a power relationship between the researcher and the researched (Maynard, 1994; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Researchers could influence responses of participants and even sometimes participants may know what is expected to say according to what researchers want to hear from them. Feminists have been for a long time critical of such practice in which sociological research involves hierarchical power relationships (Oakley, 1981). 'A non-exploitative relationship, where the person being studied is not treated simply as a source of data' is more emphasised and encouraged in qualitative feminist research (Maynard, 1994:16).

Thus, for researchers 'just listening to' and 'sharing information with' their participants is crucial, and allows them to obtain good quality data.

3.3. Knowledge – women's studies

Researching women seafarers embraces the possibility of adopting one of various epistemological stances. Since the subject of traditional sociological research often appears to be assumed to be a man (Harding, 1987), men's domination of social science, as both researchers and researched, has influenced many theoretical developments including what counts as knowledge. Women have long been excluded from the practice of science either because it is described as a masculine activity or because of views about women's unsuitability to engage in it (Longino, 1996).

Feminists have sought to develop an alternative understanding of epistemology that allows for the production of a more feminist social science. Sandra Harding (1987:181) attempts to answer the question, 'how should the analyses produced by feminist research in the social sciences be justified?' and goes on to consider a variety of related issues such as: 'who can be a knower?' Traditional androcentric biology and social science largely excluded women's participation and their epistemological traditions insisted that only men could be "knowers".

Before women seafarers started to actively participate in the shipping industry in significant numbers, women's experiences at sea were only presented by authors of fiction. In the early eighteenth century, people were happy to learn about the seafaring experiences of *fictional* women such as Lucy Brewer and Almira Paul (Cordingly, 2002). These fictional images of adventurous women seafarers were created as attention-grabbers to entertain people by offering a taste of women-focused sea experiences, which were primarily understood via the production of men's knowledge.

Unlike bygone eras, today's shipping industry accepts more women seafarers. This indicates that women too can talk about, and have knowledge of, ships and seas, including navigational skills and techniques. Seafaring is no longer monopolised by men, and needs to be addressed by women and from their perspectives without relying upon words and interpretations created by men. Hence, removing the masculinist bias and androcentric prejudice from maritime studies would be very valuable. Such empirical knowledge developed by women seafarers will help us to provide a more rounded picture of ships and the sea.

In order to investigate women seafarers' identity management, it is important to establish whether women seafarers are the only "knowers" or whether others can also be useful informants. Firstly, it may be difficult for men to understand women's identity problems. Since identity issues are situated in a more internal domain, there are some invisible parts within each personal situation. Such invisible and personalised knowledge of women may be difficult for men to foster or develop because men are not oppressed in the patriarchal society. Secondly, other women, that is, non-seafaring females, may not have the same perspectives as women seafarers, although some may sympathetically try to understand. The recent study of American female veterans' identity in the Navy (Suter *et al.*, 2006) reveals that many of these Navy women experienced difficulties fulfilling traditional female roles after their duties and that civilians did not understand how special and capable they were on duty. As a result, many Navy women reported feeling lonely and isolated from the community. This reminds us that it is simply not enough to be a woman to understand a different woman's experience. It indicates that even being a former woman seafarer is not sufficient to automatically know what another woman seafarer feels. This point was raised by Sandra Harding who asked: what tests do beliefs have to pass in order to be legitimated as knowledge (Harding, 1987).

Each position of feminism offers a different response to the problem of legitimating knowledge. The justificatory strategy of feminist empiricism is to remove any biased

knowledge from men's science and sociology in order to get closer to less partial and less distorted knowledge, thereby generating knowledge that is more "objective". The idea is to create a "better" science rather than to question in any fundamental way the scientific quest for objective knowledge. Feminist standpoint theorists such as Nancy Hartsock claim that the inequality in providing legitimate, reliable knowledge results from the activities of men shaping the horizons of their own knowledge and ignoring women's voices; thus, women hold a different type of knowledge (Tatman, 2001). However, this legitimacy of women's knowledge is criticised by postmodern feminists who are sceptical about epistemological views of both feminist empiricists and the standpoint theorists. Postmodern feminists such as Judith Butler reject any grand general theory which claims the basis of women's subordination, because it implies an objective fixed state. They argue that such universalising claims of feminist epistemology have limitations and that knowledge needs to be more effectively generated to include a representation of women, which allows more than 'one true story' about 'the world' (Flax, 1987).

Taking these arguments into consideration, this research is designed using a qualitative feminist methodology that I believe suits the purpose of the study to explore women seafarers' identity management. A central focus of the research is the process by which women seafarers manage identities. The ways they identify or sometimes re-identify themselves will not be fashioned and rendered into a single account to explain the situation of all women, or all women seafarers. The main part of data collection relating to identity issues is conducted through in-depth interviews with women seafarers. The initial phase of data collection to obtain definitions of the occupational culture of seafaring is, however, accomplished by interviewing both male and female seafarers. Given that I am dealing with the identities of women within a specific occupational group, it is necessary to explore issues of identity in relation to the occupational culture of seafaring. This requires a further consideration of shipboard culture as understood and described by both male and female seafarers.

3.4. Research questions and operationalising the concepts

This research targets women seafarers in a male-dominated workplace and focuses on the six percent of all women seafarers who work aboard cargo ships (Drewry, ILO and ITF, 2009). Cruise vessels often have many female employees, the majority of whom work in catering, hotel or entertainment sectors. Thus, cruise ships are excluded from this research as they are not considered to be a male-dominated environment. Also, cruise lines have many temporary seasonal staff positions and contracts, for example, only Christmas and summer positions[4] (Miller, 1997). The situation is different on cargo ships where contracts are fixed for the duration of voyages. The context of this research is based on the occupational culture of merchant seafaring. Hence, this study also excludes women seafarers on fishing vessels and leisure craft, such as yachts, because of their different cultures. 'Women seafarers' in this study refers to those women who have experience of working in ship-operational sections, specifically deck (navigation), engine, or radio departments.

This research focuses upon a particular environment where it is crucially important for women seafarers to manage their identities. In a sense, every one of us has identity management issues all the time (i.e. what to wear, how to behave etc.), however these can be accentuated in particular environments. This study is concerned with whether identity management is particularly an issue for women by working at sea.

This research considers how women seafarers' identities are affected by their work culture. In order to answer this research question, other literature about women workers in male-dominated occupations was studied. It suggested that women in such work environments often utilise identity management strategies in order to deal with gender-related problems at work. This idea raised several questions which guided this research:

---

[4] Cruise line jobs include, for example, accountant; activities coordinator; bartender; beautician; casino staff; computer specialist; dancer; disc jockey; fitness instructor; lecturer; magician; medical doctor and nurse; photographer; youth counselor and water sports instructor.

- Do women seafarers also utilise identity management strategies? If so, what do they do and how do they feel about it?
- How do women seafarers choose a strategy and are there any patterns of using such strategies?
- Is women seafarers' identity management particularly an issue while at sea? Does identity management exist while ashore? And if so, how does it differ from identity management at sea?

These sub-questions were set up in order to explore in depth women seafarers' identity management and their feelings in relation to the occupational culture of seafaring.

The research methods

In-depth interviewing has significant advantages, usually allowing researchers to seek deeper information and knowledge than surveys, informal interviewing, or focus groups. Johnson explains:

> A researcher who uses in-depth interviewing commonly seeks "deep" information and knowledge...this information usually concerns very personal matters, such as an individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective. (2001: 104)

Burgess (1982:107) also notes that in-depth interviews provide 'the opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience.' Conducting in-depth interviews, therefore, allows researchers to elicit people's own accounts, meanings and interpretations. 'The interviewer is more passive in the role of listener, and, if the interviewer is successful, the informant is more active as a speaker' (Johnson, 2001:112). An active listening role as a researcher is

important, because a wide range of both subtle and apparent parts of an account can be revealed in communication with interviewees, for which the formal process of interviews is often insufficient (Chirban, 1996).

Before the interviews took place, I created an interview guide, including protocols and examples of questions to use during the interviews rather than a formal set of questions. When interviewing, I tried to facilitate a natural flow so that the participants were able to engage in the conversations on their own initiatives within the framework that I established.

There are, however, several criticisms about interviews. For example, there is a suggestion that interviews cannot be counted on as a proxy for 'action' (Becker and Geer, 1957). Yet, this does not necessarily justify the superiority of observation over interviews, and such a manner of endorsing a particular kind of naturalism is dangerous. Giving authenticity to one source of data, while denying others, risks the endorsement of the presumption that some sorts of actions are "natural" while others are "contrived" (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Silverman, 1985, 1993). The question here is rather why other methods to generate qualitative data cannot be used in this research, for example, focus groups, participant observation and non-participant observation, and the use of photographs, audio-visuals or some other styles (Erickson and Wilson, 1982; Wagner, 1979).

The themes of this research were examined through an exploration of women seafarers' lives and experiences, many aspects of which were invisible in a literal sense. The use of photographic evidence or audio-visuals was, therefore, not adopted in this research which primarily relies on the collection of interview data. There was also the issue of feasibility. Researching seafarers involves a number of challenges including access, time and issues surrounding location. Seafarers' work contracts usually last from between several weeks to many months, and this makes it difficult to gather seafarers together at any given time (e.g. for focus group) or indeed to access them at all.

Participant observation aboard ships would not be effective, because it would be very time-consuming. In addition, it might be ethically problematic if I focused on a single individual for an intensive period of time to achieve the goal of this research, and it could interrupt her job on board.

A number of feminists emphasise the importance of listening to, recording and understanding women's voices (Bowles and Klein, 1983; Graham, 1984; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Maynard (1994:12) acknowledges this qualitative approach as effective and useful and says 'qualitative methods, especially the in-depth face-to-face interview, could really count in feminist terms and generate useful knowledge.' Hence, it has become the paradigmatic 'feminist method' (Kelly, 1990). This research, therefore, used in-depth interviews as a primary method.

The research design

Despite the tendency of the majority of maritime science relying on quantitative research methods, this study is pioneering in terms of using qualitative methods. There were no examples of previous research in this field, and the design needed to include carefully constructed and yet flexible strategies. Indeed, Mason (2002) suggests that qualitative researchers should produce quite detailed research designs to facilitate the coherent and rigorous development of a project.

The process of data collection in this research was designed to take place in two phases: understanding the occupational culture of seafaring and assessing women seafarers' identity management strategies. The first phase of data collection aimed to define the occupational culture of seafaring by listening to both male and female seafarers. Given that I myself am a qualified seafarer, I felt that it was particularly important to listen to seafarers' own narratives about their work and culture and not to make any

assumptions from my personal experiences. This relates to the sociological concept of 'being an insider', which is discussed later in this chapter. The interview data were used to obtain a full picture of the occupational culture of seafaring, where masculine norms and values predominate. In the second phase of data collection, women seafarers were asked about their experiences and lives on board and ashore, and how they coped with any problems in terms of gender identities. My role as an interviewer was to let female participants talk. Whilst I had an interview guide, I tried to give the participants as much freedom as possible to describe their own stories and experiences. This allowed the data to speak and themes emerged naturally from our conversations. Approximately thirty in-depth interviews were planned in order to obtain sufficient data.

The recruitment of the participants in this research started with identifying several key contacts who might know how to find women seafarers in each country (the detailed procedure of recruiting the participants is discussed in the next section). Potential participants in the research were contacted by e-mail. I then sent a letter, briefly explaining the aims and objectives of the research, what participation would involve, and guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity. A leaflet providing further details of the research was also included. A positive reply to a request for interview was taken as informed consent. However, I also took a written form of consent prior to the interviews and all the interviewees provided their e-mail addresses for further contact. Such e-mail contact details were used for sending out a digested version of the research findings as a sign of appreciation for their kind contribution once this thesis was completed. Participants' personal information will not be transferred to a third party and is kept strictly in a locked cabinet in my office.

During the in-depth interviews, an audio digital recorder was used and permission to use such a device was sought from the participants before the interviews commenced. If individuals preferred not to have their interviews audio-recorded, notes were taken and expanded upon immediately after the interview.

The data analysis of this research began with transcribing audio data into written texts (Kvale, 1996:88). Transcribed texts are social facts that are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Thereafter, the transcribed data were coded and analysed by using the qualitative research software, NVivo. Such spoken and written records of human experience needed to be studied in accordance with the other materials such as field notes and a research diary in the qualitative research tradition. A further analysis and re-analysis of the data took place many times until the research questions were answered sufficiently. The methods of both data collection and analysis were modified and developed in the process, and the next section will discuss how the research progressed.

3.5. The research process – data collection and analysis

This research involved much preparation before going into the field and there were several concerns in terms of the data collection and analysis. The fieldwork was successful overall; however, a couple of unexpected events happened in the course of working in the field. These were unavoidable but I modified and reshaped the research design to compensate. I will explain these incidents and how I dealt with them in later sections.

Recruitment of women seafarers

Finding women seafarers who were willing to talk about their experience and lives had a number of challenges. The population of women seafarers itself is small and in particular those who work on cargo ships (not on cruise vessels etc.) is only 0.12 percent of the total seafaring workforce (Drewry, ILO and ITF, 2009). Furthermore, they are scattered all around the world and there is no definitive list of women seafarers at all.

Initially, I decided to interview women seafarers in Japan and some European countries

because of my nationality (Japanese) and my location (UK). When looking for Japanese participants, I avoided choosing my friends or colleagues with whom I used to sail. Friendship and intimacy can be biased and such people are not suitable as participants. However, these people helped me to find candidates through their personal networks. Recruiting European seafarers began with several key persons through the network of the Seafarers International Research Centre (SIRC). I also followed opportunistic sampling (Babbie, 1998) and snowball sampling. As a result, for the main part of the data collection, thirty-six women from six different countries with various age groups and ranks participated in this research. Similarly, in the first phase of the data collection, eight male seafarers from six different countries were also interviewed in order to explore the occupational culture of seafaring from their point of views (see Table 3-A and 3-B).

Table 3-A: Female participants in this research, *n*=36

Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Rank/ Dept*	Source of finding the participants	Type of interview	Place of interview
Brites	Portuguese	34	J/E	Key person through SIRC	Group	Office
Catalina	Portuguese	31	S/D	Key person through SIRC	Group	Office
Izabel	Portuguese	29	J/D	Key person through SIRC	Group	Office
Joana	Portuguese	26	J/D	Key person through SIRC	Group	Office
Yelena	Portuguese	41	Capt	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Participant's home
Rose	Portuguese	45	R	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Restaurant
Vidonia	Portuguese	51	Capt	Key person through SIRC	E-mail	(E-mail)
Deolinda	Portuguese	46	C/E	Introduced by another participant	Telephone	(Telephone)
Rute	Portuguese	47	R	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Café
Julia	Swedish	34	S/E	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Café
Vera	Swedish	54	S/D	Introduced by another researcher	Individual face-to-face	Friend's house
Olivia	Swedish	36	S/E	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Café
Sofia	Swedish	25	J/D	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Meeting room
Sally	Swedish	27	J/E	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Ship
Rebecka	Swedish	44	S/D	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Café
Laura	Swedish	24	J/E	Shipping manager	Individual face-to-face	Café
Angela	Swedish	43	S/D	Introduced by another participant	Individual face-to-face	Office
Emma	Swedish	39	Capt	Key person of WISTA**	Individual face-to-face	Restaurant
Sue	Swedish	45	J/E	Introduced by another participant	Individual face-to-face	Office

Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Rank/ Dept*	Source of finding the participants	Type of interview	Place of interview
Alma	Swedish	39	S/D	Shipping manager	Individual face-to-face	Café
Norah	Swedish	43	S/D	Introduced by another participant	Individual face-to-face	Friend's house
Cindy	German	23	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Agnes	German	20	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Marina	German	22	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Hotel room
Naike	German	24	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Pamera	German	44	J/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Simone	German	53	R	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Vicki	German	20	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Hotel room
Zurka	German	19	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Inge	German	25	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office room
Gloria	German	22	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Doris	German	43	Capt	Introduced by my colleague	Individual face-to-face	Office
Karolina	Polish	52	S/D	Introduced by a colleague of a key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Hotel room
Sisi	Ghanaian	52	Capt	Introduced by a friend	Individual face-to-face	Restaurant
Yoko	Japanese	27	J/D	Introduced by a friend	Individual face-to-face	Restaurant
Naomi	Japanese	25	J/E	Introduced by a friend	Individual face-to-face	Restaurant

* The abbreviations for rank/department: Capt (Captain/Deck), S/D (Senior officer/Deck), J/D (Junior officer/Deck), T/D (Trainee/Deck), C/E (Chief Engineer), S/E (Senior engineer), J/E (Junior engineer), R (Radio officer)

** WISTA (Women's International Shipping & Trading Association)

Table 3-B: Male participants in this research, *n*=8

Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Rank/ Dept*	Source of finding the participants	Type of interview	Place of interview
Sergio	Portuguese	57	Capt	Introduced by a female participant partner	Individual face-to-face	Participant's house
Fredrik	Swedish	36	S/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Martin	German	44	Capt	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Café
Hellman	German	28	T/D	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
David	British	25	J/E	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Van	Dutch	46	J/E	Key person through SIRC	Individual face-to-face	Office
Akira	Japanese	25	J/E	Introduced by a friend	Individual face-to-face	Ship
Takeshi	Japanese	27	J/D	Happened to be present when interviewing Akira	Individual face-to-face	Ship

* The abbreviations for rank/department: Capt (Captain/Deck), S/D (Senior officer/Deck), J/D (Junior officer/Deck), T/D (Trainee/Deck), J/E (Junior engineer)

During the recruitment of the participants, no-one refused to take part in this research, and many women seafarers were excited to talk about their identity issues. Many told me that no-one had ever asked such an important issue nor tried to understand their difficulties. Women seafarers seemed to be happy to join this project and eager to know about what other women seafarers felt about their identity management. I committed to providing the research results to the participants if they wished to see them, and all of them showed their interest in being contacted when the thesis was completed.

Keeping a research diary

A 'research diary' enables the researcher to be reflective about the study by noting problems and achievements, thoughts and emotions (Burgess, 1981). It is preferably kept on a daily basis, thus the process or strands of ideas and analysis during the course of the research will appear in chronological order. It includes informal conversations, e-mail communications and anything else from the everyday process of gathering data. Keeping a research diary is also important in this context as Hodder mentions:

> The text can "say" many different things in different contexts. But also the written text is an artefact, capable of transmission, manipulation, and alteration, of being used and discarded, reused and recycled – "doing" different things contextually through time. (2000:704)

I used a research diary to gather further information about the research in both formal and informal ways. It was utilised when the interview data were analysed. It included anonymised data that were quoted in the thesis. My research diary was studied to see how I thought about and solved any challenges that arose during the research.

Interviewing in depth

The first phase of data collection was to obtain descriptions of the occupational culture of seafaring from seafarers' own voices. Qualitative in-depth interviews were used with eight males and thirty-six female seafarers. The second phase of data collection focused on women seafarers' identity management, again using in-depth interviewing. This part of the research was completed by interviewing thirty-six female seafarers only. The participants were from a wide range of ages, cultural backgrounds, nationalities and work experiences (see Appendix Eight).

Throughout both phases of data collection, a brief information sheet about the research and informed consent were distributed to participants before the interviews commenced. These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis with participants' consent. The interviews were mostly conducted in public places like cafés, restaurants, offices, hotels or ships, and one interview took place in the participant's house.

The in-depth interviews started with some casual conversation to establish a good rapport. It is essential for the first encounter to mark the initiation of the interview (Mason, 2002), and at the outset I made clear the purpose and objectives of the study. This helped the participants feel confident about their involvement.

The informants were asked a few straightforward introductory questions to help them to relax and to gather some basic information including their country of origin, family background, why they chose the career at sea and how they found their jobs so far. Whilst not adopting a formal 'narrative' approach, I concentrated on their narrative stories and experiences and let them talk rather than guide the interview with rigid questions. To this end, the interview guide contains more general questions about women seafarers' lives while at sea and while ashore, than specific questions about their identity management (see Appendix Six). Without asking direct questions about their identities, this approach enabled women seafarers to talk about their identity issues and distilled their identity management strategies from the interview data.

In the second phase of data collection, the interviews focused on the experiences of being women seafarers, on board, ashore and during the transition periods (i.e. from ship to shore; from shore to ship). I tried to engage in being a good listener and I also made an effort to gain an understanding of the meanings behind the stories I was told and the accounts I was given.

Analysing the data

Interview transcription was a laborious task and it took nearly a year to complete transcribing the whole set of interview data while reading and writing for the thesis. My transcribing was very slow and it took more than ten hours for every one hour of recorded interview. This was partly because English was not the first language for either interviewer or interviewees (except for one British male participant); and because some interviews took place at noisy cafés or restaurants, which made it difficult for me to pick up our conversations. Although there was an option of outsourcing this assignment, I decided to engage in it by my own hands in order to familiarise myself with the data prior to analysis.

While transcribing, I realised that the interview data contained a number of grammatical mistakes. Although my English listening skills might have caused some mistakes in the transcription of data, the main problem was that the majority of interviewees did not speak English as their mother tongue; therefore, their English was not as good as that of native English speakers. In the beginning I felt that incorrect English was inappropriate in the PhD dissertation. However, as soon as I corrected the English, a certain "tone" around the words was lost and I felt, more importantly, the dignity of the person became diluted. Using the abbreviation "sic" would be obtrusive in the sentences if they were too many. My supervisors and I agreed that incorrect English within the quotes should be kept as it is; hence, I have followed this guidance.

The data were transcribed safeguarding the anonymity of participants and individuals were assigned a pseudonym. Thereafter, the transcribed data were coded by theme. Lee and Fielding (2004) explain that the code-based approach is valuable because it allows some respondents' questions to be related to reports by others, and such unexpected contingencies often happen in fieldwork. A code-based analysis allowed me to seek connections between my fieldwork contingencies and the themes developed during the analysis.

Miles and Huberman (1994) and Willms *et al.* (1990) suggest that researchers start with several general themes that emerge from their literature reviews and add more themes and sub-themes as they analyse their data. In this research, the key elements, when analysing the occupational culture of seafaring, were: life on board; relationships; and rules and taboos. More themes were expected to be generated during the inductive process of coding the data: as Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest 'coding is analysis'. Such themes and sub-themes in the first phase of data collection and analysis were linked to the second phase by interviewing female participants about their gender identity management.

Using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software such as NVivo enables easy and quick access to the data in the process of organising, coding, thematising, and categorising. A traditional method of manually cutting and pasting, and colour coding would have been time-consuming as the interviews took a long time, up to almost four hours each. I preferred spending more time analysing the data by using the software and it helped to develop themes and categories and to identify useful illustrative quotes from the data.

In order to create the typologies of women seafarers' identity management strategies, 'ideal-types' were adopted in this research, as Kvande (1999) presented in her study of Norwegian female engineers. Ideal-typical identity management strategies represent typical characteristics and elements of the given phenomena, yet do not necessarily correspond to all the characteristics of any particular woman seafarer. Women seafarers' strategic behaviour and attitudes were carefully examined and the fundamental characteristics were distilled into ideal-type categories. By using 'ideal-types', this study was able to constitute a better analytical framework to address women seafarers' identity management without generalising women's experience.

The interview data were coded and recoded by the ideal-type categories of women

seafarers' identity management strategies, and I returned to the original data countless times. At the macro level, the whole data showed certain patterns of identity management whilst at the micro level, each individual woman seafarer appeared to use different strategies over time. The data analysis reached the most enjoyable stage of discovering many interesting findings, and I was able to identify a model of women seafarers' identity management in this dissertation.

Flexibility of the research design

During data collection, the majority of the participants (30 out of 36 females) and all eight of the males in this research were individually interviewed face-to-face as planned. However, other methods (i.e. group interviews, telephone interviews, e-mail interviews) had to be used as alternatives for six female participants as a matter of feasibility.

One occasion allowed me to conduct a group interview as the only available option when four women seafarers, who were all friends with each other, gathered. Some of them had to catch a train by a certain time. Therefore, these four women were interviewed together upon their request, saving considerable time. On another occasion, a new participant was introduced to me only after the fieldwork trip to her country had taken place, which encouraged me to conduct a telephone interview with her. For another female participant, I visited her in the office at the time of interview appointment, and she said she preferred being interviewed by e-mail, because she was busy, yet still interested in taking part in the research.

Group interviews and telephone interviews may be less effective than face-to-face interviews in terms of limited interaction and lack of visual aids. Furthermore, e-mail interviews do not allow audio aids, and the nature of e-mail interviews is inherently different to group or telephone interviews.

Using e-mail for research has been discussed by several researchers (Babbie, 1998; Selwyn and Robson, 1998). E-mails allow researchers to access world-wide samples in both quantitative and qualitative studies. E-mail is unobtrusive and friendly to respondents, and there are relatively low administration costs. On the other hand, e-mail can reflect the biases of internet use, which is hindered by the clear division of social class resulting from unequal ownership of the facility (Babbie, 1998). The lack of non-verbal or tacit communication in e-mails could also limit an exploration of women seafarers' identities. Therefore, this research primarily relies on in-depth face-to-face interviews, which are, in many ways, superior to e-mail communication.

Nevertheless, e-mail has become popular for research, as well as telephoning. It is appreciated by people who need quick cheap contact with others no matter where they are. Unfortunately e-mailing from ships and ports remains difficult, but it is still a good way to have an initial contact with seafarers, and promotes the possibility of subsequently setting up real face-to-face meetings. In fact, all the communication I had before the meetings was conducted either by telephone or e-mail.

Correspondence by e-mail can be a good source of data, however it should be treated carefully as personalised materials may contain secrets or private data. Researchers have to keep it in mind that the development of qualitative texts may reposition the issues of authorship, authenticity and voice, for example, writing my own texts in my research diary from others' detailed accounts written in e-mails (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003). Although I could have authorship in my texts transformed by e-mail communication, researchers still have responsibility of using such data carefully and the original source of data should be protected in anonymity.

3.6. Challenges, limitations and ethical considerations

As there was no previous research into women seafarers' identity management, this research encountered many challenges. Prior to interviewing women seafarers, I got in touch with several key persons in various countries. They wanted to know exactly when I could visit a specific place of the country to find women seafarers or they advised that I should or should not come for a designated time of the year because of the availability of women seafarers. This caused difficulty in arranging my fieldwork trips, and I missed some opportunities to meet potential female participants. This was partly the reason why I did not interview British women seafarers although I am based in the UK. As I planned, the number of interviews in the sample of this research reached over thirty before interviewing women seafarers of British or other nationalities. Due to my time limit for the completion and submission of the thesis, I could not conduct, transcribe and analyse more interviews. I had to stop interviewing at some stage, and it was impossible to limit the number of participants from each country and make it even by 'opportunistic sampling'. Therefore, an unbalanced participation in number by country occurred and I interviewed nine Portuguese, twelve Swedish, eleven German, one Polish, one Ghanaian, and two Japanese women seafarers.

Due to my previous seafaring career, the issue of being an insider needs to be considered. Lofland and Lofland (1995:14) state that researchers should consider 'starting where you are', meaning that potential researchers should be encouraged to study those social phenomena to which they have ready or advantaged access. Hence, my knowledge and experience as a seafarer helped me to understand what the informants said, especially when short-hand seafaring terms were used. It also helped to establish rapport and mutual trust between the informants and the researcher. There are many authors who have utilised their careers in order to make explicit the links between personal experiences and intellectual perceptions (Hier and Kemp, 2002; Powdermaker, 1966). Maynard (1994) also remarks that when researchers do not belong to a particular oppressed group, they may miss out some of the invisible or

hidden cultural aspects and lose their control to think what is different and what is normal. On the other hand, I needed to be aware of the danger of relying too much upon my own experience and subconsciously imparting interviewer's bias.

'Being an insider' has been criticised because it is not easy to build up a general picture of what people show (Bryman, 1988; Dingwall, 1980). Being a woman seafarer might have closed my eyes and ears to indentifying issues which might be noticeable to 'outsiders'. Furthermore, my presence as a woman seafarer might cause the interviewees to be afraid of telling the truth or intentionally providing me with wrong information. For example, it was understandable that some sensitive male seafarers hesitated to express their opinions or reflections about gender issues because their interviewer was in fact part of the topic of 'women seafarers'.

I found that the principle method of data collection in this research, in-depth interviewing, has generated very rich data. However, the robustness of the evidence is another issue. How can we know whether or not informants are telling the truth? Atkinson *et al.* (2003:119) note that such 'problems were partly a result of misplaced assumptions concerning the relationships between 'what people do' and 'what people say they do"'. Indeed, there is no guarantee that informants report a "true" story. All that researchers can do is to report and analyse what participants say, and assume its veracity. Interviews cannot escape from this limitation.

The topic of women seafarers' identities was very complex and it was not possible to be rigidly standardised. As such, in-depth interviews elicited emotions, feelings, experiences, and memories of women seafarers from some difficult parts of their lives. My strategy to respond to these potentially sensitive areas was to replace some difficult questions with easier and simpler questions. When participants did not want to talk, I changed the topic or subject. Every step was taken to establish a good rapport especially at the beginning of the interviews. If any interviewee felt upset or uncomfortable for any reason, I stressed that they did not have to answer any questions

if they did not want to. Participants were reminded that they could stop the interviews at any time should they choose. A few female participants expressed discomfort during the interviews, especially when the topic moved to their traumatic experiences, and I stopped interviewing and ensured that they were sufficiently calmed and happy to resume the interviews.

The languages used in the interviews were either English or Japanese, and the majority of informants (34 out of 36 females; 6 out of 8 males) were interviewed in English. Although English was not the first language for participants (except one British male), it is worth noting that seafarers working on the international fleets are required to possess a specialised level of literacy and maritime English. Most officers on the international fleets have a very good grasp of English, and the Seafarers International Research Centre (SIRC), which frequently conducts research with this group, reports high levels of fluency in English amongst officers. Nevertheless, potential participants were advised that the interviews would take place in English and any request to bring a friend to the interview to offer language support was treated sympathetically. As my first language is Japanese, when I conducted the interviews in Japan, I used Japanese and translated the transcripts into English. In addition, throughout the data collection process, I paid particular attention to what the informants said and tried to understand the meanings behind their words. My experience suggests that I was able to understand English spoken by the people whose English was second or third language better than English spoken by native speakers, because I knew how we, non-native English speakers, make mistakes and think when composing an English sentence. Overall, English interviews were more successful than Japanese interviews in terms of eliciting rich data. This indicates that having English as second language paradoxically may have benefited me when interviewing non-native English speakers.

This research complies with the standards of ethical requirement as it obtained the approval of and followed the guidance of the Cardiff University School of Social Sciences (SOCSI) Ethics Committee to whom I submitted my research proposal,

including an outline of the methods prior to commencing the data collection (see Appendix Five). Part of the important ethical consideration was data protection. I have been storing the recordings and transcripts of the interviews electronically (and password protected), in a locked filing cabinet to which no-one else had access. Participants' names do not appear anywhere on or near the recordings; individuals were assigned a pseudonym; and the entire process was anonymous and confidential.

3.7. Summing-up

This chapter started with a discussion of qualitative feminist methodology in relation to studying women seafarers' identity management. Epistemological considerations in studying such an invisible and complex subject rendered issues of understanding women seafarers' experience. Qualitative research inquiry for this research was highlighted, and this led to design the research and choose the method of in-depth data collection and analysis.

The literature review revealed that women in male-dominated occupations tend to use gender identity management strategies. This posed a question as to whether women seafarers also utilise such strategies to cope with gender-related problems by working at sea and how they feel about it. This was a good starting point to answer the fundamental research question of how women seafarers' identity management is affected by the occupational culture of seafaring.

This research was designed to have two data collection steps. The first involved an investigation of the occupational culture of seafaring by listening to both male and female seafarers. The definition of seafaring culture needed to be explored based on seafarers' own explanations and interpretations in order to understand how the work culture impacts on women seafarers' identity management. The second phase of the data collection focused on understanding women seafarers' identity management by

interviewing female seafarers only. This research adopted in-depth interviewing as a principle method because it responds to a qualitative feminist research inquiry of eliciting emotions, feelings, difficulties, and hopes of women seafarers in depth (see 'An Example of Coded Interview Transcripts using Nvivo' on pp.69-70). In the data collection process, other methods such as group interviews, telephone interviews and e-mail interviews were also used as alternatives under certain circumstances.

An Example of Coded Interview Transcripts using Nvivo

(Extract of coded transcript of interview with Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Sweden)

Q Do you think you are seen as feminine on board?

A Hmm, yes and No. Yeah. Work-related, I am not seen as feminine. And I don't want to be seen as feminine. But privately yes, I would say I am seen as feminine.

Q You mean, during off duty, you think that people look at you as a woman?

A Yeah, I think so, yeah. I think they looked at me as a woman all the time for good and bad reason...yeah I think so. I choose to be very kind of low-profile my femininity when I was at sea. I think I am quite low-profile no matter how ...so, I have never been that kind of feminine type of woman.

Q Is that part of your strategy?

A I think it forms part of my strategy. But I think it's also a part of my personality and other values that I am not so feminine. I think it's a strategy that was formed before I went to sea actually. I don't think I choose it at sea. I think it was chosen before. I was kind of boyish girl. From the beginning, yes. From the beginning, I have been always a bit boyish, I think.

Q If you see the women who are doing hwu hwu hwu, do you think that she is strange or?

A I don't think it makes very good with the onboard situation. You need to be kind of gwa! (macho gesture) like with the wind. (laugh) and I have been always a little bit like gwa! Not so much patience, not so much ...Gwa, I like. I think that is one of the reasons that I actually went to sea and I loved being at sea, I loved working with boats. Because I am just now big steel constructions. (laugh)

Q It just makes you happy.

A Yes. Like a kid. Big, steel!

Q A big cranes and windlass and...Mmm.

A Yes. I kind of loved it...childish love. (laugh) I remember that my initial thought to work on the ship was oh, I want to move a big ship by myself! Very primitive desire, nothing else.

Q Exactly, exactly. Uh, do you think you are seen as feminine ashore?

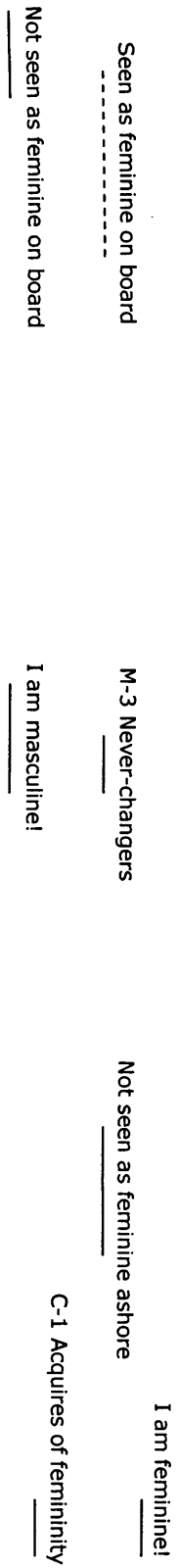
A I don't think I am seen as a very feminine woman, I don't think so. But I don't think I am seen very masculine, No, either.

Q Do you think it would be easier for you to see how you behave if you have an image or ideal type of woman Captain or woman chief officer if you come across?

A Yeah, yeah, much easier to identify...yeah.

Q If women seafarers don't have that kind of modeling person or something, it's quite difficult for them what is like a perfect figure. Because for men, there are so many examples.

A Yeah. But we need to create our own. And perhaps, that has influenced me to create my own femininity also.



Q If you are very impressed by someone like male Master, and try to make a lot of efforts to be close to him, do you need to increase your masculinity to become like him? But if not, you don't need to?

A No, and also you cannot choose the same strategies.

Q Hmm.

A I thought I could do that, but I had the problems when I became a chief officer. Because I thought that my strategies, or my way of giving orders, that was the way I was told, brought up with for twelve years at sea, orders were given like this, you do that. Or "Can you please go and get this?" Ok, "Please lash those trailers on the second deck." Or something. And when I became a chief officer, I started to do the same. "Please..." and I got very strange reactions to that. Because that is what was ... I think that was a conflict that I was running into. Just telling a person nicely what I expect him to do. He could feel it very very offensive.

Q Mmm, even if you do exactly the same thing, it can be wrong?

A Yeah, yeah, that was what happened with my order-giving. It was a very nice, calm order-giving. And I experienced precisely the same problem when I was a ship inspector for I was contritely this, and this, and this. "It's wrong with your ship and I want it to correct it."

Q But reaction was...?

A Could be maniac reactions. Could be very nice as long as I was there. And there was a male coming into my boss, telling that I was a bitch or blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. Furious. I don't know. I have never been able to put a finger on what is wrong exactly. I was trying to be calm and nice, clear and precise as possible. And their reaction can be completely...

Q Opposite?

A Yeah, could be very, very strange and kind of resentful reactions to my order-giving. So I don't know what was wrong there. But I think that many women leaders are kind of covering the message very, very, very much. (laugh)

Q Even they are trying to be straight?

A Yes, but very covered messages. You are not telling, like it's forbidden to tell a man what to do, if you are a woman. You don't tell a man what to do. Then you start to think that you are his mother and three years old, gwa, gwa, gwa! So I think that giving orders to men is very, very difficult if you are a woman and on Swedish ships. It needs to be done in a right way, and I didn't figure out what was the right way. But I think a lot of honey and sugar goes with it to be sorted out. (laugh) More honey and sugar that I could produce! (laugh)

Hierarchy

Security as women

Difficult as women

Problem with men

Leadership

R-2 Manipulators of femininity

The data generated by these methods was transcribed by myself and coded using the qualitative research analysis software, NVivo (see Table 3-C). Adopting 'ideal-types' used in Kvande's (1999) research into Norwegian female engineers helped to categorise women seafarers' identity management strategies for further analysis. The analysed data were valuable in answering the research questions and demonstrating one way of uncovering an otherwise invisible part of women seafarers' lives.

Table 3-C: Examples of themes and sub-themes

Themes	*Sub-themes*
culture	bullying; drinking; gossiping; modern / old-fashioned culture; taboos
feelings	angry; confident; happy; jealous; sad
relationships	friendship; leadership; romance; team work

Note: The theme of 'culture' emerged from the sections of the interviews about ship life, but the themes of 'feelings' and 'relationships' were discussed relating to life on board ships and life ashore.

Ethical considerations, such as informed consent, anonymity of the participants, and strategic responses to sensitivities, were carefully considered and practised during the course of the research. This chapter also addressed challenges and limitations during the data collection and analysis. Opportunistic sampling and snowball sampling were successful to obtain a sufficient number of respondents. However these methods limited expanding the diversity of the sample, for example, twelve Swedish women but only one Polish woman participated in the research. 'Being an insider' as a woman seafarer myself, had pros and cons (i.e. establishing a good rapport; avoiding a bias from my "taken-for-granted" knowledge). Communicating in English as second or third language was not problematic when interviewing; however it caused difficulty at the stages of transcribing the data and presenting it, as there were many grammatical mistakes in their spoken English.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Voyage of Discovering Self – Women Seafarers' Identities

4.1. Introduction

Life on board ship is exceptionally regulated and routinised. In this hierarchical system, seafarers' behaviour and actions are subject to significant influence. The impact of hierarchy is further amplified by the institutional nature of the work/life. Hence a strong occupational culture has emerged and this seems to exert a critical effect upon women seafarers' identities.

This chapter attempts to define the occupational culture of seafaring based on the interview data from eight male and thirty-six female seafarers. Seafarers on a ship constitute a very small community, geographically distant from shore, whose members share the same shipboard space both in working and leisure time. The occupation also reflects strong masculine norms and values with which women seafarers may sometimes feel uncomfortable. This chapter also provides an overview of what drives women seafarers to make strategic adjustments to each space – the ship and the shore – in terms of identity management.

4.2. The ship is our life

Ships create a small community where everybody works hard and depends on each other for the same purpose: to take a ship, safely, to the next port. Life on board can be very simple because of limited sources of entertainment as well as sharing the same space for working and living throughout voyages. Seafarers need to be tolerant in such a confined space and in this context a culture has developed whereby their individual

needs are not accorded the importance of their work. A German Captain, Doris, explains:

> If you have to live for a long time together on the ship, and you cannot escape, you have much more tolerance and respect to each other, and try to deal with each other even if you don't like this guy especially, you know, you have to sail with him for four months now. ... Then you will know that the whole ship is only functioning by itself if you get along with each other, because you don't have any more 40 people who are doing the job. You are maybe only 17 on board, doing the job. So, if you personally like this guy or not ... it is not important.
>
> (Doris, Age 43, Captain, German)

Work is a primary concern on board and good team work is emphasised by seafarers. It is often regarded as the most important element of a "happy ship". A Swedish engineer, Sue, explains:

> When you are in a good team in the engine room, you struggle, you work hard, as a lot of work have to be done. And you get a good laugh, because you have developed a sense of humour, which...some other outsider listens to it, it may sound quite brutal or rude, but it's gig and heart behind it. Uh, then I feel very confident and I feel very happy on board. And I spend my best time in my life.
>
> (Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

It's a small world

Ships are small communities composed of a group of people working very intensively. The value of hard work is dominant and prioritised above anything else. In this occupational culture, seafarers must do their jobs without complaining and cannot neglect their tasks allocated according to their ranks, and everyone must fulfil his/her own role at work. A Dutch male engineer, Van, expresses this view as:

> It is a very narrow community. It is a life of very hard work at least that I felt it.

(Van, Age 46, Junior engineer, Dutch)

Ships are highly self-contained environments, described as a total institution, and people are greatly affected by others on board ships. Rumours and gossiping are frequently practised although some seafarers regard them as taboo. As it is a small world, there is nothing else but limited communication and interaction amongst the crew. A German seafarer, Zurka, explains:

> There is a lot of talk on board. Sometimes even somebody says something wrong or something changed from what you said. So, I got some trouble, but it was because there was not so much social life.
>
> (Zurka, Age 19, Deck officer trainee, German)

In such a small community, women seafarers may become one of the topics of conversation when there is nothing special to talk about, as a Swedish seafarer, Vera, describes:

> If you are a woman, you are always so visible. Everyone knows you. They know a lot of things about you, even though you have no idea about it. And they talk, they talk. They say that women gossip, but men gossip a lot about female officers. They really do. I don't think I would like to know what they are saying, because it might be anything, I think. Just talking out of the blue.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

It's male culture

> There has been a lot of macho culture. It is very male oriented.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

As seafaring occupations are male-dominated, people still automatically think that all seafarers are male. One Swedish ex-Captain talked about her experience when her company sent e-mails to their ships and some began with "Dear gentlemen". She felt that those e-mails were not addressing her, because she was not a "gentleman". She

found the person who sent these e-mails and told him what would be appropriate, for example, "Dear Captains" or "Dear colleagues" instead of "Dear gentlemen" which verbally excluded her as a recipient. Perhaps pre-empting what she understood to be a common reaction amongst men that if women want to work at sea they should be prepared to tolerate working in a male environment without causing "a fuss", she pointed out to him the importance of this little consideration by stating 'It is not how I take it. It is how you should address it. It is a big difference.'

Masculine norms and values also seem to be reflected in an old-fashioned style of doing seafaring jobs. Many female participants noted that even though technology is advanced, using muscle power demonstrates the traditional masculine value of labour and privileges strong and tough men. They resented this particular element of the occupational culture and sometimes perceived the male way of doing a job as inefficient and unintelligent, as a Swedish engineer, Sally, illustrates:

> Guys are sometimes pretty stupid. Because they lift with a back, they don't use this helping equipment. ... "Uwooaaa!!" They are fighting with their strength and they were almost dropping into, making a really stupid way to do the job. ... you can always use your brain to solve the situation. You need to be smart.
>
> (Sally, Age 27, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

Many women seafarers echoed this sentiment, and said they do not like the attitude of being tough and regard it very old-fashioned, as Vera describes:

> The disadvantage I think is that it has the male stamp on it. We have to be a bit tough and I don't really like that ... But it's the attitude that is from very, very old times. It's still hanging on.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Some women seafarers also addressed the merit of being small when working at sea, as a Portuguese Chief Engineer, Deolinda describes:

> I discovered how to do the job in other ways, and several times I was the only available to do the job, because I was smaller.
>
> (Deolinda, Age 46, Chief Engineer, Portuguese)

It is acknowledged that seafarers do not need special strength to do the job at sea nowadays. However, the attitude that exceptional strength is required remains held by a large number of male seafarers. In this context many male seafarers made an assumption that they would be called upon to compensate for a lack of strength amongst female colleagues. A British male engineer, David, felt that helping a woman seafarer would possibly become a nuisance or involve extra effort by putting aside his work if it happened frequently. David said of women seafarers:

> Instead of them, just get a normal rating. Maybe they ask you for better help ... but still if you had that every day, it can be a nuisance.
>
> (David, Age 25, Junior engineer, British)

This view suggests that physically weak persons, below an average man, may be doubted in their ability to work aboard a ship.

The masculine culture on board most ships extends beyond the realm of work, however, and many shipboard activities reflect masculine interests. For example, shared TV sets are generally dedicated to TV programmes targeted for male audiences on, for example, sports or cars in ship common rooms. Watching pornographic films is also commonplace and generally speaking, women seafarers do not join such activities.

Quite a few women seafarers noted that communication on board ships also reflects masculine values and norms. This relates not only to the form of communication but also its content. One Swedish deck officer, talking about her general observations of her male colleagues, mentioned that male seafarers do not talk much about their feelings. Similarly, a Polish deck officer, Karolina, explained that her male colleagues generally did not admit their mistakes nor use the word, 'Sorry'. She perceived that it was a male way of thinking. Conversely, sexual jokes and dirty language were commonplace.

Although having a sense of humour is particularly important in maintaining good onboard relationships, women seafarers tended to regard such sexual jokes and dirty language as uneducated and uncultivated. Pornographic images of women placed in various parts of the ship were also disliked by women seafarers in general. Despite the fact that many companies now have a code of ethics, prohibiting a display of any sexual images in workplaces, these remain relatively common on vessels.

These examples represent some aspects of the occupational culture of seafaring and general observations of how women need to fit in such an environment. As seen in other male-dominated occupations, there seems to be certain standard ways of behaviour in seafaring. These behaviours and attitudes in seafaring resonate with what are generally understood to be masculine norms and values.

It's a way of life

'Women on board a ship make the sea angry.' 'Whistling invites strong wind.' These are examples of many superstitions of seafarers in the old days. Whilst some of these persist, they have largely been replaced by taboos and unwritten rules at sea relating to more practical manners and courtesies. For example, when seafarers first come onto a new ship, they are expected to observe or to ask which seats in a mess room belong to whom so they do not sit in the "wrong" chair. Similarly, when a cabin door is closed, they should not attempt to enter. Some seafarers think that having a romantic relationship on board is taboo, because it may affect their work. Seafarers have to share the same space both on and off duty, and it is difficult to keep romantic relationships secret or invisible. Taboos in behaviour are extended to emotions. Being emotional is regarded as unprofessional. Staying calm is highly valued on board a ship, thus further embedding masculine norms and values. For the apprentice on board (the cadet), taboos are discovered through the telling of tales, direct instruction,

and importantly they are learned through making "mistakes". Seafarers sensing a sudden climate change "figure out" when they have done "something wrong".

To some extent, the occupational culture of seafaring is constructed around strict and military-like traditions on the basis of ship's hierarchy. These regulate and discipline seafarers' lives on board and are passed from one generation of seafarers to the next. Seafarers are so used to their own culture that it may be difficult for them to accept something different, as a Swedish seafarer, Sofia, describes:

> Sometimes it's really hard to change things, because it has "always been that way". Seamen seems to like to do things in an old way. Changes scare them.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish)

Because the occupational culture of seafaring presents its own rules and regulations, seafarers must shape themselves to a certain form of personalities, and adjust and standardise to meet the requirements within the occupational culture. A Swedish male seafarer, Fredrik, described that seafarers tend to be better at 'tuning into' each other, compared to the people ashore.

> Seafarers are in high degree of capability of tuning than the average shore people.
>
> (Fredrik, Age 36, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

In the process of attuning to each other, seafarers often establish trust and respect as ship mates. Seafarers are very loyal to each other and bonds soon develop. For example, if a male crew member has had a relationship with a woman in port, the rest of the crew keeps quiet about it to his wife even if they do not approve of such conduct. Seafarers seem to make a clear distinction between insiders (those on board ships) and outsiders (those working ashore), and this creates a strong sense of collective identity: of "us" against others ashore.

It's home, it's my ship

Seafarers express various versions of "belonging" to their ships. Two women seafarers from deck and engine departments described their bodies and souls as part of a ship.

> I'm just now big steel constructions. (laugh) Like a kid. "Big steel!" ... I remember that my initial thought to work on the ship was "Oh, I want to move a big ship by myself!" Very primitive desire, nothing else.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

> I think I felt very much I belong to the ship. ... when you were in engine room, you sort of become one with the engine. ... it sounds a bit religious or something, but the engine has a soul. ... you connected to the soul of engine.
>
> (Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

As everyday life on board is so focused on the job and one's shipmates, many seafarers feel that they become disconnected from their life ashore including their family and friends. A Swedish engineer, Laura, explains:

> Everything else, my life and my boyfriend and my family, I disconnect to them. ... I could live on the vessel. That's my life.
>
> (Laura, Age 24, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

The data also show that seafarers' sense of belonging to ships extends not only to sailing time, but also to vacation periods. A Portuguese seafarer, Izabel, explains that she cannot escape from a sense of belonging to ships while ashore, because 'sea comes in her blood' and this feeling is endemic among seafarers:

> It's endemic...it is a disease, it's like sea comes in your blood. It's contagious.
>
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese)

4.3. Happy me or Hated me?

There seem to be two extremes in male seafarers' attitudes towards female seafarers regardless of their nationality, age group, and rank: being too nice and protecting women from hard work; or trying to "break" women by giving them the hardest jobs in order to make them cry. A German seafarer, Pamera, explains:

> They say "A woman on board, ok, we give her the hardest job now and show her how hard it is to be on the ship." And the others say, "Oh a woman, if it rains, please come in, so that you won't get wet." Two extremes.
> (Pamera, Age 44, Junior deck officer, German)

No female respondents liked extreme protection by their male colleagues, because they wanted to work on the same footing as men and such behaviour undermined their capacity to do so. In fact, many women noted that most male seafarers were supportive and tried to help their female colleagues, and only a few men gave them a hard time.

Hello, women, welcome on board!

Women seafarers sometimes received compliments for being aboard ships by their male colleagues who thought that the atmosphere of a ship could become "softer" and "happier". Pamera felt that having a woman on board was seen by some as normalising the ship's male-dominance to a more mixed-gender environment, like ashore:

> It seems that ship is happier. All people are a little bit softer and happier. It is like ashore. It is normal to be a mixed crew.
> (Pamera, Age 44, Junior deck officer, German)

When a woman seafarer is on board, male colleagues noted that their language tends to be more polite and they may dress more neatly and pay more attention to personal

hygiene (e.g. changing their socks every day; wearing a clean T-shirt without stains and holes; shaving more often). Some male seafarers may take down the most explicit images of naked women when they know that a woman is joining. Two male seafarers, David and Martin, explained:

> If there is a woman there, ... I would probably make an effort, yeah?
>
> (David, Age 25, Junior engineer, British)

> Definitely the job and the tone on board is ... masculinity. ... Once you have a woman on board, ... immediately also the tone is changing. ... The manners and tones are a little bit civilised.
>
> (Martin, Age 44, Captain, German)

The ship's hierarchy seems to control all the relationships on board and no-one can challenge it. However, a woman may weaken or soften the rigid structure of a ship. This feminisation of the occupational culture of seafaring may release the crew from their strict and regulated shipboard life. A natural interest between men and women may enhance interaction and communication across all levels. It seems to allow women seafarers to access different levels beyond ship's hierarchy. A Swedish seafarer, Rebecka, explains:

> When you are a woman, you are kind of open doors ... it is very strict on board, having different grades ... You are not allowed to pass this levels, but women can do it. Easier. If there is a man and a woman, ...even if it is not sexual ... you are interested in the other part in some way. ... it gives you an extra level.
>
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Some male seafarers seem to find it easier to talk to female seafarers. Because of the strong and powerful hierarchy on board, seafarers are often reluctant to express their honest feelings. As a result, women seafarers seem to be regarded as a surrogate mother who can listen to their male colleagues about their problems and personal matters, as a Swedish seafarer, Vera, illustrates:

> I see that they find it more easy to talk to me both bad and good things.
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Thus in such ways, the presence of women at sea often facilitates better communication aboard, and many women seafarers think it can be an advantage for them.

Go home and marry a rich man!

Despite the fact that many male seafarers were not overtly hostile to female colleagues, there were nevertheless a number of examples offered of colleagues being extraordinarily aggressive and exclusionary in their response to women seafarers on board. A Swedish engineer, Olivia, explains:

> He said, "I have always said that the day when women are in the engine room, I will sign off." I said, "Ok, bye." ... he said, "If you need a help to carry or anything, I will NEVER help you. Don't come to me."
> (Olivia, Age 36, Junior engineer, Swedish)

Women seafarers tended to experience their early days on board a vessel as the most difficult time, because some male colleagues seemed to make a prejudgement about them as a consequence of their sex and were hostile as a result. The first few weeks on board were, therefore, critical in gaining acceptance. A German Captain, Doris, explains:

> It is a male culture. ... "Oh, a woman is coming on board. Ok, let's see if she can do the job." ... the first two weeks, they watch you. And "Ok, she can do the job. No problem. Yes, you can also talk to her. She is not arrogant or high nose, because she has a license." Then it works.
> (Doris, Age 43, Captain, German)

Some male seafarers seemed to have an old-fashioned point of view about women, separating women from the public sphere. A Swedish seafarer, Sofia, felt sad when

the chief officer suggested that ships are a men's territory and women should stay ashore and marry a rich man.

> My chief officer told me "Why are you here?" "Go ashore, go ashore. Marry rich." "Don't do this." He was pain in the ass. No, he wasn't nice. I was sad. I thought he was stupid.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish)

At times being a woman at sea is so problematic that even in the context of a rigidly observed occupational hierarchy experienced female officers in higher ranks were sometimes less valued than male counterparts. A Polish chief officer, Karolina, happened to see a telex, addressed to the Captain, from an agent who apologised that a male officer was not available to relieve the home-going chief officer instead of her, a female.

> I found out, some telex information, maritime Gdynia agent, ... "Dear Captain, I am so sorry, but I have to thank you [about the chief officer being relieved by] a woman that you had to understand there is a summer time, a big holiday, and it is very difficult to find a man." Yes! You know, I took it and I saved it for memory as a joke.
>
> (Karolina, Age 52, Senior deck officer, Polish)

Because women are often seen as less valued, women seafarers have to work much harder in order to be accepted by other crew members, as a Portuguese seafarer, Catalina, describes:

> You need to be extra careful. You need to know that you have to make 150 percent of your job to be considered well.
>
> (Catalina, Age 32, Senior deck officer, Portuguese)

An indirect sign of doubting women's ability is sometimes found in the language that men use. Some women seafarers pointed out that the future tense is often used to describe women's ability of working at sea. A German woman seafarer, Vicki, received a final report from her supervising deck officer, who stated 'she *will* be a good

officer when she continues seafaring'. She did not believe that the same comment would be written if she were a man. A Polish woman seafarer, Karolina, said that sometimes ship owners or shipping companies were also reluctant to express women seafarers' capabilities in public.

> They know me and they say, "Don't worry she *will* be good." But it is always future tense. She "will be". She "could be".
>
> (Karolina, Age 52, Senior deck officer, Poland)

This kind of attitude places women under extra pressure to prove themselves by doing the job better than men. However, showing competence in a man's world can also be problematic. Many women seafarers found it easier to have a low-profile in front of men in order to not threaten their egos. As a Swedish officer, Vera, described:

> I think that is the policy that most women do in this male environment. You keep a low-profile almost on every issue, because you don't want to say "I know this. I know that." Maybe you just do the things, but you don't let them know that you might be better.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

The majority of women seafarers in the sample experienced being seen as an object of sexual interest by their male colleagues. They sometimes felt uncomfortable about this regarding it as a challenge to their identity as a person or a worker, as a German seafarer, Gloria, describes:

> Uncomfortable. You feel like they look at you, not like a woman, like a thing.
>
> (Gloria, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German)

Occasionally, on so-called "bad" ships, a person is targeted as a scapegoat for all that goes wrong and all the negative aspects of sea-life. If there is a woman on board, she can easily be placed in this position, because her gender tends to separate her from the majority. There may be some male colleagues who want to help her; however it will be risky for those men to protect a woman. Others would suspect that they are having

an affair, as a Swedish seafarer, Norah, illustrates:

> You are always this kind of sexual aspects. The one who comes to help you is always risking to be told behind his back that he is sleeping with her. ... Problems usually occur in bad ships, sort to speak, where there is a bad culture and everyone has a hard culture, everyone is a little bit afraid, so ... it is always that the one who is easiest to separate from the rest of the group can be used as a scapegoat.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

The same woman seafarer, Norah, also explained that she did not have a romantic relationship on board, because she felt that the status of becoming someone's girlfriend "reduced" the dignity of her identity.

> I didn't want to be seen as somebody's girlfriend. I wanted to be seen as me. And, to be together with someone reduces me to somebody's girlfriend.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Having an affair aboard ships is likely to place women in a difficult position. Several women seafarers explained that it is 'always the woman's fault' if they have a relationship at sea. One Swedish woman seafarer told me that she was refused employment by a certain shipping company, who said that girls fall in love and make problems on board. Such prejudice towards women seafarers makes some women have a preference of being an only female on a ship, as a Portuguese Captain, Yelena, explains:

> I always asked the company to be the only woman, because it was dangerous. Because when something goes wrong with the social life, it's not the one person's problem. It's every woman's problem. For example, if someone behaves badly, even sexually, the other women are blamed for the same. ... the Captain signs the profile of everyone ... that the Captain didn't like it. So it's very subjective.
>
> (Yelena, Age 41, Captain, Portuguese)

The ship's hierarchy and the organisation of management on board ensure that generally

speaking there is a 'one-man' subjective evaluation of all seafarers. This is made by the Captain so that they must behave "well". Other women noted a different reason for not liking another woman on the same ship. They expressed discomfort when others try to group two women automatically as friends, simply because both are women. Women seafarers tended to emphasise the diversity of women, and whether two or more women get along with each other largely depends on their personalities rather than their gender. Although a few women participants told me that they preferred being the only woman on board, the majority of women liked to have another woman to share their shipboard life with.

4.4. Altering "personality"

There seem to be a variety of survival strategies developed by women seafarers in order to cope with gender-related problems (the detail of these strategies will be discussed in the following chapters). This section aims to provide a general background of what led women seafarers to decide to utilise identity management strategies.

Moulding into the seafaring culture

As the literature review about women in male-dominated professions suggests, women seafarers also tend to present themselves in a less feminine manner while at sea. Keeping a distance from their male colleagues is commonly observed as part of a woman seafarer's tactics in a man's world. A Portuguese woman seafarer, Izabel, stopped going to the gym on board, because she felt uncomfortable that her male colleagues could see her in informal situations.

> I go on the gym. Two days later, the boys were playing ping-pong with me. And two weeks later, all the crew was coming at five o'clock. So, I must stop this ... I am not going to sweat in front of the men. ... I don't socialise with men. I don't smoke. I don't drink coffee. I don't have private conversations. I keep my space. ... For a few days I just come to watch the

> boys playing the ping-pong and after...when the others give up, again I start my exercise. I mean, they went to see me in the informal situation and they want to socialise...but I am not going to do that. ... I am not going to sweat in front of them, because that is beyond personal. Sweating!?!?...beyond!!! It's intimacy, I don't do that. So, I had to stop and change my schedule. This is just the small details...everything is difficult on board.
>
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior officer, Portuguese)

As Izabel illustrates, many women seafarers found it difficult to express their identities in a variety of ways which did not solely relate to how they looked or dressed but also to the activities they took part in. Such experiences seemed to encourage women seafarers to develop more effective strategies to cope with their difficulties.

Being seen as a woman is problematic aboard ships. The majority of women seafarers in my sample (25/36) tended to play down their feminine qualities while at sea. This included some efforts at concealing femininity in their appearance, such as tying up their hair, and not using make-up, nail polish or perfume. Where the strategy of de-feminisation appeared to be inefficient, many women attempted to become closer to their male counterparts and behaved in a masculine manner. A Swedish engineer, Sue, explains:

> The situation on board can make you as a woman even more isolated. Then, you necessarily have to be a man.
>
> (Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

Many women seafarers in my sample (21/36) changed their attitudes and behaviour to match more masculine personas on board. The importance of masculine values at work was emphasised by many, and these were often described as 'logical', 'calm', 'serious', 'patient' and 'objective' (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-05). Some women seafarers think that behaving in a masculine manner is an act of self-defence when working with men, as a Swedish officer, Alma, illustrates:

> I am masculine on board. ... I think it is actually some kind of defence and it is also the way getting the guys to take me seriously.

(Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

The masculine-type of identity which women seafarers acquire while at sea may be maintained ashore. Women seafarers seem to absorb masculine characteristics over time and this may create a gap between other women ashore and themselves. The same person in the previous quote, Alma, told that her personality had changed because of seafaring and described the most significant difference as self-sufficiency and confidence.

> I make my decisions very much quicker and I sometimes get very irritated by the people not being, not want to help themselves. ... "Bloody hell! Can't you even change the light bulb?" ... I think that is one of the biggest differences between what I was like before and what I am like now. It's just a self-reliability, self-sufficiency and I would say even confidence.
>
> (Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

This example illustrates how women seafarers can foster their masculine identity created at sea and maintain it even while ashore. These women seafarers have strategically given their characters a more masculine emphasis, and it seems to subsequently become an important part of their personalities.

"It's not my way – I am still a woman"

The occupational culture of seafaring seems to encourage women seafarers to de-feminise and/or masculinise their behaviour and attitudes. However, all women seafarers in my sample described themselves as feminine to a certain degree, no matter how they tried to become different characters on board ships. Despite the fact that many women seafarers accepted their masculine identity, some did not seem comfortable with it and were confused by their feeling of 'I am still a woman', as Vicki describes:

> On the ship, I have to be very manly. I talked about it is a kind of freedom. But at least, it is not a 100 percent "my way", because I am still a woman. ... First I get totally free, because I am released from the stereo-types that I had to fulfil. ... I know who I am now, more or less. I just can find "my way". I am still a woman. There is nothing bad about that.
>
> (Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

A masculine identity may not perfectly fit with who they are, and these women seafarers seem to feel a need to develop their identities further. On the other hand, many women seafarers (22/36) told me that they retrieve their femininity when they were back ashore. A German seafarer, Marina, explains:

> I want to have a feeling again that I am a woman so that I can also wear things that everybody likes. And then, I don't have to behave like a man. I don't want to have this job to behave as a man. I am still a woman.
>
> (Marina, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German)

Half of women seafarers (18/36) also made use of their private time and space on board to retrieve their femininity in a variety of small ways, for example, using luxurious body lotions, reading fashion magazines, knitting and sewing. Furthermore, women seafarers' perceptions of feeling like women were also evident in the form of invisible signs. A Swedish Captain, Emma, expressed internal conflict between her masculinity and femininity. She constantly had to negotiate her feeling of a lack of confidence while men seemed to be permanently confident.

> But I'm still like that thinking as a woman. "Oh, no, I cannot do that. Oh, no, I am not good at that. I am not really good enough to doing that." I am still thinking in my mind. So it's not completely men's. I have self-confidence, but some confidence I have to teach myself. Say "I am good at this." Sometimes "Anyway I really do this." ... You have to do it all the time. ... So that is the female sign, still.
>
> (Emma, Age 39, Captain, Swedish)

Such conflict between masculinity and femininity is a common problem amongst women seafarers who try to present themselves as more masculine at work. Other

women realised that they were still feminine, because they found that their male colleagues were interested in them. A Swedish officer, Norah, explains that some male seafarers still fell in love with her even though she made an effort to remove her feminine side and display her masculine side in front of them.

> I choose as a strategy also being quite masculine when I was at sea. ... it's easier to be a part of the job. I couldn't be accused to try to flirt with anyone. But I was amazed, because I could be ... really had "gwuuaaa!!!" [rough male gesture] And still there were men flirting with me and really interested. ... I was really trying to avoid it, and they, it seems like they didn't care at all, didn't care about what I was trying to do. They could see through it and they saw women kind of in me, not what I was trying to play.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

"I am a person"

The research shows that women seafarers' identities seem to occasionally conflict between masculine and feminine attributes. The seafaring experience may provoke women's awareness of selves and question their identities. Some women seafarers described that they were no longer tied up with gender norms. A simplistic categorisation of men or women did not seem to fit them very well. Rather, some women seafarers developed the definitions of selves and gained a sense of "person" that is beyond the concept of gender, as a German seafarer, Vicky, illustrates:

> I was thinking "Who am I?"... For me, it was a total question of myself. ... Come back to the basics. In a way, but the basic path along, that is just find your real self, you know. Just because you don't have this normal world around you. ... Find a new self inside, yeah. At least I could say just I identify myself ... I am a person! It is not perhaps a big word, but for me, it is something different.
>
> (Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

Vicki described shipboard life as not a "normal" world; work is prioritised over

everything else and people live by its regulations and everyday routines. Seafarers generally spend an intensive period of time in the same group of people under hazardous conditions of nature. Such primitive ways of living seem to allow seafarers to go back to a very basic core of selves. In the case of women seafarers, this process of returning to basics may occur in parallel with a questioning of their gender identities. As a result, some women seafarers may find a new identity as "a person".

Likewise, some women seafarers seem to 'redefine' themselves over time through seafaring. Redefining of selves often indicates that women seafarers decide who they want to be, regardless of the concept of gender. The difference between these "redefined" women seafarers and other shore-based women can be identified by other people. A Swedish officer, Norah, told me how the Chief Engineer on her vessel said Norah was different from other women. The Chief Engineer was drunk and told her truthfully about how in the past he made young women seafarers angry and cry by teasing them. He explained that those girls could be controlled but she would not let him do so. Norah understood this, because she had already made a decision about who she is and did not allow him to play with her emotions. Redefining herself without the concept of gender seemed to help unbind her from men's control over women.

4.5. Switching the roles

The research shows that women seafarers seem to play various roles between on board and ashore. A Portuguese Captain, Yelena, explained that two different attitudes, her original feminine side and her newly created masculine side, exist in herself at the same time.

> Two kinds of attitudes belong to the same person. I was always a woman. But on board I have to choose more effectively some attitude apart from my personality in some way.
>
> (Yelena, Age 41, Captain, Portuguese)

Women seafarers seem to switch their different roles strategically between ship and shore. Such transition periods between these two different spaces may be worth investigating in order to understand how women seafarers switch their roles. This section starts with seafarers' transition period from shore to ship; and then the converse.

"Be your own man" – back to the ship

The geographical mobility which seafarers have between ship and shore seems to make them detach mentally from their private lives at home. Seafarers tend to live in parallel worlds, ship and shore, and disconnect their shore lives from their shipboard lives when they come on board. As a consequence, they feel as if their shore-side community almost vanishes when they leave home, as a Swedish seafarer, Angela, describes:

> It was two different worlds. They were parallel. But sometimes you are thinking in your mind that the world ashore stops when I leave. And then, you know, then you will be a bit surprised when you came back and the people did stuff. ... in my mind, the shore stopped, and didn't exist. Really. So it is always surprising to come home and I noticed that things happen. People moved or something changed.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

A German seafarer, Vicki, described that on board she was no longer 'a typical woman' who may rely on others. She understood that 'being your own man' was essential and this made her strong and independent while at sea.

> In the moment you enter the ship, it is just a cut. You have your memories, of course, for example, you call home...you are showing that you still have connection to home. You miss them, of course. But it is just, you have none to be told on your own. You are not any more what is perhaps a typical woman. ... You have to be your own man. You have to live on your own. You have to be your own strength. You cannot lean on something, always

> on yourself. So you make a cut and then you are on the ship. It is just a water world around here.
>
> (Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

The transition period from shore to ship begins as soon as seafarers know the date they are joining their vessel. However, the real change often occurs when they set foot on their ship, as a Swedish engineer, Laura, describes:

> Every time I set my foot on the vessel, oh...ok, it's home.
>
> (Laura, Age 24, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

It seems to be almost automatic, immediately after seafarers come on board ships, that they switch their roles and behaviour. The research found, however, women seemed to have an additional period of adjustment, to be accepted as part of a working team on ships. Unlike male seafarers, women need to reduce gender bias amongst the crew and it often takes a couple of weeks after she signs on a ship.

"A double identity" – back to the shore

The transition period from ship to shore was described differently by male and female respondents in terms of the length of changing their modes of behaviour. A British male engineer, David, explained that many male seafarers tended to switch off their ship mode a few weeks before they actually disembarked a ship.

> It's seeable people just switched off in the last two weeks. They just, there's no work done. They are just moping around. ... we start getting nervous and we start shaking and every time you step down, your legs are bounce and you get very excited about going home.
>
> (David, Age 25, Junior engineer, British)

On the other hand, for women seafarers, the timing of switching off ship mode may come later than for male seafarers, and it can be around the time of their actual

disembarkation. For example, a Swedish engineer, Sally told me that she could switch off only after she finished her last job in the engine room where she wore dirty working clothes. Her mind as an engineer was switched off when she took a shower and changed to clean clothes. Sally describes this transition from ship to shore as if she came out from a prison.

> I go off again, I feel like "Haaahhh, free again! Fresh air!! I am OUT." (big smile on her face) So it's really strange, but it's like...I can feel like it's a prison to come on board. ... I feel like released to go home.
>
> (Sally, Age 27, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

Indeed, the moment of disembarkation releases seafarers from the total institution and they feel free again. However, many seemed to find it impossible to switch off a seafarer's identity completely during vacation. A Swedish seafarer, Angela, categorised the two separate worlds of ship and shore as "double identity":

> I wasn't doing really much when I was at home. ... I guess I was just a sailor. ... except for those few days and overlap, it was the separate worlds. Maybe the double identity.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Both male and female seafarers told me that when they were back ashore, they missed the ship's terminology which they used in their everyday life on board. For example, a room is a "cabin", and similarly a kitchen is a "galley". In addition, different languages (e.g. Dutch, Swedish, Japanese) have their own versions of ship's language. Some seafarers continue to use such language even while ashore. Part of ship's language may be reflected by masculine norms and values; so, shore-based people are possibly shocked when they hear how seafarers talk. Both male and female seafarers explained that it was not easy to switch their language from rough to civilised. Even male seafarers could feel a need to "feminise" their words while ashore as a British engineer, David, illustrates:

> A transitional period of coming back. When I come back, I swear all the

> time. ... I'm trying to cut down, but I catch myself talking to the people at a shop, I would say "Uh, have my tea out, fuck'n", or whatever like. I try, I don't want to swear. ... Yeah, it sounds like you are being rough. You might be saying, you know, instead of saying "Would you like a cup of tea?", you say, "Would you like a fuck'n tea?" or something like that. ... it's just the way to say it.
>
> (David, Age 25, Junior engineer, British)

This example shows that male seafarers also face the problem of integrating into a shore-based culture. In case of women seafarers, however, their masculinised behaviour may appear to be even more problematic and inappropriate as a Swedish engineer, Olivia, describes:

> I can see all the others [looked "Wow"] "What did she say?" Maybe I could say it in a different way ... maybe you say more generally mild, "Oh, would you be so kind...?" But now I just said "Get lost!"
>
> (Olivia, Age 36, Junior engineer, Swedish)

The research revealed that women seafarers tend to face a gap between shore-based women and themselves. For example, some women seafarers found their fashion styles out of date when they came back ashore, and felt that they were forced to wear classic styles all the time. Working as a seafarer for a long time seems to change women seafarers' behaviour and attitudes in a less feminine manner, and they may find it difficult to adjust to female culture ashore. A Portuguese seafarer, Izabel, who used to dress in less feminine styles (e.g. shorts), appeared like an alien when she had short shore leave in Venezuela where women generally wear sexy clothes.

> In Venezuela, I go ashore, and I was the only one with shorts. All the girls are like very SEXY, like, yeah, very, very feminine. I was like walking on the street, talking and everybody was like "Who is that?" "Where did she come from?" "What is that?" "E.T., yeah!"
>
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese)

Even if women seafarers make an effort to switch back their behaviour to their shore mode, they still seem to find themselves different from shore-based women.

4.6. Summing-up

Throughout this chapter, three notable sets of norms and values underlying the occupational culture of seafaring have been highlighted: an emphasis amongst seafarers on the hiding of emotions and feelings; the importance of joking and bantering; and the prioritisation of the requirements of the job over the needs of individuals. Concealing one's emotions and feelings seems to be regarded as a professional quality as seafarers work and live in a confined space without regular contact with family and friends. Joking and bantering with each other is also important on board and it may be expressed in the form of sexual and dirty jokes, especially in a drinking culture on ships where alcohol is permitted. A shipboard culture is also characterised by a significant emphasis on the prioritisation of work over individual needs at all times. These three elements of the occupational culture of seafaring coupled with masculine norms and values in ways that affected women seafarers' lives both on board and ashore.

The research shows that masculine norms and values in seafaring culture tend to exert certain pressure on women in terms of identity management. Behaving in a less feminine and/or more masculine manner seems to be commonly practised by many women seafarers in order to survive in a man's world of ships. Seafaring may affect women seafarers' identity management and change their behaviour and attitudes over time. On the process of redefining selves, women seafarers seem to replace their position beyond the concept of gender, for example, as "a person". The interview data also suggest that transitions between ship and shore require women seafarers to switch different roles, associating with identity management.

CHAPTER FIVE

'Survival' in a Sea of Men – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While on Board

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to present an analytical framework to assist in understanding women seafarers' identity management and their strategies while at sea. As I explained in chapter three, 'ideal-types' have been employed in order to assist with the identification of patterns in women seafarers' identity management. Thus, the thirty-six women seafarers in the sample were regrouped into ideal-typical identity management groups. This enabled me to ascertain what, if anything can be said about the general strategies employed by women seafarers in managing their identities in male-dominated work settings and when returning ashore to communities where seafaring may be regarded as an unusual job for a woman. Each kind of identity management strategy used by women seafarers while at sea is explained using illustrative quotes from the interview data.

5.2. Four distinctive identity management groups

The majority of women seafarers seemed to face a question of who they were and continued to manage their gender identities. A Swedish seafarer, Alma, described how she tried to redefine herself and develop her personality. As a result, she attained variations in her self-identity and she seemed to be thrilled by changing and developing her identities. Alma explains:

> I kind of have to, not reinvent myself, but redefine myself. Yes, I have some variations and theme. It's great fun and it's very developing personality and

> kind of a grip on who I am. Yeah, it's good. And it's great fun. It's a bit nervous too. (laugh)
>
> (Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Bernstein's (1975) concept of code switching seems to fit here in understanding why women seafarers change their behaviour and deliberately choose a specific gender identity according to a particular space and group of people.

In order to explore the ways in which women seafarers manage their identities, I opted to employ the typologies of identity management used in the research of Suter *et al.* (2006). Their study groups American Navy women's identity management into three identity management forms which they categorise as: construction, maintenance and reproduction. However, in analysing my interview data, it emerged that there was a need for one more identity management form to be included. I have termed this form 'negotiation', a category which is also found in Stapleton's (2003) research on gender and swearing. Taylor and Whittier (1999:169) stated 'negotiation encompasses the symbols and everyday actions subordinate groups use to resist and restructure existing systems of domination'. This matches the descriptions of women seafarers' "negotiation" in identity management which emerged in this research and captures how women seafarers "resist and restructure" the male domination embedded in both shipboard and shore-based cultures.

Combining these categories into four distinctive identity-constituted 'ideal-typical groups' (Kvande, 1999) helps us to pinpoint patterns in women seafarers' identity management. Otherwise, it would be difficult to see patterns of women seafarers' identity management because of the considerable wealth of interview data and the detail they contain. I have therefore called my ideal-typical identity management groups "negotiators", "constructors", "maintainers" and "reproducers". It is important to note that these are categories of identity management strategies, not of women seafarers.

Women who fall into the "negotiators" category are likely to experience feelings of

unease, difficulty, anxiety, stress, being misunderstood, discomfort, struggle, conflict, insecurity or inappropriateness. "Negotiators" need an immediate and emergent solution to handle the challenges posed to identity on the spot. A woman seafarer in the "negotiators" group tends to make an effort to modify her behaviour, because she feels that she is causing problems by being different from the majority of men. Therefore, "negotiators" employ a 'sameness strategy' through which they attempt to demonstrate that they are like the majority of others in their environment.

By going further in acquiring a certain identity, women seafarers in the "constructors" group tend to feel accepted and appropriate to their expected gender roles of the space where they belong. Depending upon what gender roles are expected, "constructors" may employ either a sameness or a difference strategy, depending upon the context. For example, when "constructors" need to be accepted in a male group, they may take a sameness strategy and adopt similar characters to males.

"Maintainers" tend to be themselves and try not to be affected by others or their expectations as much as "negotiators" and "constructors". Therefore, "maintainers" may create a boundary between themselves and others, and keep their emotions and feelings within their personal domains. "Maintainers" are aware of what they like and dislike and they tend to feel happy, at ease, or comfortable with themselves as they are, and their state of mind is often balanced and stable.

"Reproducers", through a search for their "authenticity", tend to release themselves from difficulties in relation to their gender identity management in the past. "Reproducers" utilise a difference strategy and may feel freedom, security, confidence, a sense of achievement, a feeling of rebirth or liberation by redefining themselves.

Overall, the data suggest that when women seafarers first go to sea, many realise a need to negotiate their gender identities to fit into the male-dominated workplace ("negotiators"). However within my sample, some women felt a need to further

develop their identity management by "acquiring" a new identity to fit better into the space in which they find themselves ("constructors"). Soon or later, the majority of women seafarers went on to maintain themselves without being affected as much ("maintainers"). Some active-thinking women seemed to become what I have termed "reproducers" by redefining themselves, and described a feeling of freedom in relation to their understanding of who they were. The patterns of identity management are, therefore, rich and diverse.

Within these ideal-typical identity management groups, it is possible to identify varieties in identity management strategies. For example, within the "negotiators" category, four different identity management strategies emerged and were given a name and group code, such as "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)". This format usually suggests the names of identity management strategies; however it may be also used to refer a group of people who utilise the strategies in this thesis[5]. Table 5-A shows a summary of the ideal-typical identity groups and strategies. Each ideal-typical identity management group has three or four different strategies associated with it (see also Table 5-B).

All the female participants were assigned to one ideal-typical identity management group for their time on board and one for their time ashore. Whilst, as previously discussed, women did not neatly fit into these categories they were assigned according to the management strategies that they predominantly utilised as individuals. Furthermore, allocation of ideal-types was based on women's current status (or the last one if she is an ex-seafarer) of identity management. Therefore, even if a woman seafarer used to be in the "negotiators" group in her very early stage of seafaring career, her present status, if she changed over time, will be considered to be her ideal-type in this thesis.

---

[5] For example, the obscurers of femininity (N-1) can be a group of women seafarers who adopt a strategy of "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)".

The definitions of these ideal-typical identity management groups and strategies will be explained in the following sections (strategies while at sea) and chapter six (while ashore) by describing in detail women's experiences with illustrative examples from the interview data. At the end of each quote, I have marked these ideal-types as, for example, 'S:N-1, L:M-1', which represents 'ideal-type at sea (S): "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)", ideal-type on land (L): "the retrievers (M-1)"'.

Table 5-A: Women seafarers' "ideal-typical" identity management strategies

Ideal-typical ID Group	Emotion/Feeling	ID type	ID strategy	Sea (S)	Land (L)
Negotiators (N)	unease, difficult, anxious, stressful, misunderstood, uncomfortable, struggling, conflicting, insecure, inappropriate	N-1	"The obscurers of femininity"	✓	
		N-2	"The reinforcers of femininity"		✓
		N-3	"The reinforcers of masculinity"	✓	
		N-4	"The sacrificers"		✓
Constructors (C)	open a new view and perspective, accepted, appropriate, fit well to their gender roles	C-1	"The acquirers of femininity"	✓	
		C-2	"The acquirers of masculinity"	✓	
		C-3	"The acquirers of motherhood"		✓
Maintainers (M)	happy, easy, comfortable, balanced, stable	M-1	"The retrievers"	✓	✓
		M-2	"The disguisers"	✓	✓
		M-3	"The never-changers"	✓	✓
Reproducers (R)	free, secure, confident, achieved, reborn, liberated	R-1	"The alleviators"	✓	
		R-2	"The manipulators of femininity"	✓	
		R-3	"The manipulators of masculinity"		✓
		R-4	"The neuters"	✓	

Table 5-B: Vignettes of each ideal-typical behaviour and attitudes of women seafarers

(These descriptions are presented as vignettes (i.e. fictional characters that embody the most typical aspects of the four strategies of behaviour). They illustrate those strategies by cameos of different women who use 'typical' behaviour as ideal-types (Weber, 1949).)

'Diana Jones' – Negotiator
'Diana' is a typical negotiator. *In the morning, she changes into her boiler suit and looks at the mirror to check to ensure she does not look too much like a girl. No make-up, tightened hair, and no smile. Diana works twice as hard as her male colleagues in order to be accepted as a crew member and to show her competence as a seafarer.* *She always keeps a distance from her male colleagues and avoids talking with a particular man, because others may think that they are having an affair. Diana does not want to cause any problem on board because she is a woman.* *Diana does not want to trespass on men's territory either. Even though she feels disgusted to see pornographic images of women put on the walls of the engine room, she does not challenge it. If the harmony of the ship is broken, she thinks that she is the one who is causing a problem, because she is different: she is a woman.* *When Diana returns ashore, she finds it difficult to show emotions and feelings in front of her boyfriend. He does not understand why she is so dry and unfriendly, which makes her suffer. She tries to smile more and be nice like a woman, but she is so used to behaving in a less-feminine manner while at sea and it is not easy for her to switch back to act like 'normal'.* *Diana loves her seafaring career, however she feels she would be reluctant to continue working if she gets married and especially if she has a baby. She does not think it is a good idea to go to sea when she has a family.*

'Ana Melo Almeida' - Constructor
'Ana' is a typical constructor. *She swears and shouts as much as men do on board. Her hair is very short and she always wears a pair of trousers, even ashore. She likes looking tough, because no-one questions her professional ability to work on board. Ana also feels confident and comfortable with projecting herself as being straight, objective, logical, serious and patient.* *Ana often gets irritated by women ashore who rely on men and cannot even change a light bulb by themselves. She feels uncomfortable with female company and prefers to spend time with males, because she has no idea of what she can talk about with other women.* *When Ana goes out at night, she cannot think of any topic to talk about with a man, so she tends to talk about machines and pumps instead of having a romantic conversation.* *However, she sometimes feels that she is very different from men, because she does not understand why they repeat the same behaviour, such as drinking until they lose their mind. In this situation, she feels that she is not like men and she is aware of her feminine part.*

'Yvonne Edwards' – Maintainer

'Yvonne' is a typical maintainer.

The only time when she feels like a woman while on board is when she is off-duty. She enjoys using a very expensive body lotion in her cabin and taking a good care of herself.

When there is a chance to go ashore in port, she likes using make-up. Yvonne really misses being feminine, so once she returns ashore, she buys lots of dresses and shoes in order to compensate for a lack of femininity while at sea.

Every time she disembarks a ship, she meets other women seafarers and they share their shipboard lives with each other. This gives her some sense of relief from the pressure which she experiences on board.

At work, Yvonne understands how she is expected to behave in order-giving on board, such as making a quick decision, even if it may go wrong. However, she cannot follow this masculine way of behaviour from the heart and conceals her true feeling.

Yvonne does not like the situation where people ashore show too much interest in her just because she is a woman seafarer. She is always reluctant to reveal her profession and tries not to talk about it in front of people ashore.

Yvonne was a tomboy in her childhood and she is still the same. She does not change herself at all no matter where she is, either on board or ashore.

'Odilia Müller' – Reproducer

'Odilia' is a typical reproducer.

She is a chief officer, in the senior rank of the ship. Everyone on board knows how well she does her job and her license is well earned. So, she does not have to worry about her behaviour so much and she can smile and relax in front of her male colleagues. Odilia feels secure and respected on board.

Many male seafarers want to talk to Odilia about their problems at home, because she is always a good listener. She has developed her own strategy of supervising male crew. She uses a softer approach when off-duty while presenting a harder face when on-duty. By using two different styles of impression management, Odilia controls her relationships with the crew members. She knows her strengths very well.

Odilia does not define herself as a woman as such, and rather feels that she is a person. She does not care how others look at her, because she thinks that she knows who she is.

When she returns ashore, Odilia also feels confident in relation to other shore-based women as she is very independent and can solve any problems by herself. Other people admire her, because she can fix even mechanical problems which they often think that only men can do. Many people regard her as a special woman and Odilia is very proud of herself.

5.3. Entering a shipboard community

The occupational culture of seafaring is a small, confined, and work-oriented community where masculine norms and values are embedded. For women, it is not always easy to enter this kind of work culture and I am going to demonstrate how women seafarers utilise various identity management strategies by employing ideal-typical categories in my analysis.

Wider T-shirt and baggy overalls

In the early stage of women's seafaring careers, many women seafarers in my sample were found in the "negotiators" group, which included four different types of strategy. While at sea, two "negotiators" strategies were often employed: "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"and "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)". Here I will explain "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)", and I will discuss "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)" later in this chapter.

"The obscurers of femininity (N-1)" was commonly applied by many women seafarers who felt uncomfortable when they were seen as 'women' rather than 'people' or 'seafarers' by their male colleagues in the shipboard workplace. The strategy of "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" had generally already started even before going to sea. Seafarers always pack their own personal items before signing on a ship and think about what will be essential or unavailable to them for the duration of their contracts. They may not have a chance to supplement their needs if port stays are not sufficiently long or they have watch-keeping duties in port. Women seafarers, in this respect, may need to think about women's essential items more carefully than male seafarers.

It became clear from my interview data that women seafarers think about their appearance and how they want to look when deciding upon their clothes and packing for the trip. Some women felt that if their choice of clothes was too sexy, it might be

inappropriate in front of men who have been away from family and lovers for a long time and do not often see women on board their ships. Women wished to avoid being viewed as sexual beings and wanted instead to be accepted as colleagues. A German deck trainee, Cindy explained:

> I know a lot of men are alone on board and there is no women. Yeah, they have desires, sure. If there is a woman with no sleeves and yeah, maybe tight trousers, they are looking, maybe try to touch her. It's clear, I think. So I try to, when I made my luggage, "Ok, this...? NO, it's too sexy." (laugh) "Hmm, this...also sexy?" Yeah. A bit more cover and a bit more wider, not too tight.
>
> (Cindy, Age 23, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:M-3)

Even before going aboard, women seafarers in the "negotiators" group try to avoid possible situations which may cause a misunderstanding between their male colleagues and themselves. Any female signs must be removed and this is part of the "negotiators" identity management strategy ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"). In addition to wearing baggy clothes, this strategy also included minimising friendly attitudes (e.g. smiling) and daily greetings (e.g. saying "Good morning") towards male seafarers as well as using men's deodorant (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-01).

Where women did not hide their feminine qualities, they found that they sometimes became a target of male colleagues' sexual interest. In particular, young women seafarers, who had just started working at sea, could attract men without intending to and did not know how to prevent this. Before entering a seafaring career, these women felt free to make a choice between boyish and girlish identities ("the never-changers (M-3)"). As soon they entered a seafaring career, however, many "never-changers (M-3)" realised the need to modify their behaviour to avoid problems. A German deck trainee, Marina, who was quite new in her seafaring career, felt insecure when she found love letters and flowers left outside her cabin every day. Despite the presumably good intentions, she did not think that it was appropriate and she was annoyed at being viewed as sexually attractive by her male colleagues. Hence, she deliberately modified

her behaviour to keep a distance from them.

> Actually they fell in love for me or whatever. I always had some flowers in front of my cabin doors, some letters and this was, something also the reason why I always keep distance. Because I don't want this. I am here for work and I don't want any love letters.
>
> (Marina, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:N-2)

Displays of emotions and feelings were also identified as problematic on board and were understood to be something that must be avoided. For example, a German deck trainee, Marina, felt that she had to 'cut off' the expression of her emotions and feelings while at sea, because these attributes were considered feminine.

> "Oh yes, female. Going to show emotions and feelings. Oh, always crying.", or I don't know, yeah it was. No, when I am on board, I am not talking about my emotions or feelings or whatever.
>
> (Marina, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:N-2)

Women using "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" strategy were very cautious about how they were regarded by their male colleagues. Masculine norms and values are so dominant in the occupational culture of seafaring that even a subtle sign of femininity can be taken as marker of difference at sea. Women seafarers in the "negotiators" group tended to be afraid of making trouble in the men's territory by being "different". Showing a feminine side was, therefore, considered "taboo" by these women seafarers (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-02). Women seafarers' strategic efforts to make themselves "invisible" seemed to be learned in the early stages of their careers. In the long-term, this may have a significant impact upon their gender identity management as long as they continue working in the male-dominated workplace.

Woman "overboard" – be strong and tough

Although "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" is a good entry strategy to survive on board, some women seafarers found that it was not sufficient to be accepted into a working team aboard ship. Some women felt that a further adjustment of their identities was required and adopted a different type of "negotiator" strategy which I have termed: "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)".

The strategy of "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)" involved women seafarers demonstrating that they were physically and emotionally as strong and tough as male colleagues. Compared to the less feminine behaviour of "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)", this can be seen as one step further, as women pushed themselves into a man's world. Women forced themselves to act like men, however in this stage, they have not yet constructed a masculine identity. In fact, these women do not wish to be like men and reluctantly negotiate their identities by reinforcing masculinity. For example, a German deck trainee, Inge, told me that she wanted to be as strong as men, yet did not wish to be like men and simply desired to be a strong woman.

> Uh, I want to be strong. I want to be like the others. I don't want to be a "GIRL", you know. ... I try to be like a strong woman.
> (Inge, Age 25, deck officer trainee, German, S:N-3, L:M-3)

A Swedish senior deck officer, Rebecka, described how she worked as hard as men when there was a mechanical problem down in the cargo hold. She took a few able seamen (ABs) with her to work inside the hatch where it was dark and muddy. By the time she finished the repair work, she got dirty and she did not look like a woman. Everybody on board understood that she was capable and did not mind getting dirty. This incident dramatically changed her shipboard life and she gained the full respect of her male colleagues. Because her male colleagues accepted her as a crew member, she also accepted men's rules in return. For example, Rebecka accepted male seafarers' putting up naked women's posters on the walls. She took a strategy of being

unconcerned about her male colleagues' manners and leaving them unchallenged and as they were:

> You cannot take it everything personally. I mean a lot of seamen, you know, they have naked girls on the walls, and I mean I don't care about those things. That's the way it is. I know I manage, that is normal. I mean they are not different from the men ashore.
>
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:N-3, L:C-3)

Although it is not at all "normal" if men put up such sexually explicit posters in the office ashore, there are certain male practices which many women seafarers accepted as part of the occupational culture. If Rebecka expressed disapproval of sexual images on the walls, it might destroy harmony on the ship and "negotiators" try to avoid this. The reinforcers of masculinity (N-3) do not necessarily practise male behaviour, but also accept masculine norms and values without challenge. Being accepted by men at sea means that women must accept their rules – that is how the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3) feel. Another Swedish senior officer, Vera, explained that she had to pretend as if she was sure, even though she did not know; otherwise, the crew took it as a lack of her capability. Vera found it extremely masculine, but she understood that was how ships work. She, therefore, forced herself to follow this masculine style of leadership from time to time (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-03).

These two "negotiators" strategies ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" and "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)") provide only temporary solutions for women seafarers to get away from shipboard problems in relation to their gender identities. Of the four "negotiators" strategies, the remaining two ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)" and "the sacrificers (N-4)"), which were utilised ashore, will be explained in chapter six. Along the same lines of 'sameness' strategies, some "negotiators" while at sea sought a more tangible solution to avoid trouble on board and felt a need to construct masculinity.

One of the boys

In contrast to the "negotiators" strategies, "constructors" focus on a more effective way of solving gender-related problems by acquiring new gender identities. "Constructors" include three different identity management strategies; except for "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)", which was adopted ashore, both "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)" and "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" were utilised on board ships. In this section, a strategy of "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" is explained and the description of "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)" will be presented later in this chapter.

Women using "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" strategy tended to appreciate being masculine, because they felt confident about their "appropriate" behaviour on board by acquiring a masculine type of identity. A newly created masculine identity seemed to perfectly fit into the seafaring culture. For example, a Swedish engineer, Sue, integrated into the shipboard culture and adopted a masculine style of behaviour while at sea. Sue copied her male colleagues' behaviour and swore more than men did.

> I have been more macho than many men actually, because of course I become sort of a copy cat. I copy their behaviour, and if they are rude, I am a bit ruder. If they swear, I can swear too. Maybe a little bit more than they can. So I think I adopt the male behaviour.
>
> (Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish, S:C-2, L:R-1)

A Portuguese Captain, Yelena, described that being logical is a masculine quality which she adopted while at sea (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-04). Similarly, a German seafarer, Vicki, pointed out more specifically what is masculine to her. She thinks that being calm, serious, patient, objective and logical are masculine attributes (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-05). This suggests that masculine norms and values emphasised on board were not confined to physical strength, but also encompassed men's attitudes and behaviour at work.

The goal of "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" is to be regarded as a man. In this

context, a Swedish engineer, Olivia, was successful in being "one of the boys". She adapted to the seafaring culture with strong masculine norms and values by eliminating any trace of femininity in front of her male colleagues. She swore as much as her male counterparts and behaved in a generally masculine way which she felt meant that her male colleagues eventually forgot about her gender and did not regard her as a woman.

> As a really good example, I was sitting in the pub on board the ship, I was taking beer with one of the motormen and some of the others in the crew. And I was sitting and talking...we were sitting in a sofa, like this. And just next to me, the motor man, he was lying like this. ... he said, "Oh, I cannot be relaxed when I am close to a beautiful woman." ... so, I said, "Oh, you don't look so tense now, so thank you very much." And he said, "Oh, no! I didn't mean to offend you, but I don't see you as a woman." "Oh?" "I see you are my first engineer." ... To me, I think it was funny, because it was not insulting me. Because he was really relaxed with me, because I was a friend. So, he didn't see me as a woman.
>
> (Olivia, Age 36, Senior engineer, Swedish, S:C-2, L:N-2)

Women seafarers using "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" strategy often crucially desire to be accepted as part of the crew members. They utilised a strategy of totally denying and obliterating their femininity, which allowed them to join a male group. This led them to feel it was appropriate to be masculine at sea and their 'sameness' strategy was often successful.

Crafting my own femininity

Whilst less feminine and more masculine strategies were adopted by many women seafarers, only a few women in my sample appeared to have constructed a feminine identity while at sea. Unlike the construction of a masculine identity, acquiring femininity on board seemed to have no critical purpose but rather reflected an awareness of femininity which some women displayed by differentiating themselves from their male colleagues.

Women seafarers using "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)" strategy tended to discover new feminine norms by themselves, and from their point of view, being feminine at sea was often positive rather than negative. For example, some women intentionally dressed in a feminine fashion during their free time on board. They found it comfortable when their male colleagues made compliments about their femininity. These women proactively developed and enjoyed their ways of being feminine while at sea.

Being "constructors" seems to enable women to be open-minded and obtain a new perspective about the world around them. For instance, a young German deck trainee, Zurka, had never been in contact with Asian men before she started working on the multi-national crewing vessel. In the beginning, she did not see any difference among the Asian male crew in terms of sexual attractiveness, however she gradually learned about Asian culture and people by living with them on board. Zurka consequently became aware of the new sense of beauty about men and felt that she became more open-minded to recognise a wider definition of beauty. This did not simply imply that her idea of masculinity about men had changed nor had her sexuality had been influenced by the seafaring experience with different nationalities, but also she felt that she became a different person who could appreciate her new feminine knowledge about what are beautiful men. As such, "constructors" do not see that it was bad for women to find their male colleagues attractive; rather, it made a "positive" influence.

> In the beginning, they were all little same. So now it is very different. I can more differ what I like and what I don't like. They become more beautiful to me. ... because for me, now the boys in Germany, they are not so beautiful any more. ... I am, I don't know, open-minded, so I have now a different mind in what is beautiful and what is not beautiful.
>
> (Zurka, Age 19, Deck officer trainee, German, S:C-1, L:M-1)

On the other hand, the strategy of "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)" may represent the "negative" impact of the long-term exposure of selves in a male-dominated environment.

A Swedish senior deck officer, Vera, has seen many negative aspects of men through her twenty-nine-year seafaring career. She found that some male seafarers were too narrow-minded to even try to accept something new; some were interested only in cheap beer and women; and some automatically labelled women seafarers who did not show their sexual interest in their male colleagues as "lesbians". Although she admitted that the majority of her male colleagues were amiable, these negative images of men affected her gender identities. A feeling of repulsion gradually expanded and as a result, Vera constructed her feminine perspective towards men by placing women as the polar opposites of male.

> I think that they think that I am a bit strange, and maybe a lesbian. Yeah, I think so ... I mean this may not be very typical, but it's strange if you are not very womanly or very, very female, and then, if you are not having any affair with these very attractive young or old sailors, then they think that you are a lesbian. I mean it's not everyone. ... The women I knew...I have the feeling that they were more interested in the whole country, not in just beer and women. I mean they could do other things. If we went out, we went to "normal" dancing places and "normal" places where you could meet "normal" people. ... If you are in Japan, or in England, why do you go to McDonalds? Just same everywhere. This attitude that never try anything new and to be a bit afraid of...I think that is typical for sailors.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:C-1, L:N-4)

By separating herself (woman) from the rest of the group (men), Vera could avoid being categorised as the same as other people in the occupational category of seafarers. Her feminine identity, thus, justified her innocence from all the negative "typical" sailors' images associated with masculinity. The definition of 'feminine' seems to be diverse and each woman can perhaps develop her own version. Some women seafarers talked about their own definitions of femininity during the interviews (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-06).

The study revealed that some women seafarers found it easier to develop their femininity in the male world in which their gender identities were more visible and obvious than in the context of a mixed-gender community ashore. Young and less

experienced women seafarers tended to develop "positive" femininity in relation to men whilst older and more experienced women were likely to attain rather "negative" femininity. Not many women seafarers, however, constructed feminine identities and most seemed to become "maintainers" and internalised their femininity while at sea.

This section has covered two "constructors" strategies which women seafarers adopted while at sea. The remaining "constructor" strategy of "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)" was identified among women seafarers while ashore and will be explained in chapter six.

Feeling like a girl

Whilst finding a solution to the problem of being a lone woman in a workforce of men was important to "negotiators" and "constructors", "maintainers" seem to engage rather calmly and mildly in managing identities. "Maintainers" attempt to relieve their feelings and emotions from their imbalanced state of mind. All three different strategies of "maintainers" were utilised both on board and ashore.

Of three strategies of "maintainers", "the retrievers (M-1)" adjust women's lack of feeling about feminine identities while at sea. Some women seafarers explained how they were fed up with wearing "boring" male clothes, such as overalls and shorts all the time at sea and missed 'dressing up' like a girl. Such female desire of 'dressing up' is not usually fulfilled in the male-dominated workplace of ships. These women dressed up and arranged their hair for special occasions like Christmas, barbeque parties, or Sundays (in Christian culture like Portuguese ships) ("the retrievers (M-1)"). Such special occasions often accommodate a relaxed 'off-duty' atmosphere for everyone, and it tends to be acceptable for women seafarers to dress up, use make-up and wear jewellery on board. Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy seemed to

distinguish between on-duty and off-duty and they retrieved their feminine habits only when appropriate, as a Portuguese Chief Engineer, Deolinda, described:

> Usually on Sundays, I used to wear some make-up, put some rings to my ears, to take care myself. On Sundays, we don't work, of course we keep the same watch. The guys who did not keep watch, they don't work on Sunday, Portuguese.
>
> (Deolinda, Age 46, Chief Engineer, Portuguese, S:M-1, L:M-3)

A Swedish engineer, Sally, described how she chose feminine clothes and make-up on a Christmas Day while at sea. When I visited her on the vessel for our interview, she was between her duties, so she was dressed in working clothes. She told me, however, that:

> I am just a kind of girl. I like a man's profession like this one. But me, myself, I dress very much like a girl. Not as a man. I don't try to dress like a man. ... this Christmas, we had a Christmas table where we all ate...things like that. Then I wear a lot of feminine clothes. More make-up and kind of stuff. Right now, I am at work. I wear my working clothes and I don't wear make-up and I don't care hair styles and all like that. I even didn't brush hair this morning. So I don't care about how I look at work.
>
> (Sally, Age 25, Junior Engineer, Swedish, S:M-1, L:R-3)

Except for such unusual and exceptional opportunities at sea, however, women seafarers described how they did not normally have a place to 'retrieve' their femininity unless it took place secretly in their cabins where nobody could see it. The behaviour of "the retrievers (M-1)" at sea, which was often conveyed by my interviewees, was to enjoy luxurious body lotions or face masks in their cabins in order to 'pamper' themselves and remember that they were women (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-07; 7-08).

Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy tended to conduct their strategic activities to maintain their femininity while off duty. On the other hand, another type of "maintainers" strategy, "the disguisers (M-2)" can be used whenever and wherever women seafarers want to utilise it. Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy seem

to conceal their true selves, including their femininity tactically and elaborately in front of their male colleagues in order to maintain their identities.

Masking true self

Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy do not express their feelings openly and keep their true selves deep inside. In many cases, these women tend to use "double faces": one for public and the other for private. They often keep some distance from men and may seal up their femininity and keep it hidden from their male colleagues. Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy, therefore, could appear to look masculine, but it may be just their strategy of using double faces. A Portuguese Captain, Vidonia, explained:

> As the years went by, I started socialising less and less, I showed less and less of myself and my feelings, the distance between me and people became bigger and bigger and I became more and more of a loner ... For the rest of the time, I felt I was just a "one of them" and even when I dressed up with the stuff I manufactured, it was more like a disguise than the true me!
>
> (Vidonia, Age 51, Captain, Portuguese, S:M-2, L:M-3)

Although women using "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" strategy also keep a distance from men and do not show their emotions and feelings at sea, what makes women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy unique is that they hide their true selves by acting as other characters associated with other "safer" roles. In fact, women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy tended to either work all the time on board or keep themselves busy with other public duties. By acting like a busy person in public, women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy could stop others talking about their gender and they acted as if nothing bothered them at all on vessels. As a consequence, women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy tended to feel alone and found it difficult to have a person to talk openly about their true feelings. A Swedish deck officer, Sofia,

described how she felt lonely and wanted to have another woman on board.

> Sometimes you really miss to have a woman aboard. ... I would prefer having another female on board. ... But I am quite used to be alone, and it's always fun that the other girl is aboard. No place is fun to be if it is only one sex and me. Only men and me. It's not fun.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L: M-1)

Some women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy found it difficult to follow a male way of thinking although they perceived this was the way to live on board. Unlike those who employed "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)" strategy, women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy cannot force themselves to act like men, because they know that it is not their way. Without rejecting a male style of behaviour, these women listened to their inner voice and maintained their own way in the end. A Swedish senior officer, Angela, described how she felt it was difficult to exercise a male style of leadership on board, which was very different from her female style of leadership.

> When you have to be a leader of them, it's more difficult. I think the chief engineer said to me, "You have to make quick decisions". Everyone has to do. And it doesn't matter if they are wrong. And I think it's a very male way of thinking, because I work the things through and get every detail. And sometimes they think it too slow, indecisive. They want to know, you know, "Do this!" and it's ok if it is wrong. I think women don't like making mistakes. So men seem to be ok, you know. They make mistakes and say sorry. Everyone says, "Well, that happens." But women... [Men] just go on and if nothing happens, then everyone says, "Oh well, he tried." So that's ok.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:R-3)

Because Angela was expected to behave like a male boss at sea, she felt there was a different style of leadership between men and women when making decisions and giving orders on board. When the Chief Engineer advised Angela that she should take a male style of leadership, she understood that it was what expected her to do as a leader on the vessel. If truth be told, however, she did not believe that it was the best way to lead the crew and could not follow the male style of leadership from the heart.

Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy, thus, concealed their feminine way of thinking as well as their emotions and feelings. In the same manner, some women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy hid their gender-related values and norms inside and tried to make them invisible to their male colleagues. This may be a kind of self-protection as a result of their identity management after a long period of working in the male-dominated workplace. Amongst the "maintainers" strategies, there were also a few women seafarers who did not change themselves and kept their original identities while at sea. These women are categorised as using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy, because they maintained who they are.

I am the same everywhere

The ultimate and extreme version of "maintainers", in the male-dominated shipboard environment, were those who did not change their gender identities at all and were categorised as the never-changers (M-3). These often appeared to be tomboyish-looking women seafarers who are not interested in feminine habits (e.g. make-up, wearing skirts or high-heels). Some seemed to be even regarded as 'men' rather than 'women' by both males and females because of their "fuzzy" gender identity.

My interview questions included asking women about stereo-typical femininity (see Appendix Six), but women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy simply answered, 'No', because those questions were not applicable for them. My observation of the never-changers (M-3) as an interviewer was that they definitely looked like women, but less feminine than the majority of women ashore, and it seemed to correspond to how they saw themselves. Unlike the acquirers of masculinity (C-2), women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy seem to regard swearing and roughness as barbarous and uncivil, and not acceptable to them. A Portuguese radio officer, Rose, explains:

> See one of the officers, without T-shirt, [wore] no-sleeves T-shirt like that. I think "Oh dear ... it is too spoiling", because I was on my white shirt and white trousers, and he was in shorts with no shoes, [but just] sandals and T-shirt without sleeves. I think it's amazing, and the steward was serving us everything. I think this is not a good example. For me, that is the question of educational problems. Not exactly by knowledge, he attended the same school as I did.
>
> (Rose, Age 45, Radio officer, Portuguese, S:M-3, L:C-3)

Even women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy, however, did experience gender-related problems. The same Portuguese officer, Rose, was criticised when she started dating one of her male colleagues. She did not want anyone to gossip, so she and her boyfriend decided to announce their relationship officially on board. She did not change her behaviour at all, and stayed as she was.

> We said to the Master that we were going to have our official liaison and that's all set. He really talked officially on board. Everybody knew that I was dating in that time with the third engineer and that I was going to get married with the third engineer. ... So they have to shut their mouths. They couldn't say, "Oh, she is dating with today this one and tomorrow that one."
>
> (Rose, Age 45, Radio officer, Portuguese, S:M-3, L:C-3)

This example shows that women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy tend to be strong and honest about who they are. Women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy seemed to be less influenced by gender trouble on board than "negotiators" and "constructors".

In this chapter, I have explained all the three "maintainers" strategies: "the retrievers (M-1)", "the disguisers (M-2)" and "the never-changers (M-3)". These strategies were also utilised by women seafarers while ashore, and chapter six will discuss them all again from the viewpoint of women seafarers' shore-based identity management.

Flying out of the cage

Of the four identity management groups, "reproducers" tended to undergo a relatively long and in-depth process of women seafarers' identity management in search of their 'authenticity'. A journey involving the redefining of themselves seems to start from their feeling of incompleteness or unhappiness about their gender identity management. In such a state, women may feel extremely uncomfortable, because they were living a "lie" in the space where they found themselves. As a result, they described experiencing the sense of a gap or gulf within their self, which was problematic and unsustainable. A Swedish deck officer, Norah, clearly pointed it out:

> I think if you start to lie too much who you are, then you can send very strange message.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:R-4, L:M-2)

Women using the "reproducers" strategies tended to be able to command who they wanted to be and released themselves from gender-related difficulties which they experienced in the past. All four "reproducers" strategies are to differentiate themselves from others ('difference' strategies), and three out of four are utilised mainly on board a ship, except for "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)", which will be explained in chapter six.

Firstly, the identity management strategy of "the alleviators (R-1)" can release an excess degree of masculinity or femininity from women seafarers by obtaining an alternative safeguard, for example, promotion, age, marriage and religion. A German Captain, Doris, felt secure in her position when she was promoted to a higher rank in the ship's hierarchy and this legitimated her role aboard the ship.

> When I was still an apprentice and a cadet, it was worse. So higher you get, it gets less. Especially the chief mate, you must know something, otherwise you are not a chief mate. And so you came on board and "Oh, a female chief mate, something new, ok." They don't watch you so much.

(Doris, Age 43, Captain, German, S:R-1, L:M-1)

As Doris illustrates, women using "the alleviators (R-1)" strategy tend to emphasise the importance of promotion to a higher rank in order to abandon the "shell" that they had created for their identity management in the past. Some women using "the alleviators (R-1)" strategy reported that age can be another important element for women to feel secure. Becoming a more mature woman seems to decrease their sexual appeal, and increases the security of their gender identities aboard ships. Other women using "the alleviators (R-1)" strategy who married a male colleague tended to receive respect from other male crew because of "belonging" to a particular male seafarer. This phenomenon may be understood as part of the occupational culture of seafaring, that male seafarers would never touch others' "belongings". A special protection resulted from being a wife of a male seafarer and seemed to release the pressure of identity management. A Portuguese engineer, Brites, explained it when talking with her friend, Izabel, during the group interview:

> [Brites] Maybe it's because my husband is senior and now is a Chief Mate. They have respect. When I was single, they respected but it was maybe jokes, more smiles, you know. After these, things are different. The treatment and...
>
> [Izabel] Now it's different, because everybody loves her husband. He is very funny, amazing. He is in ten or twelve years in the company and everybody likes him. So, if they have sympathy for her, now they have even more respect. So, regarding that she is a married woman now, so if they smile, it's different. They care a lot, because they respect.
>
> (Brites, Age 34, Junior Engineer, Portuguese, S:R-1, L:M-3)
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese, S:R-1, L:N-2)

Izabel is a different type of alleviator (R-1) to Brites. Izabel is a religious woman and her belief in God became an alternative protection for her while at sea. She explained that her relationship with God made her comfortable and courageous when talking to men without worrying about her gender identities.

> First, religion helps me to accept the others like they are. And from time to time, we talk about this in different ways. ... At some point all of them come to me and ask me things about religion and this is good for me. It's a feel that I prefer to talk with them and some other issue. At the same time, this protects me from other things. I could my trust in God for this. And I do think that it is only because of my religious belief that I can feel comfortable. ... I don't feel uncomfortable to think that they are looking at my legs or my breast or my back or what they are looking. In my heart, I feel that if I am protected from this kind of fear is because of my religion and belief.
>
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese, S:R-1, L:N-2)

Women using "the alleviators (R-1)" strategy, by attaining an alternative safeguard (i.e. promotion, age, marriage, religion), could remove their mask of masculinity. On the other hand, another type of the "reproducers" strategies, "the neuters (R-4)" tended to abandon the concept of gender so that they can be free from the spell of gender in their local settings. Gender does not seem to be important for women using "the neuters (R-4)" strategy, because they are 'a person', neither a man nor a woman. A Swedish deck officer, Norah, explained that being a woman is not dominant within her gender identities, because she was in control of who she is.

> I am a human, kind of...a person. I am human in first place, not a woman in first place. I am not what the other people expect me to be, but what I decide to be.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:R-4, L:M-2)

A German deck trainee, Vicki, also stated that she is 'a person' where the idea of gender is not predominant. Hence, her self-identification became more gender-neutral.

> I found the identification for me, and I identify myself as a person, Vicki, with my whole past. It is not just like a student or a woman, or ... I am a person!
>
> (Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German, S:R-4, L:M-1)

Be my baby

Being a woman often appears to be disadvantageous and problematic in the occupational culture of seafaring which seems to reflect masculine norms and values. However, women using "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" strategy used their femininity as a weapon to survive in a man's world on vessels. A Portuguese Captain, Yelena, described how she played a female role for convenience and 'took care of men's positions and attitudes' while at sea. She indicates the technique of keeping a low-profile in relation to men on board as part of her identity management strategy:

> For a woman, I can advise two things. Not permit to be treated like something fragile ... The other side, behave sexually...in a convenient way. ... To take care of their positions and their attitudes.
>
> (Yelena, Age 41, Captain, Portuguese, S:R-2, L:C-3)

Women using "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" strategy may intentionally create an imaginative patriarchal relationship between their male colleagues and themselves by keeping a low-profile. This strategy would help save male seafarers' face and conceal the idea that women can be smarter than men. Principally, "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" is a strategy of making men happy by flattering men's confidence. This strategy, however, can actually let women feel that they are outsmarting their male colleagues while playing a subordinate position to men. A Swedish engineer, Laura, described how she felt smarter than her male colleagues, nevertheless she might not be as strong as them.

> Old strong guys, it's their mentality. But, No, today you don't have to be like that strong. ... They are very strong. But I can fix it anyway. Sometimes perhaps, I need help. On the other hand, they need my help sometimes. Something to read and understanding something. I am not that strong, but smart!? (laugh)
>
> (Laura, Age 25, Junior Engineer, Swedish, S:R-2, L:M-3)

The strategy of "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" can take a more tactful and

elaborative form than just flattery. A Swedish Captain, Emma, was wise enough to use a trick to control male crew on the vessel. For example, when one of her male colleagues did not like to be "ordered" what to do, Emma elaborately suggested that he should do a time-rich job, because she wanted to make him suggest a more urgent job which she actually wanted him to do. She explained that she used a feminine style of communication as a strategy when giving an order to her male crew:

> Instead I am telling him today we should do this, he said to himself. But I had learned that after a while. I think it's easier maybe this female thinking, you can think around. ... I know that he is straight in communication, so I turned it another way. But he doesn't understand me, because I am doing a woman's thinking. ... I started the other way. Talking about something we should do later, maybe. But then he is smart. "Now we have to do this today, because this is there." That's exactly what you should do! (laugh)
> (Emma, Age 39, Captain, Swedish, S:R-2, L:R-4)

The strategy of "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" seemed complex, so it could be difficult for men to understand women's covert messages and the fact that women had won the game. Indeed, "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" strategy was born from feminine perspectives in the male-dominated occupation of seafaring. Some issues on board in relation to communication seemed to be solved simply from a female point of view. For example, a Polish senior deck officer, Karolina, identified miscommunication between male seafarers on vessels. She tried to make a smooth information flow amongst different positions of the crew members by volunteering a messenger role on board. Karolina played an active role of conveying men's messages across different divisions of work teams (i.e. deck and engine departments).

> Finally I noted that it is a system. One system. Just of different relationship between. Because they usually don't use the words, "Sorry" between themselves, of course. They don't think about their quality of communication. ... So sometimes I, from my female point of view, it was completely misunderstanding. So I started to transfer information I received from the engineers to the chief officer, for instance. To let him understand why the chief engineer or other engine officers didn't want to do something. Because they didn't want to explain each other what is the reason they

> decided to do so that way or other. My position from this social relation, I had a friend in the engine room, and on deck, and the kitchen, in the galley. So let me know to hear more information.
>
> (Karolina, Age 52, Senior deck officer, Polish, S:R-2, L:C-3)

All the users of "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" strategically found out the best feminine gender role for them in the male-dominated workplace, and knew how to apply their femininity to control the situations at sea in relation to their male colleagues.

In this section, I have explained three out of four "reproducers" strategies: "the alleviators (R-1)", "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" and "the neuters (R-4)". The remaining "reproducers" strategy, "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3), which was utilised ashore, will be explained in chapter six.

5.4. Summing-up

The typology of ideal-typical identity management groups are defined as "negotiators", "constructors", "maintainers" and "reproducers". I have used them to demonstrate how women seafarers manage their identities and create different versions of femininity and masculinity in the process.

Women seafarers' shipboard identity management seems typically to begin with less feminine ("the obscuring their femininity (N-1)") and more masculine ("the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)") strategies. Where it appears to be ineffective, women may acquire a masculine type of identity in order to be accepted as a crew member ("the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"). These strategies resonate with Goffman's (1959) theoretical concept of "front stage" where he describes people construct their self images to present themselves in a manner that is suitable for the space where both the performers and the audience are present.

However, such masculine identities women seafarers construct may not be always comfortable for them. Therefore, some women maintain their femininity by using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy on board while off duty. This echoes the "back stage" theory of Goffman (1959) in his identity work by which he means the performers can remove their constructed images in the space where the audience is not present. Some may conceal their true selves and act like a different character which corresponds to their "safer" roles on vessels ("the disguisers (M-2)"). Furthermore, some women redefined themselves and obtained freedom to manage their identities ("reproducers"). These women's identity management strategies include: using an alternative safeguard ("the alleviators (R-1)"); making use of feminine perspectives ("the manipulators of femininity (R-2)"); and releasing themselves from the concept of gender as 'a person' ("the neuters (R-4)"). Fewer women were identified as acquirers of femininity (C-1) on board or as being as they were ("the never-changers (M-3)").

The next chapter will focus on women seafarers' shore-based identity management in the same structure by using ideal-typical identity management groups and strategies.

CHAPTER SIX

From the Beast to the Beauty – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While Ashore

6.1. Introduction

Chapter five categorised women seafarers' shipboard identity management strategies into a number of ideal-types. This chapter applies the same method by grouping their shore-based identity management strategies by each ideal-type. This allows us to understand the general strategies employed by women seafarers in managing their identities when returning ashore to communities where seafaring may be regarded as an unusual job for women.

This chapter starts by describing women's identity management when ships are in ports. When ships arrive in ports, there may be a chance for seafarers to go out for a short shore leave, which is, because of today's shipping logistics, normally for only a couple of hours. It used to be much longer, from several days to weeks, which allowed seafarers to visit towns around ports. There used to be more facilities available in a dockside community (shops, pubs etc), however today's seafarers have to travel for a while to the nearest town although it may not be worth it for the short time they will be there. Therefore, the importance of shore leaves for seafarers has become greater than before.

Discussions are then followed by women seafarers' identity management while on vacation. Vacations normally allow women to spend several weeks or months ashore, where different gender norms and values may be posed from the ones experienced at sea. How do women seafarers feel about their identity management when crossing the border between their shipboard culture and shore-based one? Likewise, how do

women seafarers cope with identity management issues on vacation in their shore-based communities?

Finally, the last part of this chapter considers women seafarers' processes of "immigrating" into shore communities after they quit seafaring. Whilst women seafarers tend to make various strategic adjustments into shore space on vacation, completely retired women seafarers seem to take slow steps to (re)learn how to behave like 'women'. Such processes of adjustment into shore culture may contribute to our understanding of how gender identities are negotiated, constructed, maintained and reproduced.

6.2. Arriving in port – crossing the border between ship and shore

Shore leave allows seafarers to temporarily switch off from their work mode. Particularly in the case of women, it can create a special occasion to maintain their feminine identities which might be suppressed in the male-dominated workplace aboard ships. Of three "maintainers" strategies, those of "the retrievers (M-1)" and "the disguisers (M-2)" seem to be frequently utilised by women seafarers during shore leave. The third "maintainers" strategy, "the never-changers (M-3)" was adopted in ports only by women who were the same everywhere. The majority of women seafarers in my sample fell into using either "the retrievers (M-1)" or "the disguisers (M-2)" strategies.

"It's time to use my make-up kit!"

Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy, when a ship was in port, tended to seek an opportunity to display feminine characteristics which were covered up while on board. Indicators included restricted feminine habits such as wearing make-up and decent clothes, using perfume, etc. For example, a Swedish deck officer, Sofia, felt that she was retrieving her femininity by wearing make-up when she went out for a short shore

leave.

> Only time I feel like a woman when I am aboard is when I put up my make-up and go ashore.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:M-1)

Similarly, a German Captain, Doris, talked about how she liked to be invited to dinner with the agent in ports. She felt as if it was a small holiday after her intensive working life at sea. An invitation to dinner in ports was undoubtedly a special occasion for Doris, and it made her want to wear make-up and decent clothes. Doris explains:

> When you sometimes are at ports and go ashore, the agency invites you for dinner. Then, I also have my make-up set and nice clothes. Yeah, it was like a break from the drops. You have a chance to go ashore. Nothing happens on board. You have a nice dinner with the agency or something. And it is like a small holiday. You really feel like putting on the make-up and yeah something special.
>
> (Doris, Age 43, Captain, German, S:R-1, L:M-1)

Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy tended to make the most of this short and limited opportunity in ports to look feminine, indulging their female "vanities". Furthermore, being alone as a woman at sea, some women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy seemed to miss female company with whom they could chat. In ports, there might be a welcome chance for women seafarers to meet other women. A Japanese engineer, Naomi, went to have a massage near the port and felt relieved to have a conversation with the female massage practitioner. Likewise, a German deck trainee, Zurka, felt the same but she was lucky enough to find another woman seafarer in port who was a senior rank and they shared feelings. Zurka explained:

> In one port, we met another German lady chief mate. And it was very, very nice to talk with her. I really enjoyed it after maybe four months talking with someone who is almost in the same situation, also working with a lot of men on board. It was very enjoyable. I liked it.
>
> (Zurka, Age 19, Deck officer trainee, German, S:C-1, L:M-1)

However, women might possibly draw unwanted attention and curiosity from their male colleagues, in particular, if they were young and insecure. A German deck trainee, Gloria, felt uncomfortable with the reaction of her male colleagues who looked at her as if she were a "thing", not a person:

> When you go ashore, then you took out your normal clothes. That is normal. But also when I wear my normal clothes, then they looked at me, "Hey, what is going on?" He knows who I am and what is wrong? Then they told me "Oh you look so nice." Then you feel you are like a "thing". What happened? I am still Gloria and I am a student here. Not a girl who wants to have a relationship to somebody in. This is what I hate.
>
> (Gloria, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:C-2, L:M-1)

Women seafarers, when in port, must cross the border between the male-dominated world of ships and the more gender-balanced world of shore. Indeed, male seafarers tend to engage in habits which are often viewed as adhering to masculine norms when ashore. A typical purpose of going ashore for some male seafarers seemed to be quite different from the one for women seafarers. Not all male seafarers are the same, but some male seafarers may visit pubs, sexy bars or night clubs for drinking and meeting women. Such masculine norms and values in male seafarers' behaviour can be considered a reflection of the occupational culture of seafaring. In other words, these male seafarers seem to pursue typical "masculine" behaviour whilst women seafarers tend to engage in more traditional "feminine" behaviour when in port.

However, all women seafarers in my sample told me that they had joined a "male tour" in ports and were fed up with going out with their male colleagues. For security and cost reasons, women seafarers often had no choice but to share a taxi to travel from the jetty to the city centre. As a result, women sometimes ended up accompanying a "male tour". The majority reported that it was no fun at all going out with their male colleagues because of their different interests. Some women seafarers seemed to seek to emphasise being in harmony with male seafarers outside and concealed their true feelings deep inside ("the disguisers (M-2)"). After a couple of these social drinking

experiences, many women seemed to prefer being separated from a male group, and they went shopping, visited a museum to learn about local culture and history, or sat in a café to meet local people and relax.

6.3. Returning to the shore-side community for vacation

Chapter five revealed that women seafarers while at sea tend to modify their behaviour and attitudes in order to fit into the occupational culture of seafaring, and their strategies appear to be in the forms of "negotiators", "constructors", "maintainers" or "reproducers". However, when women seafarers return to the shore-side community on vacation, the main group of gender identity management seems to be the "maintainers", making up for the lack of femininity while at sea.

Mini-skirts and high-heels

One of the most common activities as "maintainers" during vacation was to enjoy their female habits and become the users of "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy. For example, a Portuguese deck officer, Joana, told me that she was happy when she came ashore, because she did not have to behave like a man. Joana described how she wore feminine clothes and skirts in order to get back a feminine feeling again:

> [On board] Jeans or T-shirts. But when I go ashore, it's different. I use mini-skirt or when I am on holidays, I dress like others, yes.
> (Joana, Age 26, Junior deck officer, Portuguese, S:N-1, L:M-1)

Similar accounts of the retrievers (M-1) in the shore community were found from other women seafarers in my sample. Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy often used the word "normal" to describe the life ashore for women. This may suggest that they did not see themselves as "normal" women on board ships. Naike and Gloria, both German deck trainees, described their feelings as:

> I wear more shoes, high heels, and skirts and everything, like a *normal* woman.
>
> (Naike, Age 24, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:M-1)

> It is totally different [ashore]. Yeah, they don't stare at you like...because this is my *normal* life on shore.
>
> (Gloria, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:C-2, L:M-1)

Indeed, feminine outfits seemed to be important in terms of retrieving femininity for many women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy. However, some women did not wear skirts and high heels at all, and they still felt it was important to just "keep" their never-worn feminine clothes in closets. A Swedish deck officer, Sofia, said:

> I have plenty of skirts, but I never use them. (laugh) Because it is not me, but I need to have them for my feminine side. High heels, stuffs, things, because you've got to need for being a woman when you get a chance.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:M-1)

This illustrates that women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy are sacrificing their feminine sides on board, and a desire of being feminine seems to be not only materialistic but also emotional, by satisfying demands for attachment to particular feminine interests. These women seem to understand what helps to maintain their identities, and they proactively exercise a strategy of retrieving femininity while ashore.

Other women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy noted how important it was for them to talk with other women seafarers whenever there was a chance to see each other. Women seafarers tend to be fond of sharing their emotions and feelings with other female colleagues in the same "language", and this can be seen as part of the "retrievers (M-1)" strategies. Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy seem to feel that non-seafarers would not understand their "strange" life as women seafarers. This point has been raised in Suter *et. al.*'s research (2006) into American Navy women; they felt that no civilians would understand their issues.

Unpredictable women

Women using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy attempted to make up for a loss of femininity, which was sacrificed on board, however their strategy could only temporarily ease their difficulties and make them happy while retrieving feminine habits. These women generally gained tentative satisfaction from, for example, using make-up or wearing feminine clothes, but at least they are able to reduce their frustration with the strategy of "the retrievers (M-1)". On the other hand, some women seafarers seemed to adopt another "maintainers" strategy of pretending to fit into their local environment but keeping their true feelings and emotions inside ("the disguisers (M-2)").

The impact of seafaring culture upon women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy seems to be more significant than upon those using "the retrievers (M-1)" strategy. Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy tended to receive a relatively long-term impact upon their identities from their protracted exposure to the occupational culture of seafaring. This may produce complex identity management, especially in those women who have more experience of working at sea. Women using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy tended to build up complex identity management and this might add a kind of intricacy to their identity management. As a result, other people may be confused or find it difficult to predict the disguisers' (M-2) behaviour, which is not always based upon their gender roles. A Swedish senior deck officer, Norah, explained:

> I encounter problems sometimes with both men and women that feel insecure in relation with me, because I am not perhaps predictable in a way that more confined personality would be.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:R-4, L:M-2)

Women who appeared to be using "the disguisers (M-2)" strategy while ashore seemed to be regarded as "non-typical" women. In fact, many women seafarers in my sample expressed discomfort when non-seafaring people showed curiosity, particularly about

their gender identity as "women" in a male-dominated occupation. The majority of shore-based people had never met a woman seafarer in their lives and assumed that seafarers are all males. As a consequence, these people often got very excited when they met a woman seafarer. A Swedish seafarer, Alma, told me that people often find her very exotic, but she does not want to be exotic. Alma, therefore, decided not to reveal people what she does for living unless necessary ("the disguisers (M-2)"); otherwise, she explained, people do not want to talk about anything else (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-09). This illustrates that women seafarers may feel annoyed by the gap between how people see them and how women seafarers define themselves. Many women seafarers told me that they wished to be regarded as "a person" rather than "a woman".

"Maintainers" strategies, especially "the retrievers (M-1)", were frequently found in women seafarers' shore-side identity management. However, some women seafarers ashore actually fell into the category of the never-changers (M-3), who often described themselves as tomboys.

Tomboys

Of all the "maintainers" strategies, "the never-changers (M-3)" was adopted by some women seafarers while ashore. The users of "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy were those who never changed their characters at all, and were not influenced by any source of pressure, including social, economic and political pressure. Women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy, therefore, behaved as, and maintained, who they felt they were. The majority of women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy appeared to develop this strategy in their pre-seafaring lives and they often called themselves 'tomboys' or 'boy girls' who preferred archetypal boys' activities rather than girls' ones. For example, some women were fond of climbing trees and did not like

playing with dolls when they were small. Other women were interested in science and technology at school. Most women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy in my sample seemed to have naturally grown up with the familiarisation of tomboyishness and they had no issue with being tomboys, as a Portuguese Captain, Vidonia, describes:

> I was always a tomboy, engaging in crazy games and activities that girls would not take part in.
>
> (Vidonia, Age 51, Captain, Portuguese, S:M-2, L:M-3)

Some women highlighted family influence as one reason why they became tomboys. A Swedish engineer, Laura, talked about her family's involvement in playing football, suggesting that family and sport activity affected the construction of her gender identities:

> We are a football family so everyone, I have three youngers. We all play football. Mum and Dad had played and they trained the football team which I was playing.
>
> (Laura, Age 25, Junior Engineer, Swedish, S:R-2, L:M-3)

These tomboyish women, however, still appeared to be regarded as feminine on board ships. The research shows that as soon as women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy started living in the male-dominated shipboard workplace, they tended to drop the strategy of "the never-changers (M-3)" and adopt other identity management strategies, such as "negotiators" or "constructors". Only a few "strong" women using "the never-changers (M-3)" strategy appeared to successfully continue using the "never-changers (M-3)" strategy on board, but even these women changed to employ "negotiators" or "constructors" strategies while ashore.

In summary, "maintainers" strategies are crucially important for women seafarers to manage their identities while ashore. All three types of "maintainers" strategies ("the retrievers (M-1)", "the disguisers (M-2)" and "the never-changers (M-3)") were adopted by women seafarers while on vacation and in ports, as well as while on board. (See

chapter five for how women seafarers utilised all three "maintainers" strategies while at sea.)

"I don't know how to dance!"

In the shore-side community, "maintainers" appear to be the most frequently utilised identity management group by women seafarers in my sample. However, the research found that some women seafarers forced themselves to modify their behaviour in order to fit into the shore-side community ("negotiators").

Chapter five revealed that some women seafarers on ships seemed to hide their feminine qualities in order to avoid being seen as women by their male colleagues ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"). These women, however, might face another gender identity problem when they returned ashore. Some women seafarers explained that they tended to be absorbed in their less feminine character for a long time while at sea, and they were not able to behave "normally" in a feminine manner on vacation. As a result, these women felt they needed to 're-negotiate' their femininity while ashore in relation to their partners or boyfriends ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)"). Otherwise, their less feminine behaviour may appear to be inappropriate to their expected gender roles ashore. For example, a German deck trainee, Marina, who stopped expressing her feelings and emotions on board, then found it difficult to show her emotions and feelings again in relation to her boyfriend who was waiting for her ashore. Marina described that she had to force herself to behave in a feminine way:

> Because two weeks ago, I came back from the vessel. So uh, actually in the relationship it is the most difficult thing. Because on the vessel, I always have to make my way for myself. So I never showed my emotions and feelings, anything. ... Then you are coming back and there's somebody you have to take care. You have to show your emotions. And you also want to show your emotions, but it is not so easy, because you are not so used to it any more.

(Marina, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:N-2)

Marina's example exhibits a common problem for active women seafarers who regularly go back and forth between two different spaces: on board and ashore. These active women seafarers may need to be aware of their expected gender roles in each space. The similar experience of being a wife was reported by a Swedish engineer, Olivia:

> I think it was getting increasingly difficult in the adoption pattern between onboard periods and shore-leave periods. ... when I was aboard, there was no problem at work. When I signed off, it takes a few days for me to adapt or somehow to calm down and feel relaxed. I was sort of switching my roles from being a first engineer who was starting in the early morning in the engine room, giving the motor mans if they are working, to do this, to do this, to coming home, becoming a nice wife. It's a different role. Make it to soften up a little bit when you get home.
>
> (Olivia, Age 36, Senior engineer, Swedish, S:C-2, L:N-2)

Olivia illustrated that switching different gender roles between ship and shore could be problematic, because women seafarers may be associated with their less feminine, or even masculine, characters while at sea. In her case, she was giving orders to a motorman and supervising his work as a female boss on board. Olivia was aware of calming herself down when she returned ashore, and described how she softened her behaviour in order to be a "good" wife.

This point was raised by other women seafarers, who also felt it was difficult to behave like women while living ashore. A Portuguese deck officer, Izabel, described how she forced on herself a certain type of feminine behaviour, such as styling her hair, using nail polish, make-up and perfume, when she came back ashore. She explained that even dancing like a girl was not easy for her after a long period of working in the male-dominated environment:

> What happened to me? The last time I went ashore, I don't know how to dance any more. I go to the disco. I don't know how to dance.

> Something that is already too much for me, like putting the hair down or whatever. I don't know how to do it. ... I must force that kind of thing. If I want my nail polish, if I want to make-up, I have to force it. The perfume, I have to force it.
>
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese, S:R-1, L:N-2)

Izabel was categorised in the "reproducers" group while at sea, and this indicates that she had actively managed and developed her identity before reaching the "reproducers". However, this example reveals that even if women seafarers have finally managed to adopt the "reproducers" identity management strategy while on board, they may still struggle to cope with their identity problems ("negotiators") when they come back ashore. The "negotiators" strategies can, therefore, be identified not only in the beginning of women seafarers' careers but at any time as a result of the influence of the occupational culture of seafaring.

"I am not exactly a mother"

This section discusses the fourth "negotiators" strategy, "the sacrificers (N-4)". Like "the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)" explained in the above section, "the sacrificers (N-4)" is also utilised by women seafarers while ashore (see chapter five for other two "negotiators" strategies of "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" and "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)"). By contrasting how women using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy feel about their private lives, this section also explains a type of "constructors" strategy, "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)", which was adopted by women seafarers while ashore (see chapter five for other two "constructors" strategies of "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)" and "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)").

Women using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy typically found it difficult to play their expected gender roles and often felt that they were not fulfilling their responsibilities in their family lives. Most women using this strategy continued working at sea after they

got married or had children. The users of "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy in my sample include a few women who gave up getting married or having children as a consequence of their possible "double burdens" of seafaring and family lives. The opposite case, where women seafarers quit seafaring because of their family, can also be considered as sacrificers. However, these women were not included as sacrificers (N-4) in this research, because they tended to feel that their choice of retiring from seafaring was the right decision for the sake of something that was more important to them, and their position seemed to be justified by their gender roles. Especially in the case of mothers, they tended to have successfully achieved a sense of motherhood ("constructors"). Therefore, women using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy in my definition were those who more or less regretted their decision or who were not completely happy about the outcomes in the end (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-10). For instance, some seafaring mothers using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy found it extremely problematic to maintain their relationships as a mother with their children.

There were ten mothers out of the thirty-six female respondents, and of those, five mothers continued seafaring after having a child. Women seafarers' feelings of being mothers did not seem to come automatically; it was more likely to be conditional, depending on how they coped with family demands at home. Therefore, women seafarers' sense of feeling like mothers, or having an identity as mothers, had to be "acquired" by making an effort. Some women seafarers acquired a feeling of being mothers ("the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)") by engaging in mother's roles by, for example, leaving sea immediately after their baby's birth; quitting seafaring after a couple of years; or waiting several years for seafaring again until their child became old enough to understand the situation (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-11; 7-12). These women using "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)" strategy seemed to attain a sufficiently good performance in their gender roles as mothers and successfully maintain their female identity. Most women seafarers with children did not appear to have sacrificed their identity as mothers. However, two seafaring mothers suffered

from severe difficulties in term of managing their identity as mothers.

A Ghanaian Captain, Sisi, felt that she failed to gain affection from her children ("the sacrificers (N-4)") when she returned home. In this case, the husband was working ashore and staying with their children while she was sailing as a Captain. She found it very difficult to gain affection from her children, because she was not at home for them. As a consequence, her children emotionally got closer to their father than to her. Because the contact between the children and her was less frequent, it did not encourage them to foster the feeling of affection for their mother. Sisi felt emotionally estranged from her children and said:

> I mean there might be at sea costs me love of my children. Because what happened was they got closer to their father. You know, because he was always there for them, so they got closer to their father rather than to me. It was...Mummy was always the one who brought good things, you know, beautiful things from sea, chocolates and this and nice clothing. And that was it. I didn't realise until I [stopped sailing and] came home. I realised that there was something missing very much in my life. That was when I decided that I am not going again. So I really missed that. And well, thankfully now I am here with them. I manage to work very hard to get their trust and their love, you know, affection. So I am not letting that one go any more.
>
> (Sisi, Age 52, Captain, Ghanaian, S:C-2, L:N-4)

This unusual situation was confusing for Sisi's children and they found it strange to have a mother when she was on vacation at home. Because they were not used to have a mother close enough to express their feelings and emotions, they always chose their father to cry on when something caused them pain. Even when the mother gave them an instruction, they would seek confirmation from their father. The children were totally confused by their mother's presence at home and this made her jealous of their relationship with their father.

> There was a little bit of jealousy, to be honest with you. Because I saw the way they were with their father and you know, with me it was like I was a

> stranger in my own house. The moment I stepped in, I could see that strange feeling, you know, the children sometimes look at you like that, "So...this is my mum?" They always wanted me to pick them from school, because we were always buy goodies for them. I realised "No, No, No, No, No. This is not working. This is not good." You know, I missed the best part of it. ... when you tell them to do something, they have to go and ask their father. I was jealous, you know. How? If I told them to do something, why should they go? And if they want to cry, they go to their father to cry. You know. Why not come to me? I am your mum!
>
> (Sisi, Age 52, Captain, Ghanaian, S:C-2, L:N-4)

Indeed, Sisi felt that the children only loved her for what she could buy them. Another seafaring mother, Rose, was a Portuguese radio officer with three sons who continued seafaring until her first son was ten years old. She faced problems making herself feel like a mother for her two older sons because she did not watch them grow up closely. Rose felt that she was not exactly a mother for her two older sons, and she rather felt as if she were the older sister or a sister around their age ("the sacrificers (N-4)"). On the other hand, she described that it was not very hard for her to acquire a sense of motherhood for her youngest son who was born after she left sea ("the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)").

> I didn't watch them growing up. My older two boys, I didn't watch them. No, I was not here. So only when the oldest one was ten years old, I said myself, well, I must end my career. ... And I got a job shore-side, starting a new time. And the youngest one is 6 years old. Uh, very good difference between them. For this one, I feel myself as a mother, because I was emotionally going on. The other ones...well...they were born and then I saw them in ten years old. ... It's very strange because in some ways, I am not exactly a mother. Sometimes I am the oldest sister or even the sister around their age. So, we have problems with them making myself feel as a mother.
>
> (Rose, Age 45, Radio officer, Portuguese, S:M-3, L:N-4)

Rose also explained how she felt as if she were a guest, not a family member in her own house when she returned ashore. She illustrated how a subtle incident reminded her of her long absence from home and emphasised a feeling of exclusion from her family:

> When I arrived at home, I did not have my napkin. Usually in my house, we have, each one of us, we have our own napkin with our own napkin ring. So, when I arrived every two months, my napkin ring was empty. It was empty, because the napkin itself went to the washing machine. And I wasn't there. So I was...as if I were a guest, not exactly a part of the family. And same with my beds and the sheets. And that was what made me suffer, because I found myself, every two months, it was a neat napkin. It means that I was not a part of the family. It was not the napkin the day before, because the day before, I wasn't there. I arrived so it was for only one meal, and they never put me a paper napkin, of course, but that was what made me a strange feeling. That was a problem.
>
> (Rose, Age 45, Radio officer, Portuguese, S:M-3, L:N-4)

The research revealed that certain female family identities, including the mother's identity, seemed difficult to acquire for some women seafarers. For example, when their work patterns prohibit them from staying ashore for any length of time, they might not be able to fulfil their gender roles. The examples of both Sisi and Rose inform us that their identity as a mother required a close relationship and long period of engagement with their children. In this sense, seafaring as an occupation seems to make it difficult for mothers to maintain their identity as a mother, because a long absence from home costs some women seafarers a lot in their relationships. Thomas and Bailey (2006) have made the same point about male seafarers.

Women using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy also include those who stay single and think that they could have got married or had a child, but gave it up for the sake of continuing their sea career.

Giving up marriage and family

Women using "the sacrificers (N-4)" strategy and giving up on the idea of getting married or having children appeared to be the mature women seafarers in the higher ranks. Indeed, the distribution of "the sacrificers (N-4)" was generally concentrated

around women seafarers in their thirties or over, because women's responsibilities in relation to certain family identities and family roles (i.e. wife, mother) tend to increase by age. In addition, more experienced women seafarers tended to be affected by the occupational culture of seafaring for a longer period. This may make it even more difficult to shape themselves into conventional gender norms and values in the shore-side community.

Finding a marriage partner seems to be an equally difficult task for both male and female seafarers, however women may feel extra social pressure on this matter (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-13; 7-14). Some active women seafarers seemed to feel that finding a marriage partner was difficult while they continued seafaring. As a result, these women often gave up on the idea of getting married ("the sacrificers (N-4)"). A Swedish senior deck officer, Vera, told me that she did not find the right man to marry because of her "strange" gender identity as a seafarer, which was often automatically understood as a male identity. This paradoxical image of her gender identities was viewed as "suspicious" by most men around her, as Vera explains:

> Even though I have a very, very nice life in one kind of way, you ruin your social life. Because maybe I could have been married, I don't know, but anyway, the men I meet now are very suspicious about this strange work. They want to have a woman stay at home.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:C-1, L:N-4)

Vera's example shows that her seafaring identity was always associated with masculine norms, and this was not accepted by the majority of men whom she met, because she looked "strange" as a marriage partner. This point was discussed in Devor's research (1989) into 'gender blending' women; unless female adults perform their supporting roles to men and to patriarchy, they may not be able to "successfully" find a marriage partner in the heterosexual world (see Appendix Seven, Example 7-15). Vera's difficulty in finding a man to marry a seafaring woman seemed to be caused by her masculine way of life which was mismatched with her feminine desire to marry. This

resulted from the fact that the occupational culture of seafaring affected her identity management, which focused on developing her masculine roles at work.

This issue must be viewed separately from women seafarers' feeling of not having children, because it seemed to come from women seafarers' emotional "guilt" that they were not fulfilling mothers' roles. For example, a Swedish senior deck officer, Alma, told me that she did not want to have children, because she felt that it would be impossible for her to play a role of mother as long as she continued seafaring and was absent from home.

> But otherwise what happened to most seafarers that when their parents or spouse [were at the] demise, you are usually out to sea. That is one of the reasons I don't want to have any kids.
>
> (Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:N-4)

Having seen other seafarers who had sacrificed their family lives, Alma seemed afraid of being in the same situation, and not being with her children when they needed her. Finally, she gave up on the idea of having family for the sake of her seafaring career ("the sacrificers (N-4)").

Amongst female participants in this research, however, the option of not having children in married life was acknowledged amongst German and Swedish women seafarers, whereas women seafarers in Portugal, Ghana, and Japan tended to feel more pressure to have children as married women in their cultures. The interview data also showed that relatively young women seafarers in their early seafaring careers, regardless of their nationalities, tended to think that they would be married and/or become a mother in the future. Many of these young women seemed to foresee that it would not be a good idea to continue seafaring for a long time because of the issues of marriage and family.

Although negative impacts upon women seafarers' identity management in relation to certain issues, such as marriage and family lives, were highlighted, several positive

effects of working at sea were frequently raised by women seafarers during the interviews.

Belonging to both camps

Many challenges of managing women seafarers' identities are posed in this research. However, being a seafarer by itself seems to be perceived as a great advantage by many women interviewees. Women using the "reproducers" strategies tended to have an ability to control the situations around them and their redefined identities often became a valuable tool to deal with gender-related problems. Of four "reproducers" strategies, three ("the alleviators (R-1)", "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)", and "the neuters (R-4)") were explained in the previous chapter five. This section explains the remaining strategy of "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)", which illustrates the benefits of being women seafarers, particularly in the shore-side community.

Women using "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)" strategy often appeared to be 'tomboyish' women and tended to apply their masculine identity to supplement an insufficient part of selves, often a lack of femininity. These women seemed to feel confident with, and enjoyed using, this strategy and surprising shore-based people. For example, a Swedish engineer, Sally, who was used to fixing problems by herself on board, enjoyed helping shore-based women. When she solved a mechanical problem ashore, she was proud of herself and people admired her as being "special".

> Most of the people ashore, they regard me as ... a woman who knows everything. A woman who knows how to manage technical things by herself or manage problems by herself, solutions and, almost everything. ... Because most women have trouble putting up painting or making, drilling a hole on the wall or putting, yeah, that kind of things. They think that men can do this. But I have my own drilling machine!
>
> (Sally, Age 27, Junior Engineer, Swedish, S:M-1, L:R-3)

Like Sally, women using "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)" strategy successfully redefined themselves from "ordinary" women to "special" women. This sense of being "special" was often substantiated by their confidence supported partly by multiplicity of their gender identities. These multiple identities were compatible with each other and could be freely and flexibly utilised by women seafarers. For example, Angela, a Swedish deck officer, did not feel afraid of failing to perform her gender roles while ashore. Even if she was not accepted as a woman in others' interpretations, she could easily convert her masculine identities to make up for her "failure" and hence won the respect of women in the shore community.

> I can always revert to my competence if I lose the women's competition. I go and say, "Well, then, I am a Captain, so...!!!" (laugh) So, I win anyway! (laugh) Well, it's a bit childish, but you know what I mean. If I feel I am not accepted as a woman, then instead I have the other part of my identity.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:R-3)

Although Angela enjoyed playing her masculine identity as a trump card in relation to women ashore, there was an exceptional situation in which she could not do anything with her gender identities. It was when women seafarers were regarded as "suspicious" by shore-based women. For example, Angela found it very difficult to exhibit her gender identities in front of the wives of her male colleagues. Even if she wanted to keep in touch with her male colleagues with whom she became friends while working on the same vessel, their wives were suspicious about her relationship with their husbands.

> No, I lost...long time ago. They were both married, which is, you know, that was a problem. You couldn't meet your friends from the ship when you came home. Because the wives and girlfriends don't understand. The friendship they thought, it was something else. ... I didn't keep in touch while I was ashore. Because I think it was a bit of unspoken thing...we all thought that a wife will not understand. Sometimes when I did meet them, they would sort of suspicious little bit. So then, sort of overgeneralise, say, well, then I probably shouldn't meet them at all, because the wives are not going to understand.

(Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:R-3)

This example suggested that women seafarers could be seen as "women" rather than "colleagues" by the wives or girlfriends of their male colleagues. As a result, their gender identities appeared to be problematic ashore and their friendship would not last. This indicates that no identity management strategies will be perfect and women seafarers seem to endlessly keep developing different strategies to respond to their gender issues.

So far, this chapter has focused on how strategically "active" women seafarers manage their identities in port and on vacation. The following section considers "retired" women seafarers' identity management strategies as they made the transition from ships to shore.

6.4. Immigrating into shore culture

Whilst active women seafarers tended to make various strategic adjustments into shore space both in port and on vacation, completely retired women seafarers seemed to take rather tentative steps in "immigrating" into shore communities. The ratio of active and retired women seafarers in my sample is half-and-half (18/18). This section considers the case of "retired" women seafarers' identity management processes, and how their seafaring lives seemed to affect their shore lives after permanently leaving sea.

Climbing again from the bottom

Many highly qualified women seafarers tended to be employed in shore-based maritime industries after quitting seafaring, for example, ship operating companies, bunkering firms, inspectors, government officials, or maritime universities. Indeed, potential labour markets in shore-based maritime industries for retired women seafarers tend to

be prosperous, because many companies want to utilise the knowledge and specialty of highly qualified and experienced seafarers in business.

However, many retired women seafarers seemed shocked to find shore culture extremely different from ship culture. One Swedish female senior officer who worked as a government official told me that she was expected to serve tea in the office and felt it very old-fashioned. Another Swedish woman seafarer, Rebecka, started working in a shore-based shipping company after having a child. Despite the fact she has a Captain's license and worked for fifteen years in a male-dominated environment, she felt that she was back to the bottom and had to build up everything again. Rebecka described how her professional experience was not valued properly because of her gender:

> I've been struggling for 15 years in this male world, and then I started shore side and I felt I was down there again. I felt "Oh, shit! Am I going again through all these...?" ... "Shall I start from the bottom again?" and that was the feeling that I had in the beginning. ... I worked myself up again to the position I have today. But also that is very negative, of course. You cannot use all your knowledge and experience you had from the last 15 years. Still they think you are from the bottom, and you have to prove yourself again. ... That was tough. But I have a feeling I've done climbing again now. (laugh)
>
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

As discussed in chapter five, a ship's hierarchy would legitimate Rebecka's capability as a senior officer while at sea, and she was secure in this respect. However, shore culture seemed to "ignore" her professional experience with the Captain's qualification, because her gender identity as a female was emphasised. As a consequence, Rebecka, had to prove herself again ashore ("negotiators").

Re-learning to be a woman

Settling down in the shore-side community after leaving sea may pose another challenge for retired women seafarers. In some cultures, where women are supposed to learn certain cultural manners and traditions at a certain age, women seafarers may miss out on opportunities to learn the things which are necessary to know in their community. A Ghanaian Captain, Sisi, did not know the way of tying up her hair in the traditional head gear, because she was at sea at the age when she was supposed to learn it. She had to catch up with other women in her local community in this aspect in order to be respected in her culture ("negotiators").

> In our tradition, we have this head gear, you have to tie. I don't know how to do that. I have to learn every, some of the things. So I missed out some of the things we do as lady, because I was not in that.
>
> (Sisi, Age 52, Captain, Ghanaian)

The research also revealed that some women seafarers who started seafaring at a relatively young age had missed the opportunity to learn how to behave like women. For example, a Swedish officer, Angela, said she had neither the knowledge about make-up nor girl friends to share female activities with (e.g. trying and testing different make-up, nail varnishes and dresses with each other). As a result, when she left sea completely, she came across a number of problems in terms of how to behave like a woman and had to learn those activities from the beginning ("negotiators"). Angela felt that her unfeminine part was still deeply rooted inside and it was not easy for her to learn to be a woman, as she describes:

> I think it took some time to learn how ...what is like to be a woman. Because I started quite early, I mean, I think it was about eighteen? You want to be really a woman at eighteen even if you thought you are, you know. All the womanly things, you know, how to use make-up and how to dress, and all those things you were supposed to know. I didn't really know many of them. So, I sort of learned, I became more feminine with time, but I think it's also deeply rooted, the unfeminine part is still there.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

For example, Angela talked about her unfeminine part when she worked in a group of women. She was not aware of being 'too straightforward' in the group work, and other women told her a month later that she decided everything instead of talking endlessly before getting a conclusion, as she illustrates:

> The first year after leaving the ship, ... [there were] some projects, and I was working in a group of women. I thought work's fine. ... They told me a month later, "It wasn't a group work. You decided everything." So I didn't know I was, I just remember that they were all talking and everyone and I just, you know, "Let's do this." And everybody said "Yeah!" So, "Ok." ... For the group of women, I was too straightforward. "Ok, stop talking. Let's do this thing." ... because I did get some manly perspectives with me from the sea. ... Because I have never worked with women before. ... I didn't realise that that's the way women make decisions. You know, to consensus and discussions. And talk is work. Everybody needs to say what they think, even if they don't need to decide what to do. And I wasn't used to that kind of way of working. So I am in between, female and male world, I think.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish,)

Creation of femininity

Learning to be a woman seems to take a while after women seafarers quit their job at sea. Angela felt that she acquired a feminine identity gradually while living ashore ("constructors"):

> Women are looking, comparing, I think. I know, "Does she look older than me?" "Oh, she doesn't." "Oh, new shoes!" You know, "Oh, good hair!" "Oh, horrible hair!" So, I am thinking more like that now. I didn't do that before.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Angela observed how women constantly compare themselves to other women, for example, how old she looks, how she dresses, or how she styles her hair. By getting

herself acquainted with such female behaviour, Angela increased her self-awareness and adopted similar views as other women.

The case of retired women seafarers shows that gender identities, including masculinity and femininity, may need to be "acquired" and "experienced" in different cultures. Women seafarers who experience living in the different culture of a man's world may obtain their own interpretation of femininity. A Swedish officer, Norah, spoke of her definitions of femininity, and it seemed to her that today's femininity is determined by other forces and actors and we are expected to accept such socially constructed femininity.

> A woman today in today's society who is feminine in society is the one who can be manipulated from outside. And adjust to this so-called femininity is to accept being a governor or ruler by somebody else.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Perceptions of femininity vary by person, therefore we need to pay careful attention to what social and cultural norms and values affect people's behaviour and attitudes. This may also suggest that women seafarers' identity management cannot be discussed without understanding the occupational culture of seafaring as well as how gender norms and values are generally embraced in the shore-side communities.

6.5. Summing-up

This chapter has covered a wide range of examples of women seafarers' identity management while ashore. Following the previous chapter about identity management while at sea, this chapter began by discussing women's experiences in ports where seafarers may have short periods of shore-leave. This allows women seafarers in ports to cross the border between ship culture and shore culture. The ways of spending shore-leave contrasted between male and female seafarers. The research shows that

women seafarers tended to make the most of those shore-leave opportunities to maintain their feminine sides ("the retrievers (M-1)"). Some women wore decent clothes and used make-up and perfume when they went out ashore. Others found a woman to talk to about their emotions and feelings, which female (and male) seafarers tended to suppress while on board. However, when women seafarers changed their appearance to a more feminine style in ports, some seemed to be offended by their male colleagues' attention to them as "female" seafarers.

The discussion, then, moved from women seafarers' identity management in ports to that on vacation. Many women seafarers in my sample returned to feminine activities, such as putting on make-up and dresses ("the retrievers (M-1)"). Some women seemed to be regarded as "unpredictable" or "exotic" by people ashore because of their complex identities ("the disguisers (M-2)"). Some women seafarers described themselves as "tomboys" before entering the seafaring career ("the never-changers (M-3)"). The considerable impact of the occupational culture of seafaring on women's identity management is apparent. For example, some women seafarers found it extremely difficult to switch off their masculine identity and return to their feminine gender roles on vacation. These women had to force themselves to behave in a feminine manner (i.e. showing emotions and feelings; softening up their characters) in relation to their male partners ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)").

The disadvantages and advantages of being women seafarers were also discussed in this chapter. Where patriarchy is still reinforced culturally, women seafarers tended to think that being a good wife and mother was incompatible with continuing seafaring. There were five seafaring mothers in my sample who kept working at sea after having children. The research revealed that it was possible for women to perform both roles of working on board and raising children. However, they found it difficult to gain a sense of motherhood. This can be a potential threat even for young women seafarers in the early stage of careers, and they seemed to acknowledge this issue. On the other hand, some women seafarers seemed to enjoy feeling like special women who can fix

problems as well as men, so people ashore tended to admire them ("the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)"). These women could also convert their masculine part to supplement their lack of feminine qualities, which seemed to boost their confidence when living in the shore-side community.

This chapter also covered the processes of retired women seafarers' identity management after quitting seafaring. Women seafarers' professional skills and knowledge at sea seem often neglected, and they needed to build their shore-based careers from the beginning. Furthermore, the data suggest that gender identities, including masculinity and femininity, are "acquired" and "experienced" in different cultural settings. Women seafarers may need to re-learn how to behave like women in shore culture, and slowly create their own versions of femininity.

Shore-side communities, including those experienced when visiting ports, provide different localities from ships. Shore space tends to pose various challenges associated with local practices and gender roles to women seafarers in terms of identity management. The next two chapters will examine how women seafarers change their identity management strategies over time and explore the multi-dimensional process of identity management, by employing the ideal-typical categories of "negotiators", "constructors", "maintainers" and "reproducers".

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Gift from the Sea – The Crafting of Selves

7.1. Introduction

The previous two chapters discussed the types of strategies which women seafarers utilised for identity management while at sea and ashore. Using ideal-types helped to capture a broad sense of women seafarers' identity management and explained how women employed each strategy in different situations.

This chapter explores women seafarers' identity management patterns using ideal-types in order to answer the question: how are women seafarers' gender identities affected by their work culture? The impact of the occupational culture upon women seafarers' identity management is assessed by examining more detailed data. This chapter also focuses on the ways in which women seafarers changed their identity management strategies over time both while on board and ashore.

7.2. Ships changed my life

Many participants, both male and female, described that their seafaring experience had generally changed their lives. They seemed to have gained a different perspective by engaging in work at sea, and as a consequence, many seafarers tended to experience the sensation of becoming a 'different person' to some degree. A Portuguese Chief Engineer, Deolinda, described it as 'a gift from the sea' which was exclusively given only to those who had been at sea for some time. She stated:

> The people that have been on board for some years, they get a different look

> on life. It's something that sea gave to you.
> (Deolinda, Age 46, Chief Engineer, Portuguese)

Another woman from Sweden, Rebecka, explained that working in a male-dominated environment for several years made a significant impact on her personality and she became 'another person' in the end.

> After spending all these years in this male-dominated world, of course, I should have been another person. ... you turn out to be kind of other person.
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Indeed, being engaged in intensive team work in the strict hierarchy of a ship for weeks or months may demand that all seafarers shape themselves into a certain type of person. Seafarers often seem to construct a collective identity as an occupational group. 'A gift from the sea', as a metaphor, suggests that the seafaring experience can make an impact on seafarers' lives and their general views. In the case of women seafarers, however, masculine norms and values emphasised in the occupational culture seemed to have an additional impact in terms of their "gender" identity management. I will start with examining the ways in which seafaring changed women seafarers' identities using the ideal-types described in chapters five and six.

The sea is tougher than the shore

The research found that the majority of women seafarers could not behave naturally and they utilised more identity management strategies while at sea than while ashore. The data used in Figure 7-1 (while at sea) and 7-2 (while ashore) were based on the ideal-types of women seafarers' identity management groups categorised in chapters five and six. These figures illustrate how few women seafarers in my sample were able to manage their original selves ("the never-changers (M-3)"). The ideal-typical "never-changers (M-3)" were those who primarily remained as they were and did not

change as part of their identity management strategies. Only 11% (4/36) of women seafarers while at sea and 22% (8/36) of them while ashore were categorised in this group. These figures suggest that most women seafarers were not able to stay as their "original" selves and felt a need to change their way of being by utilising other identity management strategies.

It is also noticeable that the number of "never-changers (M-3)" while at sea (11%, 4/36) was half the number while ashore (22%, 8/36). This tendency can be observed in the whole "maintainers" strategy category, the ratio of "maintainers" while at sea (33%, 12/36) was again much less than while ashore (52%, 19/36). Ideal-typical strategies employed while at sea appeared to be consistent with the categories of "negotiators", "constructors" or "reproducers". This emphasises that working on board the ship tended to be more challenging than living ashore in terms of women seafarers' identity management.

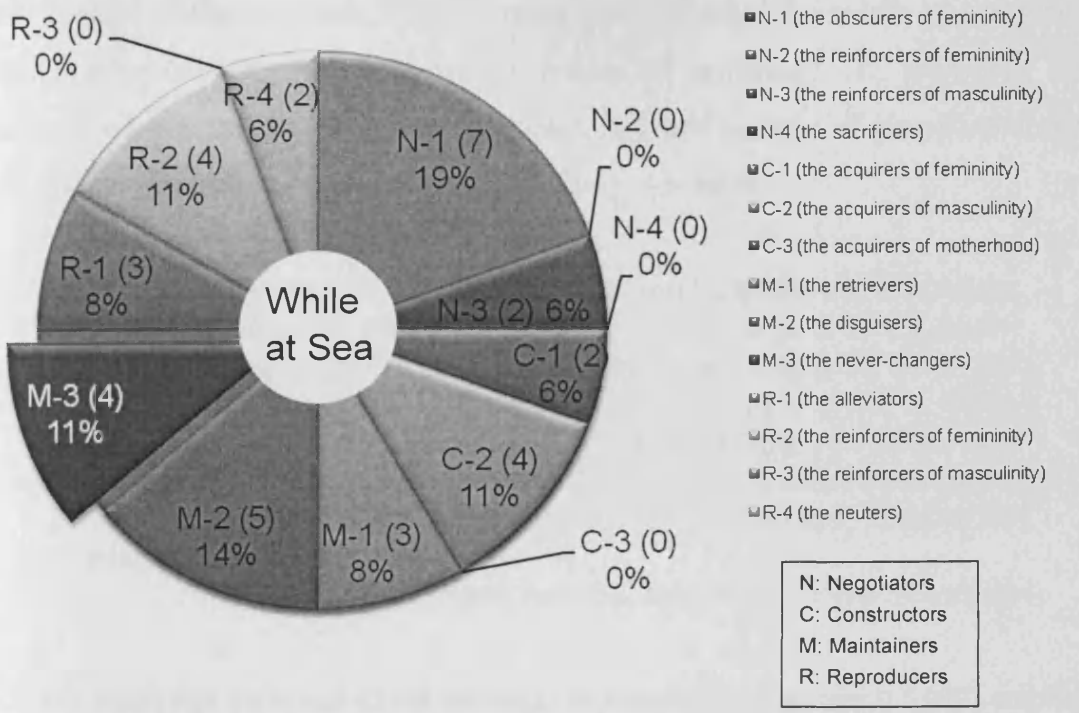


Figure.7-1: Ideal-types of women seafarers' identity management while at sea (n=36)

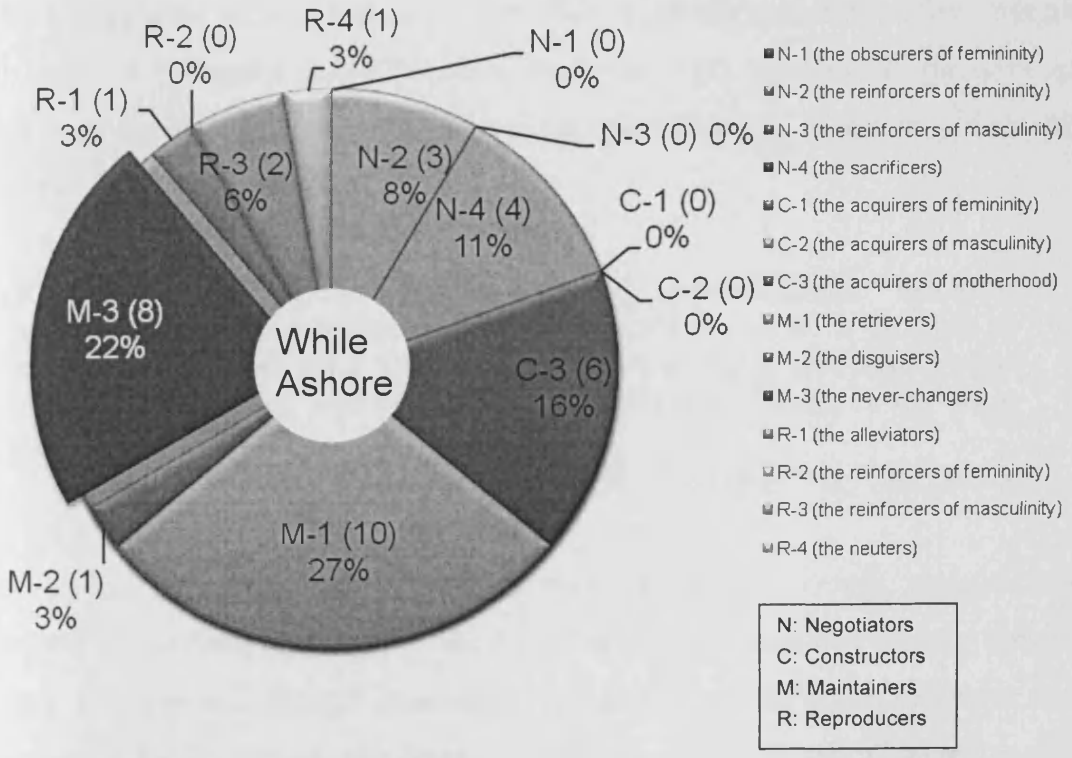


Figure7-2: Ideal-types of women seafarers' identity management while ashore (n=36)

Many women seafarers found it difficult to behave "naturally" while at sea when adapting themselves to the occupational culture of seafaring. In particular, the expression of femininity tended to be restricted on board because of masculine norms and values in seafaring, as a German seafarer, Vicki, describes:

> To live on the ship is a special situation. ... At least, you are not like a man. I did the job as same like a man. ... I think you need to be a strong person who has a lot of authority. It does not go when you are a small nosey girl who should be working in the better work in a bank or some office ... When it is hard, you should not start crying or just step back than you go one step more. ... I am still the same person on the ship, but I don't show it so much. ... it would not show your emotions so much. You just have to be professional.
>
> (Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

Vicki felt a pressure on board which inhibited her from behaving like a "girl", and that the elimination of femininity allowed her to gain credibility as a "professional". The data show that women seafarers' shipboard behaviour tended to be strongly influenced by the occupational culture, and as a result, their seafaring experience often changed their lives. A Portuguese Chief Engineer, Deolinda, explained how her career at sea had a huge impact upon everything about her, including her views, identities, and attitudes.

> What I have today is the result of the time that I spent on board. Not only professionally, but as a human being. Because I told you, to be on board is not just a profession, it's a way of life. So it's mixed everything on you. Your way of thinking, your way of being, your way of looking to the other guys.
>
> (Deolinda, Age 46, Chief Engineer, Portuguese)

Some women talked about the change in their personality brought about by the experience of seafaring over time. They acquired a new masculine identity through working with men, and felt that an adoption of masculine attitudes and behaviour was advantageous for the rest of their lives. A Swedish officer, Norah, described it as a source of happiness and strength and said that she was not afraid of crossing the

borderline of gender and stated that seafaring has provided her an opportunity to know herself better.

> I think I have been very formed by my maritime experience. ... I can feel more masculine in some way than many men ashore also. ... since I have been challenging my femininity a lot at sea, I also don't feel fear to do it. Today I think this is strength. ... I am not afraid to cross-border in this borders of my femininity. ... That is good strength, because I can see a lot of other women, they never try to challenge their own gender pressure, sort to speak. And I had done that. I think I feel more secure than many other women ashore. ... To me, it is happiness also to have done that, because I have learned to know myself a lot that I wouldn't have learned to know. Today I don't feel like a person who has a lot of secrets that I don't want to look at. I can feel quite strong and quite free inside.
>
> (Norah, Age43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

To a greater or lesser extent, the findings demonstrate that women seafarers are affected by the occupational culture of seafaring. Their work experiences influenced their identity management not only during their time at sea, but also ashore.

Susceptible women seafarers

This section attempts to evaluate how significantly the occupational culture impacted upon women seafarers' identity management. In order to do this, I focused on ideal-types (i.e. "negotiators", "constructors", "maintainers" and "reproducers") as explained in chapters five and six. Each woman seafarer's shipboard/shore-based identity management strategies were distilled into one of these four ideal-types respectively, for example, "negotiators" while on board and "maintainers" while ashore. These 'ship/shore' combinations were based on how women seafarers primarily described their identity management strategies both at sea and ashore, and I examined all the 'ship/shore' combinations of ideal-types in terms of their impact levels.

The research highlighted that some patterns of the 'ship/shore' ideal-type combinations tended to have a more significant impact of the occupational culture on some women seafarers than others. In this thesis, I picked up several notable 'ship/shore' ideal-type patterns which illustrate variations in women seafarers' identity management in relation to their work culture.

(i) "Asylum-seekers" – the maintenance of femininity

The most common pattern of women seafarers' identity management was those who primarily described themselves as attempting to adapt into the shipboard environment while at sea and seeking emotional comfort and healing in their identity management while ashore ('N/M': "negotiators" for ship and "maintainers" for shore). In total, six cases in this pattern were extracted from my sample.

This 'ship/shore' combination includes women who tended to struggle with conforming to masculine norms and values within the occupational culture while at sea; consequently, the shore-side community became like an "asylum", in terms of doing necessary maintenance work on their gender identity management, particularly for their femininity. For example, a Japanese engineer, Naomi, explained that she avoided using make-up and nail polish, and wearing skirts ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)") in order to make herself look serious at work. Conversely, Naomi really enjoyed returning ashore and having the luxury of beauty treatment and body care ("the retrievers (M-1)").

> While at sea, I don't have a skirt, because I have no chance to wear it. No fashionable boots. No make-up, because my male colleagues are watching always. I loved putting on some nail polish, but no longer do it. Those feminine stuffs are restricted on board. ... As soon as my vacation starts, I normally go to a beauty parlour to style my hair and go to a detox therapy salon for wellness. Working at sea is really stressful and tiring, so I spend so much money on taking a good care of myself while ashore.
>
> (Naomi, Age 25, Junior engineer, Japanese, S:N-1, L:M-1)

Some women seafarers in the same category on board as Naomi ("negotiators") did not particularly seek feminine activities when they returned ashore, but simply switched back to their original selves while ashore ("maintainers" – "the never-changers (M-3)") to release stress from the job. The "asylum-seeker" presents one of the common shore-side solutions with which women seafarers compensated for their sense of unsatisfied identity status while at sea.

(ii) "Activating a switchboard" – between masculine and feminine identities

This research also identified a couple of examples of women who primarily described their identity management strategies as constructing a new identity, often masculine, while at sea and adapting themselves back to the shore community during vacation ('C/N': "constructors" for ship and "negotiators" for shore). In these cases, the 'ship/shore' combination appeared to be slightly more difficult than the previous one. Women seafarers categorised as exhibiting this pattern took more proactive measures by acquiring a new masculine identity in order to fit into the shipboard environment. Even though they might deliberately start by constructing masculinity, for instance, they actually absorbed it and it helped form their character. When such women seafarers came back ashore, they tended to feel a great deal of pressure to switch their gender identities to more feminine personas according to others' expectations.

For example, a Swedish engineer, Olivia, described how she got used to behaving like her male colleagues (e.g. swearing) while at sea ("the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" for ship). When Olivia came back ashore, she felt uncomfortable in female company. She also had to stop behaving in a masculine way and changed her strategy to soften her behaviour in relation to her husband ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)" for shore). Olivia said:

> Yes, [I swear] too much. ... I found it easier to take my lunch and going and sit by the guys. ... I felt a bit awkward when I was with women, because I don't know what I was supposed to talk about. ... to coming home, becoming a nice wife. It's a different role. Make it to soften up a little bit when you get home.
>
> (Olivia, Age 36, Junior engineer, Swedish, S:C-2, L:N-2)

This example illustrates how some women seafarers constructed a new identity on board and often utilised a negotiator strategy ashore, which allowed them to switch back to the shore community based and into their expected gender roles (i.e. wife, mother etc.). While they were engaged in their different gender roles while ashore, their constructed shipboard identities were often put aside.

(iii) "Being trapped" – always under pressure

There was one example of a woman seafarer who seemed to be a "negotiator" both at sea and ashore. In her case, this strategy did not seem to make her very happy, because being a "negotiator" both at sea and ashore seemed to place her under a considerable amount of pressure. This case is very different from most other combinations, because in many cases, when women found it difficult to manage their identities at sea, they tended to find the shore space easy to live in, or vice versa. The "negotiators" both on board and ashore ('N/N'), however, did not have anywhere to relax and seemed to be the least content.

A German deck trainee, Marina, attempted to avoid showing emotions and feelings like a "girl" in relation to her male colleagues ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)" for ship). When she came back ashore, she was quite used to demonstrating herself as "unwomanly". However, Marina's boyfriend, who was waiting for her ashore, expected her to show a caring attitude with emotions and feelings. She described the pressure to behave in a feminine manner ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)" for shore). This example was also introduced in the previous chapter six, but here is a

summary in her own words:

> When I am on board, I am not talking about my emotions or feelings or whatever. ... you are coming back and there's somebody you have to take care. You have to show your emotions. ... but it is not so easy, because you are not so used to it any more.
>
> (Marina, Age 22, Deck officer trainee, German, S:N-1, L:N-2)

(iv) "Holding my ship on course" – women who are less influenced by the culture

Whilst the previous example exhibits an unhappy case of identity management, this research also identified other 'ship/shore' patterns which seemed to be less stressful. Women seafarers in these patterns seemed to feel relatively happy and comfortable and enjoy utilising their identity management strategies. The following four 'ship/shore' combinations represent those women who tended to be less influenced by the seafaring culture.

The first 'ship/shore' combination was found in three women seafarers who primarily described their *shipboard* identity management as remaining as they were ("the never-changers (M-3)") or engaging in feminine activities such as make-up while off-duty ("the retrievers (M-1)"); all of these women (three in total) switched to play a role of mother while ashore ("the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)"). Women with this 'ship/shore' ideal-type combination did not seem to feel pressure associated with 'changing' themselves while at sea, because their "steady" gender role as a mother established a firm grounding. Therefore, this combination ('M/C': "maintainers" for ship and "constructors" for shore) tended to allow these women seafarers to feel more secure and comfortable.

The second 'ship/shore' combination in this sub-category included five women seafarers who attempted to maintain their original identities as much as possible, both on board and ashore ('M/M': "maintainers" for both ship and ashore). Women with this pattern

tended to know how to live less stressfully both on board and ashore. For example, a German deck officer, Pamera, sometimes thought that her male colleagues' sexual jokes were too extreme to laugh at. She felt uncomfortable with some male expressions although she did not express her true feelings in front of her male colleagues while at sea ("the disguisers (M-2)"). Pamera stated:

> Of course they make jokes, sexual jokes, not about me, about women and men, dirty jokes. It is really normal on board, I think. Sometimes I really think it is too hard. Sometimes I laugh also. On every ship, at the first weeks, men were often shy. So they don't make this jokes, but as I stayed on board, they joke dirtier and dirtier.
>
> (Pamera, Age 44, Junior deck officer, German, S:M-2, L:M-3)

When returning ashore, however, Pamera, switched back to her original tomboyish character ("the never-changers (M-3)"). She did not think that typical feminine styles, such as wearing feminine dresses and jewellery, matched her tomboyish character. However, she still felt that she was very feminine as well as masculine to some extent.

> I think I am really female, but I have a masculine part. Yes, of course, I have. ... Ashore, [earrings, necklaces, skirts, dresses etc.] not my style. Not my type.
>
> (*Ibid.*)

As this example shows, women with this pattern strategically attempted to find a way to retain their original selves while at sea as well as while ashore.

The third pattern was represented by a couple of women who primarily described staying as they were at sea but who enjoyed using alternative identities to their advantage while ashore ('M/R': "maintainers" for ship and "reproducers" for shore). For example, a Swedish deck officer, Angela, felt it was extremely difficult to follow a masculine style of leadership in decision-making and that as a result her way of leadership was too feminine in relation to men on board ("the disguisers (M-2)"). However by contrast, when she came ashore she felt that she tended to appear too

masculine in the shore-based community.

> I was too feminine in decision-making on the ship. I was too manly in decision-making when I came ashore.
>
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:M-2, L:R-3)

While ashore, Angela enjoyed utilising her masculine identities in relation to other women. It made her feel confident and proud by being unique within a group of women ("the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)"). Angela did not feel afraid of being different, because she thought that she always had the other community which would accept her. As she stated:

> I have the other community. I am belonging to both camps.
>
> (*Ibid.*)

Lastly, the fourth pattern was the opposite of the third pattern mentioned above. This included women seafarers who primarily redefined who they were while at sea and maintained their original identities while ashore ('R/M': "reproducers" for ship and "maintainers" for shore). Five examples were identified in this pattern from my research data. For example, a Swedish deck officer, Norah, expressed her feeling that she had ownership over deciding who she was and what femininity meant to her. This helped her to be less influenced by the norms of gender ("the neuters (R-4)") on board, as she described:

> ...this choice that I have made to be the one who makes a definition on who I am supposed to be. Today it is strength in my life and in my being "myself" as a woman also.
>
> (Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish, S:R-4, L:M-2)

Norah also explained that she sometimes encountered situations that people ashore labelled her as unfeminine, because they did not understand why Norah behaved in certain ways and how her identities had been shaped by seafaring ("the disguisers (M-2)").

> What society thinks it is feminine is one that sustains the society. If other people don't see me as feminine, that is up to other people.
>
> (*Ibid.*)

It may be argued that Norah's shore-based identity management strategy was, in some way, not to change her ways, nor to care about others' opinions ("the never-changers (M-3)"). However, Norah recognised an obvious impact of the occupational culture upon her identities. Therefore, she felt that she was no longer regarded as an "ordinary" woman. Norah also concealed her true feelings ("the disguisers (M-2)"). As this example explains, women seafarers in this pattern lived as "strong" women, and received negative impacts upon their identities to a lesser extent while ashore.

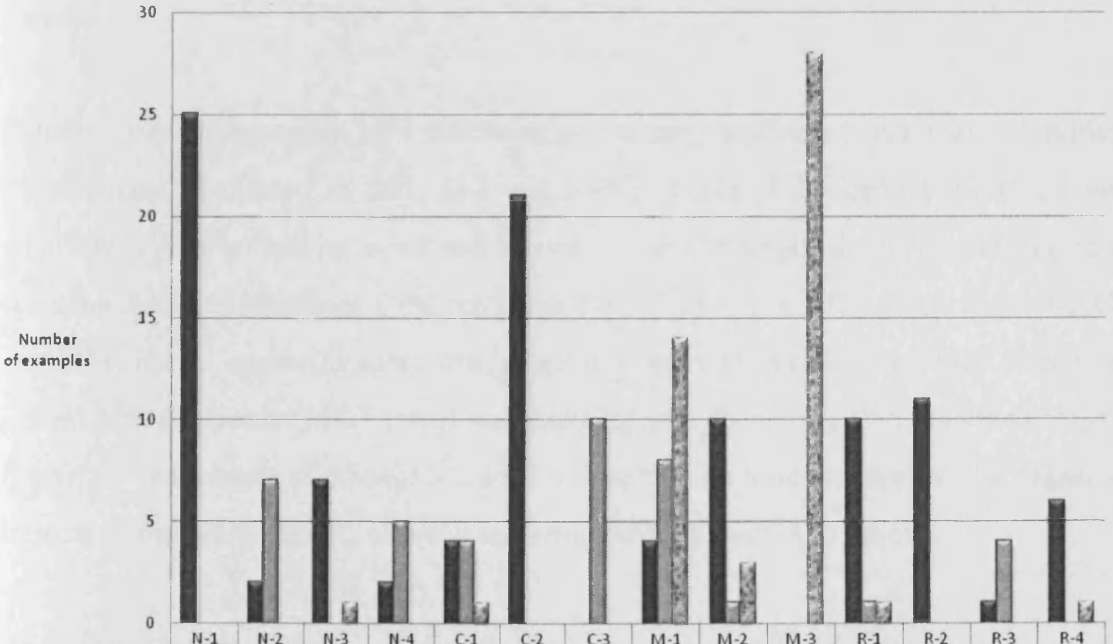
Thus, all these four 'ship/shore' combinations of identity management tended to be relatively less influenced by the seafaring culture, because of their well-maintained identity management both on board and ashore. In summary, combinations of women seafarers' 'ship/shore' ideal-types may present an indication as to what extent women were affected by the occupational culture of seafaring. They also help to explain why some women were struggling more than others and what strategies helped them to survive on board and ashore.

Close-up of identity management strategies

Data analysis using ideal-types allows for the detailed examination of how women seafarers' identities are affected by the occupational culture. However, we need to be aware that the 'ship/shore' combinations of ideal-types tend to imply a fixed pattern of identity management amongst women, whereas in fact identity management strategies were relatively fluid. For example, the category N-1 ("the obscurers of femininity") which included women who utilised strategies hiding femininity aboard (such as going

without make-up, tight clothes and/or not showing emotions) was represented by seven women only who were identified as utilising N-1 type behaviours as their primary shipboard strategy. However, the actual number of women seafarers who utilised N-1 strategies in total (including women who just used them occasionally) was twenty-five; approximately 3.5 times more than that of women in the ideal-typical category. This reminds us that data analysis using ideal-types is not a very holistic approach, and we need to look at the detailed data of women seafarers' individual trajectories for further understanding.

Figure 7-3 shows, in more detail, how many women seafarers experienced different identity management strategies throughout their lives (as described in the interviews). It also illustrates how many identity management strategies were utilised by location. The black bars represent the space of *ship*; the grey bars the space of *shore*; and the stone-texture bars both spaces of *ship* and *shore*.



	N-1	N-2	N-3	N-4	C-1	C-2	C-3	M-1	M-2	M-3	R-1	R-2	R-3	R-4
Ship	25	2	7	2	4	21	0	4	10	0	10	11	1	6
Shore	0	7	0	5	4	0	10	8	1	0	1	0	4	0
Both (ship/ shore)	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	14	3	28	1	0	0	1

Figure 7-3: Utilised identity management strategies by space

Several patterns emerge from Figure 7-3. Firstly, women seafarers' identity management tended to occur more frequently on board than ashore. This supports the previous findings discussed earlier in the chapter ('the sea is tougher than the shore'), and women seafarers' identities seemed to be more affected by the culture on vessels than ashore.

Secondly, Figure 7-3 also reveals that certain identity management strategies were popularly applied by many women. For example, the strategy of concealing all femininity while at sea, by going without make-up, tight clothes and emotional behaviour (e.g. crying) ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"), was utilised by twenty-five women out of thirty-six in my sample. Similarly, another strategy of mimicking male colleagues' behaviour (e.g. swearing) and disciplining themselves into the more masculine persona ("the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)") was utilised by twenty-one out of thirty-six women in my sample. This may suggest that these were the core common "survival" strategies for women in the male-dominated workplace on board.

Thirdly, three strategies of maintaining women seafarers' original identities ("maintainers" indicated as M-1, M-2 and M-3 in Figure 7-3) seemed to be utilised relatively regularly both on board and ashore. These strategies include returning to a feminine mode of behaviour ("the retrievers (M-1)"); using a "double face" (in which women seafarers appear to agree with masculine ways of thinking and hide their true selves: "the disguisers (M-2)"); and not changing who they were ("the never-changers (M-3)"). "Maintainers" strategies tended to function as a buffer against the negative impacts of the occupational culture of seafaring both on board and ashore.

The other three categories, (i.e. other than "maintainers"), however, tended to be inversely proportional in the frequency of usage between on board and ashore. For example, the strategy of "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)" was adopted by eleven women seafarers while at sea, but by none while ashore. Similarly, the strategy of "the

acquirers of motherhood (C-3)" was utilised by ten women, only while ashore. This close relationship between the strategies (except for "maintainers") and space was notable in Figure 7-3. Most strategies in the "negotiators", "constructors", and "reproducers" categories seemed to be associated with either feminine or masculine norms and practices, which were widely acknowledged in many parts of the world. For example, femininity was emphasised in the strategy adopted by those women who felt gender-role pressure from their shore culture, and made efforts to present themselves in feminine ways in order to fit into the shore-side environment ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)"). This strategy was, therefore, utilised more frequently ashore than on board. Such tendencies seem to suggest that particular strategies are associated with particular spaces. In other words, women seafarers' choice of the identity management strategies could be driven by the space in which they found themselves.

To put this in another way, space might motivate women seafarers to utilise a particular identity management strategy in order to "survive" in the specific environment. The only identity management strategy which showed completely no relationship to space was not to change themselves at all ("the never-changers (M-3)"). The essence of this strategy seemed to be a core of their "bare" identities. In other words, whilst they practised identity management from time to time, just like others, the most essential part of themselves remained unchanged.

7.3. Shifting and changing over time

Using the analytical concept of ideal-types, each woman seafarer was exclusively categorised in one identity management strategy ideal-type representing their behaviour on board ships and another for when they were ashore. However, this did not adequately reflect the whole process of identity management throughout women seafarers' lives, in particular, the ways in which they shifted from one identity

management strategy to another over time. Unlike the fixed categorisation of ideal-types, this section applies detailed data analysis in order to examine the changing patterns of women seafarers' identity management.

Modelling identity management shifts

During the interviews, women seafarers often began by describing their pre-seafaring identity management strategies. Some women seafarers, however, started their narratives from the time they first went to sea and spoke about how they saw their femininity as problematic and attempted to fit into the shipboard environment ("negotiators"). Thus, the starting points of women's narratives about their identity management varied.

Despite the fact that many women seafarers started with the same identity management strategies, the ways in which they changed their strategies and how they ended up with a particular identity management strategy were diverse. Several tendencies of women seafarers' identity management strategies emerged through this research and I attempted to identify the shifting patterns.

The research identified a typical pattern of women seafarers' identity management experiences. This started with women attempting to change themselves to fit into their environment ("negotiators"). They then moved on to acquire a new identity in order to fit in more completely and feel more confident and secure ("constructors"). Beyond this, some women changed again and sought to retain their original identities as much as possible ("maintainers"), and finally some women went on to enjoy the production of a redefined identity ("reproducers").

Figure 7-4 shows a basic model of vectoral shifts of women seafarers' identity management between four identity management groups. Every shift between identity

management groups, which was experienced by women seafarers in my sample, was extracted from the accounts given at interview. For example, the shifting of "negotiators" → "constructors" → "maintainers" (N→C→M) was interpreted to be a combination of two different shifts of 'N→C' and 'C→M'. When more than one identity management group co-existed at the same time, for instance, "negotiators/maintainers" → "maintainers" (N/M→M), they were distilled into two separate patterns of 'N→M' and 'M→M', respectively.

After such vectoral information was extracted from the interview data, I examined how many times each shift was experienced in order to understand which shifts were most prevalent. I categorised a strong relationship as over 30 percent of total shifts; a medium relationship as 20-30 percent of total shifts; and a weak relationship as below 20 percent of total shifts. The strong relationships between the identity management groups are marked as solid arrows and the medium relationships as dotted arrows. The weak relationships are not shown in Figure 7-4.

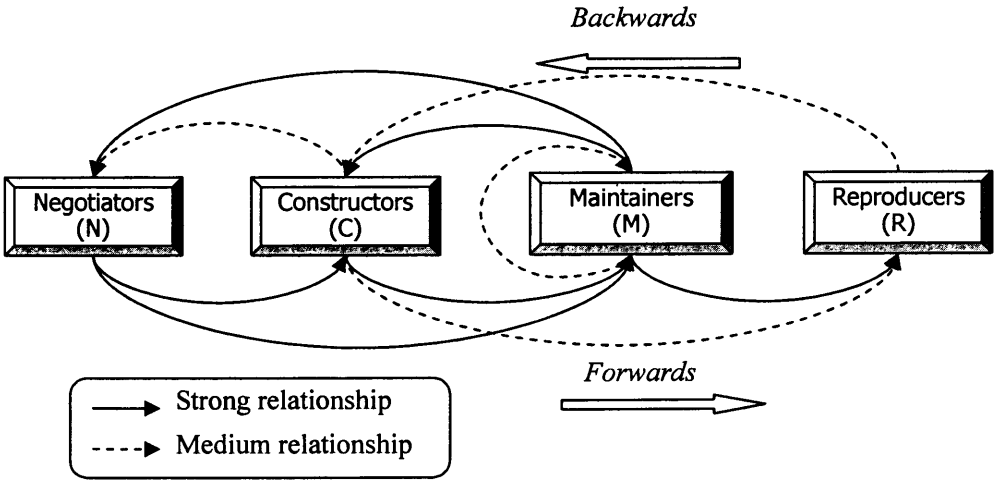


Figure 7-4: Basic model of the vectoral flows of women seafarers' identity management shifts

(i) 'Forwards' and 'Backwards' flows

The directions of women seafarers' identity management seem to have two main flows, which I named, 'forwards' and 'backwards'. The 'forwards' flow represents the vectoral direction of "negotiators" → "constructors" → "maintainers" → "reproducers" (N→C→M→R) whereas the 'backwards' flow the opposite vectoral direction of "reproducers" → "maintainers" → "constructors" → "negotiators" (R→M→C→N).

With a few exceptions, most women in my sample commonly experienced the 'forwards' flow in the beginning of their seafaring careers. Only a few women showed a 'backwards' flow in their main identity management patterns. For example, a Portuguese radio officer, Rose, began with her original identity ("maintainers") when she started seafaring, and later acquired a new identity as a mother ("constructors"). Because she continued working at sea, she felt she was sacrificing the relationship with her children and experienced a hard time managing her family identity as a mother ("negotiators"). In this example, Rose shifted her identity management in the 'backwards' flow of "maintainers" → "constructors" → "negotiators" (M→C→N). However, women seafarers do not always shift and change in one direction and could shift both 'forwards' and 'backwards'. The 'forwards' and 'backwards' flows do not necessarily reflect any superiority or inferiority in relation to each other.

The data show that all the women seafarers in my sample started their careers at sea using either "negotiators", "constructors" or "maintainers" identity management strategies and never began as "reproducers". Furthermore, whichever identity management group women seafarers started with, they tended to shift towards "maintainers" and some of them reached a stage termed "reproducers". The 'forwards' flow of 'N→C→M→R' can be, therefore, modelled as a typical progression. On the other hand, new (often negative) factors could motivate women to start a new identity management process by going 'backwards'.

Interestingly, women seafarers' shore-based identity management generally tended to follow the 'backwards' vectoral flow described in the basic model (Figure 7-4) whilst their shipboard identity management often followed the 'forwards' flow. When returning ashore, most women seafarers, particularly the young and less experienced, engaged in activities associated with "recovering" their original selves ("maintainers") and did not change their strategies so much. However, some women who got married and/or had children acquired a new family identity as a wife or mother ("constructors"). Some left seafaring, but others continued working at sea and started to feel that they were sacrificing and missing their family roles ("negotiators"). This typical pattern of women seafarers' shore-based identity management ("maintainers" → "constructors" → "negotiators": M→C→N) matched the 'backwards' vectoral flow identified in the basic model.

Furthermore, some women seafarers redefined their identities ("reproducers") while ashore. Even so, women seafarers seemed over time to become generally less confident about their identities while ashore than while at sea. It seems that women seafarers tended to find it increasingly difficult to fit into the shore-side community and they all struggled like "negotiators" to some extent, no matter how they attempted to stay as they were ("maintainers") or to redefine their identities ("reproducers"). The impact of the occupational culture of seafaring ashore should not, therefore, be underestimated.

(ii) Hopping, stepping and jumping between strategies

The two main flows of 'forwards' and 'backwards' demonstrate certain tendencies in women seafarers' changing identity management. My research, however, found that women seafarers did not necessarily follow the patterns of 'N→C→M→R' ('forwards' flow) or 'R→M→C→N' ('backwards' flow) step by step, in their chronological order of identity management. Some women seemed to shift from one identity management

group to another by jumping over the intermediate group. For example, a Swedish deck officer, Rebecka, told me that she was never afraid of male seafarers' tough looks and always challenged them by demonstrating herself to look as tough as men on board ("constructors"). This happened especially in the beginning of her seafaring career, because her male colleagues were suspicious about her ability as a seafarer and did not fully accept her as a member of the working team. Rebecka said:

> In the beginning, they were a bit...they didn't know where I was standing. They wanted to test me and check me and so on. ... I showed them I know, I can do the practical work, I know what I am doing, and I am a part of the crew. ... You shouldn't be too frightened for the tough outsides over too. I mean I also have tough outside. You must have that.
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"]
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish, C→R)

Later in her career, Rebecka found it easier to become part of the crew. Everybody knew that she could perform as well as men from the outset. In addition, she learned that playing what she described, a female role (as, for example, a good listener to male seafarers' problems at home) led to the development of mutual understanding and trust while at sea ("reproducers"). In this case, Rebecka shifted from "constructors" to "reproducers" (C→R) by jumping over "maintainers", as she explained:

> When there is a woman on board, everybody thinks that they can speak to her. So, it's been a lot of talk and you know, they want to tell a lot about their life stories and their problems at home, and so I've been very good at listening.
>
> ["Reproducers" – "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)"] (*Ibid.*)

Similarly, some women seafarers might change strategies within the same identity management group. For instance, a Swedish engineer, Julia gave up using make-up and tight clothes when she signed on a ship, because she thought that it was not appropriate in the male-dominated workplace ("negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"). Julia said:

> When I was on the ship, I was very skinny. I signed on in a black leather

> pants and light little jacket with really, really blonde hair. And the Captain was just...hanging out of the window with large eyes, looking and very expecting a new engineer looking like that. I went up to my cabin and changed back to my boiler suit and stop the make-up and female accessories. Just the neutral.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Julia, Age 34, Senior engineer, Swedish, N→N)

However, Julia encountered a new problem when she became more experienced. She was successful at work and going to be promoted higher than her seafaring fiancé. Julia felt that her promotion affected her relationship with him because she became a female boss over her fiancé, which he found it difficult to accept. I heard similar stories from other women seafarers during the interviews. They told me that some men seemed threatened by women's advancement. Ship's hierarchy may allow women to supervise men, however this seems to contradict the idea of patriarchy, which is deeply rooted and exercised in our everyday life. In Julia's case, her public role of leadership over her fiancé conflicted with her private gender role of maintaining a good relationship with him. After struggling with this difficulty, she finally decided to abandon her relationship with him for the sake of her seafaring career ("negotiators" – "the sacrificers"). This case showed that Julia changed from one strategy to another within the same identity management group of "negotiators" (N→N). She described it as below:

> I was engaged with another seafarer. It didn't work out for many reasons. Most people said that we ran out of love, but I was outranking him. I was supposed to be with him as the second engineer, and worked on the same ship and with the same shift. That was not good. It's stopped being a higher rank when we are at ports. So it didn't work out. Very difficult.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the sacrificers (N-4)"] (*Ibid.*)

In general, women seafarers' identity management tended to shift chronologically and change in the 'forwards' or 'backwards' flow, shown in the basic model of Figure 7-4. However, as some examples illustrated, they could also shift and change by jumping over or skipping some identity management group as well as alternating the strategies

within the same identity management group.

(iii) Common patterns of changing strategies

The data also show a significant difference in the shifting connections between identity management groups. For example, the shifting connection from "negotiators" to "constructors" seemed to be stronger than other combinations. Women seafarers, who felt that their gender identities were making trouble and they needed to change themselves ("negotiators"), tended to make further efforts to become part of the group in the place where they belonged by acquiring a new, suitable identity ("constructors"). For example, a Portuguese deck officer, Joana, explained that she eliminated any trace of her femininity in her appearance and behaviour on board in the beginning ("negotiators"), as she described:

> It's necessary to be more careful, because anything can make a spark.
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Joana, Age 26, Junior deck officer, Portuguese, N→C)

Joana stated that she developed her character in the male-dominated workplace and as a result, she acquired greater confidence, which made her feel different from other women ashore ("constructors"):

> More confident to deal with men. ... I find myself that I am different from the other women.
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"] (*Ibid.*)

This shift from "negotiators" to "constructors" was very common among women seafarers, in particular in their early stage of seafaring career. The same tendency can be found in the shift from "negotiators" to "maintainers", by which women kept their original selves. For example, a Swedish deck officer, Alma told me that she made a number of "mistakes" by being friendly and chatty in relation to her male colleagues on

board when she was a cadet. She eventually learned that such an attitude could be translated as trying to get attention from men. Therefore she decided to keep distance ("negotiators").

> It could give very strange signals. "Oh, hello!? Blah, blah, blah." "Oh what is she doing?" ... when I was a cadet, maybe I didn't really understand the necessity of keeping distance. So I made some mistakes, yes.
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish, N→M)

Alma was very careful about her feminine behaviour in the beginning. She did not use make-up while at sea. However, like many other women seafarers, she gradually tried to put on some make-up and perfume when going ashore ("maintainers"). Some countries like France motivated her to behave and feel more feminine than other spaces as she described:

> I am a kind of blend. I am not extremely masculine, but I am not extremely feminine either. I only put on my make-up when I go ashore. Especially France. Very well make-up, maybe. I do wear perfume.
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"] (*Ibid.*)

Some shifting patterns between the identity management groups (e.g. 'N→C' and 'N→M') showed a stronger relationship than others (e.g. 'N→N' and 'N→R'). Similarly, women seafarers, who were motivated to become members in the space to which they belonged by acquiring a new identity ("constructors"), tended to shift back to their original selves ("maintainers"). This shifting pattern of women seafarers' identity management, 'C→M', was also widely observed throughout the data.

For instance, a German Captain, Doris talked about her early days in seafaring when she had to prove her ability at work more than anything else. She became very practical and did not pay attention to feminine behaviour (i.e. make-up and hair-style). She did not feel it as sacrificing her femininity, however she had to abandon some feminine habits in order to prove herself in the male-dominated workplace ("constructors").

Doris explained:

> If you start, they always watch you first. In the beginning, they want to find out if you do this job on board, because you like it or if you are one of these women who want to prove to the men that women can also do it. ... if you get up at 3:30 in the morning for your watch, you are not interested in it [make-up]. ... Then, for example, you have to do the tank inspection with your boson, so nobody cares make-up. (laugh)
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"]
>
> (Doris, Age 43, Captain, German, C→M)

Work-oriented culture on board ships seems to prioritise being practical over taking care of their appearance. Consequently, Doris had to forget about showing her femininity. However, she eventually missed an opportunity to have a feeling of being feminine on board. It led her to use perfume when meeting some port authorities ashore ("maintainers") as she stated:

> ... at ports and go ashore, the agency invites you for dinner. ... You really feel like putting on make-up and yeah something special. ... Usually I used perfumes when we come to a port and I have to address authorities and so on.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"] (*Ibid.*)

Another example of shifting "constructors" to "maintainers" (C→M) was given by Swedish engineer, Sue, who picked up her male colleagues' way of talking and their rough language on board ("constructors"), described as below:

> You did get all the language, a little bit more male, and talk about women in a way which I generally don't think men do when women are present.
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"]
>
> (Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish, C→M)

In the beginning Sue felt comfortable about her new masculine identity. However she gradually felt too feminine and sensitive about others' attitudes to her. Sue kept this feminine part of herself inside while at sea ("maintainers") as she explained:

> I think I care about people. ... I want people around me to feel comfortable, to be able to express their feelings and their thoughts. I feel very bad when I realise someone is uncomfortable in my company. Maybe that's feminine.
> ["Maintainers" – "the disguisers (M-2)"] (*Ibid.*)

(iv) Assessing changes between strategies

Women seafarers, who initially described themselves as maintaining their original identities ("maintainers"), seemed to take three different routes in shifting identity management over time. Firstly, women seafarers, who claimed that they used to be "tomboys" ("maintainers"), often found that their tomboyish behaviour and attitudes were still not enough to cover their feminine side in the male-dominated workplace. These women attempted to hide femininity on the ships ("negotiators") (M→N). Secondly, more straightforwardly, women seafarers skipped negotiating their identities, and instead directly aimed at acquiring a masculine identity in order to display themselves in a more masculine manner ("constructors") (M→C). Thirdly, some women seafarers changed from their original identities to redefining their identities ("reproducers") (M→R). For example, a Japanese deck officer, Yoko did not change herself much, no matter where she was. Because her male colleagues had never worked with a woman on board, they avoided making trouble and kept their distance. To fix this problem, Yoko gradually placed herself in a more gender-neutral position within the shipboard community by actively arranging seasonal events for the crew. Yoko described it as a voluntary contribution as a person ("reproducers"), which enabled her male colleagues to trust and respect her beyond their gender difference while at sea. Yoko explained:

> I was always like this both on board and ashore. ... I think that male seafarers did not know how to treat me, a woman working together on the ship. They had never experienced a woman on board. So, I talked to the Captain and arranged a few seasonal events, such as Tanabata (Star Festival) in July, because there was some budget for the crew recreation. This gave male crew an opportunity to talk to me more easily and they came to know how to relate to me.

["Maintainers" – "the never-changers (M-3)"
→ "Reproducers" – "the neuters (R-4)"]
(Yoko, Age 26, Junior deck officer, Japanese, M→R)

Yoko and many other women seafarers started their identity management as "maintainers". Table 7-A shows a summary of the shifting relationships from one identity management group to another (which also relates to the basic model of the vectoral flows of women seafarers' identity management shifts in Figure 7-4). In this table, the indication of the "strong" relationship was extracted from the data of over 30 percent of total shifts ('N→C'; 'N→M'; 'C→M'; 'M→N'; 'M→C'; and 'M→R'). All of these shifts occurred within the closest neighbour position. The "medium" relationship was collected from 20-30 percent of total shifts ('C→N'; 'C→R'; 'M→M'; and 'R→C') and many of them were in the 'backwards' flow. The "weak" relationship, below 20 percent of total shifts ('N→N'; 'N→R'; 'C→C'; 'R→N'; 'R→M'; and 'R→R'), tended to be either a shift within the same identity management group or a jump from one to the further positioned identity management group of the basic model in Figure 7-4.

Table 7-A: The relationships from one identity management group to the other

		To			
		N	C	M	R
From	N	weak	strong	strong	weak
	C	medium	weak	strong	medium
	M	strong	strong	medium	strong
	R	weak	medium	weak	weak

* N: Negotiators; C: Constructors; M: Maintainers; R: Reproducers
** 'Strong' relationship: over 30%; 'Medium' relationship: 20-30%; and 'Weak' relationship: below 20% of total shifts

The stronger identity management shifts appeared to match the 'forwards' flow of the basic model in Figure 7-4. The 'backwards' flow was not as common as the 'forwards'

one and it appeared to be of "medium" strength. All the other shifting patterns, outside the 'forwards' or 'backwards' flow, appeared to have a "weak" relationship.

Furthermore, examining these shifting connections between the identity management groups seems to reflect the nature of each identity management group. Many women seafarers in my sample experienced going through the phase of "maintainers" more frequently than the other identity management groups. This may suggest that "maintainers" would be a platform or hub station to pass through for many women seafarers in their gender identity management. This might be why the "strong" relationships were often associated with the "maintainers" group. By the same token, "reproducers" were difficult to reach, and therefore, they were experienced the least, and the "weak" relationship tended to be tugged to "reproducers".

Growing selves – frequency of changing strategies

There is evidence of other patterns of shifting strategies. This section discusses how many women seafarers changed their identity management strategies, and how many stayed in one identity management strategy without changing at all. The research found that no-one stayed in one identity management strategy (see Appendix Nine). In fact, all women seafarers in my sample have changed their gender identity management strategies at least once or twice and at most seven times. These differences were caused by various reasons.

The women seafarers, who changed their identity management strategies least, appeared, on a closer examination, to be the younger women in the sample, who had only been at sea from six months to three years. These women were, perhaps, still in the early process of building up their seafaring careers. In general, when people get older and continue working, they tend to become more mature and sophisticated in their

understanding of themselves. The same theory may apply to women seafarers and the longer they spent on board, the more they became aware, as a Swedish seafarer, Vera stated:

> At that time, maybe I was 22 or 23 years. I didn't tell the views that I have now. ... I didn't get a big picture.
>
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Indeed, women seafarers' changing strategies of identity management might be more influenced by age. However, this *least* shifting identity management group also included two women radio officers. Their nature of this work was relatively less masculine than that of deck officers and engineers. Hence, these radio officers did not have to modify their behaviour and appearance as much as female deck officers or engineers. Moreover, both officers acquired a new identity as a mother, and their base of life gradually shifted from ship to shore. This might have led to less of an impact from the occupational culture of seafaring.

On the other hand, women seafarers who have generally changed their identity management strategies most appeared to be the older women, between the ages of thirty-six and fifty-two, who had on average nearly fifteen years experience at sea. These women left sea and were settled ashore at the time of the interviews. Half were mothers and the other half were married or cohabited. Women who changed their identity management strategies most, therefore, seemed to encounter various dimensions of life (i.e. actively sailing, quitting a job and settling down ashore, working at a shore-based company, marrying or cohabiting, or raising children). In addition to such personal dimensions, these women tended to survive the various political and economic changes in the shipping industry from the late 1980s to the recent years.

No-one stayed the same

Despite a large gap in the frequencies of changing strategies in women seafarers' identity management, the research found that all the women in my sample, without exception, engaged in shifting strategies. The interview data revealed that no-one stayed with a particular identity management strategy because of social and cultural pressure. Such social and cultural pressure might be received differently by women seafarers because of their individual elements, for example, age, seafaring experience, and personal lives including marriage/cohabitation. This diversity of women seafarers' identity management strategies may be attributable to the extent to which they reflected their individual elements to the active process of identity management.

However, the differential impact of the factors were not only individual and personal elements but also environmental. The earlier discussion suggests that a ship as a "space" may pose more challenging situations to women seafarers' identity management than a shore space. Furthermore, there were certain contexts around women seafarers, for example, people around them, or particular cultural settings in which they live. Such "contexts" may determine gender norms and values about women seafarers' behaviour and attitudes, and would affect their identity management.

7.4. Summing-up

This chapter firstly clarified that the occupational culture of seafaring had had various effects upon women seafarers' gender identity management. The research found that many women managed their gender identities not only while at sea but also while ashore. The analysis of ideal-types revealed that 'ship/shore' combinations of women seafarers' ideal-types affected a degree of impact upon their identity management. The identity management strategy whereby women adapted themselves to the environment and vigorously attempted to fit in the space ("negotiators"), both on board and ashore,

appeared to be the most challenging pattern. On the other hand, the most manageable patterns were identified by women who mainly described their identity management strategy to stay as they were ("maintainers") on board and/or ashore. In general, the data show that women tended to manage identities more actively on board than ashore.

By examining the more detailed data, the research found shifting patterns of women seafarers' identity management between four identity management groups. A general tendency of women seafarers' shipboard identity management was characterised as a 'forwards' flow ("negotiators" → "constructors" → "maintainers" → "reproducers"), whilst the shore-side identity management was typically as a 'backwards' flow ("reproducers" → "maintainers" → "constructors" → "negotiators"). These patterns demonstrate the chronological order of women seafarers' identity management and visualise the process of women's changing strategies over time.

The study found that all the women seafarers in my sample changed their identity management strategies; none of them stayed with one particular strategy. The frequencies of changing strategies varied significantly. However, those who had changed the most appeared to be mature and older women seafarers whilst those who had shifted the least tended to be the less experienced and younger women. This seems to relate to the extent of social and cultural pressure they may receive because women's responsibility associated with gender roles generally tends to increase by age.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Changing Code of Signals – Multiple Identity Management

8.1. Introduction

Chronological patterns of women seafarers' identity management were analysed in the previous chapter, and this helped us to understand how the strategies that women used changed over time. The process of developing and changing identity management strategies was affected both by the impact of the occupational culture of seafaring and that of shore-based cultures. I explained how women seafarers changed from one strategy to another (see Figure 7-4).

Some women seafarers, however, employed more than one strategy over the same time period in the same place. They appeared to have several ways of dealing with gender-related problems at sea and/or ashore, and chose what they regarded as the most effective ones from the range available. These multiple ways of identity management are the focus of this chapter.

8.2. Coping with cultural difference

Chapter seven took an holistic approach to examine the ways in which women seafarers' identity management strategies shifted over time. It revealed that most women described their pre-seafaring characters as "tomboys", and they found it necessary to manage their gender identities in order to cope with gender-related issues posed in each space of ship and shore. In the chronological process of identity management, many women seemed to downplay their feminine sides, and some acquired and absorbed a more masculine character. These women tended to maintain their femininity on board

and/or ashore, and some redefined their identities to release social and cultural pressure. The holistic approach visualised these chronological patterns of women seafarers' identity management.

However, the research also found that some women seafarers utilised more than one identity management strategy either on board or ashore around the same period of time. These women changed strategies in a multi-layered form at a specific time. Their strategies, therefore, varied according to where they were and who they were within a certain period of time. Chronological shifts, on the other hand, mean the flow of changing from one strategy to another over a time scale of their lives. Hence, I have termed this multi-dimensional process (taking into account both time and space) as "multiple identity management". This suggests that women seafarers' identity management could shift not only chronologically but also multi-dimensionally.

Whilst all the women seafarers in my sample changed their strategies over time, the research found that fifteen out of thirty-six women seafarers utilised more than one strategy at a time and chose the most effective one to use for a particular situation. Of these, five women repeatedly experienced this process more than once in their lives.

The need for multiple identity management strategies resulted from women seafarers' awareness of certain situations where just one strategy might be insufficient to solve all the gender-related problems experienced. Even in the chronological process, women seafarers changed their identity management strategies over time because they found their strategies to be insufficient and ineffective, and needed to keep developing new ones. The occupational culture particularly influenced women seafarers' identity management where a mixture of different cultures existed. In this case, women seafarers might need more than one strategy in order to deal with various situations. The shipping industry has become more multi-national and globalised, and women seafarers seem to be aware of such cultural diversity in relation to various interpretations about gender norms and values when they manage their identities.

Multiple identity management can be seen as an elaborated way of identity management which is employed to cope with more complex forms of gender-related problems caused by variations in gender norms and values.

When analysing the data, I sometimes came across challenges in comprehending where women seafarers employed multiple identity management strategies, in particular, the "maintainers" strategies. For example, the strategy of behaving as they were ("the never-changers (M-3)") was a core common "survival" strategy for women both on board and ashore, and could be identified in both spaces. At other times, some multiple identity management strategies appeared to present several meanings. In such cases, I re-read my interview data many times before assigning them to the space in which their multiple identity management took place.

It also seemed that the adoption of multiple identity management did not appear to relate to personal attributes or experiences, such as age, nationality, length at sea and so on. Rather, the 'context' that surrounded a woman seafarer seemed to be the driving force for multiple identity management. Varying unique local settings motivated women to utilise multiple identity management strategies. This needs to be differentiated from chronological identity management where 'space' (i.e. ship or shore) seemed to play a role of motivating women to adopt and change their strategies. In order to illustrate what kind of 'context' created certain situations, I will discuss it separately on board and ashore in the following sections.

This research is also interested in how multiple identity management strategies are related to each other. More specifically, whether these multiple identity management strategies were harmonised or conflicted with each other will be explored.

8.3. Juggling various strategies while at sea

The key issue of women seafarers' identity management while at sea was how effectively they could use their strategies in order to "survive" in the male-dominated work culture. Women seafarers seemed to need to observe and understand which gender identities and gender roles were expected and appropriate in a specific local setting. In some situations, women were expected to behave in a rather feminine way, while at other times, they were expected to perform in a masculine manner. This complication may be accentuated when women work on a multi-national crewing vessel, which is common in today's shipping. People with different cultural backgrounds have different gender norms and values, including taboos and courtesies.

In such complex situations, women seafarers simply combined identity management strategies during the same period in order to cope with several different patterns of situations. For example, a few German deck trainees, such as Cindy, Agnes and Naike, avoided tight and sexy clothes in front of male crew and tried not to spend time with a particular man while on board ("negotiators"). Agnes described:

> I tried not to send any signals like spending much time with one of them, especially. ... [I wore] overalls, all trousers. ... Hardly [make-up]. Some mascara, not always.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Agnes, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

This was a typical initial identity management strategy for many newly-started women seafarers. New-comer women seafarers tended to feel that they were causing problems simply by being women therefore they tried to hide their feminine qualities as much as possible ("negotiators"). At other times, when the situation allowed, Cindy, Agnes and Naike did not change how they were ("maintainers"). For example, Cindy felt it was not problematic to wear sleeveless tops in front of Rumanian crews, because she understood that their culture would not interpret women wearing such clothes as showing sexual interest in men. She explained, however, that it could be a taboo for

her to do the same in Asian (e.g. Filipino) seafarers' presence as they could culturally misunderstand her behaviour as a sign of affection. Cindy stated:

> It was summer time. My god, yeah, I was wearing also top. No sleeves. It was able to do that, because he was Rumanian, and he was able to understand, my god, let her do this. (laugh) It was not a problem. Filipino officers...it was difficult always.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the never-changers (M-3)"]
> (Cindy, Age 23, Deck officer trainee, German)

On the other hand, Cindy, Agnes and Naike also attempted to retrieve their femininity on board while off-duty ("maintainers"), and this was typically seen in those women who concealed their feminine side while at sea ("negotiators"). For example, they occasionally felt that their concealed feminine side was stranded and had nowhere to go, and wore jewellery (e.g. rings) on board while off-duty, as Cindy describes:

> When I was working, then not, but in my free time, yeah I was wearing the rings.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"]
> (Cindy, Age 23, Deck officer trainee, German)

Although these young women seafarers in their very early stage of training found it difficult to live on board in terms of their gender identity management, they also said that they were generally well-received by their male colleagues while at sea. For example, Naike described how her male colleagues brought her a glass of beer immediately after she arrived in the ship bar. She said that it would never have happened if she were a man. Naike felt that she had been treated better than men, and explained that no-one would complain if she did not want to work and, instead, sunbathe as a female cadet (although she did not take advantage). Naike described how her male colleagues tended to accept that she did more than they were supposed to, because she is a woman. This suggests that Naike was able to behave as she was to some extent while on board ("maintainers").

> When I go to the bar room, they bring me beer after a second. But if somebody goes there, they get their own beer. They really treated me more nice than men. If I would work on deck, if I don't want to work, for example, I could lay down the full day in the sun. Nobody would say anything. So, of course if I would do that, but I don't do. I still want to work, but as a woman you are very free. You can do what you want. Everybody will accept it. I was working very hard all the time, but if I want, I could also lay in the sun and drinking something. So it is my decision. But they would accept so many things from me, because I am a woman.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the never-changers (M-3)"]
> (Naike, Age 24, Deck officer trainee, German)

Despite the fact that some young women who had just started seafaring were looked after very well by their male colleagues, a number of opposite stories were heard from other women seafarers. Some women were discriminated against and sexually harassed on board. There were two extremes in the ways in which male seafarers treated women seafarers and it seemed to depend on women's luck. All of those well-received young women in my sample told me that they did not take advantage of it, yet they rarely expressed significant difficulties working in the male-dominated environment.

Most women who utilised multiple identity management strategies while at sea seemed to need to observe the situation first and then decide which strategy needed to be applied for a particular case. If women seafarers perceived that the situation expected a feminine identity, for example, male seafarers wanted to show their masculinity by being caring and kind to women then a feminine strategy would be taken. If they sensed negative male attitudes towards females, such as hatred, contempt or neglect, they might avoid showing femininity and choose a masculine strategy. The choice of strategy in their shipboard multiple identity management, therefore, was related to the relationship between a woman seafarer and her male colleagues.

Being reflexive to the situations around them, multiple identity management strategies seemed to be more fluid than just one strategy. In multiple identity management,

women seafarers were able to present themselves differently based on their chosen strategy. Such multiple identity management strategies often co-existed. The relationship between strategies did not create any paradox or contradiction, and I call this status of multiple identity management "harmonised".

On the other hand, there was an example of two or more identity management strategies clashing, which established a huge dilemma for women seafarers. For example, a Portuguese Captain, Vidonia, explained that she learned by experience that being discreet and uncommitted as much as possible was the best strategy in order to avoid gender trouble on board ("negotiators"). She cared about men's attitudes, and felt that the negotiation of her identities would make both her male colleagues and herself happy, without creating problems at sea. Vidonia found it was very difficult to manage her identities for the first three or four years of her seafaring career, as she describes:

> I definitely had to learn to be more discrete. As discrete and uncommitted as possible, it was tactically agreed between us [her male colleagues and herself] that it was merely a temporary situation that pleased the both of us and it worked most of the times. But the first 3 or 4 years it was a bit hard on me...
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Vidonia, Age 51, Captain, Portuguese)

However, Vidonia found that she was not able to survive only with the above strategy of making herself invisible while on board ("negotiators"), because it conflicted with the expression of her true self. She felt starved of the opportunity to express her femininity. Thus, Vidonia said that she occasionally enjoyed sewing feminine clothes using left-over fabric in the engine room while at sea ("maintainers").

> I missed "dressing up" like a girl. In the Engine room they had these big pieces of fabrics they received from factory leftovers [used for cleaning] and that I enjoyed putting together and making a really feminine outfit, just for the fun of it.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"] (*Ibid.*)

What Vidonia missed while on board was not just 'dressing up' but also 'intellectual stimulation'. The occupational culture of seafaring tended to create a similar type of men as "seamen": disciplines and routines standardised everyday life. Women seafarers, on the other hand, seemed to bring a different perspective to such a male-dominated environment. Vidonia was proud of herself for being artistic and intelligent, but she could not share a common interest with other crews. This made her feel a lack of intellectual stimulation on the vessels, and she said she occasionally used her intelligence for teaching her male colleagues who she felt they were typical "seamen". Vidonia's action seemed to conflict with the strategy of being discreet in front of male seafarers. However, her feeling that she did not want to abandon her spirit of progress while on board won in the process of conflicting identities. Thus, Vidonia desired to exhibit her female intellectual viewpoint amongst her male colleagues ("reproducers"), as she explains:

> Too often the feeling that I was the most cultivated person on board and that I didn't have any intellectual match to relate to. Because I had a different culture [which] made me feel that I was from another planet. ... Sometimes I would speak about my favourite subjects with my colleagues or sailors in a didactic way. ... other times would try to teach them something!
> ["Reproducers" – "the manipulators of femininity (R-2)"] (*Ibid.*)

In the end, Vidonia utilised three different strategies ("negotiators"; "maintainers"; "reproducers") on board. However none of these strategies fully satisfied her feeling of lack of 'herself' while at sea. As a result, she still found it difficult to manage her identities and felt lonely on board. Vidonia described how she attempted to use multiple identity management strategies in order to find her own place and position in the shipboard community. Her multiple identity management strategies did not appear very successful in terms of the status of conflicting strategies, and indeed she had to struggle. In this thesis, I call this status of multiple identity management "conflicting".

This research identified thirteen women seafarers who utilised multiple identity management while on board. Of these, twelve women utilised their multiple identity

management strategies in the status of "harmonised"; and only one woman appeared to present a "conflicting" case in her multiple use of strategies while at sea.

8.4. Filling the emotional gap of self while ashore

The research found that the majority of women seafarers while ashore chose a strategy of behaving naturally as they were ("maintainers") (see Figure 7-3). Simply going back to their original selves was practised to some degree by women seafarers when they returned ashore. However, many found it was not always easy to behave naturally, because they felt that their identities had been affected by the occupational culture of seafaring and they were no longer the same person as before.

This led some women seafarers to combine a couple of different strategies while ashore. For example, a Swedish deck officer, Sofia, told me that she was often treated as a scapegoat by her male colleagues who were intentionally mean to her by assigning extra jobs and silly tasks. She explained that it was because she was the youngest in the group, as well as the only female, who could be easily posted to difficult positions in the confined space of a ship. Sofia was fed up with being a scapegoat, and receiving the bad aspects of ship's culture, and decided to quit seafaring. She explained that quitting was her strategic act of becoming a strong person, and not merely an escape from the problems. By leaving the sea, Sofia felt free from the pressures of the negative culture, and pursued something more enjoyable and "grew" herself ashore instead, such as studying ("reproducers"). Thus, in this context, leaving the sea was her identity management strategy to reduce the tension which she suffered on board. Sofia explains:

> I am pretty young. And it's easy for those who are insecure even if they are much older than me. If they are insecure themselves, they feel that they want to rule someone. It's easy to take the youngest who is also a lady. And then they tell her things, they give her silly jobs or all the extra jobs, or just being mean. I'm a bit tired of being that person and I feel that I don't

> need to take that any more. And I feel confident in myself. So [I thought] if I am leaving now, it doesn't feel like I have failed.
>
> ["Reproducers" – "the alleviators (R-1)"]
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish)

After quitting seafaring, Sofia said that she was freer to enjoy feminine clothes and make-up in her new life ashore ("maintainers"). Sofia told me that she used to be mistaken for a man by people ashore when she was an active seafarer. She expressed her feeling that she was hoping to be looked on as a woman after she left the sea. This may imply that Sofia's gender identities were affected by seafaring culture even while on vacation, and she could not express her feminine side freely when she was actively engaged in working on ships.

> [Since I quit seafaring,] Now I start to have make-up, dresses and high-heels. Now they hopefully see me as a female.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"] (*Ibid.*)

By leaving the sea completely, Sofia was able to release herself from the male-oriented life on board ("reproducers"), and this strategy simultaneously created a new local setting which allowed her to enjoy feminine behaviour without pressure ("maintainers"). Although quitting might be seen as a decision made in just a specific time in the past, my view is to regard it as Sofia's identity management strategy which affected her feelings and emotions in relation to her identities for a considerable amount of time even after she left the sea. In addition, her act of leaving the career was not because she missed feminine behaviour. Releasing herself by quitting seafaring ("reproducers") and retrieving her femininity ("maintainers") were two separate strategies Sofia adopted concurrently. These strategies "harmonised" with each other in order to reduce pressure on her identities.

Another Swedish deck officer, Rebecka, also quit seafaring and settled down ashore. After a while, Rebecka started to gain a new self-conscious perspective to make her feel more feminine ashore ("constructors"), as she describes:

> I am more feminine than what I used to be. Because I am trying to look fresh.
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)"]
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Rebecka described herself as more feminine than she used to be, and she made an effort to make herself look feminine. The interview data suggest that women seafarers' identities tended to be affected by the shore-based culture after they quit seafaring and settled ashore. Some women, like Rebecka, acquired a new sense of femininity ("constructors") and paid more attention to how they look. At the same time, Rebecka also described herself as less feminine ashore. She explained that she did not have the "knowledge" about female techniques of increasing feminine values in her appearance, for example, make-up and dresses. Rebecka felt that she did not want to make an effort for making herself look feminine, because she wanted to stay as she was (less feminine as she described herself) ("maintainers").

> I am much more less feminine. A lot of things...I am not interested in shopping and not too much of make-up. Of course I like to be looked fresh, but I don't have this knowledge...I have never been doing that, as a teenager, I didn't have this kind of girl friends when you share everything with, and you test different make-up and nail or whatever. I have never had that kind of interest. ... but on the other hand, I don't like to put too much effort and definitely not too much lotion and creams and, because I try to be as natural as possible. I still believe that is best for your skin.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the never-changers (M-3)"] (*Ibid.*)

This example shows that her two identity management strategies ("constructors" and "maintainers") were "conflicting" each other in terms of her complex feelings of making either more or less effort to make herself look feminine.

Another "conflicting" multiple identity management while ashore was illustrated by a Portuguese deck officer, Izabel. She described how she felt happy to come back ashore because she could enjoy her female prestige such as styling her hair and wearing

earrings ("maintainers").

> Yeah, only when sign off. ... If you have hair, this is the details, you know. Vanity comes here. I would take some earrings, you know, earrings when I go ashore.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"]
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese)

However, as soon as she tried something feminine (e.g. dancing, make-up, nail polish, perfume), she realised that she had to force herself to do so, because she was no longer used to such feminine behaviour ("negotiators"). This example was introduced in chapter six, but here is a summary in her own words:

> I don't know how to dance any more. ... I must force that kind of thing. If I want my nail polish, if I want to make-up, I have to force it. The perfume, I have to force it.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)"] (*Ibid.*)

In using these examples, Izabel illustrated her mixed feelings and how her two identity management strategies ("maintainers" and "negotiators") were "conflicting" with each other: as wishing to be feminine but also as forcing herself to be feminine. It may be self-evident that the occupational culture of seafaring made a significant impact upon her identity management even while ashore.

The case of a Ghanaian Captain, Sisi also represented another example of "conflicting" multiple identity management. Sisi described that she felt naïve when it came to put on her traditional clothes in their unique style, because she was not ashore at the age when she was supposed to learn. Therefore, when she quit seafaring and settled down ashore, she started learning the skills which women in her ethnic group should know about in order to be regarded as "ladies" ("constructors") (See also 'Re-learning to be a woman' in chapter six).

> The women ashore ... when I go and see their clothes and styles, and they put

> things like that, which I am so naïve, I don't know much about that. ... I have to learn every, ...some of the things we do as a lady.
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)"]
> (Sisi, Age 52, Captain, Ghanaian)

On the other hand, Sisi felt confident about her strength which had been fostered by seafaring and working as a Captain ("reproducers"). She stated that she was different from shore-based women because she had seen the world and different cultures, which had opened up her views. However, she also described her conflicting feelings about her ability that she could be better with her masculine identity than shore-based women, yet she might not be good enough with her feminine identity within her ethnic group.

> I mean I feel I can survive more than they can. You know, because they have, just focus their life in one direction. While...in my case, I have travelled a lot. I have seen so many places. I met different people. You know, so I am more...I have more confidence. I am more open. ... but of course, I mean, like I said, I missed out their culture, you know, the country. ...so, I can survive actually anywhere, you know, in many places than they can. And I have an advantage.
> ["Reproducers" – "the manipulators of masculinity (R-3)"] (*Ibid.*)

It seemed that Sisi's confidence about her identities might vary according to the local situations. When the situation permitted, Sisi could play a role as a strong woman in the shore-side community. However, where a certain locale created a situation favourable to conventional women who were committed to traditional female roles, Sisi might feel that she needed to yield her confidence to shore-based women.

Women seafarers' multiple identity management while ashore seemed to relate to their emotional discourse in the process of fitting into shore-side communities. In some situations these women felt happy about their feminine identity. But in other situations, they felt unsatisfied. Two opposite ideas seemed to be conflicting with each other in women seafarers' emotional discourse. Depending on the situation, women seafarers tended to change their ways of *thinking* when using multiple identity management

strategies while ashore. This may be slightly different from women seafarers' multiple identity management while at sea, where they tended to change their way of *behaving*.

Compared to the multiple identity management on board (which was identified among thirteen women seafarers in my sample), only five women adopted multiple identity management strategies while ashore. Slightly more women appeared to experience a "conflicting" status (3/5) whilst others experienced "harmonised" (2/5). This was the opposite result to multiple identity management on board which represented the "harmonised" status (12/13) (except for one case). Such tendency that shore-based identity management was likely to show a negative impact upon women seafarers' identities can be observed even in the chronological patterns of identity management. As chapter seven discussed, women seafarers' shore-side pattern tended to be characterised as a "backwards" flow (towards negotiating identities) whilst their shipboard pattern was a "forwards" flow (towards reproducing identities). This may suggest that shore-based identity management may pose even more challenging situations for some women seafarers than shipboard scenarios to comply with shore-based standards of gender roles after they absorbed different characters, such as a masculine identity, in their seafaring career.

8.5. Situation awareness and multiple identity management

Unlike the chronological process of women seafarers' identity management, the multi-dimensional process did not seem to be motivated by space. It does not matter in which "space" (ship or shore) women seafarers are located: it is an issue of "context" where certain kinds of people are present. Therefore, in the multi-dimensional process of women seafarers' identity management, it was "context" that created different situations for women seafarers to alternate multiple identity management strategies. Hence, we need to look carefully at who are actually present and what kind of culture they create within in each local setting.

All the women seafarers who utilised multiple identity management first observed the situations around them either on board or ashore before applying a particular strategy. This means that women seafarers seemed to perceive the dynamics of their current situations, comprehend them, and then project their future status. Endsley (1995)'s term, "situation awareness", applies here in a quite interesting way. Women seafarers are aware of situations around them before making a decision of which strategy they use and perform an action. This research found that women seafarers always have this "situation awareness" as a driving force to motivate themselves to utilise different multiple identity management strategies. "Contexts" seemed to operate in different situations for women seafarers and urge them to exercise this "situation awareness" in their multiple identity management.

8.6. Summing-up

This research found that some women seafarers utilised more than one identity management strategy either on board or ashore during the same period of time. These women alternated one strategy among the multiple identity management strategies available to them in order to deal with various situations. Such strategies were "harmonised" with each other and their use was controlled by the women. Some women seafarers, however, experienced difficulties over which of their multiple identity management strategies were "conflicting". Many of these women seafarers felt that they were in the wrong place, because their gender identities did not match to their gender roles in the space.

The research found that more women seafarers utilised "harmonised" multiple identity management while on board than while ashore. The shore-based multiple identity management was likely to carry negative impact on identities of some women seafarers, and they tended to struggle with alternating different identities through emotional

discourse.

Women seafarers who utilised multiple identity management always observed the situations around them before choosing which strategy to use. This research found that "context" which determined various situations seemed to be important in terms of multiple identity management.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

9.1. Introduction

This research covered women who work within a sector with a very strong traditional occupational culture. Seafaring, as a "total institution", is intolerant of any exceptions and thus, both men and women begin to conform to a collective identity as seafarers in their everyday lives. All seafarers working aboard merchant cargo vessels are affected to some degree by this culture, which in general terms can be characterised as promoting very masculine aspects of behaviour. In this context, women seafarers are faced with particular challenges and can be seen to have made various strategic decisions on how to manage their gender identities in order to fit into their onboard life as well as their shore-side life.

In considering such identity management strategies in the context of the occupational culture of seafaring, this research focuses on the ways in which women seafarers manage their gender identities whilst at sea and when they return ashore, to their homes. This study has also identified the changing patterns of women seafarers' strategies over time and how they made use of concurrent multiple identity management strategies.

Throughout the thesis, I have afforded priority to the words of the interviewees in an attempt to allow the issues which were important to them to emerge and to be fully reflected. This chapter develops the understanding of women seafarers' identity management in the wider context of gender and identity studies. It serves to bring new knowledge about gender identity management of working women, in particular, in such a male-dominated environment, to the existing literature in this field of research.

In this conclusion, some final points about the research will be considered, including the limitations and significance of the study itself. Attention will also be given to the major research findings, including the difficulties women face in negotiating, constructing, maintaining and reproducing their identities. Finally, issues regarding the methods will be revisited, and ideas for future research as well as suggestions for the shipping industry will be explored.

9.2. Connecting the new knowledge to the literature

Chapter two described the research literature in relation to gender and identities. This helped to build up the framework of this research on women seafarers and their identity management, as well as designing the methodology and methods to use in order to collect good quality data. This chapter looks back on some of the previous literature and connects my research findings to it for further discussions on gender and identities. Some of the research findings presented in this thesis parallel what the early literature reviews taught us; however, my study has also produced additional areas for consideration.

The impact of the occupational culture of seafaring

In order to consider the ways in which women seafarers manage their identities, the occupational culture of seafaring had to be explored to some extent as this is the key context. Therefore in the initial stages of the research occupational culture was specifically focused upon in interviews with eight males. In the course of the interviews with thirty-six women seafarers from several different countries in Europe, Scandinavia, Africa and Asia, issues of occupational culture and of identity management were further explored. Male and female seafarers were asked to describe the occupational culture of seafaring from their own experience of working at sea.

Throughout the interviews, particularities of the seafaring culture have emerged, including its regulated and structured work patterns restricted by the ship's hierarchy, and the construction of solidarity and a collective identity as seafarers. This pattern of seafarers' work culture resonates with Goffman (1961)'s "total institution" theory that individuals may become subordinated to the authority of the institutions within which they reside. Ships can be seen as a setting similar to Goffman's description of a total institution in which inmates experience separation from the wider world for a long period of time, and seafarers on cargo ships live in a confined space aboard vessels. On admission to the shipboard work culture, seafarers need to be stripped of their usual selves in order to attain a membership of their work organisation. The ship's hierarchy seems to strengthen the tendency for seafarers to follow particular patterns of behaviour that are in close accord with masculine norms and values.

Three striking subsets of norms and values on board ships were identified in the course of the interviews: an emphasis amongst seafarers on the hiding of emotions and feelings; the importance of jokes and banter; and the prioritisation of the requirements of the job over the needs of individuals. Hiding one's emotions and feelings might be seen as a necessary element of working at sea in a very closed and isolated environment away from the supportive structures associated with access to family and friends. Reductions in crew sizes over recent years have exacerbated the isolation faced by many seafarers and there is a tendency for openly displayed and expressed emotions to quickly become explosive in the confined "prison-like" environment of the ship. Jokes and banter are key elements of onboard culture where, despite individual differences, seafarers are expected to live and work alongside each other in confined and challenging conditions. Banter may take the form of sexual jokes, and this is sometimes coupled with a drinking culture on those ships where alcohol is permitted. At sea, a further significant element of the onboard culture is the primacy of work. The seafaring culture tends to prioritise work over individuals at all times. These three features of the occupational culture of seafaring generally reflect what are widely

regarded as more masculine norms and values in shore-based cultures, and thus, the occupational culture of seafaring can be seen of itself to pose some challenges to women seafarers who may find it difficult to conform.

Within the context of work, life, and relationships aboard ships, masculine norms and values were highlighted by both male and female seafarers in this research. To a greater or lesser extent, the conclusion that all the seafarers should adapt to such a masculine culture was inevitable. However, this has more of an impact upon women seafarers who need to make more adjustments than their male colleagues in entering this particular work environment. At sea, spoken words are often "rough", and a tough appearance is frequently beneficial. Women seafarers described having to adapt to this man's world by changing their appearance and attitudes from feminine to masculine. Even the off-duty activities taking place on board tend to reflect male interests and values. For example, watching sports programmes on TV and pornographic films while off-duty at sea is common among male seafarers, and female seafarers in general are less interested in such pastimes. These masculine elements of the seafaring culture often cause women seafarers to be excluded and make it difficult for them to be accepted in the same way as men within the work team.

Various cards to play

Seafaring is an exceptional example of a male-dominated occupation; it is not unusual to find all-male ships or a lone woman working on a vessel. Because of the ways in which masculine norms and values are embedded in the culture on board ships, women seafarers' gender identities are extremely visible and can appear exaggerated in the presence of men. This is why women seafarers need to utilise strategies to adjust the impact of their gender identities while at sea. Regardless of their nationalities and cultural backgrounds, the findings suggest that women seafarers share similar

experiences of working in a male-dominated environment and face the same problems in terms of gender identities. As a result, people might assume that their common experience has led women seafarers to adopt similar strategies to manage their gender identities and solve the same problems.

Indeed, there are some popular identity management strategies among women seafarers. However, the variety of identity management strategies is much wider than I expected, and the research has identified fourteen different strategies which women employed in order to manage their identities (see Table 5-A and Figure 7-3). In addition, there may be more solutions which women might come to through their common experience as women seafarers, which could be explored in future research. Goffman (1963) discusses how the stigmatized individual faces contradiction and challenge in the politics of identity. The stigmatized individuals are told that they are members of a wider society in the same way as 'normal' human beings, yet they are different in some degree. He explains that their destiny is to feel uncertain about how much of each identity they should claim and that 'there may be no "authentic" solution at all' (p.150). Goffman's view supports part of my research findings that women seafarers had to assimilate themselves to be part of the crew in their wider society. However, they were always aware of gender differences at work. Therefore, women seafarers needed to be flexible to choose different strategies in order to solve gender-related problems on board vessels. Furthermore, Goffman's 'no "authentic" solution' also has resonance here as there was a suggestion that once women had worked at sea for some time some felt that they had to practise a high degree of identity management both ashore and aboard. The research further suggests that women seafarers do not stick to one identity management strategy, and indeed that they did not utilise a particular strategy all the time in their seafaring careers.

Keep on, move on

The research revealed that women seafarers' identity management strategies seem to shift and change over time. According to the interview data, all the women in my sample juggled identity management strategies, and they did this in two ways.

Firstly, women seafarers usually change their identity management strategies during the transit periods of moving between ship and ashore. This happens in weekly or monthly intervals according to the lengths of their sailing contracts and the following vacations. Whenever women seafarers move from ship to shore or from shore to ship, they change their identity management strategies. There is a significant difference between women seafarers and female workers in other male-dominated occupations, who are based ashore, work in the public sphere and come home on a daily basis. Women seafarers are away from the shore community for weeks or months at a time, and provide a unique example of women who are mobile between public and private spaces with long intervening intervals.

Secondly, women seafarers shift and change their identity management strategies during whole periods of their seafaring careers as if they absorb different personalities or characters over time. This point is related to the shifting pattern of women seafarers' shipboard identity management strategies, which I will discuss in the following section.

Becoming a different person

Despite the fact that the shifting patterns of women seafarers' identity management strategies vary from woman to woman, an overwhelming majority of them tend to start with strategies designed to obscure femininity, for example, strategies to change their appearance and behaviour ("negotiators"). Gradually these strategies seem to evolve over time, so that some women slowly adopted ways of behaving which were more

associated with a masculine identity (as "constructors"). Some women attempted to preserve some elements of their feminine identity whilst in private, or off duty ("maintainers"), and some eventually came to redefine their gender identities to suit their own individual personalities and feelings and felt to an extent free from the norms of gender ("reproducers"). Whilst there was no general trajectory which could be applied to all women over time, a general direction did emerge in the analysis whereby identity management strategies tended to evolve, commonly beginning with the adoption of the strategies of "negotiators". This tendency to shift strategies shows the patterns of women seafarers' shipboard identity management: using "negotiators" strategies (avoiding feminine behaviour) → "constructors" (adopting male seafarers' behaviour) → "maintainers" (keeping feminine sides while off-duty) → "reproducers" (releasing selves from pressure): (N→C→M→R).

Whilst the various gender management strategies of women in male-dominated occupations have been addressed elsewhere (Cassell and Walsh, 1993; Hacker, 1989; Marshall, 1984), the process of varying such strategies over the course of a career was not a topic that emerged in the reviewed literature. Nevertheless this emerged as an important feature of the analysis undertaken here. As in other studies, it was apparent that women seafarers undertake a variety of gender management strategies to cope with particular problems at work. However, my research also indicated that women seafarers tended to alter these strategies over time and over the course of their careers.

Double identity management

One might expect that gender-related problems happen only on board ships, and once women seafarers are back ashore, they switch off "managing" their identities and simply go back to their original selves. This research found that "switching off" was not so simple. In fact, women seafarers seem to continue consciously to manage their

identities by adopting various strategies when they are back ashore. Moreover, they tend to shift and change their identity management strategies while ashore as well as while at sea.

On the other hand, the changing patterns of women seafarers' identity management while ashore seemed to be different from the ones identified while at sea. Some women seemed to react to the restricted environment of the ship by moving to reclaim their feminine identities ashore, rapidly returning to feminine forms of self expression with regard to dress and behaviours ("maintainers"). At some stage of a seafaring career, some women marry and/or have children. This tends to demand adaptation to new gender roles as a wife and/or mother and prompts the acquisition of relevant identities ("constructors"). When continuing the double life of seafaring and being a "good" wife/mother, these women are likely to suffer from the difficulties of leaving their family behind for a long time and when they return home, some described having to try consciously to remould themselves to appear to fit into these roles ("negotiators").

Unlike the shifting pattern of their shipboard identity management (N→C→M→R), women seafarers while ashore, tend to shift and change their identity management strategies in the opposite direction: from "maintainers" (being a tomboy or retrieving feminine activities) to "constructors" (acquiring a sense of motherhood if they have a child) or "reproducers" (enjoying masculine characters in relation to people ashore), and some shifted even to "negotiators" (sacrificing marriage and family lives): (M→C/R→N).

In considering these shifting patterns of women seafarers' identity management, it becomes apparent that the impact of the occupational culture on women seafarers' identities extends beyond the time they spend at sea into leave time ashore. Shore-based cultures often involve a central expectation that women seafarers should behave according to their traditional gender roles. This tendency was observed even in developed European states where equal opportunities legislation in relation to work and

more even gender roles have been established (for example, in Sweden and Germany). As a consequence, some women seafarers involved in the research felt under pressure to modify their behaviour and to adjust from the more masculine character they had adopted at sea to a more feminine role which sometimes no longer came to them naturally (and in some cases, may never have come to them). In some situations, and in the same manner that has been found to be an issue for male seafarers, women faced the difficulties of choosing between their seafaring career and their family life particularly once they had decided to marry and to have children. The research, therefore, highlighted the interaction between women's shipboard and their shore-based identity management strategies. Although the peculiarities of the seafaring occupation need to be considered, this is new knowledge and adds to the existing studies of female workers in male-dominated occupations.

Combining multiple methods

In addition to the shifting patterns of women seafarers' identity management, there is another significant research finding that women combine more than one identity management strategy during the same period of time in the space where they belong ("multiple identity management"). Fifteen out of thirty-six women seafarers in my sample described observing the situations around them and choosing a particular strategy from a range available in order to minimise the negative impact of gender upon them. Cassell and Walsh (1993:112) note how women's sex-role assigned behaviours in their gender management 'clearly emerge from the wider position of social relations'. This suggests that women prepare for different patterns of social relations in local settings and alternate their gender identity management strategies to survive more "flexibly" in the male-dominated workplace.

Such multiple identity management of women seafarers highlights that their identities

are fluid rather than fixed. All the women seafarers in my sample changed their identity management strategies over time. Furthermore, some alternated between multiple different strategies in the same space, during the same period of time. This points to the fluidity of women seafarers' identities, and more variations in managing women's identities may be explored in further research.

9.3. Gender management in male-dominated occupations

This study found that women seafarers employed various identity management strategies between ship and shore. The following sections serve to discuss the similarities and differences in gender identity management strategies between women seafarers and other female workers in male-dominated occupations.

Why do women need a strategy?

This research has concluded that women seafarers' identities are affected by the occupational culture of seafaring, and this led women to manage their identities strategically. As I described in chapter two, female workers in male-dominated occupations share similar difficulties in work within the masculine culture. Therefore, I began the research by listening to male and female seafarers' voices and defining the occupational culture of seafaring before investigating women's identity issues. It appeared that these seafarers commonly shared and performed their professional culture of seafaring in the process of internalising a professional identity and showing solidarity amongst themselves. The occupational culture of seafaring reflects masculine norms, and twenty-five out of thirty-six women seafarers in my sample obscured their femininity at work in order to fit into the work culture dominated by masculine values.

Hacker (1989), who studied the occupational culture of engineering, similarly found that women had to work hard to suppress their feminine qualities to 'become one of the

guys'. Hence, a masculine identity can be linked to part of the occupational culture of engineering, which I also found in the seafaring culture. Cassell and Walsh (1993) argue in the context of organisations that culture determines the appropriate behaviours for men and women. Their analysis of organisational culture and gender management proved very useful to understand why women seafarers need gender identity management strategies.

Similar research findings are presented in terms of lesbians' sexual orientation within the work culture. Hall (1989:135-7) found that lesbian women utilised various strategies to manage their sexual orientation along with the fact of being female. In general, Hall's description of lesbians' coping strategies highlights their vulnerable positions to prejudice and discrimination in society, and they conduct careful and intense observation of others before disclosing or behaving as who they are. Women seafarers in this research are also traditionally a minority group at sea, and using gender identity management strategies to nuance and calculate their self-presentation while at sea was commonly identified across all generations and nationalities of women in my sample.

Less feminine, more masculine

It is widely described in the literature that a person who encounters gender-related difficulties at work seeks coping strategies. One of the common strategies, which twenty-one out of thirty-six women seafarers utilised in the male-dominated shipboard community, was to behave in a masculine manner, just like their male colleagues. "Less feminine" or "more masculine" strategies were popular among women seafarers to "survive" in a man's world.

Cockburn (1991:164) noted that women who want to join men as equals in the public

sphere must leave behind their female qualities and assimilate in order to be indistinguishable from a man. This idea was always at the back of women seafarers' minds and was possibly linked to women seafarers' identity management. 'Leave behind womanly things' referred to the strategy by which women seafarers avoided sexy and tight clothes, make-up, and perfume as well as not showing emotions and feelings in front of male seafarers ("the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"). 'Be indistinguishable from a man' is consistent with the strategy women seafarers used when behaving in a male manner and acquiring a masculine identity ("the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"). This also resonates closely to Goffman's (1955, 1959) theoretical concepts of face-work and front stage. Some women seafarers were clearly attempting to project strong, masculine images of themselves while on board ships to impress male colleagues in order to be accepted as a competent colleague.

Marshall (1984:164-6) highlights that some female managers adopted 'male tactics' characterised by aggression, 'shouting the odds', and playing political games, which are often attributed to norms of masculinity. Women seafarers who acquired a masculine identity also behaved in an aggressive manner and used swear words during conversations. However, none of them mentioned that they played political games, as Marshall described. Except for small vessels with five or six crew, the occupational culture of seafaring usually constitutes independent hierarchies by department of deck officers, engineers and cooks/stewards within the organisational structures. Seafarers know who is the most powerful and influential person in their hierarchies. Such dynamics of independent hierarchies regulate the whole crew on board; therefore, in general, shipboard politics may exist between different departments, but not between individuals.

In Kvande (1999)'s analysis, she applies the concept of "ideal-types" to illustrate the ways in which Norwegian female engineers coped with gender-related difficulties at work. For example, one ideal-type of "homeless" women engineers indicates those who are in the early career stage and tend to accept the rules of behaviour and given

assignments in order to fit into the environment. This description of women's attitudes and behaviour represents much in common with some women seafarers in this research, who accepted masculine norms and values in the occupational culture of seafaring without challenge in order to be accepted to a member of the crew ("the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)" – "negotiators"). Some Norwegian women engineers in Kvande's study adopt a strategy of behaving like male engineers by becoming "one-of-the-boys". This mirrors the experience of women seafarers in this research, who newly acquired a masculine identity ("the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)" – "constructors"). These women seafarers behaved in a masculine manner by imitating their male colleagues' behaviour such as swearing, and presenting themselves as "one of the guys".

This research includes women seafarers, who maintained their original selves by retrieving feminine forms of behaviour, disguising their true selves, or not changing themselves ("maintainers"). However, the similar ideal-types are not found in Kvande's research. Her description of the "challenger" strategy has certain similarity to some women seafarers of my study in terms of rejection of existing gender norms in the space where they belonged. Some women seafarers strategically abandoned the idea of gender and perceived themselves as "a person" – a more neutral position ("the neuters (R-4)" – "reproducers"). Yet, Kvande's ideal-type "challenger", rationally focuses upon women's participation in the competitions with boys without giving up having family and children. Such "superwomen", as Kvande calls them, were very few in this research, because women seafarers' physical separation between ship and shore tended to pose more challenges for them to achieve the dual life of having both career and family than any other jobs.

Femininity can be a weapon

As well as "masculine" strategies, "feminine" strategies were also adopted by some

women seafarers in relation to men both on board and ashore. For example, after coming back from ship to shore, some women seafarers changed their behaviour back to a "softer" manner in order to fulfil their gender roles as a wife or girlfriend who cares about their male partner ("the reinforcers of femininity (N-2)"). Other women seafarers took an empathetic approach in front of male colleagues and acted as a good listener in relation to their male colleagues' family issues while at sea ("the manipulators of femininity (R-2)"). "Feminine" strategies allow women seafarers to reject a masculine method and choose to be "feminine" to influence others. Some women seafarers did not follow the same shore-leave opportunities as male seafarers, who often went to bars, and women rather enjoyed visiting local attractions and going shopping, following "female" interests ("the retrievers (M-1)"). One female Captain avoided direct control over her male colleague and utilised what she perceived as a feminist methodology to influence his behaviour and he played right into her hands ("the manipulators of femininity (R-2)").

These "feminine" strategies are illustrated in other literature, and Marshall (1984:159-164) explains that female managers have used gender management strategies of redefining and managing their "femaleness". The elements of woman-centred management strategies conform to the descriptions of the ways in which women seafarers redefined and managed their "femaleness". For example, some women in Marshall's study used a 'softer' technique in their relationships; some played a role of a good listener; or others enjoyed their flexibility of choosing feminine or masculine strategies. While hiding femininity is one way of managing women seafarers' identities, making use of femininity is another choice for surviving in the male-dominated environment.

When women started working on board ships, their femininity tended to be focused upon by men. Even if a woman seafarer is perceived as tomboyish or less feminine while ashore, where we find plenty of examples of "feminine women", she is likely to be seen as "feminine" while at sea. Male-dominated occupations, such as seafaring,

culturally assume that femininity is problematic and alien whilst masculinity exists "naturally". Such awareness and caution about femininity in male-dominated workplaces are also discussed in other literature about working women. Sheppard (1989:143-7) pointed out, in her study of Canadian women managers and professionals, that both male and female interviewees' perceptions of gender and sexuality focus upon femaleness rather than maleness. This suggests that many women in male-dominated occupations face a certain level of identity problems within the organisations regardless of their positions (Cassell and Walsh, 1991), and managing "femininity" is considered as important when dealing with their male colleagues.

Dilemma of identity management

All the women seafarers in my sample felt it was essential to behave "professionally" in the male culture of seafaring, which encouraged them to take 'less feminine' or 'more masculine' strategies to manage their identities while at sea. However, when they returned from sea to shore, social expectations in the shore-side culture often gave them a certain pressure to behave in a feminine way. "Feminine" strategies were adopted in such situations. Nevertheless, some women seafarers, especially those who acquired a masculine identity on board ships, felt it was difficult to change to a more feminine manner while ashore. This kind of women seafarers' dilemma of fulfilling different gender roles between ship and shore posed the issue of choosing an identity management strategy from two extremes: masculinity and femininity. Such a dichotomy between masculine and feminine methods across the different spaces (ship and shore) is highlighted in this research.

The paradox between masculinity and femininity has been discussed in other literature, yet they often describe such women's dilemma happening only in the workplace (Maddock, 1999; Martin, 1980). The case of women seafarers is different, because

their problems happen between two different spaces: ship and shore. It is clear that the main strategy of women seafarers at work was, principally, to behave in a less feminine manner in order to present themselves as "professional". Whilst ashore, in contrast, women often sought to re-establish their femininity and it emerged that this too could be problematic.

Never let femininity go

Women seafarers lived on board a ship as well as working on it. Whilst many women seafarers presented themselves in a masculine manner while at sea, these women tended to retain their femininity and did not give it up completely. Some women seafarers in this research maintained femininity secretly during their private time while at sea or in ports, and they kept a professional (less feminine) face on duty in public.

Half the women seafarers in the sample (18/36) privately enjoyed feminine habits either on board or in port. Furthermore, thirteen out of thirty-six women seafarers said they sometimes felt their shipboard practice was too masculine to follow and too different from their feminine perspectives. However, they pretended as if nothing bothered them in front of men. For instance, a few women seafarers described their male colleagues' jokes and stories as too sexual and dirty to listen to, but they did not express their feeling of being offended in front of men. A similar story was heard about male seafarers' pornographic calendars and posters on the walls of the vessels. Even if some of male seafarers' behaviour was not sensitive or "politically correct", most women seafarers tried not to take it personally in order to fit into the male culture of ships.

The ways women seafarers maintained their femininity at all times highlight the importance of femininity in identity management, and this resonates with an emphasis on femininity in other literature of gender management, discussed in the previous

section. Furthermore, this point parallels the theory of back stage developed by Goffman (1959) where individuals can hide in a private space. In the case of merchant cargo ships, a 'cabin' offered a unique private space for women seafarers to retrieve their feminine identity.

Transitions between ship and shore

In the case of women seafarers, gender identity management appeared to be problematic when they shifted from ship to shore. I heard a number of female seafarers, as well as male seafarers, saying that it was easier for them to switch on their work mode, almost instantly, once they signed on a new vessel. On the other hand, shifting back to a shore-life seemed to take more time, at least a few days, for them to acclimatise by switching off their ship mode slowly. Especially for women seafarers, the way of presenting themselves as less feminine and more masculine worked well on board, but they could not behave in the same way in the shore community, where "improper women" were unacceptable (Maddock, 1999).

The same problem is addressed in the research of Suter *et al.* (2006), who studied females in the American Navy, who are in a similar work environment as the women seafarers in this research. In their study, female veterans, who participated in a regional organisation called 'the Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services in the Navy (WAVES)', constructed a collective identity as military workers and became different persons. The authors also reported that the transition back to civilian life after periods of service was problematic, partly because they found it difficult to meet traditional gender role expectations, as well as feeling lonely due to their professional identity not being acknowledged in their hometowns.

Many women seafarers in this research also gained strength and self-confidence through

their seafaring experience and working with men. However, the case of women seafarers is similar in terms of their non-shore-based extraordinary work environment, and illustrates the double identity management that may arise in two different spaces: both aboard and ashore.

9.4. Analytical challenges and achievements

The research was challenging in terms of analysing women's personal and sensitive experiences as well as addressing the issues of gender identity management. I collected very rich data through thirty individual face-to-face in-depth interviews, as well as one group, one telephone and one e-mail interview. Analytical skills were needed to distil the data into the patterns of women seafarers' identity management. This section will discuss analytical challenges and the achievements of this research by referring to the two most relevant studies.

The most relevant literature in terms of the analysis of this research is the study by Suter *et al.* (2006), which investigated the process of 'construction, maintenance and reproduction' in Navy women's identities. Although the findings of this research have much in common with the ones of Suter *et al.*, what clearly emerged from the study was a need for another category to be developed in relation to understanding women's identity management. In addition to Suter *et al.*'s identity management categories of 'construction', 'maintenance' and 'reproduction', the phase of 'negotiation' appeared to be an important description for women seafarers whose gender identities come under pressure and who may feel obliged to modify their appearance and behaviour on board vessels. This research, therefore, provided additional value in relation to the existing studies and in this respect it took the literature forward.

Furthermore, Suter *et al.* talk about gender identities of Navy women; however their conclusion does not suggest whether these Navy women construct, maintain and

reproduce their gender identities in a masculine or feminine way. This research has gone into a deeper analysis of women seafarers' identity management strategies in terms of masculine and feminine behaviour and attitudes in relation to different local cultures, namely, the occupational culture of seafaring while at sea and the shore-based culture while ashore.

The main difficulty when analysing the interview data was that there were no women who perfectly fitted into the analytical categories. It appeared that women are diverse, and it was very difficult as a researcher to explore women's identity issues and find patterns without making comprehensive typologies within the data sample. This led me to use the concept of "ideal-types" presented in Kvande (1999)'s research into Norwegian female engineers. Her study has influenced the analysis undertaken in this study in terms of the application of ideal-types and production of typologies for different strategic behaviours and attitudes. In this research the use of ideal-types helped to appreciate the patterns within women seafarers' identity management strategies.

Women seafarers' identity management strategies were categorised according to their principle method of "surviving", either on board or ashore. Ideal-typical identity management strategies suggest typical characteristics and elements of the given phenomena yet do not necessarily correspond to all the characteristics of any particular woman seafarer. By using "ideal-types", this research is able to avoid overlooking women's diversities or treating women as a homogeneous group. Therefore, this study can constitute a better analytical framework to address the issues of women seafarers' identity management. This research finally revealed fourteen generalisable identity management strategies being utilised by women seafarers. The research also attempted a further examination of the connections between these different strategies.

9.5. Limitations and significance of this research

The starting point for this research was the limited literature relating to women seafarers. This was despite the recent attention given to the employment of female officers on merchant vessels worldwide (Belcher *et al.*, 2003). Qualitative approaches to human-related maritime issues are not common, since across the maritime sector, relatively little attention has been given to the issue of human resources. While there has been more attention paid in the last decade, feminist studies in the shipping industry are nevertheless pioneering in this context.

As a former woman seafarer, myself, I experienced particular difficulties working in a man's world, and this motivated me to investigate the ways in which women seafarers cope with their identity issues whilst they are at sea in an all male environment, but equally once they return to their more traditional gender roles ashore amongst their families and friends. One of the significant aspects of this research is that being a woman seafarer has enabled participants to talk in "short-hand" to me, because they knew that I understood what they were talking about. This was an important point in collecting the very rich data incorporated within this thesis and in understanding women seafarers' identity issues.

Theories on gender and identity are helpful in conceptualising the problems that women seafarers face in the workplace as well as in their shore-side communities. A review of the feminist literature suggested that gender roles and patriarchy are embedded both in the workplace and at home. It provided the idea that it would be useful to consider the identity management strategies of women seafarers both at sea and at home. Although there have been fascinating qualitative research studies into women's gender management, they have been limited in number and have tended to be restricted to gender management at work, or more specifically paid labour. Furthermore, how women choose and change their strategies to manage their gender identities has not been considered in detailed, published accounts. This research attempted to address

this absence by listening to women seafarers' experiences and gathering detailed accounts of gender identity management, not only in the workplace, on board ships, but also in their shore-side communities.

The thesis is innovative in terms of tracking down a research population that is difficult to contact. Women seafarers represent only one or two percent of the total seafaring population (Belcher *et al.*, 2003); therefore, collecting a sufficient sample was very difficult. In this context, snowball sampling proved to be successful, because women seafarers tend to know other women seafarers and their personal networks were very useful. Being a former woman seafarer myself added to my credentials and made it easier for me to approach potential informants.

Using four different data collection methods (i.e. in-depth face-to-face interviews, group interviews, telephone interviews, e-mail interviews) influenced the quality of data to a certain degree. It was originally my intention to conduct in-depth face-to-face interviews with all the participants. However this method proved to be feasible for only thirty out of thirty-six females and for all of the eight male participants. On one occasion a group interview was the only available option when four women seafarers, who were all friends, gathered at once and requested that they be interviewed together to save them from waiting around whilst each was individually interviewed. One telephone interview was made with a new participant who was introduced to me only after the fieldwork trip to her country had taken place; and one e-mail interview was conducted at the suggestion of a busy, yet enthusiastic woman seafarer as it was her only possible way to contribute to the research.

Despite some drawbacks relating to the methods, there were also some unexpected benefits from the variations in method. For example, in the course of the group interview, the best English speaker was of great assistance in translating other participants' non-English comments. The telephone interview was not so different from the face-to-face interviews, thanks to the informant's openness. However, the

e-mail interview was not as easy as face-to-face and it seemed to suffer from a lack of available visual cues. The only upside of the e-mail interview was that her written words were, to some extent, more accurate and reliable than my transcribed interview data, in which mistakes in transcription could conceivably arise.

My experience suggests that this research was successful because of the extensive use of face-to-face interviews. To some extent the experience validated my choice of methods. However, it also posed logistical challenges, and the overall research experience demonstrates that researchers sometimes need to be flexible in their designs and plans.

Furthermore, one of the strengths of the study was that all the transcriptions were done by the researcher, myself. This allowed me to familiarise myself with, and reflect upon, the data. Although transcribing the interviews where hardly anybody had English as their first language was challenging, the analysis and re-analysis of the data were an important part of the process of making connections between the research questions and the answers. The benefit of transcribing was to get myself back into each conversation with the informants and I could then reflect on the words while transcribing, coding and recoding the data. This provided live and vivid knowledge that enabled me to do a variety of analyses when addressing the research questions.

The initial stages of data analysis focused on the identity management strategies of women seafarers and their identification. In undertaking the analysis I took the time to reflect and to be proactive in changing the design as required, and remaining flexible in "following" the data throughout the process. The analysis was made according to the themes that seemed to emerge in the thesis. The interview transcripts were repeatedly revisited and on each occasion, efforts were made to track individual participant's changes in identity management strategies.

Another strength of the research is that a number of opportunities arose to make

presentations and give conference papers which enabled me to elicit some helpful feedback from peers and the wider academic community (see Appendix Ten: The List of Presentations). In the course of this process, the questions, insights, and feedback received strengthened the direction of the study, and "refreshed" the data analysis.

From a feminist point of view, I agree that feminist research should benefit women, as Kelly *et al.* (1994) state:

> Our position as feminist researchers, therefore, is one in which we are part of the process of discovery and understanding and also responsible for attempting to create change.

This is the reason why I have dedicated my thesis to all women seafarers. In line with the views of many feminist researchers, I feel it is important to disseminate these research findings to female workers in the maritime community. This has resulted in my taking the opportunity to disseminate the thesis beyond the academic sphere, for example, at a seminar held in Gothenburg, Sweden, in May 2009 where about sixty young women seafarers were in attendance. During the seminar some members of the audience said that they could recognise and relate to some or all of the identity management categories that I had outlined, such as "negotiators". This considerably increased my confidence in the research findings. The seminar was followed by these young women seafarers' voluntarily organising their own network.

On the other hand, this study is limited in terms of the investigation of different cultures across the countries which the participants represented. Given the ways in which gender roles vary across societies, it would have been ideal to have women of more nationalities (e.g. North and South Americas, and parts of Asia other than Japan). For practical reasons, the sample mainly consisted of Europeans, limiting the scope of the research and militating against cross cultural comparisons.

9.6. Discussion of feminist research

This research has been influenced by various classical feminist theories, for example, those associated with gender roles and patriarchy (Delphy, 1984; Walby, 1990), gender segregation (Cockburn, 1991; Crompton, 1988; Hakim, 1979), and the "sexual contract" of separating breadwinner from homemaker (Pateman, 1988). In the next section, theoretical questions will be raised to argue some of the important issues on gender and identities as well as connecting to my research findings.

Feminist challenge

The first question is how women can challenge the conventional feminine norms in behaviour and attitudes. One of my respondents told me that being a woman seafarer is a feminist way of living. Her understanding of "feminist way" was to challenge the norms of gender and release herself to freedom of choices in life. Indeed, women seafarers go beyond the borders of conventional gender norms and do a masculine job under hazardous conditions without much protection. Despite being women, they play a masculine gender role at work. Furthermore, women seafarers earn a man's wage and it suggests that women can be considered as breadwinners. Having such economic independence means power and stability and also gives self-confidence in both public and private spheres. Unlike many women living ashore who financially depend on their male partners, women seafarers can live on their own and do not need to have somebody to rely on.

However, this research shows that women seafarers were, in general, suffering from the difficulties of fulfilling feminine/masculine gender roles between ship and shore. Both shipboard and shore-side cultures are likely to have an impact on women seafarers' identities. Therefore, they are required to modify their behaviour to be accepted as a member of the social group in each space. Identity management strategies are, thus, used by women seafarers in order to present themselves in more feminine/masculine

ways. A few women seafarers reproduced a new identity of being neutral as a "person", which did not refer to a particular concept of gender, neither male nor female. This is, perhaps, one way of challenging the conventional feminine/masculine norms in behaviour and attitudes which women can demonstrate.

Benefits of contemporary feminism

The second question is which part of feminist theory my study on women seafarers highlights, and how it serves to benefit contemporary feminist understandings. Women seafarers are an interesting subject to study in terms of breaking conventional feminine norms in many aspects of the sociological field of study. Seafaring, as a male-dominated occupation, has been horizontally segregated for a long time. Although there was a record of making good use of women seafarers in Russia in 1930 (Aggrey, 2000), the opportunities for women to work at sea did not become open until the late 1970s. The profession tends to be horizontally segregated even today, because approximately 98 percent of the seafaring labour force is male (Drewry, ILO and ITF, 2009).

Unlike other jobs in typical institutionalised organisations, which constitute male managerial positions and female assistant positions, the seafaring occupation does not vertically segregate women from men. Furthermore, when a woman seafarer is promoted to a senior position (e.g. chief officer/Captain or first engineer/Chief Engineer, see also Appendix One) within the ship hierarchy, there are hardly any female ratings under her on cargo ships. A woman seafarer in a higher rank can be alone in the male-dominated environment without having any other female workers even in the bottom layer of the ship's hierarchy. Vertically segregated occupations normally have women at the bottom and men at the top of the organisations. However, seafaring does not have such a structure. In terms of feminist studies, this serves as a unique case of

women's participation in the public sphere, which represents an encouraging example for working women.

9.7. Suggestions for future research

In the course of the data analysis, interesting examples of women seafarers' identity management strategies emerged. I analysed the data in this research by allowing the data 'speak for themselves'. This research created a space for these voices to emerge around themes, rather than focusing on researcher-prescribed questions. However, future research could build upon what emerged from this study in order to focus more carefully on the trajectories of identity management in the design of the interview schedules. As such, future research may be able to start from the basic findings of this study and develop further a model of women seafarers' identity management.

This research is exploratory and endeavours to study a new area of researching the maritime communities. Clearly, to get to grips with the processes of women seafarers' developing strategies for identity management, ethnography would be an ideal tool. However in this research context, it would be inappropriate because of difficulties of gaining access to the ships as well as obtaining permission to publish the results from the company. Given the nature of work on board ships, it would also be very difficult to be unobtrusive. This study included a relatively small number of respondents (36 women seafarers) but it has successfully generated a number of ideal-typical identity management strategies. For future research therefore, it would be most useful to test the categories that have emerged from this study in a much larger sample of women seafarers with various nationalities and experiences, either through interviews or online questionnaires.

9.8. Conclusions for the maritime industries

This research has confirmed the view presented in other studies that it is a significant challenge being a woman on board a ship. Given the experiences of women seafarers, the research highlighted the extreme polarisation of "masculine" work culture in the seafaring profession and a few recommendations for the industry emerged.

Ships' crews are increasingly internationally diverse and members have to learn to accommodate each other and find out how to communicate with each other while at sea. Equally, the unbalanced male-to-female ratio on board the ship poses a number of problems. It escalates the isolation of women seafarers from the rest of the crew, and as a result, they have to utilise identity management strategies. This unhealthy work culture for women can be improved in terms of women's occupational health and safety.

This research suggests that the best solution for the difficulties associated with women seafarers' identity management may be simply to increase the number of women on vessels. The literature suggests that in order to feel comfortable in a male-dominated workplace, you need a critical mass of women, which is close to a third (Lovenduski, 2001). If one third of the positions are occupied by women, the culture changes and women feel much more comfortable going there. Therefore, this could be a goal. At present, the vast majority of trips seem to have none or only one woman seafarer. My respondents have illustrated simply having two women does not solve the problem and indeed creates additional tensions[6]. Hence, it is possible that the introduction of more women at sea may be useful in improving life on board for both male and female seafarers in today's globalised and gender-mixed shipping industry.

---

[6] All the women seafarers whom I interviewed reported that being only one woman onboard a ship had created extremely difficult situations in the male-dominated environment, because their sex tended to be overly focused on. However, two women seafarers on the same ship can be problematic when they do not get along with each other. One woman seafarer explained her terrible experience of this, which led her male colleagues to be split into two groups and support one woman against another. This may suggest that the number of women seafarers on each vessel needs to be ideally more than two, in order to avoid certain gender-related problems.

The research concludes that political and economic measures need to be taken by the governmental bodies and international organisations, such as IMO, ILO and ITF. The promotions and campaigns of increasing the number of women seafarers will encourage ship-owners and crewing agencies to train and employ more women, which could immediately affect the current unhealthy working environment. When more women are recruited as seafarers, their networks and union activities should become more active both nationally and internationally. Such women seafarers' representatives will be drawn more attention to in public and the importance of their voices should become stronger.

Despite the fact that most shipping companies have equality policies for their employees on board, they are not entirely effective in shipboard workplaces where the ship's hierarchy is so dominant and the Captains' influence is absolute over the crew. It is essential that a Captain is traditionally responsible for all the crew in every aspect of their onboard lives; however the companies could monitor how their equality policies are implemented on their vessels in tandem with IMO, ILO and ITF. The policies that would improve the work environment for women would also improve the situations for some of the men. As a result, this would also benefit ship-owners, who are interested in employing more women in order to cope with the current shortage of qualified officers.

Given the results of this research, I intend to disseminate the categories and patterns of women seafarers' identity management strategies to more participants. It is hoped that these anonymised voices of women seafarers are transmitted to the maritime industry through this dissertation and that the industry responds to the results and promotes changes.

Bibliography

Adams, T. L. 1998. Gender and women's employment in the male-dominated profession of dentistry: 1867-1917. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 35(1), pp. 21-42.

Aggrey, H. A. 2000. *Women in the Maritime Industry: A review of female participation, and their role in Maritime Education and Training (MET) in the 21st Century.* MSc, World Maritime University.

Alderton, T. *et al.* 2004. *The Global Seafarer*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Alderton, T. and Winchester, N. 2002. Globalisation and de-regulation in the maritime industry. *Marine Policy* 26, pp. 35-43.

Allen, I. 1988. *Any Room at the Top? A Study of Doctors and their Careers*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Amos, V. and Parmar, P. 1984. Challenging imperial feminism. *Feminist Review* 17, pp. 3-19.

Atkinson, P. *et al.* 2003. *Key Themes in Qualitative Research: Continuities and Change*. Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Babbie, E. R. 1998. *The practice of social research.* 8 ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Basow, S. A. and Rubenfeld, K. 2003. "Troubles Talk": Effects of Gender and Gender-Typing. *Sex Roles* 48(3/4), pp. 183-187.

Becker, H. S. and Geer, B. 1957. Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison. *Human Organization* 16, pp. 28-32.

Beckwith, K. 1998. Collective identities of class and gender: working-class women in the Pittston coal strike. *Political Psychology* 19(1).

Belcher, P. *et al.* 2003. Women Seafarers: global employment policies and practices. Geneva: International Labour Organization (ILO).

Bellingham, T. 2000. Police culture and the need for change. *Police Journal* 73(1), pp. 31-41.

Bem, S. 1974. Measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and*

Clinical Psychology 42(2), pp. 155-162.

Bernard, J. 1973. My Four Revolutions: An Autobiographical History of the ASA. *American Journal of Sociology* 78(4), pp. 773-791.

Bernstein, B. 1975. *Class, codes and control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. 1996. *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

BIMCO/ISF 2005. *BIMCO/ISF Manpower 2005 Update: The worldwide demand for and supply of seafarers.* Warwick Institute for Employment Research.

Bowles, G. and Klein, R. D. eds. 1983. *Theories of Women's Studies.* London: Routledge.

Bradatan, C. *et al.* 2010. Transnationality as a fluid social identity. *Social Identities* 16(2), pp. 169-178.

Brah, A. 2007. Non-binarized Identities of Similarity and Difference. In: Wetherell, M. *et al.* eds. *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion.* London: Sage.

Brannen, J. and Moss, P. 1991. *Managing Mothers: Dual Earner Households after Maternity Leave*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Brown, J. M. 1998. Aspects of Discriminatory Treatment of Women Police Officers Serving in Forces in England and Wales. *British Journal of Criminology* 38(2), p. 265.

Bryman, A. ed. 1988. *Doing Research in Organizations.* London: Routledge.

Burgess, R. G. 1981. Keeping a research diary. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 11(1), pp. 75-83.

Burgess, R. G. 1982. The unstructured interview as a conversation. In: Burgess, R.G. ed. *Field Research: A Source Book and Field Manual.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Butler, J. 1999. *Gender Trouble*. London: Routledge.

Carlson, D. 1986. Teachers, Class Culture, and the Politics of Schooling. *Interchange* 17(4), pp. 17-36.

Cassell, C. and Walsh, S. 1991. Towards a woman-friendly psychology of work: gender, power and organisational culture. *The BPS Annual Occupational Psychology Conference*. Liverpool.

Cassell, C. and Walsh, S. 1993. Being seen but not heard: Barriers to women's equality in the workplace. *The Psychologist* 6, pp. 110-114.

Chapman, P. K. 1992. *Trouble on Board: The Plight of International Seafarers*. New York: ILR Press.

Chirban, J. T. 1996. *Interviewing in Depth: The Interactive-Relational Approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Clarke, S. *et al.* 2007. Home, Identity and Community Cohesion. In: Wetherell, M. *et al.* eds. *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion*. London: Sage.

Cockburn, C. 1991. *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.

Coffey, B. and Walker, J. E. 2009. Do masculine names help female lawyers become judges? Evidence from South Carolina. *American Law and Economics Review* 11(1), pp. 112-133.

Cohen, G. 1979. Symbiotic Relations: Male Decision-Makers-Female Support Groups in Britain and the United States. *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2(4), pp. 391-406.

Collinson, D. *et al.* 1990. *Managing to Disciminate*. London: Routledge.

Cordingly, D. 2002. *Heroines & Harlots: Women at Sea in the Great Age of Sail*. London: Pan Books.

Corsaro, W. A. 1997. *The Sociology of Childhood*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Crompton, R. 1988. Occupational Segregation (Working paper 2).Oxford: The Economic and Social Research Council: The Social Change and Economic Life Initiative.

Dale, A. *et al.* 1988. *Doing Secondary Analysis*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Davis, K. and Thomas, V. 1998. Chief Land Staff Gender Integration Study: The Experience of Women Who Have Served in the Combat Arms. *Personnel Research Team, Sponsor Research Report 98-1*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Canada.

Dellinger, K. 2002. Wearing Gender and Sexuality "On Your Sleeve": Dress Norms and the Importance of Occupational and Organizational Culture at Work. *Gender Issues* 20(1), pp. 3-25.

Delphy, C. 1984. *Close to home: A materialist analysis of women's oppression.* Amherst: University of Massatusetts Press.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

DeSombre, E. R. 2000. Flags of Convenience and the Enforcement of Environmental, Safety, and Labor Regulations at Sea. *International Politics* 37(June), pp. 213-232.

Devor, H. 1989. *Gender Blending: Confronting the Limits of Duality.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Diamond, M. 1977. Human sexual development: biological foundations for social development. In: Beach, F.A. ed. *Human Sexuality In Four Perspectives.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dingwall, R. 1980. Ethics and ethnography. *Sociological Review* 28, pp. 871-891.

Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Drewry, ILO and ITF. 2009. *Manning 2009.* London: Drewry Publishing.

Endsley, M. R. 1995. Toward a theory of situation awareness in dynamic systems. *Human Factors* 37(1), pp. 32-64.

Erickson, F. and Wilson, J. 1982. *Sights and Sounds of Life in Schools: A Resource Guide to Film and Videotape for Research and Education.* East Lansing: Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education, Michigan State University.

Evaldsson, A.-C. 1993. *Play, Disputes and Social Order: Everyday Life in Two Swedish Afterschool Centers.* Linköping University.

Fielden, S. L. *et al.* 2001. Women, equality and construction. *Journal of Management Development* 20(4), pp. 293-305.

Flax, J. 1987. Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory. *Signs* 12(4), pp. 621-643.

Frow, J. and Morris, M. 2000. Cultural Studies. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Gamson, W. A. 1992. The social psychology of collective action. In: Morris, A.D. and Mueller, C.M. eds. *Frontiers in social movement theory.* New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 53-76.

Giddens, A. 1999. *Runaway World: How Globalisation Is Reshaping Our Lives.* London: Profile Books Ltd.

Goffman, E. 1955. On face-work; an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry* 18(3), pp. 213-231.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. 1961. *Asylums.* Garden City: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. 1963. *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Goldsmith, A. 1990. Taking police culture seriously: Police discretion and the limits of the law. *Policing and Society* 1, pp. 91-114.

Goodwin, M. H. 1990. *He-Said-She-Said. Talk as Social Organization among Black Children.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Goodwin, M. H. 1998. Games of Stance: Conflicting and Footing in Hopscotch. In: Hoyle, S. and Temple, C. eds. *Kids Talk: Strategic Language Use in Later Childhood.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 23-46.

Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H. 2005. Exploring Complex Transitions: Looking Back at the 'Golden Age' of From School to Work. *Sociology* 39(2), pp. 201-220.

Graham, H. 1984. Surveying through Stories. In: Bell, C. and Roberts, H. eds. *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Greed, C. 1991. *Surveying Sisters: Women in a Traditional Male Profession.* London: Routledge.

Greed, C. 2005. An investigation of the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming as a means of integrating the needs of women and men into spatial planning in the United Kingdom. *Progress in Planning* 64, pp. 243-321.

Hacker, S. A. 1989. *Pleasure, Power and Technology.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Hakim, C. 1979. Occupational segregation: a comparative study of the degree and pattern of the differentiation between men and women's work in Britain, the United States and other countries. *Department of Employment Research Paper* 9.

Hall, M. 1989. Private Experiences in the Public Domain: Lesbians in Organizations. In: Hearn, J. *et al.* eds. *The Sexuality of Organization.* London: Sage, pp. 125-138.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. 2 ed. London: Routledge.

Hampton, L. A. 1982. The Professorship: A Portrait of Women in Academe.*The Annual Meeting of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors*. Indianapolis.

Harding, S. ed. 1987. *Feminism & Methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hartsock, N. C. M. 1984. *Money, Sex and Power: Towards a Feminist Historical Materialism*. New York: Longman Higher Education.

Hartsock, N. C. M. 1997. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Hearn, J. R. *et al.* 1989. *The Sexuality of Organisations*. London: Sage.

Hewstone, M. *et al.* 2007. Prejudice, Intergroup Contact and Identity: Do Neighbourhoods Matter? In: Wetherell, M. *et al.* eds. *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion*. London: Sage.

Hier, S. P. and Kemp, C. L. 2002. Anthropological Stranger: The Intellectual Trajectory of Hortense Powdermaker. *Women's History Review* 11(3), pp. 253-272.

Hirst, P. and Thompson, K. 1999. *Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibility of Governance*. 2 ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hodder, I. 2000. The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holdaway, S. and Parker, S. K. 1998. Policing women police: uniform patrol, promotion and representation in the CID. *British Journal of Criminology* 38(1), pp. 40-60.

Holdstock, L. 1998. The Ratio of Male to Female Undergraduates. In: Radford, J. ed. *Gender and Choice in Education and Occupation*. London: Routledge, pp. 59-83.

Hooks, B. 1982. *Ain't I a Woman?* London: Pluto.

Isiugo-Abanihe, U. C. 1985. Child Fosterage in West Africa. *Population and Development Review* 11(1), pp. 53-73.

Iskra, D. M. 2007. Attitudes toward Expanding Roles for Navy Women at Sea: Results of a Content Analysis. *Armed Forces & Society* 33(2), pp. 203-223.

ITF 2006. Women, Work and the Changing Transport Industries.*Environmental, Health, and Safety (EHS) Conference*. International Transport Workers' Federation.

Jackson, S. *et al.* eds. 1993. *Women's Studies: A Reader.* Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

John, A. V. 1980. By the Sweat of their Brow: women workers at Victorian coal mines. In: Jackson, S. *et al.* eds. *Women's Studies: A Reader*. 1 ed. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Johnson, J. M. 2001. In-Depth Interviewing. In: Gubrium, J.F. and Holstein, J.A. eds. *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Judd, P. C. and Oswald, P. A. 1997. Employment Desirability: The Interactive Effects of Gender-Typed Profile, Stimulus Sex, and Gender-Typed Occupation. *Sex Roles* 37(7-8), pp. 467-476.

Jump, T. L. and Haas, L. 1987. Fathers in Transition: Dual-career Fathers Participating in Child Care. In: Kimmel, M.S. ed. *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*. London: Sage.

Kaijser, I. 2005. *Kvinnliga sjoman - finns dom? ('Female seamen - do they exist?')*. Stockholm: Stockholm Statens maritima museer.

Kelly, L. 1990. Journeying in Reverse: Possibilities and Problems in Feminist Research on Sexual Violence. In: Gelsthorpe, L. and Morris, A. eds. *Feminist Perspectives in Criminology*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Kelly, L. *et al.* 1994. Researching Women's Lives or Studying Women's Oppression? Reflections on What Constitutes Feminist Research. In: Maynard, M. and Purvis, J. eds. *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*. London: Taylor & Francis Ltd, pp. 157-168.

Kilminster, S. *et al.* 2007. Women in medicine - Is there a problem? A literature review of the changing gender composition, structures and occupational cultures in medicine. *Medical Education* 41(1), pp. 39-49.

Kristeva, J. 1982. *Powers of Horror*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Krook, M. and Childs, S. 2010. *Women, Gender, and Politics: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kvale, S. 1996. *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kvande, E. 1999. 'In the Belly of the Beast': Constructing Femininities in Engineering Organizations. *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 6, pp. 305-328.

Lee, J. A. *et al.* 2009. Examining the Interaction Among Likelihood to Sexually Harass, Ratee, Attractiveness, and Job Performance. *Journal of Management* 35(2), pp. 445-461.

Lee, R. M. and Fielding, N. G. 2004. Tools for Qualitative Data Analysis. In: Hardy, M. and Bryman, A. eds. *Handbook of data analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lembright, M. F. 1983. Why Nursing Is Not a Profession. *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology* 11(1), pp. 59-60.

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. H. 1995. *Analyzing Social Settings*. 3 ed. Belmont: Wadsworth.

Longino, H. E. 1996. Subjects, Power, and Knowledge: Description and Prescription in Feminist Philosophies of Science. In: Keller, E.F. and Longino, H.E. eds. *Feminism & Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 264-279.

Lovenduski, J. 2001. Women and Politics: Minority Representation or Critical Mass? *Parliamentary Affairs* 54(4), pp. 743-758.

Lutz, J. M. 2003. *Changing Course: One Woman's True-Life Adventures as a Merchant Marine*. Far Hills: New Horizon Press.

MacGeorge, E. L. *et al.* 2004. The myth of gender cultures: Similarities outweigh differences in men's and women's provision of and responses to supportive communication. *Sex Roles* 50, pp. 143-175.

Maddock, S. 1999. *Challenging Women: Gender, Culture and Organization*. London: Sage.

Maltz, D. N. and Borker, R. A. 1982. A cultural approach to male-female miscommunication. In: Gumperz, J. J. ed. *Language and social identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 196-216.

Marr, L. *et al.* 1999. "The soccer game" as journalistic work: managing the production of stories about a football club. In: Jalbert, P.L. ed. *Media studies: ethnomethodological approaches*. Lanham: University Press of America, pp. 111-133.

Marshall, J. 1984. *Women Managers: Travellers in a male world*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Marshall, J. 1995. *Women Managers Moving On: Exploring Career and Life Choices*.

London: Routledge.

Martin, S. E. 1980. *Breaking and Entering: Police Women on Patrol.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mason, J. 2002. *Qualitative Researching.* 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Maynard, M. 1994. Methods, Practice and Epistemology: The Debate about Feminism and Research. In: Maynard, M. and Purvis, J. eds. *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminst Perspective.* London: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

McDowell, L. 1999. *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

McLennan, G. 1995. Feminism, Epistemology and Postmodernism: Reflections on Current Ambivalence. *Sociology* 29(2), pp. 391-409.

Mead, G. H. 2003. The Self. In: Alcoff, L.M. and Mendieta, E. eds. *Identities: Race, Class, Gender, and Nationality.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. pp.32 - 40.

Michaud, S. L. and Warner, R. M. 1997. Gender Differences in Self-Reported Response to Troubles Talk. *Sex Roles* 37(7/8), pp. 527-540.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Miller, M. F. 1997. *How to Get a Job with a Cruise Line.* New Jersey: Atlantic Books.

Monroe, K. R. and Chiu, W. F. 2010. Gender Equality in the Academy: The Pipeline Problem. *PS - Political Science and Politics* 43(2), pp. 303-308.

Money, J. and Ehrhardt, A. A. 1972. *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl: The Differentiation and Dimorphism of Gender Identity from Conception to Musculinity.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Newell, C. E. *et al.* 1995. Sexual Harrassment Experiences and Equal Opportunity Perceptions of Navy Women. *Sex Roles* 32(3/4), pp. 159-168.

Oakley, A. 1981. Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms. In: Roberts, H. ed. *Doing Feminist Research.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 30-62.

Olesen, V. L. 2000. Feminisms and Qualitative Research at and into the Millennium. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Osam, U. V. and Balbay, S. 2004. Investigating the Decision-Making Skills of Cooperating Teachers and Student Teachers of English in a Turkish Context. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies* 20(7), pp. p745-758.

Paoline, E. A., III. 2003. Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 31, p. 199-214.

Parekh, B. 2007. Reasoned Identities: A Committed Relationship. In: Wetherell, M. *et al.* eds. *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion.* London: Sage.

Pateman, C. 1988. *The Sexual Contract.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pettersson, L. *et al.* 2008. Changing Gender Relations: Women Officers' Experiences in the Swedish Armed Forces. *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 29(2), pp. 192-216.

Powdermaker, H. 1966. *Stranger and Friend.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Powell, G. N. and Graves, L. M. eds. 2002. *Women and Men in Management.* 3 ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Rees, T. 1992. *Women and the Labour Market.* London: Routledge.

Rusconi, A. and Solga, H. 2008. A Systematic Reflection upon Dual Career Couples. *Discussion Paper SP I 2008-505.* Berlin: Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB).

Salacuse, J. W. 1998. Ten Ways That Culture Affects Negotiating Style: Some Survey Results. *Negotiation Journal* 14(3), p. 221.

Salisbury, J. and Riddell, S. eds. 2000. *Gender, Policy and Educational Change: Shifting agendas in the UK and Europe.* London: Routledge.

Sampson, H. 2003. Transnational drifters or hyperspace dwellers: an exploration of the lives of Filipino seafarers aboard and ashore. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26(2), pp. 253-277.

Sampson, H. and Schroeder, T. 2006. In the wake of the wave: globalisation, networks, and the experiences of transmigrant seafarers in northern Germany. *Global Networks* 6(1), pp. 61-80.

Sampson, H. and Zhao, M. 2003. Multilingual crews: communication and the operation of ships. *World Englishes* 22(1), pp. 31-43.

Saul, J. R. 2005. *The Collapse of Globalism: and the Reinvention of the World.* London:

Atlantic Books.

Segal, D. R. and Segal, M. W. 1983. Social Change and the Participation of Women in the American Military. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 5, pp. 235-258.

Selwyn, N. and Robson, K. 1998. *Using e-mail as a research tool.* http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU21.html (accessed on 09 July 2010).

Sheppard, D. L. 1989. Organizations, Power and Sexuality: the Image and Self-image of Women Managers. In: Hearn, J. *et al.* eds. *The Sexuality of Organization.* London: Sage, pp. 139-157.

Silverman, D. 1985. *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology.* Aldershot: Gower.

Silverman, D. 1993. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction.* London: Sage.

Simpson, R. 2005. Men in Non-Traditional Occupations: Career Entry, Career Orientation and Experience of Role Strain. *Gender, Work and Organization* 12(4), pp. 363-380.

Spencer, A. and Podmore, D. 1986. Gender in the labour process - the case of women and men lawyers. In: Knights, D. and Willmott, H. eds. *Gender and the Labour Process.* Aldershot: Gower.

Spencer, A. and Podmore, D. 1987. Women Lawyers - Marginal Members of a Male-dominated Profession. In: Spencer, A. and Padmore, D. eds. *In A Man's World: Essays on Women in Male-dominated Professions.* London: Tavistock, pp. 113-133.

Spender, D. ed. 1981. *Men's Studies Modified: The Impact of Feminism on the Academic Disciplines.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Stacey, J. 1993. Untangling Feminist Theory. In: Richardson, D. and Robinson, V. eds. *Introducing Women's Studies.* London: MacMillan.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. 1983. *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stapleton, K. 2003. Gender and Swearing: A Community Practice. *Women and Language* 26(2), pp. 22-33.

Stark, S. J. 1996. *Female Tars: Woman Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail.* London: Naval Institute Press.

Suter, E. A. *et al.* 2006. Female Veterans' Identity Construction, Maintenance, and Reproduction. *Women and Language* 29(1), pp. 10-15.

Tatman, L. 2001. *Knowledge that matters: a feminist theological paradigm and epistemology*. London: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd.

Taylor, V. and Whittier, N. E. 1999. Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization. In: Freeman, J. and Johnson, V. eds. *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 169-194.

Thomas, M. A. 1999. *Foreign affairs : a sociological exploration of 'holiday romance'*. Cardiff University.

Thomas, M. A. 2004. 'Get yourself a proper job girlie!': recruitment, retention and women seafarers. *Maritime Policy & Management* 31(4), p. 309–318.

Thomas, M. A. 2006. Sexual harassment in a residential occupation: The experiences of women seafarers. *Health Education Journal* 65(2), p. 170–179.

Thomas, M. and Bailey, N. 2006. Square pegs in round holes?: leave periods and role displacement in UK-based seafaring families. *Work, employment and society* 20(1), pp. 129-149.

Udry, J. R. 1994. The nature of gender. *Demography* 31(4), pp. 561-573.

Yoder, J. D. and Aniakudo, P. 1995. The responses of African American women firefighters to gender harassment at work. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 32(3-4), pp. 125-137.

Yoder, J. D. and Aniakudo, P. 1996. When pranks become harassment: the case of African American women firefighters. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 35(5-6), pp. 253-270.

Wagner, J. 1979. *Images of Information*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Walby, S. ed. 1988. *Gender Segregation at Work*. Milton Keynes: Open Unversity Press.

Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weber, M. 1949. Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy. In: Shils, E.A. and Finch, H.A. eds. *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. New York: Free Press.

Webster, J. 1996. *Shaping Women's Work: Gender, Employment and Information Technology*. Harlow: Longman.

Weinstein, L. and White, C. eds. 1997. *Wives and Warriors.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Williams, R. 1961. *Culture and society 1780-1950.* Harmondsworth: Penguin (Original work published 1958).

Willms, D. G. *et al.* 1990. A systematic approach for using qualitative methods in primary prevention reserach. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 4, pp. 391-409.

Winslow, D. and Dunn, J. 2002. Women in the Canadian Forces: Between Legal and Social Integration. *Current Sociology* 50(5), pp. 641-667.

Wood, J. T. 1997. *Gendered lives: Communication, gender, and culture.* 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Wood, J. T. and Inman, C. 1993. In a different mode: Masculine styles of communicating closeness. *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 21, pp. 279-295.

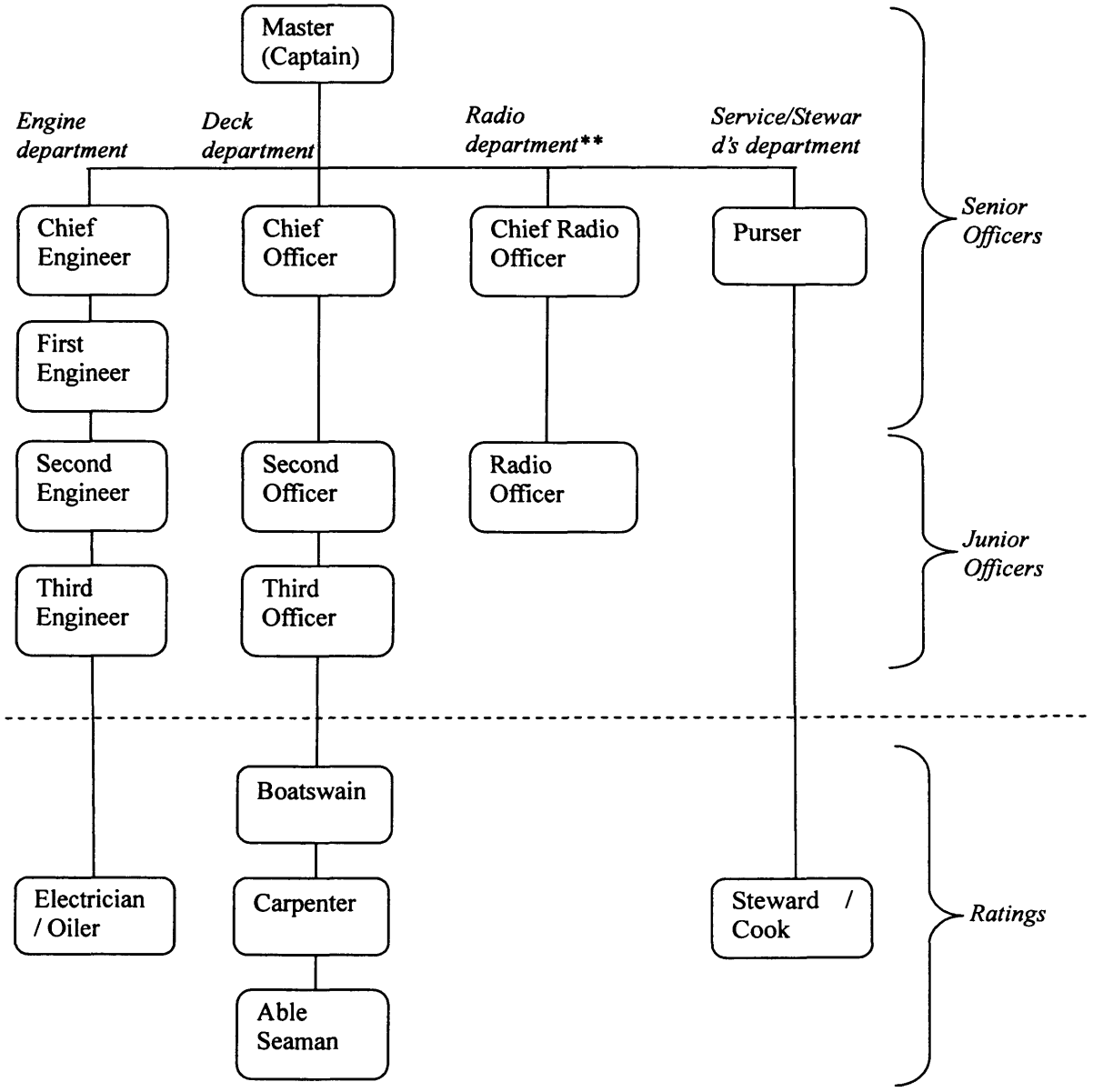
Woodward, K. ed. 1997. *Identity and Difference: Culture, Media and Identities.* London: Sage.

Wu, B. 2005. The World Cruise Industry: A Profile of the Global Labour Market.Cardiff: Seafarers International Research Centre.

Appendices

Appendix One: A Typical Merchant Cargo Ship's Hierarchy

(1) The organisational structure of a merchant cargo ship



** Most modern merchant cargo ships no longer have a radio department and such functions have been taken over by deck officers since the 1990s.

*** Some ships may have trainees (cadets/apprentices) covering some of the officers' roles (e.g. manoeuvring, look-out) and ratings' jobs (i.e. chipping, painting). These trainees are often supervised by senior officers and work on board as part of their requirement to obtain a license.

(2) Job description on board cargo ships

Deck Department is responsible for the navigation of the ship, the loading/discharge of cargo, radio communication and the control/safety of the crew.	
Master/ Captain	The Master is in overall command of a merchant cargo ship and is responsible for the safety, efficiency and commercial feasibility of his/her ship. His/Her duties are navigational at sea while in ports he is responsible for cargo operations. The captain in command carries out the following tasks: o Manages navigation of the ship o Maintains orderliness and discipline o Ensures safety of his/her crew and the cargo o Commands maneuvering to avoid hazards o Checks the location of the ship's position using navigational aids o Acts as the representative of the ship's owner o Assigns organizational duties for ship's operation, navigation and maintenance with the Chief Officer
Chief Officer	o Is second in command, on the ship o Is in charge of all maintenance, cargo loading and discharge o Assists in navigation and discipline
Second Officer	o Maintains all equipment and charts used for navigation o Undertakes cargo supervision in ports o Is in charge of the navigation bridge by rotation
Third Officer	o Maintains lifeboats and fire-fighting equipment o Undertakes cargo supervision in ports o Acts as a signal officer in charge of all signaling equipment o Is in charge of the navigation bridge by rotation
Boatswain	(often phonetically spelled and pronounced bosun) o Is in charge of deck ratings
Carpenter	Is in charge of the deck maintenance
Able Seaman	o Undertakes standing watch as helmsman and lookout. o Stand security-related watches, such as a gangway watch or anchor watch.

Engine Department ensures the smooth and efficient operation of the ship and the maintenance of all electrical and refrigeration machinery and any engineering installations on the ship.	
Chief Engineer	The chief engineer is in charge of the engineering department and is responsible for working of all equipment on board be it electrical, mechanical, pneumatic or hydraulic. He/She supervises the work of the engine room and is assisted by the first engineer. o Is responsible for all the propulsion machineries, power generating equipment and auxiliaries o Maintains documents of the working of the machinery as well as the repairs carried out o Logs fuel consumption and requirements
First Engineer	o Supervises the daily maintenance and operation of the engine department and reports directly to the chief engineer. o Is responsible for the maintenance of lubricating systems, engine room auxiliaries, and electrical equipments.
Second Engineer	o Is responsible for fuel and water and logs these consumptions o Supervises tank soundings o Monitors the boiler room equipment
Third Engineer	o Is responsible for the operation and maintenance of engine room auxiliaries
Electrician / Motorman	o Maintains and repairs all electrical all electrical circuits and motors
Oiler	o Keeps machinery lubricated

Radio Department disappeared in most modern cargo ships but used to be responsible for communication with shore headquarters and other ships by using radio, Morse code, and other electronic and satellite devices.	
Radio Officer	o Receives and records time signals, weather reports, and other information important to the smooth operation of their vessels. o Maintains the radio equipment and depth-recording and electronic navigation devices on ships.

Service / Stewards Department is responsible for all administration and preparing of food and meals for the crew on board. They also maintain living quarters of the crew and the mess halls.	
Purser	o Is responsible for the handling of money on board as well as all administration and supply
Steward	o Prepares and serves meals as cook o Cleans and maintains officers' quarters

Appendix Two: Research Access Letter

52 Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)29 2087 4620
Email: KitadaM@cardiff.ac.uk

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am writing to request your kind assistance with a research I am engaged in as part of my PhD dissertation at the Seafarers International Research Centre at Cardiff University.

My thesis examines the work and life of seafarers and these impacts upon their identities and their domestic or home lives. As a former seafarer myself, I have a particular interest in this subject.

As part of my data collection, I am carrying out a series of confidential and anonymous interviews with seafarers. Given your position as a seafarer, I feel you will be able to provide unique experiences and perspectives that are central to my research. I am therefore hoping you can spare an hour of your time to speak with me.

My data collection is scheduled for ..... Any appointment time you could grant me during this period would be greatly appreciated. Also, any suggestions you have as to other seafarers that might be able to assist with my research would be welcome.

Further full details of the research are provided in the attached information leaflet. If you kindly agree to my request for this confidential and anonymous interview, it would be highly appreciated. The interview will be taken place in English and any request to bring a friend to interview to offer language support would be treated sympathetically. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or require any additional information. If you are willing to take part, I would be grateful if you could complete the attached form and return it to me to signal your agreement. Thank you in advance for your time, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

M. Kitada (maiden name: Motohashi)
Seafarers International Research Centre at Cardiff University

Appendix Three: Research Participant Information Leaflet

The Information Leaflet

Research on women seafarers and their identities

This information leaflet is for the potential participants
who are currently working or used to work in the shipping industry.

Please will you help with my research?

Why is the research being done?

For a long time seafaring has been a male dominated profession all over the world. However, due to the market factor of the shortage of ship officers and the political factor of their strategic promotions, women seafarers have recently drawn more attention. In spite of this economic and political trend, there is very little research on women's experience of seafaring, which is why I believe my study on this population is important and can contribute something new to the field. Thus, the aim of the study is to examine the work and life of seafarers and these impacts upon their identities and their domestic or home lives.

I am firstly asking your personal views of life, job, and culture of seafaring as well as your experiences at sea and a bit of your life history why you choose the career to become a seafarer. I hope that it will make it easier to define the occupational culture of seafaring.

Then, I am going to ask several questions about identity issues. My concerns are how you define your identity, what identifies you as a seafarer, and what happens when you go back to the shore and your family.

Who can take part?

Anyone aged over 16 who is working or used to work as a seafarer is welcome to take part. You do not need to have previous experience of the topic of women seafarers or identities. Your own perspectives are really valuable and I would like to listen to your voice!

What would you be asked?

If you choose to participate in this research, you will be asked about things like:

- Life on board the ship

- Job of a seafarer
- Role of women on board
- Maintenance of family relationships
- Issues of identity

What will I do with the information you give me?

With your agreement, the interview will be recorded by a tape recorder and I will then make into a written form called a transcript. I will use this to read and listen to the things you have said. Then I will write a published dissertation and give a presentation in my final academic year. In the thesis, whilst I may quote things that you have said, I will not identify you at any stage.

Are the things you say during the interview kept private?

- Yes, I will do everything I can to make sure that the things you have said are kept private.
- I will be storing the recordings and transcripts of the interview electrically and in a locked filing cabinet where no-one else will have access to them. Your name will not appear anywhere on or near the recordings – it will all be anonymous and confidential. When I write about the interview, I may use some of the things that you have said, but I will not quote any information that could identify names, including yours, dates and places will be changed.
- In accordance with the Data Protection Act, data will be stored for at least 5 years after the end of the research project.

What if you change your mind about taking part?

- If you say you want to take part in this research and then you change your mind about it, that is fine – just let me know! You have the right to change your mind at any time during the interview and I will not put pressure on you to continue.
- If you decide to pull out part way through the interview, I will destroy any data pertaining to you.

What happens after the interview?

- After the interview, I will ask you how the interview was for you and check that you are OK about it.
- If you would like to know what comes out of my research, I would be happy to send you a summary of my findings. Please let me know if you want this so I can make sure I have the right postal address or email address for you.

Who am I and how can you contact me?

I am a research student in my first year in the PhD at the School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University, UK. I am also a student member of the Seafarers International Research Centre, Cardiff University. I will be happy to answer any questions you may have about this research. **Momoko Kitada** (maiden name: Motohashi) **on Mobile Phone: +44 (0)xxx xxxxx xxx ; Office Tel: +44 (0)29 2087 4620; email: KitadaM@cardiff.ac.uk**

Appendix Four: Research Informed Consent Form

Participation Agreement Form

= *Research on women seafarers and their identities* =

Please choose your answer and tick!

☐ Yes, I agree to be interviewed.

☐ No, I do not want to participate in the research.

Thank you in advance for your kind consideration.

Please give a convenient date and time for you to be interviewed (if you answer YES):

Dated on: _____

Signed: _____

Please return to this form to: Momoko Kitada (maiden name: Motohashi)
c/-Seafarers International Research Centre
52 Park Place, Cardiff
CF10 3AT, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)29 2087 4620
Mobile: +44 (0)xx xxxxx xxx
KitadaM@cardiff.ac.uk

+++ A stamped addressed envelope is closed for your use.

Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Director Professor Huw Beynon
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd
Cyfarwyddwr Yr Athro Huw Beynon

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY
PRIFYSGOL CAERDYDD

Cardiff University
Glamorgan Building
King Edward VII Avenue
Cardiff CF10 3WT
Wales UK

Tel *Ffôn* +44(0)29 2087 5179
Fax *Ffacs* +44(0)29 2087 4175
www.cardiff.ac.uk/

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad Morgannwg
Rhodfa Brenin Edward VII
Caerdydd CF10 3WT
Cymru Y Deyrnas Gyfunol

Appendix Five: Ethics Committee Approval Letter

20th September 2006

Our ref: SREC\116

Momoko Motohashi
MPhil / PhD Programme
SIRC – SOCSI

Dear Momoko

Your project entitled "*Women seafarers and their identities*" has been approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University following its meeting on 31st August 2006 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).

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 Søren Holm
Chair of the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: E Renton
Supervisors: H Sampson
T Rees

Appendix Six: Interview Guide

For Female Participants

General

- Age / Nationality / Married or Single / Children?
- Deck, Engine or Radio / Rank / Length of time working at sea
- What made you decide to go to sea?

Ship life

- What kind of ships have you worked on?
- What is the life on board like? What do you do on the ship?
- How do you spend your free time?

Work on board

- Do you like your job? Why / Why not?
- Would you recommend other women work on board? Why?
- Which parts of the job would you say are the most difficult and which parts do you find the easiest?
- Are there any activities on the ship which you cannot take part in? Why do you feel that you cannot take part in these activities?
- Do you feel that you belong on board a ship? Why / Why not?
- Do you feel that you belong ashore? Why / Why not?
- Do/Did you have a model person whom you want to become like when you are sailing?
- Do you think that it would be much easier to identify the model person if you have female Captains or chief officers (chief engineers) on board?
- How much longer do you intend to work at sea? What lies behind your plans?

Likes and dislikes about ships

- In your time at sea, of all your ships, which has been your favourite? Why?
- What was your most disliked ship? Why?

Ship culture

- Do you think that ships have different culture from the shore? How would you describe the culture on board?
- Do you feel that ships reflect a national culture?
- How does the onboard culture seem to relate to women, and attitudes to women?

- Are there any phrases which you have often heard or used on board?
- Are there any taboos or unwritten rules on the ship?
- Tell me the things that make you feel comfortable on the ship?
- How about the things that make you feel uncomfortable on the ship?
- When you first came to sea were there any practices or behaviours that you had to learn or that you had to learn to avoid?

Relationships

- How are your relationships on board in general?
    - Do you generally have good or bad relationships with people on board?
    - Do you tend to keep in touch with people after you have met them on board and left the ship? How about the last ship?
    - Do you usually make friends with other people on ships? – Who do you usually feel most able to make friends with...colleagues / bosses / ratings / different nationalities....Why?
- What is your view about people having sexual relationships on board?
- Have people on board ever made an issue about you being a woman? What have they done/said?
- Have you ever sailed with women on board?
    - Were they seafarers or the partners of seafarers? How did you get on with them?
    - Would you prefer to sail with women or do you prefer to be the only woman on board? Why / Why not?
- How often do you share your home life with the people on the ship?
- How are your relationships ashore in general?
    - What do you do when you are at home?
      parents / husband or boyfriend / children / friends
    - How often do you share your ship life with the people ashore?
    - What do people think about your job? Are they supportive?
- What is your view about having two lives together, seafaring and being a wife?
- What is your view about having two lives together, seafaring and being a mother?

Shore life

- What do you do when you are on shore?
- What do you feel are the expectations of you at home?
- Where do you feel you belong most - ship or shore? Why?
- How do you spend your money?
- Do you find it easy to adjust from ship to shore life and back again? What sort of adjustments do you need to make?
- Do you feel any different to other women ashore? If so in what ways do you feel different?

Perceptions

- What do you think about the idea of femininity/masculinity?
    - Do you feel that you are seen as feminine on board?
    - Do you feel you are seen as feminine ashore?
    - Would you describe yourself as feminine...in general / on board / ashore?
- Is it acceptable in your country that women have been away home for several months? Why / why not?
- Is it acceptable in your country that men have been away home for several months? Why / why not?
- Are there any women's and men's roles both in public and home considered in your country?
- How {modern/old-fashion} is the seafaring society, comparing to the other jobs in your country?
- If you remove certain feminine behaviours and habits (e.g. language, make-up, nail polish, skirts etc.) on board the ship, do you feel:
    - sacrifacing your femininity for the sake of work? (=giving up feminine things because it is not necessary for work?)
    - freedom from the social pressure towards women? (=happy about nobody telling you what you should behave as a woman?)
    - something else? Please describe your feeling.
- If you attempt to do certain feminine behaviours and habits (same as above) on vacation or while ashore, is it because:
    - you retreave your femininity to make you happy as a woman? (=you need something feminine just like ordinary women ashore do?)
    - you feel the social pressure towards women? (=the society expects you to behave feminine?)
    - something else? Please describe your feeling.
- What are your future plans and ambitions?

For Male Participants

General

- Age / Nationality / Married or Single / Children?
- Deck or Engine / Rank / Length of time working at sea
- What made you decide to go to sea?

Ship life

- What kind of ships have you worked on?
- What is the life on board like? What do you do on the ship?
- How do you spend your free time?
- Do you like your job? Why / Why not?
- In your time at sea, of all your ships, which has been your favourite? Why?
- What was your most disliked ship? Why?
- Do/Did you have a model person whom you want to become like when you are sailing?
- How much longer do you intend to work at sea? What lies behind your plans?

Ship culture

- Do you think that ships have different culture from the shore? How would you describe the culture on board?
- Do you feel that ships reflect a national culture at all? Is it your national culture or do you feel the values of the ships you have sailed on belong to a different culture?
- Are there any phrases which you have often heard or used on board?
- Are there any taboos or unwritten rules on the ship?
- Tell me the things that make you feel comfortable on the ship?
- How about the things that make you feel uncomfortable on the ship?
- When you first came to sea were there any practices or behaviours that you had to learn or that you had to learn to avoid?

Relationships

- How are your relationships on board in general?
    - Do you generally have good or bad relationships with people on board?
    - Do you tend to keep in touch with people after you have met them on board and left the ship? How about the last ship?
    - Do you usually make friends with other people on ships? – Who do you usually feel most able to make friends with...colleagues / bosses / ratings / different nationalities....Why?
- How often do you share your home life with the people on the ship?
- What do you feel are the expectations of you on the ship?

- How are your relationships ashore in general?
    - What do you do when you are at home?
      parents / wife – girlfriend / children / friends
    - How often do you share your ship life with the people ashore?
    - What do people think about your job? Are they supportive?
- Do you find it easy to adjust from ship to shore life and back again? What sort of adjustments do you need to make?

Shore life

- What do you do when you are on shore?
- Where do you feel you belong most - ship or shore? Why?
- How do you spend your money?
- What is your view about having two lives together, seafaring and being a husband?
- What is your view about having two lives together, seafaring and being a father?
- What are your future plans and ambitions?

Appendix Seven: Interview Quotes

CHAPTER FIVE: 'Survival' in a Sea of Men – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While on Board

Example 7-01:

> No way! If you smile someone, that's something happening. Too much good morning or everything is, it's amazing. ... I must avoid talking to people or smiling at people ... Then I go on board, I start to gain weight. So, the bigger I am, the more they see me. So, on board my hair is always like this (tying up), no polish nails or any of this, no make-ups, nothing. No, not even the conditioner, even this...I don't have perfume, even you know, deodorant...I choose men's ... I buy bra to keep me the most hid, the better.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Izabel, Age 29, Junior deck officer, Portuguese)

Example 7-02:

> I think we avoid being too feminine ... It's adapting to the man's world, but it's also for me, it was a feeling of ...it wouldn't be fair to them to sort of show off...you know, not ...it's a strange feeling of "Don't make trouble", if you don't have to and you don't want to. Don't show too much and make them get ideas ... Trying to be a part of the group, instead of standing out as a silly girl.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the obscurers of femininity (N-1)"]
> (Angela, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-03:

> If the guys are unsecured, if he doesn't know, he anyway, he says, he gives an answer, even though he doesn't know. And I started being honest and I said "I don't know". And the guys get this "She doesn't know anything." So sometimes I think you have to pretend that you are sure, even though you are not sure. Then, when it harms, then suddenly this was wrong. "Ok, this was wrong, but who cares?" Maybe this is what I have picked up from male culture.
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the reinforcers of masculinity (N-3)"]
> (Vera, Age 54, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-04:

> Even shouting to him, giving orders and being like a man, because there is

one thing we cannot forget. We were in men's work ... I prefer the point of view of men, it's more logical generally. Generally men are more logical.

["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"]
(Yelena, Age 41, Captain, Portuguese)

Example 7-05:

Yeah, I think I got a little bit more manly, too. Before I was a little bit more, yeah, girly, I would say. And now I am a little bit more calm, I am more serious, and ...patient, and objective. Logical, very logical, I got too. Just "This is a situation. This is a problem. This is a goal that we have to reach."

["Constructors" – "the acquirers of masculinity (C-2)"]
(Vicki, Age 20, Deck officer trainee, German)

Example 7-06:

I have seen a lot of women wearing a lot of make-up and dress up very much. I feel they are very masculine in some way. They are kind of exposing their femininity but they are doing kind of masculine, aggressive way or something ... For me, femininity is what I am. Because I am feminine and the way I am is feminine to me.

["Constructors" – "the acquirers of femininity (C-1)"]
(Norah, Age 43, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-07:

Lotions. Really expensive ones, which had beautiful smell. (laugh) That was my top secret and one of the feminine side which I have never let go. Still today I enjoy these lotions and perfume.

["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"]
(Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

Example 7-08:

I enjoyed knitting. So I was always prepared when I stayed on board for several months. I had knitting yarns and beans. But I think knitting is the thing that really has kept me sane.

["Maintainers" – "the retrievers (M-1)"]
(Sue, Age 45, Junior Engineer, Swedish)

CHAPTER SIX: From the Beast to the Beauty – Women Seafarers' Identity Management While Ashore

Example 7-09:

> The first thing I say to the people isn't what I do for living, because some of them don't want to talk about anything else, because many, many people who don't know me find it really exotic or something like that. I don't want to be exotic ... I don't define myself as what I do.
>
> ["Maintainers" – "the disguisers (M-2)"]
> (Alma, Age 39, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-10:

> Sometimes I was thinking what I was doing here? Why I am not at home?
>
> ["Negotiators" – "the sacrificers (N-4)"]
> (Karolina, Age 52, Senior deck officer, Polish)

Example 7-11:

> That is my personal view and to be very selfish, yes, I love to go to sea. But I don't know if I can cope with leaving her behind ... I've been at sea for many, many years and I've been doing things which was really, really nice to myself...and kind of "selfish" ... I could kind of "sacrifice" myself for her.
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)"]
> (Rebecka, Age 44, Senior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-12:

> I have to admit that I find it completely incompatible. When I disembarked 7 months pregnant, my idea was to continue at sea. However, the minute I looked at my baby I realized that I was being foolish and irresponsible. Children need care, emotional stability, a mom, a dad, lots of love and if we decide to have kids they have to be our biggest priority, above our own interests.
>
> ["Constructors" – "the acquirers of motherhood (C-3)"]
> (Vidonia, Age 51, Captain, Portuguese)

Example 7-13:

> Because I was away all the time, that cost my relationship, yeah. I have no doubt about myself. I don't see how you can keep the relationship unless you marry ... because I think it is easier to trust a wife than a girlfriend.
>
> (David, Age 25, Junior engineer, British)

Example 7-14:

> In some way, I think it's hard for a girl to find a man that who can stand that she is going away. It's more acceptable for girls to wait for guys.
>
> (Sofia, Age 25, Junior deck officer, Swedish)

Example 7-15:

> I think we are still not ready for, I mean the society does not allow girls go away for three months. I think that the neighbour sometimes or family around would think that you are a bad mother. Men can go away.
>
> (Olivia, Age 36, Junior engineer, Swedish)

Appendix Eight: Brief Biographies of the Participants

Thirty-six female and eight male seafarers were interviewed as part of this PhD research project. A brief description is given on each participant, including some reference to their personality and demeanour. These illustrations are mainly based on my personal observations and only provide a brief snap-shot of each individual due to the limitations of such interviews.

◆ Female Participants (n=36)

Germany:

Cindy was a 23-year-old training to be a deck officer. She used to sail yachts with her parents as a child and so was familiar with nautical techniques (e.g. rope work and reading winds) from an early age.

Agnes was a 20-year-old training to become a deck officer, and her older brother was also a seafarer. She played various musical instruments and formed a band with other crew members on her last vessel. She had a gentle voice and sometimes gave me a shy smile instead of answering my questions.

Marina was a 22-year-old who had trained as a deck officer for a year, on Ro-Ro ships and container vessels. Her ambition was to become a Captain. As a child she used to sail often with her father on the Baltic Sea and Scandinavian waters in a small boat.

Naike was a 24-year-old, and used to work in the office before beginning deck officer training. Her ex-colleagues inspired her to study navigation and her work experience seemed to make her more mature than other female cadets. She was straight talking with a sporty and tomboy appearance.

Pamera was a 44-year-old who stopped seafaring as a deck officer for several years after having her daughter, but returned on shorter contracts. She was an independent, slender, tomboy of a woman, and studied at university while raising her daughter alone.

Simone was a 53-year-old ex-radio officer who worked on freight liners, general cargo ships, containers and bulk carriers. As a child she was a tomboy and did not like playing with dolls. She also explained that she liked leading a simple life and saved most of her earnings for family holidays.

Vicki was a 20-year-old, who worked as a deck officer trainee on container ships and feeders. Despite her young age, she was mature and highly motivated to become a Captain. She was a religious and serious woman from the southern part of Germany. In the interview, she wore a white pullover with a red heart-shaped motif.

Zurka was the youngest female participant (in my study) at 19-years old. Unlike typical teenagers, she liked simple clothes (e.g. a plain shirt with a gingham check pattern and knitted vest) and wore her hair in two pigtails. At twelve, she was a member of the sailing club and used to go to the sea every week. This brought her to choose a seafaring career as a deck officer.

Inge was a 25-year-old trainee deck officer, who initially joined the Army before realising that she wanted to be a seafarer, but not with the Navy. She tied her hair up in a ponytail, giving her an active and cheerful appearance; she also wore a necklace with a heart pendant.

Gloria was a 22-year-old trainee deck officer. Her first ship was an industrial waste fleet with a small crew, which had a rather unpleasant work environment compared with her fellow trainees' experiences, on board other cargo ships. At interview she wore a white cardigan and silver jewellery.

Doris was a 43-year-old ex-Captain with a fourteen-year career at sea. She was a warm and smiling woman, with a motherly demeanour and was good at communicating with her male colleagues. Doris's father was also a ship Captain, allowing her an insight into seafarers' lives, especially at home, even before she began her career.

Ghana:

Sisi was a 52-year-old ex-Captain whose ship carried cocoa beans worldwide. She was the mother of four children and continued seafaring even after having them. Her career inspired school girls in Ghana, where she was the role model of a campaign to promote girls' education and training.

Japan:

Yoko was a 27-year-old junior deck officer who worked on container ships, car carriers and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) tankers. She had short hair and wore sporty and practical clothes. Yoko was a calm and highly-educated woman, having achieved a MSc degree in maritime sciences. She used most of her vacations to travel overseas.

Naomi was a 25-year-old engineer who was friendly and open, yet sensitive and attentive to others. When she returned ashore, she liked to wear skirts and high-heels and relax by having a massage or other therapeutic treatments, as her job as an engineer was very tough and demanding.

Poland:

Karolina was a 52-year old, mother of two, who continued to work as a senior deck officer while her husband and mother looked after them. She was a small, yet extremely energetic woman, who smiled like a small child and very friendly and chatty. For the interview she wore a feminine one-piece dress with large earrings and a necklace.

Portugal:

Brites was a 34-year-old engineer who had been sailing on Portuguese tanker ships for three years. She had a bright and cheerful demeanour and preferred wearing jeans and tomboy style clothes. Her husband was also a seafarer (on deck) and their company allowed them, as a married couple, to work on the same vessels. Brites also had a seafaring father.

Catalina was a 31-year-old senior deck officer from the northern part of Portugal, where there is a relatively strong Catholic influence. She had eight-years of seafaring experience, mainly on bulk carriers and container ships. She was calm and mild-mannered throughout the interview. Her contract did not permit her to have long periods of leave, so she really missed her family and they her.

Izabel was a 29-year-old junior deck officer working on Portuguese tanker ships and had two and a half years of seafaring experience. She had a charming, sunny character and made many jokes, so everyone laughed whenever she was around. Her English was excellent, enabling her to vividly illustrate her experiences during conversations.

Joana was 26-year-old junior deck officer from an island off the west coast of Portugal. She was very proud of her regional heritage, which made her friendly and warm in interviews. Her work was undertaken on Ro-Ro ships, containers and ferry boats.

Yelena was a 41-year-old ex-Captain who was at sea for a total of seven years and is now settled in the suburb of Lisbon. She was a friendly, open-minded, easygoing mother of two children. During her childhood her family was dominated with many boys and she deduced that her character was very active and tomboyish. Her husband was also a ship Captain and her grandfather used to serve in the Navy.

Rose was a 45-year-old Portuguese radio officer and her husband was a ship engineer. During my fieldwork, everyone who knew Rose told me that she was 'like a man'; however, my impression of Rose was that she was a strong minded woman. She continued working at sea as a mother, but ended her eleven-year career when her third child was born.

Vidonia was a 51-year-old ex-Captain from Portugal, who worked successfully in a shore-based maritime company and seemed extremely confident and strong-minded. During my visit she wore a stylish, feminine, long dress and high-heels, as if she had stepped out of a fashion magazine. .

Deolinda was a 46-year-old ex-Chief Engineer from the northern part of Portugal. She worked on general cargo vessels, bulk carriers and container ships. Her demeanour was cheerful, chatty and confident. She was a family-oriented person, who helped her mother and sisters as a traditional male family role.

Rute was a 47-year-old mother, who used to sail as a radio officer, but worked in a managerial position in a maritime institution in Lisbon at the time of interview. She was a warm and motherly person, who dressed in feminine outfits (e.g. blouse and skirt). She had a Naval family background.

Sweden:

Julia was a 34-year-old ex-engineer on chemical tankers and passenger ships. Her smiley face gave her soft and calm demeanour; however, she was frank and to-the-point during conversation. Unlike many other women seafarers, Julia chose to marry to a man who had never sailed, but who was proud of his wife's profession. They also had a small baby and lived in Stockholm.

Vera was a 54-year-old senior deck officer, who had the longest seafaring career (in my study) of twenty-nine years. She first joined a ship as a radio officer and later studied navigation and became a deck officer. She had short hair and dressed in sporty clothes for the interview. The tone of her voice was gentle and calm.

Olivia was a 36-year-old ex-engineer with eleven-year work experience. She was a tall, slender woman with good posture and had a smiley and friendly attitude. During the interview she wore a pair of straight jeans and tied her long hair back neatly. Her family had a seafaring background and she used to sail yachts during her childhood summers.

Sofia was a 25-year-old ex-seafarer on deck, working on various ships, such as, bulk carriers, oil tankers, Ro-Ro vessels and passenger ships, for a total of five years. She liked outdoor sports, but also liked writing poems and essays.

Sally was a 27-year-old engineer whose grandfather was a seafarer. She was a friendly, family-oriented woman and talked a great deal about her relationship with her grandmother. She liked learning martial arts, travelling and meeting people. Although she had tomboyish traits, she liked flowers and had gardening magazines and rose-scented toiletry items in her cabin when I visited her ship.

Rebecka was a 44-year-old ex-seafarer on deck, with fifteen years experience of working at sea. Her brother was also a seafarer. She quit seafaring because of her daughter and worked in a managerial position in a shipping company, which she hopes to expand worldwide.

Laura was a 24-year-old ex-engineer who used to work on tankers. She was a very intelligent woman, who talked quickly and candidly. In appearance she was feminine, but her attitude was rather masculine, confident and self-professedly clever.

Angela was a 43-year-old ex-seafarer on deck and sailed mostly on Swedish ships for a total of thirteen years. After leaving the sea, she settled in a shore-based shipping institution. She was a tall woman, who chose her words carefully and spoke in a gentle and calm manner, often with a tone of concern.

Emma was a 39-year-old seafarer who possessed a Master's licence. She sailed mainly on bulk carriers and had twenty-one years seafaring experience. Despite her tomboy appearance, she spoke in a gentle and calm manner.

Sue was a 45-year-old ex-engineer whose husband was a seafarer, as well as her father and uncle. Her straight-forward and easy-going personality seemed to fit in well, in the male-dominated work environment of an engine department

Alma was a 39-year-old ex-seafarer on deck. When she arrived at our meeting point, she walked with a swagger, carried a denim jacket over her right shoulder and was whistling, she wore slim jeans and a tight top. She became increasingly chatty and friendly as the interview progressed.

Norah was a 43-year-old ex-seafarer on deck who used to transport paper and timber by sea. She worked for a shore-based maritime organisation. She was a tall tomboy with short hair, who did not seem to care a great deal about her appearance. She wore no make-up and her hair, although clean, had not been brushed.

◆ Male Participants (*n*=8)

Germany:

Martin was a 44-year-old Captain with twenty-four years seafaring experience on various vessels, such as containers, general cargo ships, reefers, bulk carriers and orange juice carriers. He was a good listener, especially for to his crew and talked in gentle and calm manner. If he and his partner were to have a child, he said that he would quit working on board ships.

Hellman was a 28-year-old, training to be a deck officer. However, he was not finding seafaring a very attractive career and was unsure if he would continue after his fifteen-months of work experience. He had a strong mind, but a soft demeanour.

Japan:

Akira was a 25-year-old engineer, who had worked at sea for two years. He was born on a small Japanese island and was proud of his regional heritage. His ambition was to firstly study abroad, before returning to be a seafarer.

Takeshi was a 27-year-old deck officer with a seafaring career of four years. He had a friendly and smiling face and spoke very politely, not only to the seniors, but also, to the juniors.

Netherland:

Van was a 46-year-old ex-engineer, who had ten years seafaring experience on board general cargo ships, Ro-Ro ships, containers, bulk carriers, and gas and oil tankers. He was also a lover of rugby.

Portugal:

Sergio was a 57-year-old Captain and father of two small children. He started his career during the war between Portugal and its African colonies. He was friendly and youthful with an authoritarian presence.

Sweden:

Fredrik was a 36-year-old ex-seafarer (on deck) who had ten years of seafaring

experience and used to transport paper and timber by sea. As a child he lived by sea and his family used to go fishing, although no-one in his family were seafarers. He decided to leave the sea after missing his daughter's first birthday.

United Kingdom:

David was a 25-year-old engineer, who had been working at sea for six years, mostly on container ships. His father's friend (a former seafarer) inspired him to become a seafarer. He was a big rugby fan and took many rugby DVDs with him to watch on the ship. He also enjoyed listening to music and reading books by authors, such as George Orwell, while on board.

Appendix Nine: Data Analysis

(1) Ideal-types for ship and for shore

Same/Diff	Sameness strategy				Difference	Sameness	Difference	Difference strategy			Difference strategy			
Ideal-type	NEGOTIATORS (N)				CONSTRUCTORS (C)			MAINTAINERS (M)			REPRODUCERS (R)			
Emotion / Feeling	unease, difficult, anxious, stressful, misunderstood, uncomfortable, struggling, conflicting, insecure, inappropriate				open a new view and perspective, accepted, appropriate, fit well to their gender roles			happy, easy, comfortable, balanced, stable			free, secure, confident, achieved, reborn, liberated			
	N-1	N-2	N-3	N-4	C-1	C-2	C-3	M-1	M-2	M-3	R-1	R-2	R-3	R-4
ID strategy	"The obscurers of femininity"	"The reinforcers of femininity"	"The reinforcers of masculinity"	"The sacrificers"	"The acquirers of femininity"	"The acquirers of masculinity"	"The acquirers of motherhood"	"The retrievers"	"The disguisers"	"The never-changers"	"The alleviators"	"The manipulators of femininity"	"The manipulators of masculinity"	"The neuters"
Space	Sea	Land	Sea	Land	Sea	Sea	Land	Sea/Land	Sea/Land	Sea/Land	Sea	Sea	Land	Sea
PT01										BRITES	BRITES			
PT02	CATALINA							CATALINA						
PT03		IZABEL									IZABEL			
PT04	JOANA							JOANA						
PT05							YELENA					YELENA		
PT07				ROSE						ROSE				
PT08									VIDONIA	VIDONIA				
PT09								DEOLINDA		DEOLINDA				
PT10							RUTE	RUTE						
SE01							JULIA			JULIA				
SE02				VERA	VERA									
SE03		OLIVIA				OLIVIA								
SE04								SOFIA	SOFIA					
SE05								SALLY					SALLY	
SE06			REBECKA				REBECKA							
SE07										LAURA		LAURA		
SE08									ANGELA				ANGELA	
SE09												EMMA		EMMA
SE10						SUE					SUE			
SE11				ALMA					ALMA					
SE12									NORAH					NORAH
DE02	CINDY									CINDY				
DE03	AGNES									AGNES				
DE04	MARINA	MARINA												
DE05	NAIKE							NAIKE						
DE06									PAMERA	PAMERA				
DE08							SIMONE			SIMONE				
DE09								VICKI						VICKI
DE10					ZURKA			ZURKA						
DE11			INGE							INGE				
DE12						GLORIA		GLORIA						
DE13								DORIS			DORIS			
PL01							KAROLINA					KAROLINA		
GH01				SISI		SISI								
JP01								YOKO		YOKO				
JP02	NAOMI							NAOMI						
ID type	N-1	N-2	N-3	N-4	C-1	C-2	C-3	M-1	M-2	M-3	R-1	R-2	R-3	R-4
Ship	7	0	2	0	2	4	0	3	5	4	3	4	0	2
Shore	0	3	0	4	0	0	6	10	1	8	1	0	2	1
Total	7	3	2	4	2	4	6	13	6	12	4	4	2	3

(2) Trajectories of changing identity management strategies over time

Participant	Pseudonym	Changing patterns of identity management strategies**
PT01	Brites	N-1 → C-2 → M-1 / M-3 → R-1
PT02	Catalina	N-1 → M-1
PT03	Izabel	N-1 → C-2 → N-2 / M-1 → R-1
PT04	Joana	N-1 → C-2 → M-1
PT05	Yelena	M-3 → N-1 / C-2 → C-1 / M-3 → M-3 / R-2 → C-3
PT07	Rose	M-3 → C-3 → N-4 → M-3
PT08	Vidonia	M-3 → N-1 / M-1 / R-2 → M-2 / M-3 → C-3
PT09	Deolinda	M-3 → N-1 / M-1 → R-2 / R-3 → N-4
PT10	Rute	N-1 / M-1 → C-2 → C-3
SE01	Julia	M-3 → N-1 / M-1 → N-4 → R-2 → C-3
SE02	Vera	M-3 → N-1 → C-1 / C-2 → M-1 / M-2 → R-1 / N-4
SE03	Olivia	M-3 → C-2 → M-1 → R-2 → N-2 / M-3 / R-4 → M-2 / M-3
SE04	Sofia	C-2 → M-2 → N-1 / N-3 / M-1 / M-3 → R-1 / M-1
SE05	Sally	M-3 → N-1 → C-2 → M-1 / M-2 / M-3 / R-3
SE06	Rebecka	M-3 → N-1 → C-2 → R-2 → C-3 → N-3 → C-1 / M-3
SE07	Laura	M-3 → C-2 → R-2 / R-4
SE08	Angela	N-1 → C-2 → R-1 → M-2 → C-1 → N-2 → R-3
SE09	Emma	C-2 → N-3 → N-4 → R-2 → R-4
SE10	Sue	M-3 → N-1 → C-2 → M-1/ M-2 → R-1
SE11	Alma	M-3 → N-1 / M-2 → C-2 / M-1 / M-2 / M-3 → N-3 / N-4 / M-1 / M-2 /
SE12	Norah	M-3 → N-1 → C-2 / M-1 → R-1 → C-1 → M-2 → R-4 → R-2
DE02	Cindy	M-3 → C-1 → N-3 → N-1 / M-1 / M-3
DE03	Agnes	N-1 / M-2 / M-3 → M-3
DE04	Marina	M-3 → N-1 / N-2 → M-1
DE05	Naike	N-1 / M-1 / M-3 → N-2
DE06	Pamera	M-3 → C-2 → N-2 → M-2 → R-1 → C-3 → M-3
DE08	Simone	M-3 → C-3 → M-3
DE09	Vicki	N-1 / N-3 → C-2 → N-2 → M-1 / M-2 → R-4
DE10	Zurka	M-3 → C-2 / M-1 / R-2 → C-1
DE11	Inge	M-3 → N-3 / M-3
DE12	Gloria	N-3 / M-2 / M-3 → N-1 → C-2 → M-1
DE13	Doris	N-1 → M-1 / M-3 → R-1 / R-3 → N-2
PL01	Karolina	M-3 → R-1 / C-1 → M-1 / M-2 / R-4 → R-1 → C-3 → R-2 → M-3
GH01	Sisi	C-2 / M-1 → R-1 → N-2 / N-4 → C-1/ C-3 / R-3
JP01	Yoko	M-3 → M-1 → R-4
JP02	Naomi	M-3 → N-1 → M-1

** N-1("The obscurers of femininity"); N-2 ("The reinforcers of femininity"); N-3 ("The reinforcers of masculinity"); N-4 ("The sacrificers"); C-1 ("The acquirers of femininity"); C-2 ("The acquirers of masculinity"); C-3 ("The acquirers of motherhood"); M-1 ("The retrievers"); M-2 ("The disguisers"); M-3 ("The never-changers"); R-1 ("The alleviators"); R-2 ("The manipulators of femininity"); R-3 ("The manipulators of masculinity"); R-4 ("The neuters")

Appendix Ten: The List of Presentations

This is the list of presentations and conference papers which I have given in various parts of the world (i.e. Japan, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States):

Kitada, M. (2010) 'Establishing a Network for Women in Male-dominated Professions – The Case of Women Seafarers', The 2nd International Symposium of the Female Scientists Support Unit (FSSU): Network, Footwork and Teamwork – Beyond the Bias and Barriers 2010, Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, 9 November.

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Finding Self between Ship and Home: Women Seafarers' Identities', The 7th European Feminist Research Conference, Gender Studies Program (Utrecht University) AOIFE, ATHENA, Utrecht, Netherlands, 4-7 June.

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Women seafarers' identity management strategies', Women of the Sea, Gender Seminar Program, the Department of Shipping and Marine Technology, Chalmers University of Technology, Gothenburg, Sweden, 18 May.

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Belonging to both camps – the management of women seafarers' gender identities between ship and shore', Gender Futures: Law, Critique and the Struggle for Something More, Research Centre for Law, Gender and Sexuality, Westminster University, London, UK, 3-4 April.

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Women seafarers in the gales of a man's world – the political strategies for their gender identity management', 9th ACS Women's and Gender Studies Conference: The Personal is Still Political – Gendered Identities in the 21st Century, The Associated Colleges of the South and Rhodes College, Memphis, Tennessee, USA, 6-7 March.

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Risking marriage and family: maintaining seafarers' gender identities', Maritime Matters in the 21st Century, The 1st SIRC-Nippon Fellow Maritime Conference, 22 January, ISBN 1-900174-36-7 and online at www.sirc.cf.ac.uk

Kitada, M. (2009) 'Social Scientific Research into Seafarers in the UK', The Kenichi Koyama Foundation Seminar Series, Kobe University, Kobe, Japan, 14 January.

Kitada, M. (2008) 'Women Seafarers and their Identities', Graduate Research and Presentation Day, School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK, 9 May.

Kitada, M. (2008) 'Voyage from the Sea of Fukae to the Ocean: For the Renaissance of Sciences', Career Café ("Female Researchers Support Kobe Style" seminar series), Kobe University, Kobe, Japan, 11 January.

Kitada, M. (2007) 'The occupational culture of seafaring', The Kenichi Koyama Foundation Seminar Series, Kobe University, Kobe, Japan, 19 December.