

**The Occupational Socialisation of
Merchant Marine Cadets in the Philippines**

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Dedication

This PhD is dedicated to the memories of my father, Chief Engineer Raymundo R. Abila, and my grandparents, Lamén, Menas, Sotero and Jose...

Abstract

This thesis explores the occupational socialisation of Filipino merchant marine officer cadets through their experiences of maritime education and training (MET). The socialisation of the cadets is contextualised within the broad aim of the global and national regulations of MET to develop *competent* seafarers.

In the international seafaring labour market, there is an increasing trend of labour participation of seafarers coming from the ‘new labour supplying countries’ (NLSCs). The Philippines is seen by industry insiders to be one of the top NLSCs for officers. However, the academic literature is silent about the experiences of officer cadets of their education and training especially those coming from NLSCs.

Using multi-modal data collection tools such as in-depth interviews, field notes and document analysis, this qualitative study examines the experiences of the current and former cadets under the *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs) in the Philippines in order to analyse first-hand experiences of MET.

The key findings of this thesis are: (a) SCPs are officer training platforms developed mainly by shipping companies to meet their sea-based labour needs and intended to comply with the Philippine standards of MET; (b) there are a variety of SCPs from which four models are described in this study; (c) SCPs utilise a ritualistic socialisation of cadets in college campus as key mechanism of training; and (d) there is a diversity of shipboard training experiences of cadets ranging from well-planned training programs to the complete absence of programs.

The thesis concludes the following: (a) the quality of training experienced by the cadets is characterised as a highly regulated and reinforced professionalization process intent on producing certificated officers; (b) the SCPs are routes for migrant work for mainly male Filipinos being guaranteed a post-collegiate sea-based employment by their shipping patrons; (c) the socialisation of the cadets is influenced by processes of globalisation embodied in the global standards of MET enforced locally, and the role of international shipping companies in funding the recruitment and training of cadets as well as offering them post-training employment; and (d) in spite of global and local standards of MET, there is no common or shared understanding of the notion of seafaring competence among the trainers, which have affected the way competencies were taught and assessed.

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Abbreviations

BSMarE	Bachelor of Science in Marine Engineering
BSMT	Bachelor of Science in Marine Transportation
CHED	Commission on Higher Education
DOTC	Department of Trade and Communication
IMO	International Maritime Organization
ISF	International Shipping Federation
MARINA	Maritime Industry Authority
MET	Maritime education and training
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
NLSC	New labour supplying countries
PMMA	Philippine Merchant Marine Academy
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
PRC	Professional Regulations Commission
SCP	Sponsored Cadetship Program
SBT	Shipboard Training
STCW	<i>Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping</i> for seafarers 1978, as amended in 1995 & 2010
TMNs	Traditional Maritime Nations

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

This thesis explores the educational and training experiences of officer cadets in the Philippines as impacted by the nature and intent of the global and national regulations of maritime education and training (MET). It is framed from the perspective of occupational socialisation where education and training are instruments that socially construct seafaring work roles. This perspective of socialisation is possible because the global and local standards of MET prescribe a competence development program for merchant seafarers. As such, MET is perceived as a socializing process because it is intent to develop officer trainees into a competent workforce.

The International Maritime Organization's (IMO) *Standards of Training, Certification, and Watchkeeping* (STCW) for seafarers provide the basic framework for MET of all merchant mariners (IMO, 2011). The STCW is a competence-based education and training framework. It sets the acquisition of competencies as the core responsibilities of those who are in-charge of developing merchant marine officers (IMO, 2011). In this regard, the global and local standards of MET provide the context of the professionalization of the officer trainees into seafaring because these standards regulate the quality of education and training. However, the literature is silent on how seafarer candidates, especially for trainees from the so-called 'new labour supplying countries' (NLSC) such as the Philippines, view and experience maritime education and training.

In the maritime global labour market, the Philippines has become one of the major labour supply countries (Amante 2003; BIMCO/ISF Reports 2000, 2005, 2010; Ellis & Sampson 2003; Mendoza *et al.* 2004). Since the 1970's the Philippine state has developed policies that encouraged labour emigration of its citizens including sea-based workers (Rodriguez, 2010). In the past two decades, the Philippines has become an emerging supplier of merchant marine officers for the global labour market. As a rising supplier of officers, there are a number of questions raised about the quality of MET in the Philippines. Some of these questions are common to NLSC where issues revolve around how and why some NLSC continues to be in disposed or non-compliant to global maritime standards (Obando-Rojas *et al.* 2004; Sampson 2003; Wadeson, 2003; Sampson *et al.*, 2011; Gamboa, 2013; MARITIMA, 2015). Nevertheless, in spite of the issues of (non-) compliance among new labour supply countries, the participation of Filipino seafarers in the labour market appears to be steady, if not increasing in the past 15-20 years (Amante 2003; BIMCO/ISF Reports 2000, 2005, 2010). It clearly shows that the country continues to train officer candidates for the labour market. It is important, therefore, to study how the Filipino officer cadets view and experience MET because their views and experiences could provide information about the education and training of officer candidates from a new labour supply country.

1.1 Research questions and aims

This thesis examines the training experiences of the cadets in order to examine the potential influence of the intent of the global and local standards of MET on the occupational socialisation of officer trainees in the Philippines. As briefly stated above, this thesis frames the relationship between the training experiences of cadets with international and local standards within a theory of occupational socialisation. With this framework, the general

research question is, “What are the ways in which the quality of the training experiences of Filipino cadets reflect the intent of the international and local standards of maritime education and training as the competence development of officers?” Corollary to this general question it particularly asks the following: a) “How do cadets experience training?” b) “What generic areas of officer training programs are directly influenced by the STCW and the national standards and how do these affect officer training? c) “What, how and who are involved in officer training in the Philippines?” and d) “In what ways do the key stakeholders in officer training influence the quality of training and the experiences of training?”

To respond to the research questions, the thesis has three aims. Firstly, to establish the quality of the education and training of the cadets in order to understand how they are professionalized into the seafaring occupation. Secondly, to identify and examine key areas of officer training that the international and local standards influence. Lastly, to evaluate the training experiences of the cadets in order to determine what works or not in developing competencies.

1.2 Overview of the study’s methodology

The thesis used qualitative research. It is anchored on the examination of the quality of the training experiences of former and current cadets recruited into the so-called ‘sponsored cadetship programs’ (SCPs) in the Philippines.

Using interviews, the experiences and the voices of the former and current cadets were afforded central significance because this study aims to understand how the first-hand training experiences could reveal the quality of training of officer candidates. The interview

data was complemented by the use of the other types of data provided by the participants such as government documents, school records, cadetship program files and my own field note. The different sources of data provided the means by which to check the consistency, coherence and veracity of the interview transcripts.

1.3 Overview of the chapters

There are 9 chapters in this thesis. Chapter 1 serves as the introductory chapter where the key research questions and aims focusing on the occupational socialisation of cadets are identified. It also briefly describes the occupational socialisation of cadets as the framework of this study.

Chapter 2. The second chapter reviews the relevant literature in order to establish occupational socialisation as a framework to examine the training experiences of cadets. The chapter develops the particular view of occupational socialisation utilised in this thesis. The occupational socialisation of the cadets developed is based on the relationship between maritime education and training, on the one hand, and a maritime occupational culture, on the other, where both influence the formation of work roles of seafarer candidates. The concepts and arguments in this chapter are taken from different types of literature such as occupational (or professional) socialisation regulations of training, education and training and the regulation and standards of education and training.

Chapter 3. In this chapter, the *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping* (STCW) is examined as regulation and as a competence-based education and training framework. Firstly, Chapter 3 explores how STCW as regulation is understood in the maritime sector and in the literature. Secondly, it also examines how the STCW impacts

on MET as the STCW is framed as a competence-based education and training. Based on the examination of the STCW's as a training framework, the chapter lays down its conceptual perspective that explores how STCW influences the training of merchant seafarers. Chapter 3 borrows concepts from the wider education and training, socialisation, and regulatory literatures that particularly discusses competence-based training framework. Finally, it examines the way MET in the Philippines is evaluated in the academic literature, the grey literature and in the media because of the country's emergence as a supplier of merchant seafarers for the global labour market. It will establish why the Philippines is the chosen case study for this thesis.

Chapter 4. In this chapter, the study's use of qualitative method will be explained. It will primarily develop the study's appropriation of symbolic interactionism as the framework for collecting, constructing and interpreting data on the experiences of cadets of maritime education and training, particularly in the college campus. It does this: firstly by presenting selected elements of symbolic interactionism utilised by this study; secondly, it shows and examines how symbolic interactionism can account for the researcher's fieldwork experiences in collecting and interpreting data in the college campuses; finally, it presents and examines the positionality of the researcher relative to the researched topic as well as the ethical concerns of the study.

Chapters 5 to 7 present key findings. The chapters are designed in such a way that they follow the stages of recruitment, education and training (including the one-year shipboard training of cadets) and the prospects of the eventual employment of officer cadets.

Chapter 5. The chapter presents and explores the nature and functions of the so-called *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs) as the adopted training environment within Philippine maritime education and training (MET). Specifically, it aims to: present and situate the SCPs as the primary learning and training environment of the cadets through which they are socialized into seafaring; identify and describe models of officer training schemes, primarily focusing on what SCPs offer in relation to compliance with global and Philippine standards of MET; and describe and analyse key elements shared by different cadetship schemes, principally examining the use and significance of “Memorandum of Agreement”.

Chapter 6. The chapter presents the experiences of cadets in first of the two stages of MET and viewed as part of the occupational socialisation process that they are going through. Officer training programs follow the training structure prescribed by the STCW, which is a college-based education and training phase and shipboard training phase. It presents and examines the ritualized, regulated and highly reinforced training experiences of cadets under cadetship program. The root metaphor of ritualization of maritime schooling is presented and analysed in this chapter through the different aspects of training practices such as the academic rituals, rituals of fitness, and rituals of everyday presentation of the self.

Chapter 7. This chapter presents the experiences of the cadets of their *shipboard training* (SBT) in order to examine what takes place in competence-based training within the working environment of the commercial vessel. Using data from all the models of sponsored cadetship programs, the data presented here is based on the key themes coming out of the training experiences of the cadets, which are the nature of shipboard training; the

documentation and assessment of competence-based training; and the organization of the shipboard training in relation to the practical management of work-based training.

Chapter 8. This chapter examines critically key findings of this study focused on the quality of the experiences of maritime education and training of the officer cadets in order to understand the impact of the global and local standards on officer training. These findings are focused on three key elements of the quality of the experiences of MET under the *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs): first, the quality of the professionalization of the future labourers arising from the training programs; second, the key stakeholders that influence the quality of education and training and their potential effects to the socialisation of the trainees; and finally the regulation of competencies focusing on the on-the-job training and its assessment, and how these contribute in competence development.

Chapter 9. This concluding chapter starts with revisiting the background of the study and summarizes its key findings. The key findings concern: the variety of the sponsored cadetship programs, which included different organisational and training practices; the quality of the training under sponsored cadetships; the gaps between the college-based education and the shipboard training of the trainees in relation to the training methods used in developing competencies; and the sponsorship role played by the ship owners and/or companies as a key trait in the development and management of officer cadetships. Each finding will be explained in how each has affected the experiences of the trainees within the framework of MET as the process of competence acquisition. The discussion of the findings will be followed by the presentation of the contributions of this study, particularly in relation to the literature on maritime education and training of seafarers from new labour

supply countries. Finally, this thesis ends by exploring potential future research areas including research on education, training and the professionalization of the labour force.

CHAPTER 2

OCUPATIONAL SOCIALISATION, SEAFARING'S OCUPATIONAL CULTURE AND CADET TRAINING

Introduction

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature in understanding the training experiences of officer cadets through the lens of occupational socialisation. In reviewing the literature, the chapter aims to (a) define occupational socialisation and explain how it is used in sociological and specific seafaring literatures, and (b) identify the salient characteristics of shipboard occupational culture of merchant seafarers from the literature, especially after World War II, and how this has a bearing on the socialisation of cadets. Once, these aims are reviewed, the chapter will conclude by constructing a view on how the occupational culture of merchant mariners influences the occupational socialisation of officer cadets.

For the first aim, Sections 2.1 and 2.2 will explore the literature on occupational socialisation, particularly using the core elements of socialisation (i.e., education and training), to examine the experiences of officer cadets. For the second aim, Section 2.3 looks at the characterisation of seafaring's occupational culture, especially after World War II, and how this affects the education and training of seafarer candidates. Section 2.4 reviews the regulatory environment of the maritime sector, chiefly the standards of MET in an attempt to examine how the standards influence officer training in the Philippines. Lastly, this chapter ends with some concluding remarks.

2.1 Occupational socialisation of merchant marine cadets

This section presents and justifies the use of this thesis of the theory of occupational in understanding the experiences of officer cadets. This thesis shares the view of occupational socialisation where education and training are processes that cultivate and develop the learning of seafaring competencies of officer cadets. To unpack the appropriation of the theory of occupational socialisation, this section examines the elements of one classical theory of occupational socialisation (Merton *et al.*, 1957) in order to determine what processes shape the formation of work-related roles, and which aspects of officer training are potentially different from other forms of occupational socialisation. Central to Robert Merton's (1957) classical theory of occupational socialisation is the idea that (a) the formal structure of education and training; and (b) work-based training in the form of apprenticeship, are significant contributory processes in shaping work roles because the school and the workplace (i.e., the hospital) were considered as the socializing agencies that transform the students into medical doctors.

However, this thesis does not necessarily accept the view of Merton *et al.* (1957) that the students are passive recipients of what is given to them through education and training. On the contrary, this thesis assumes that officer cadets are engaged in actively making sense of their training experiences because, as will be shown in this thesis, they are aware of the important issues surrounding seafarers' training and the realities surrounding the working lives of Filipino international seafarers. Next, I will discuss the meaning of occupational socialisation in the literature and how this thesis appropriates this concept.

2.1.1 What is occupational socialisation?

Academic understanding of occupational socialisation began with Merton and associates' research in medical schools (see Merton *et al.*, 1957). Merton *et al.* defined occupational socialisation as designating

the processes by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interest, skills, and knowledge- in short, the culture-current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become, a member. It refers to the learning of social roles... (Merton *et al.*, 1957: 287)

This definition of socialisation has been considered a classical one as it established a link between formal education and training and how these affect the formation of the social (i.e., occupational) roles of trainees. To establish this link Merton and his colleagues studied how the medical school became a socializing institution, and medical students the passive recipients of the medical curriculum and training in both the school and the hospital. The significance of Merton's definition is that it treats the experiences of medical students as a prototype case of the transformative effect of education and training in the sociology of work and the occupations.

Merton's definition of occupational socialisation has led to its application to different occupations such as nursing (see for example Melia, 1987) and teaching (see for example Battersby, 1983). Melia's deployment of occupational socialisation involved the process of "how newcomers to nursing are made aware not only of the activities involved in nursing, but also of how nursing is practiced on a daily basis by qualified nurses" (Melia, 1987: 1). Battersby defined teacher's socialisation as "an overarching process whereby the individual engages in role learning which results in the situational adjustment (passive or active) of the individual to the culture of the (teaching) profession" (Battersby, 1983: 327). Both

definitions identified the processual nature of the educational experiences of trainees with the view that they learn their future roles as practitioners of nursing and teaching, respectively. These definitions (Merton, 1957; Melia, 1987 & Battersby, 1993) emphasised key concepts such as the processual nature of socialisation; acquisition of knowledge, skills and values; and the trainee's relationships within a group or community for the purpose of gaining entry and participation to an occupational group. At this point, the significance of these definitions to this thesis is that they have linked an individual's experience with formal education and training and processes (e.g., entry to an occupation) that broadly constitute the socialisation of trainees.

The theory of occupational socialisation utilised in this thesis will be anchored to the acknowledgment of a relationship between formal education and training, on-the-job training experience and the occupational (sub)culture of merchant seafaring. This has great importance in relation to the development of officer mariners and I expand these in the following sections.

2.1.2 Core elements of Merton's Theory of Occupational Socialisation

This section aims to identify and appropriate key elements from Merton's classical theory of occupational socialisation in medical sociology discussed above and apply them to merchant marine officer training. It was shown above that the definitions of occupational socialisation utilised education and training as socializing processes that contribute to learning work roles. This study views the same factors (i.e., education and training) as influential and transformative processes in the socialisation of officer cadets. That is, education and training in occupational socialisation literature is about preparing and transforming trainees to be practitioners of an occupation.

As mentioned, Merton's notion of occupational socialisation is associated with medical practice. That is, medical education and training are closely associated within medical practice. Traditionally, medical training included two stages, preclinical and clinical. Hence, like most training schools for other occupations, a medical school is a 'transitory space' for students to progress from being outsiders to insiders. The first stage, at the time of Merton's writing was considered as a rigid pre-clinical structure of lectures and laboratory work for the first two years (Lempp, 2009). The second stage is a clinical stage where medical students apply their pre-clinical theoretical knowledge within a practical context and they become medical apprentices. This is also a period where students look forward to entering the 'real world of medicine' in their final year of training (Lempp, 2009). From this description, education and training are important stages before, and for the sake of, medical practice. This notion of medical practice is directly associated with the application of theoretical knowledge to actual and diverse job settings within medicine. This idea of practice, first applied in medicine, has become a truism for other occupations as well such as engineering, law, nursing and teaching, to name a few, where practice means the application of what was theoretically learned to the everyday problems and concerns of an occupation.

In addition, the socialisation literature has examined the status of the distinctive role of socialisation taking place during on the job training. Section 2.1.4 below looks at this distinctive phase by examining the literature on apprenticeships, or work-based training. However, a brief note regarding some limitations of the proposed model of occupational socialisation in this study may prove helpful to locate it in the literature.

2.1.3 A brief note on some limitations of occupational socialisation

It may appear that the view of socialisation utilised here is a linear and homogenous process. Far from that view this thesis acknowledges, firstly, socialisation is a complex process. Lacey (1977, 2012) argued that socialisation is a partial, incomplete and rarely homogenous process. He illustrated this from a wide variety of interesting case material to show how student teachers adapt their responses to different classroom situations (Lacey, 2012). Following this insight, this study is fundamentally saying that cadet socialisation takes place through a formal organisation of MET that in the last 30 plus years was regulated by global standards (developed in Section 2.4 below and primarily in Chapter 3). It remains to be seen how cadets will experience MET as socializing process.

Secondly, there have been changes in medical training since the time of Merton, which have impacted the education and training requirements of different occupations including medicine. Broadly, one of these important changes fall under the umbrella term called ‘professionalization movement’ (discussed below in Section 2.2). Of primary importance to this thesis is the relationship between the state’s power to regulate the education and training requirements of every occupation. This relationship was not the original focus of Merton’s idea of occupational socialisation; unlike this study that acknowledges the central role of regulation in the occupational socialisation of cadets. This chapter will now turn to the particular phase in the socialisation of trainees, which is the apprenticeship or on-the-job training period.

2.1.4 Socialisation, apprenticeships and work-based training

This section reviews what the literature claims about the function of apprenticeships or work placement of trainees in the context of professionalizing the future workforce in order

to understand how these views contribute in understanding the training of cadets. Particularly, this section examines the literature on the role of apprenticeship within the structure of regulated education and training programs. The first relevant claim from the literature about apprenticeship or on-the-job training is that the apprenticeship or on-the-job training is normally required as part of the professionalization of the future workforce (Sinclair, 1997; Gospel & Fuller, 1998). For example, medical education and training as well as training programs similar to it (e.g., nursing) assume that the best way to educate students is through a two-phase program, a theoretical and classroom-based phase and an ‘on-the-job/field-based’ apprenticeship phase (Melia, 1987; Sinclair, 1997; Lempp, 2009). Secondly, these two phases are imagined to be complementary components of the education and training processes. Thirdly, the professions and/or the state regulate these two phases of education and training including how apprenticeships or clinical training are managed and delivered (Lempp, 2009).

The three fore-going claims about the role of apprenticeship in the occupational socialisation of trainees could be argued to be functioning in the training of seafarers. This means that contemporary seafarers’ education and training follow the same pattern of a theory, college-based education and a sea-time “practical training and experience” (IMO, 2011) and that these two phases of education and training are considered complementary. Like most contemporary occupations including the traditional professions of medicine and law, seafarers’ training is also regulated by the state but with a very distinctive difference compared to most occupations, seafarers’ education and training are based on global standards, the *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping* for seafarers (IMO, 2011; discussed in Chapter 3).

In the literature, the sea-time training of cadets is one of the important and controversial aspects of cadetship training because the global standards is not clear whether it is an apprenticeship system or not (Gould, 2010). Gould (2010) referred to it as a ‘quasi-apprenticeship’ because for her a cadet may not necessarily be trained by a dedicated trainer or ‘master’ like in the traditional apprenticeships. Moreover, in the literature the concept of modern apprenticeship is employed in order to understand the apprenticeship training programs because of the role that employers play in the training system. Modern apprenticeship maybe defined as

...a structured programme of vocational preparation, sponsored by an employer, juxtaposing part-time education with on-the-job training and work experience, leading to a recognised vocational qualification at craft or higher level, and taking at least two years to finish to complete, after requisite general education (Ryan & Unwin, 2001: 100).

What the above extract means for this section means is that apprenticeship usually involves the commitment of employers to provide a work experience for trainees as part of the formal learning process where trainees are given formal qualifications. In the maritime literature, Ghosh and Bowles (2013) noted the difficulty of the Australian cadets to find employers (i.e., ship owners or shipping companies) to provide them with a training berth aboard a vessel. This difficulty means that cadets do not complete their maritime training and the potential benefits of work-based training. However, for the main purpose of this section Shilling (1987) raised a valid question almost 30 years ago that continues to reverberate today in any training program that has a work-experience component. Shilling (1987) questioned the fundamental function of the work-experience of trainees whether it should either emphasize the educational function, which is learning in a workplace, or the employment function, where work-experience is used as a recruitment strategy or worse

cheap labour for some employers (Shilling, 1987). In the same vein, this thesis intends to explore the function of the sea-time training of cadets and what it contributes to the socialisation of the cadets.

Finally, the literature suggests the concept of ‘communities of practice’ as a potentially rich framework in understanding the process of socialisation taking place in education and training especially during apprenticeships (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Fuller & Unwin, 1998). Lave and Wenger defined communities of practice as “a set of relations among persons, activity and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice” (1991: 98). However, for the theoretical purposes of this study, this thesis will utilise mainly the notion of occupational socialisation as it overlaps with the professionalization of seafarers within the context of the processes of globalisation (particularly the use of global standards for the education, training and certification of seafarers). In other words, although this study acknowledges the promising concept of communities of practice as a theoretical frame, this thesis believes that the notions of occupational socialisation and the professionalization of the workforce described in this chapter are sufficient enough to examine the educational and training experiences of Filipino cadets.

2.1.5 Remarks of the section

This section has briefly reviewed Merton’s definition of occupational socialisation and how this was used in other occupations such as teaching. For the purposes of this study, occupational socialisation of cadets is anchored to the relationship between an individual’s experience and formal education and training, where the latter contributes to shaping work roles of future officers. The view of occupational socialisation of cadets put forward in this

thesis is rooted in the belief, implicit in occupational socialisation, that in order to properly prepare cadets to perform their future work roles as officers of merchant navy, they should be educated not only theoretically but they should also be trained in the real workplace environment of a commercial vessel.

To widen the view of the occupational socialisation of cadets, occupations such as teaching have also been examined through the perspective of ‘professionalization movement’ in order to locate the role of education and training within the organisation of work (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). That is to say that professional movement means initiatives within occupations to classify themselves respectively as a ‘profession’. This drive by occupations to transform themselves includes key elements that ‘professionalize’ an occupation. Some of these elements will be examined next as they have a bearing on the structure of the training of cadets.

2.2 Effects of ‘professionalization movement’ of occupations on cadet training

Academics have examined the differences between occupations and professions using different perspectives from their semantic history, and other theories such as trait theory¹ to issues of power relationships (see Becker, 1962; Wilensky, 1964; Freidson, 1986). Part of this discussion on the differences of occupations and professions is the so-called ‘professionalization movement’ that has taken place in various occupations such as medicine (see for example Waddington, 1990), teaching (see for example Labaree, 1992),

¹ Trait theory, in the social sciences, means the identification and usage of traits or series of traits and distinctive practices that differentiate a profession from other occupations or workers. The theory includes ownership of a specialized body of knowledge, skills and a code of ethics (see Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1964).

and nursing (see for example Coburn, 1988; Rispel & Schneider, 1991). The key question in this movement is, ‘What does it mean to professionalize an occupation?’ Labaree (1992) argued that there are few key elements in an occupation’s claim to be a profession: formal knowledge and workplace autonomy. These two elements are also considered to be the core characteristics that constitute what people mean ordinarily by ‘profession’ (Labaree, 1992; see also Wilensky, 1964; Marshall, 1998). However, this view according to Siegrist (1994) may have overlooked the role of the state and government within the professionalization movement. Some academics correctly pointed out the important role of the state and government in granting to professions their status and regulating their activities (Parkin, 1974; Freidson, 1986; Siegrist, 1994).

Freidson (1986, 1994) and Labaree (1998) argued that for an occupational group to ensure themselves of enhancing their social status, and income must establish their technical expert knowledge and competencies, and the societal usefulness of these in exchange for technical autonomy. This technical autonomy, in turn, is manifested through the practical application of the experts’ knowledge to societal problems. In other words, technical autonomy comes with the professional knowledge and expertise of the members of an occupation because the expert decisions of the members of a profession or occupation are assumed to be rooted in specialised knowledge and/or skills (see Freidson, 1994). This process, where an occupation possesses and uses specific technical knowledge and competencies, and translate these into practices that the wider society consider as valuable, has been referred to as ‘social closure’(see Parkin, 1974). For Parkin, social closure is a mode of exclusion characterised by “institutional practices by which social groups seek to maximize rewards by closing off resources and opportunities to others, on whatever basis” (Parkin, 1974: 9). Parkin (1974) used as an example examination certificates as one of the practices where

one social group (e.g., members of an occupation) could legally control resources such as entry into an occupation and its rewards (i.e., remuneration). Some regulatory scholars refer to this form of control of professions as private regulation.² Social closure (Parkin, 1974) can be achieved through rights granted by the state, where an occupation and/or the state sets the entry and exit criteria to an occupation usually marked at least by a tertiary education (Freidson, 1986). In addition, Siegrist (1994) noted that contemporary occupations are mostly regulated either or both by professional associations and/or governments. Siegrist observed that the development of professionalized groups was based on “the role and significance of state, government and legislation” (Siegrist, 1994: 8). In other words, the professionalization movement cannot be separated from how a state achieved regulatory powers over different occupations, whether the state was being led by the elite of an occupation or the state itself created its professional groups, for instance in authoritarian states (Siegrist, 1994).

The primary importance in the literature on professionalization movement in relation to this thesis is the development of the role of a central regulatory body that controls entry into an occupation such as credentialism. In the literature, credentialism is a “process of social selection in which class advantage and social status are linked to the possession of academic qualifications” (Marshall, 1998: 125). In addition, this regulatory body sets the standards of performance of individual members of an occupation such as through credentialism; a code of conduct; management of knowledge associated with the technical

² Private regulation means the capacity of non-state organizations such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private firms, groups or individuals to perform some of the regulatory and/or statutory functions of the state (Scott, 2002). This capacity is either delegated or contracted out by the state to a private regulator. Also, some of the private regulators are conferred a legal mandate to perform regulatory roles (Scott, 2002). This form of regulation will be discussed in Chapter 3.

expertise of an occupation; and lastly, control of numbers, recruitment, selection, and training of new entrants (Freidson, 1986; Marshall, 1998). Freidson claimed that

the most impressive form of credentialism works to produce an occupational cartel, which gains and preserves monopolistic control over the supply of a good or service in order to enhance the income of (an occupation's) members (Freidson, 1986: 63).

Though this monopoly has rarely been achieved in reality, the message is quite clear: for one to become a practitioner of an occupation or profession, one must possess the correct credentials. Credentialism is normally supported by the state through occupational licensing, in which licenses such as diploma, certificates and degrees are issued to individual members of an occupation (Freidson, 1986). These licenses warrant the holder's competence to practice in a certain job role.

Thus, the key elements in the professionalization movement that appear to have a bearing on the training of cadets are the management of technical knowledge associated with performing job roles; a regulatory body that warrants such training and licenses the practice of an occupation; and the role of a code of conduct particularly in the professional conduct of practitioners, be this code of conduct formal or informal. That is, a code of conduct or code of ethics is either a formal (i.e., written) or informal (i.e., unwritten) code that guides the proper performance of the duties and obligations of a profession or occupation (see Freidson, 1994). These elements are useful in understanding the process of the occupational socialisation of cadets as these include the elements mentioned in Section 2.1.2, formal education and training as part of the occupational socialisation of cadets. In addition, Merton *et al.* (1957) also recognized that the induction of trainees into an occupation's code of conduct, whether formal or informal, is necessary as it serves a socializing function by

introducing the norms and values that underpin the expert knowledge and practice of an occupation. That is to say, in the sociological literature of medicine the structure and process of training in a medical school have been viewed as a means of reproducing and maintaining medicine's occupational culture with its power, privileges, norms and values, through the students' learning experiences (see also Childress, 1982 and Witz, 1992 for details of the kind of norms and values thus instituted).

2.2.1 Remarks of the section

Though this thesis is not about settling the concept of whether seafaring is a profession or not, this section on professionalization movement is useful as it provides the significant constituents that overlap with occupational socialisation which frames the training of cadets. These elements are the role of education and training and how these are regulated and managed through, for example, licensing. Finally, the role of a code of conduct of an occupation is also considered as a core component not only in professionalization movement but also in occupational socialisation. In the following section (Section 2.3), the occupational culture that underpins the formal and informal codes of conduct of seafarers will be discussed in relation to its significance in the socialisation of cadets.

2.3 Characterisation of shipboard occupational culture of merchant seafarers and its influence on cadet training

The focus of this section is the characterisation of shipboard occupational culture and how it potentially influences cadet training. This occupational culture is based on the experiences of developed and traditional maritime nations such as the UK, USA and Scandinavian countries, particularly before and after the Second World War because most of the literature reviewed is based on these maritime nations. Although there is no explicitly

agreed definition for the concept of ‘traditional maritime nations’ (TMNs), Alderton *et al.* (2004) have described these as states that have a tradition in (a) building, owning, and registering ships under their respective ‘flag’, (b) regulating their maritime affairs efficiently, (c) training seafarers, and (d) financing and insuring ships. TMNs collectively have well-researched and richly documented accounts of the occupational culture of seafaring. Given the complexity and depth of seafaring’s history that goes back thousands of years (see Hope, 2001), this section deals with the characterisation of the contemporary shipboard occupational culture of merchant seafarers. The period after World War II has seen key changes in the maritime industry affecting the occupational culture on board and hence this time frame is the focused here. This section explores these changes and subsequently associate them later on with the values, norms and practices that currently underpin standards of cadet training anchored on the concept of safety (developed in Chapter 3).

Occupational culture is considered as a subculture in sociology and Christensen and Crank described it as a selective and task-based version of organisational culture that is shaped by the socially relevant worlds of the occupation (Christensen & Crank, 2001). Paoline (2003: 2) defined it as “a product of the various situations and problems which all vocational members confront and to which they equally respond”. This notion of occupational culture has been used to examine different occupations such as the police (Fielding, 1984; Christensen & Crank, 2001), nurses (Melia, 1987; Coburn, 1988), and teachers (Labaree, 1992; Osam & Balbay, 2004). In addition, in sociology the study of socialisation is considered in relation to the idea of culture. Culture concerns the ideational and social objects, practices and activities, which have, among other things, symbolic intent and social functions (Turner, 1969). Thus, this notion of occupational culture frames the examination

of cadet socialisation as it provides the context for the socialisation of the cadets. Seafaring occupational culture is discussed next.

2.3.1 Seafaring occupational culture

Seafaring's occupational culture is said to be very traditional (Fricke, 1973; Hopwood, 1973; Hope, 2001; Mack, 2007). It is traditional in the sense that values, practices and symbols have been passed on from generation to generation of seafarers (Marshall, 1998). It can also be thought of as traditional in the negative sense, which means being resistant to change such as the difficulty of integrating women seafarers. For centuries this occupation was also characterised as (a) dangerous (Li & Wonham, 2001; Hansen *et al.* 2002; Roberts, 2002; Roberts & Marlow, 2005; Walters & Bailey, 2013), (b) enclosed in a mobile working and living environment (Knudsen, 2005; Sampson, 2013), (c) hierarchical, coupled with a closed knit society with defined roles and tasks for each crewmember (Lane, 1986; Knudsen, 2005; Sampson, 2013), (d) dominated by shipboard work (Sampson, 2013) and influenced by changing technologies (Sampson & Wu, 2003; Kahveci & Nichols, 2006; Swift, 2011), (e) a set of routinised and ritualized tasks (Lamvik, 2002; Knudsen, 2005; Sampson, 2013), (f) male-dominated (Demsey & Foster, 1998; Thomas, 2004; Kitada, 2010), and (g) isolated and divided from life at shore (Sampson & Thomas, 2003; Thomas *et al.*, 2003; Oldenburg *et al.*, 2010; Acejo, 2013).³

³ Recognizing this characterisation of seafaring, it is not difficult to see that a number of academic works viewed shipboard organisation as an example of Erving Goffman's 'total institution' (see especially Gould, 2010; see also Walters & Bailey, 2013; Knudsen, 2005). Goffman (1961) described the total institution as a social mixture, part residential community and part formal organisation. On the contrary, Nolan (1973) raised a caveat of the idea of a ship as 'total institution' by saying that seafarers are not the same as other members of other total institutions like prisons. Unlike prisoners, seafarers have real and free choices from which to build on a meaningful employment and consequently from which to fashion an occupational identity (Nolan, 1973: 90).

From the fore-going list, seafaring shares some of these aspects with other occupations such as medicine (Merton *et al.*, 1957), and the police (Fielding, 1988). These occupations share almost the same features where trainees are located in the same working and living space, mostly isolated from wider society, and where the working environment is male-dominated and hierarchical. Nevertheless, these characterisations are prominent in seafaring. What distinguishes seafaring from these other occupations with the exception of the traditional training hospital (Lempp, 2009; see Melia, 1987) or police training (Fielding, 1988) are probably the mobile and enclosed nature of its social and working spaces (i.e., the ship), its highly globalised activities (including the use of global standards of seafarers' education, training and certification), and the dangers posed by the deep oceans.

Significantly, post-World War II, in particular the post-1970's changed seafaring's occupational culture because of changes in the maritime sector. Particular factors were (a) a more pronounced multi-national crewing (Alderton *et al.*, 2004) including ethnicised crewing practices (Chin, 2008), (b) effects brought about by technologies in general and particularly, information and communication technology (ICT) (Kahveci & Nichols, 2006; Sampson & Tang, 2011), and (c) introduction of international regulations for shipboard training, work and roles through the IMO's and ILO's international conventions including the regulations for maritime education and training (MET). These transformations though are not unique to seafaring, as they have also been noted in other occupations primarily because of the changes in the global political economy after the Second World War.⁴ How

⁴The concept of globalisation is relevant here. Among the many definitions of globalisation, it is thought to be the flows and counter-flows of capital, goods, technology, and people (Stiglitz 2002: 9-10). One thread of globalisation focuses on the development of the global economy characterised by a neo-liberal capitalist economic system or neoliberalism. Neoliberalism 'is characterized by a move to open markets, low state intervention, free movement of capital and goods and privatisation of previously nationalised industries'

these new aspects impact on officer training practices, particularly the globally regulated nature of seafarers' MET pose some challenges to cadet training and these will be addressed in the following account. Before I attempt to establish a link between the occupational culture of seafaring with cadet socialisation, I discuss the characterisations of seafaring's occupational culture in more detail.

2.3.2 The merchant ship as a dynamic socio-temporal space

In this section I am going to explain how academics have argued that the unique features of maritime occupational culture can be understood using the ideas of space and community. Three generally important contributions of social science in researching the merchant ship are the introduction of the concepts that: (a) a vessel is a social space (Lane, 1986; Knudsen, 2005; Sampson, 2013) bounded in a temporal dimension (Lamvik, 2002; Sampson & Wu, 2003), (b) a ship is a symbolic space (van Wijk & Finchilescu, 2008), and (c) seafaring constitutes 'an occupational community' (Fricke, 1993). These concepts are used to frame the following section by delineating characteristics of seafaring occupational culture that not only contextualize but may also affect the training of cadets, wherever this is situated.

One central sociological concept that permeates maritime social science literature is that a ship is a social space (Knudsen, 2005; Sampson, 2013) with its own time dimension (Lamvik, 2002; Sampson & Wu, 2003; Knudsen, 2009). This attribution of the physical space as a social space is not unique to maritime literature. Scholars have studied the close

(Mooney & Evans 2007: 176-177). Globalisation also included migration of workers such as nurses (see Choy, 2003), engineers and others (see Mahroum, 2000).

association between physical space and social space in different contexts like factories (see Burawoy, 1979), prisons (see Goffman, 1961; Foucault, 1975), and medical schools (see Merton *et al.*, 1957; Becker *et al.*, 1961), to name but a few. Assuming a ship to be a social space underpins the examination of human relationships. Fricke noted that “the relationships (of seafarers) derived from working and living with others, from engaging in interdependent activities, are social relationships, and form the basis for the development of an occupational community” (MacIver, 1924: 6, cited in Fricke, 1973: 1). Like other occupational groups, seafaring has been viewed as an occupational community. The notion of occupational community was introduced by van Maanen and Barley (1982). Where

by occupational community, we mean a group of people who consider themselves to be engaged in the same sort of work; who identify (more or less positively) with their work; who share with one another a set of values, norms, and perspectives that apply to, but extend beyond, work related matters; and whose social relationships meld the realms of work and leisure’ (van Maanen & Barley, 1982: 12).

The concept of an occupational community is an important tool in the analysis of seafaring, which includes amongst its values, practices and criteria for membership the importance of education, training, and qualifications in order to become a seafarer (Knudsen 2005; Sampson, 2013). As an occupational community, it also has its own ‘symbolic social spaces’ expressed within its physical spaces. For example, Knudsen (2005) observed a clear dividing line between public and private spaces aboard a ship where access to each space is codified. A private space could be a cabin, while a public space is a mess hall. The function of a particular room aboard becomes a function of human social space along a continuum of private and public spaces. In effect, our ordinary distinction between private and public space appears to be blurred once aboard ships.

In addition, the conception of a community is associated with its temporal dimension such as cycles of work and leisure (van Maanen & Barley, 1982). This is also observed in the temporal dimension of a ship manifested in the different cycles that take place aboard and ashore. This cycle is reported to affect the social roles of seafarers both on board (Sampson, 2013) and ashore (Acejo, 2013). The first cycle is the embarkation aboard and disembarkation of crews based on their working contracts. Each crewmember boards and disembarks according to a fixed time contract with an employer. Acejo's study (2013) indicated how international seafarers negotiate their social roles back home as husbands and fathers within the cycle of working on board and while off duty on shore. Sampson (2013) argued that international seafarers are transnationals in the sense that they find themselves living lives embedded in two places, the ship and their local communities. On board ship, the ship's dynamic rhythm is portrayed in the literature to be dulled by repetitive tasks (Walker *et al.*, 2003), constraints of physical space, and the highly regulated work functions of each crewmember. This dynamic rhythm is dictated by work with its cycle of 'watches of duties' and rest, loading and unloading cargoes, and the boarding and disembarking of crewmembers. Aboard, shifts or watches are typically four straight hours of watchkeeping duties, followed by a period of rest. Leisure activities of seafarers are scheduled too and due to the physical constraint of the vessel, it is inevitable that they spend or are forced to spend their leisure time with their crewmates, or alone if they so choose. In ports, seafarers could work for longer hours sometimes working for 24 straight hours or more (van Wijk & Finchelisu, 2008; Sampson, 2013).

Based on the above descriptions of the ship as a community, with its time and space characteristics, a training program for cadets cannot but take into consideration these spatial and temporal aspects as they appear to dictate the organisation of work and life aboard.

What follows is another important sociological concept found in sociological literature on occupations that is also central in describing a ship: which is hierarchy.

2.3.3 Hierarchy of work roles and its symbols

In maritime social science literature, hierarchy refers to the structure of work roles and the authority and power (or lack thereof) of each role within an organisation, such as a shipping company or a ship (Nolan, 1973; Lane, 1986; Sampson, 2013). The roots and value of this work-based structure are based on seafaring tradition which “has grown up over a long period of time and has inevitably been influenced by past needs” (Rochdale committee, 1970 cited in Fricke, 1973: 3). This thesis will assume that shipboard hierarchical structure affects the occupational education and training of cadets based on the following arguments.

Shipboard hierarchy is based on distinctions between ranks, which in turn are based on qualifications, education and training. So, the social position of a seafarer aboard is based on his/her rank, or absence thereof such as for a rating. The rank in turn is based on qualifications earned through years of education, training and sea-based work experience. Some, like Chin (2006), added nationality, ethnicity, gender and class as part of shipboard hierarchy. Lane (1986), Knudsen (2005), and Sampson (2013) reported divisions among seafarers based on rank (senior officers, junior officers and ratings), function or department (deck and engine departments, and to some degree galley or kitchen department) and nationality. Sampson described a ship’s captain as the one who “controls not only the work aboard the vessel but the living arrangements” as well (Sampson, 2013: 79). The captain, also referred to as the ‘master’⁵, is in charge of the entire ship and especially in ‘deck’

⁵ In the STCW, the official term for the captain is the Master Mariner.

works (i.e., works of deck department). The master supervises the tasks of a few other similarly trained deck personnel or 'officers'. In turn, these officers (i.e., chief officer, second officer and so on) exercise delegated 'authority' over the 'deck hands' or the ratings. The engineering department is responsible for the care, maintenance and repair of a vessel's engine including other mechanical, electrical and, in more recent ships, computer equipment and appliances. In similar hierarchical structure as the deck department, the chief engineer is the highest authority in the engine department down to the engine ratings. However, in the overall structure of a ship the captain or master has authority over the chief engineer and the rest.


Chin (2008) argued that seafaring labour in cruise ships is mediated by identity modalities of nationality, race/ethnicity, gender and class. Hence, in cruise ships one finds

officers (from the Global North) have their own cabins on upper decks, and can dine with passengers or in officers' dining rooms, the majority of the crew (from the Global South) share cabins on lower decks (three or four, to as many as six seafarers in a cabin) and are required to dine in staff mess halls (Chin, 2008: 11).

Chin (2008) is presenting a clear division of labour based not only on qualifications but also on gender, nationality, ethnicity and class. However, the difference of Chin's argument is that on cruise ships there are many more different sectors of shipboard employment compared to non-cruise merchant vessels (e.g., tankers and cargo ships) (Chin, 2008). On board cruise ships, hotel and hospitality sectors are important departments that are not needed aboard cargo vessels, for example. Nevertheless, Chin (2008) calls attention to a highly segmented crewing practice that may take place not only in cruise ships but possibly in other types of vessels as well.

The structured and ritualistic working patterns aboard are based on the defined work roles of deck officers, engineering officers and ratings. Sampson (2013) illustrated this hierarchy using the following table (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Hierarchy of work roles, adopted from Sampson (2013).

Senior Officers	Junior officers	Petty Officers	Ratings
Captain/Master	Second officer	Bosun	Able Bodied Seaman (AB)
Chief engineer	Third officer	Pumpman	Ordinary Seaman
Chief officer	Cadet	Chief steward	Oiler/motorman
First/second engineer	Second engineer	Electrician	Wiper
	Third Engineer	Reefer engineer	Second cook
	Fourth engineer	Carpenter	Messman
		Fitter	
Direction of descending authority			

The table reveals the roles of each crewmember through the use of traditional and symbolic designations such as ‘master’ down to ‘ordinary seaman’. It also depicts the defined roles of each crewmember based on rank and department (i.e., engine, deck and to some extent the galley). As mentioned above, the shifts or watchkeeping duties are routines. These duties are allocated and show a definite division of labour ordered from top to bottom. As a consequence, these routines become ritualized due to the highly defined, predictable and

rigid work patterns. Given this account, changes in the shipping industry in the latter part of the 20th century codified these defined work roles of ranking and non-ranking crewmembers that buttress shipboard hierarchical relationships. The maritime industry introduced a regulatory strategy embodied in the IMO's maritime conventions that solidified shipboard hierarchical relationships based on ranks.

The notion of regulatory strategy and the IMO conventions will be introduced below (Section 2.4). For now, suffice to say that with the introduction of international conventions that included the identification and definition of work roles and functions aboard the vessel based on traditional roles, the different ranks that constituted the hierarchy aboard have been codified and regulated. Moreover, within this development in the maritime sector, a competency-based framework was developed that underpins the education and training of merchant mariners (developed in Chapter 3). In effect, this hierarchical trait⁶ of seafaring will inevitably affect cadet training because of the codification of shipboard work roles and functions. However, as to how it will actually affect the training experiences of cadets remain to be seen.

2.3.4 The ship as a symbolic space of power relationships

The hierarchical relationship aboard ships is also symbolic of the power relations of crewmembers (van Wijk & Finchelisu, 2008). As discussed above, the authority and power of those on the upper echelons aboard appears to be (re-)produced and maintained by the occupational environment and culture of seafaring especially with the codification of

⁶ Seafaring's occupational culture shares this hierarchical depiction with other hierarchical occupations such as the police (Fielding, 1988), and medicine (Merton *et al.*, 1957). Therefore, this trait is not unique to seafaring.

shipboard work roles (Hope, 2001). Each seafarer occupies not only a physical workspace within a 24-hour continuum (i.e., time) but also a symbolic one ordered by the structure of shipboard hierarchy and the power implicit in it. The commands of the captain are the manifestations of his/her authority and power aboard. For crewmembers, the orders of the captains are as real as the anchor of the ship. However, hierarchical relationships are always complex and are not as simple as 'giving orders'. Where power and authority are involved in social organisations, these are manifested in their functions and symbols including the knowledge base and language (see Foucault, 1982 & 1989).

The power of this seafaring tradition has been expressed and passed on through important and established symbols such as shipboard language or terms, artefacts, and other forms and practices. In the literature, there are some powerful symbols that convey prestige and power, or the lack of it. These are rituals (e.g., hand salutes, marches, mass or religious services), artefacts (e.g., uniforms), and metaphors (e.g., the use of titles of honours or ranks) (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). The study of van Wijk and Finchelisu's (2008) examined the use of symbols in terms of both their descriptive and prescriptive effects to assess the integration of women into a navy. For example, van Wijk and Finchelisu (2008) examined how the naval uniform of women were used to control women and their identity in the navy. Van Wijk and Finchelisu (2008) illustrated how women sailors were required a dress even though such design is impractical aboard the vessel because of the many stairs aboard the ship. In effect, the women's uniform was symbolic of how unwelcoming the military naval culture to women because their uniform was used to assert the control of men over women.

Rituals are events or endeavours that involve particular repetitive patterns which communicate symbolic and meaningful features (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Salutes, marches, or a religious service function as rituals: these actions or events express power relations, meanings, or organisational values and attitudes. Artefacts such as physical objects, dress (e.g., uniforms), logos, a school building, or a ship represent respectively certain meanings within an organisation or within a sector (Jones, 1996).

Metaphors are “culturally rich verbal expressions” (Alvesson & Billing, 1997: 109) or verbal symbols that construct “vocabularies to facilitate and guide interpretations” (Alvesson & Billing, 1997: 112). For example, the use of words to represent ranks on board merchant ships, such as ‘captain’, ‘chief mate’, ‘third officer’ and so on. Van Wijk & Finchelisu (2008) found out that among the sailors there was ambivalence in the use of these verbal symbols to integrate women in a naval culture characterised as ‘a man’s world’. The ambivalence came from how sailors used these symbols to both maintain the masculine tradition of naval culture while at the same time communicating that the symbols could be used to integrate women (van Wijk & Finchelisu, 2008). The merchant navy shares the use of some of these symbols with its military naval counterpart. The titles of merchant officers are obviously derived from its military counterpart without the benefits that the state awards to its commissioned officers. Like its military counterpart, the merchant navy also maintains certain values and practices through the use of symbols.

2.3.5 The ship as a dangerous, isolated, enclosed and mobile living and working space

The ship as a dangerous workplace of seafarers is a critical characteristic of the occupation (Walters & Bailey, 2014). This section will show why seafaring’s core value is focused on

safety (Morrison, 1997) by identifying the negative features of seafaring (dangerous, isolated, and enclosed), and how these negative features related to safety influence the socialisation of cadets. The dangers in shipping are many. Mortality rates are continuously reported to be high (Hansen, 1996; Hansen & Pederson, 1996; Li & Wonham, 2001; Hansen *et al.* 2002; Roberts, 2002; Roberts & Marlow, 2005). Walters and Bailey (2013) classified health hazards facing seafarers as biological, chemical, physical and psycho-social. Mental vulnerability, stress, social isolation and especially fatigue are reported in several studies (Parker *et al.*, 1997; Harrod, 1999; Collins *et al.*, 2000; ITF, 2007; Walters & Bailey, 2013).

Other reported risks relating to seafaring are piracy (Abila & Tang, 2014; OBP, 2011 & 2010), abandonment (ICONS, 2000; Urbina, 2015a), abuse (Couper *et al.* 1999; Urbina, 2015a), sexual harassment (Belcher *et al.*, 2003), sub-standard food and accommodation (ILO, 2001; Couper *et al.*, 1999), occupational violence such as bullying (Mayhew, 2003; Mayhew & Grewal, 2003), and the risk of sexually transmitted disease and tropical diseases such as malaria (Hansen *et al.*, 1996; Hansen *et al.*, 2005). Suicide among seafarers was variously reported as a serious concern (Mayhew, 1999; Roberts & Marlow, 2005). For example, Mayhew reported that in the periods between 1989-1992, and 1982-1984, suicide was a major cause of death among British seafarers and fishing workers (1999). For the period 1989-1992, there were 243 reported deaths of British seafarers and fishing workers, of which 47 (19.3%) were suicide cases. Of the suicide cases, 36 were seafarers (Mayhew, 1999). Roberts and Marlow (2005) reported that from 1976 to 2002 deaths by suicide among seafarers employed in British merchant shipping amounted to 55 cases out of the 835 traumatic work-related deaths. Suicide was the second highest reported cause of deaths among seafarers after deaths by accidents (n=564) (Roberts & Marlow, 2005).

The physical isolation of a ship creates the conditions for the social isolation of its seafarers. This social isolation remains a consistent trait within seafaring. The fact that the land and sea are spatially separated is the obvious basis for the isolation of a ship and her crew from life ashore. Thus, isolation is an inherent part of working at sea. After all, ships are considered as part of human technology to conquer the sea, as it were. Sampson & Thomas (2003), Alderton *et al.* (2004), and Oldenburg *et al.*, (2010) associated the social isolation that may affect the psychosocial well-being of seafarers with developments in shipbuilding technology. Life aboard ship remains dangerous and isolated from the wider society, hence, these traits would potentially affect the socialisation of cadets through education and training because of the nature of work environment of the vessel.

2.3.6 Summary of the section

This section has so far reviewed the salient and traditional characterisations of shipboard occupational culture, which are dangerous, hierarchical, isolated, enclosed, and mobile. These aspects are, in turn, the basis of the prevailing norms, values and practices of the occupation, centred on safety of navigation for the protection of life at sea and the environment.

2.4 The regulatory strategy of the maritime sector after World War II and its impact on seafaring's occupational culture and cadet training

The post-World War II occupies a distinct temporal frame in understanding the changes in the maritime industry. The changes in this period altered global seafaring occupational culture especially in crewing practices of international vessels, particularly with the introduction of international standards by the international maritime community. In 1948

the IMO, was established by the United Nations and served purely as a consultative body⁷ (IMO website). In the decade that followed, IMO was transformed into a regulatory body primarily because of growing concerns relating to maritime safety (IMO website; De Veiga, 2001). This transformation paved the way for the IMO to adopt international conventions that are primarily concerned with developing a safety culture (see De Veiga, 2001). This included the introduction and enforcement of the international convention of MET. De Veiga (2001) argued that the standards of MET developed (i.e., STCW) is part of developing a maritime safety culture. This section uses the concept of a ‘regulatory approach’ as an analytical lens (see Baldwin & Cave, 1999)⁸ through which to examine changes in the occupational culture of seafaring and how these impacts on cadet training. The term ‘regulatory approach’ as used here refers to what Haines (2003) referred to as a regulatory response of a state (or community of states) that takes account of the economic and political pressures arising from global as well as local sources (Haines, 2003). I discuss each of the changes that shaped the post-World War II occupational culture of seafaring and how each affected seafaring culture including cadet officer training.

2.4.1 Regulatory Strategy in Shipping: Roots and practice of multi-national crewing and its effect on shipboard occupational culture

One of the main regulatory changes in the maritime sector post-WW II, is the composition of the crew in terms of the nationality of its members. This has not been dealt with as a matter of sociological importance until quite recently when seafarers from ‘embedded

⁷ IMO was then known as Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, or IMCO. It changed its name to IMO in 1982(IMO website)

⁸ Baldwin and Cave (1999) enumerated a number of regulatory strategies such as (a) command and control; (b) self-regulation and enforced self-regulation; (c) incentive-based regimes; (d) market harnessing controls; (e) direct action; (f) rights and liabilities; (g) public compensation or social insurance schemes, to name a few.

traditional maritime nations’ began to be replaced by seafarers from the so-called ‘new labour supply countries’ mostly from the less developed world. The reasons for this ‘crew substitution’ are well reported in the maritime literature. The notions of globalisation and the ‘Flags of Convenience’ (FOC) have played central roles in this process and received wide attention in the literature (see Alderton & Winchester, 2002; Alderton *et al.*, 2004; ILO, 2004; DeSombre 2006; Bloor & Sampson, 2009; Corbett *et al.*, 2010). This section will deal only with FOC within the relationship between globalisation⁹ and shipping. Inherent in the concept of FOCs are the regulatory changes adopted by maritime states.

Maritime states and the international maritime community adopted a regulatory approach in dealing with issues of seafarer recruitment and qualifications from other countries. The slump in world trade in the 1970’s and the 1980’s was of great international significance to the maritime sector. Due to the resultant oversupply of ships and depressed freight market conditions (Stopford, 2008), the ‘flags of convenience’, or open registries flourished, led by stakeholders from the US (Carlisle, 1981). The flag of a vessel means the national registration of a ship. A change of flag, therefore, is a change of national registration. The process of ‘flagging out’ of ship owners from traditional maritime states of Western Europe, the US and UK to the open registers or FOCs is primarily for the economic benefit of ship owners (Bergstrand, 1983; Selkou & Roe 2004; DeSombre 2006; Lillie 2006). The term ‘flagging out’ became an apt maritime term that has come to mean the transfer of registration of ships usually, from OECD countries to FOCs. FOCs offer less taxation on the profits of ship owners, as well as less stringent regulations in relation to labour policies

⁹ See Footnote 2 on page 20 above.

where the latter allow ship owners access to low wage seafarers available in the international labour market (Bergstand, 1983; Sampson & Bloor, 2007).

‘Flagging out’ as a regulatory strategy has become a widespread practice among ship owners and operators since the 1970’s in order to gain a competitive advantage including hiring seafarers from less developed countries. In addition, crewing costs are reported to be easily manipulated by changing the source of seafarer labour supply (Klikauer & Morris, 2003), which in turn can only be done under less stringent maritime labour regulations. In effect ship owners, through ship management companies and crewing agencies, have a global network where there exists ‘a single and global labour market of seafarers’ (Bergantino & Marlow, 1997; Alderton *et al.*, 2004). By extension, this international labour market of seafarers altered shipboard culture by introducing a multi-nationality manning practice where one vessel is manned by seafarers from different countries.

The concept of a ‘single and global labour market’ is used to make sense of labour arrangements that have resulted in practices in manning a single ship with seafarers from different countries (Alderton *et al.*, 2004). However, this concept of a global labour market poses real problems and issues particularly in the recruitment and qualifications of seafarers. The rise of FOCS paved the way for the entrance of seafarers from new labour supply countries. On the one hand, according to some researchers FOCs and flagging out created an irreversible effect whereby a number of traditional maritime states from the developed world are slowly losing their maritime skill-based including its seagoing labour force, due to crew substitution (Gekara, 2009). Without doubt, the success of FOCs has contributed to this trend. On the other hand, FOCs opened up opportunities for seafarers from less developed countries; and when ships were slowly manned by seafarers from these

less developed countries, issues about these standards of seafarers' competence began to be raised. It was in this period that the IMO promulgated the international convention on *Standards of Training, Watchkeeping and Certification (STCW)* for seafarers in 1978.

Furthermore, because seafaring's occupational culture is based on its tradition of crewing ships from where the ship is nationally registered, the entry of new seafarers from less developed countries and the recent practice of multi-national crewing created challenges to this culture including how seafarers are educated and trained. Kahveci and Sampson (2001) identified problems and issues associated with multi-national crewing practice such as communication problems particularly the use of English as the official maritime language¹⁰. They further argued that communication problems among non-native English speaking seafarers are related to risks and safety, power and discrimination, and even social isolation (Kahveci *et al.*, 2002). Nevertheless, with the post-World War II regulatory environment of shipping characterised by the rise of FOCs, an argument goes that in order to access the opportunities offered by global labour market for seafarers, global standards of training are required and are in fact in place. The question is how are the global standards of training being delivered among different nations with different socio-economic, cultural and political contexts. Thus, the socialisation of new cadets into the seafaring culture with its concern with safety and with its values and practices is an important academic area in understanding the impact of the regulatory strategy of shipping in managing seafarers' education and training.

¹⁰ Maritime English is the official language in maritime communication as set by the IMO. IMO's Standard Marine Communication Phrases (SMCP) were adopted by the 22nd Assembly in November 2001 as resolution A.918(22) IMO Standard Marine Communication Phrases. SMCP replaced the Standard Marine Navigational Vocabulary (SMNV) adopted by IMO in 1977 and amended in 1985 (IMO website).

2.4.2 The establishment of the global standards for maritime education and training

The establishments of international standards for shipping are primarily responses to the shipping's international operations and the potential harms these have to human lives and the environment. As discussed above, flagging out involved the possibility for ship owners to hire crewmembers practically from anywhere. Add to that the general recognition in the maritime sector that FOCs are largely ineffectual enforcers of regulations because they exercise little control over ship operators' vessels and/or their behaviour as employers of seafarers (ITF, website; ICONS, 2000; Winchester & Alderton, 2003). Some employers may hire seafarers who are not trained up to the standards or possess fraudulent seafaring certificates (Obando-Rojas *et al*, 2004). Inevitably, this raises questions about the MET of seafarers.

In addition, some FOCs may not possess the financial resources and/or regulatory capacity to implement and monitor the standards of MET for the seafarers (foreign or local) they employ. Thus, FOCs pose problems in relation to STCW as its provisions may not be properly enforced nor monitored, either by the FOC or maritime administrations from which seafarers came. These problems raise questions about the role of institutions (i.e., either an FOC and/or another state as flag states) as enforcers of regulations particularly of the STCW.

Furthermore and as noted above, shipping is still a perilous industry particularly because of its impact on the environment and human lives and that these are conducted on a global scale (Walters & Bailey, 2014). Attempts to avert such incidents have resulted in the

establishment of international bodies of regulatory institutions and standards, including the minimum and global standards for MET.

The two primary bodies, which have been created to address the various issues affecting the shipping industry and its maritime workforce, are the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO), (Faupl, 1962; Blanco-Bazan, 2004; UN, 2008). These two institutions will be discussed below (Section 2.4.3).

The IMO is generally acknowledged as a global resource for technical standards in creating conventions and codes of conduct that regulate the maritime industry. Traditionally, IMO standards have concentrated on technical standards for ship construction, maintenance, operation and equipment (Blanco-Bazan, 2004). More recently, however, it has recognized the significant influence of human factors in shipping incidents and has sought to develop appropriate standards for education and training through the STCW and for shipboard conduct through the *International Safety Management (ISM) Code* for the safe operation of ships and pollution prevention.

The IMO, unlike the ILO is not a tripartite organisation. The IMO is an organisation within which the state and shipping interests are represented, but labour is not (Blanco-Bazan, 2004). The status and the role of the IMO have been suggested as ‘either a convention or forum of nations’ (Dijxhoorn 1994: 363). As a forum of states, the IMO serves a practical platform to identify and act upon urgent issues in the maritime industry including MET. The IMO can provide the ideal legal forum within which the standards and policies can be established by which member states have to abide, for example, the STCW.

The ILO is a tripartite body of the UN, which sets international labour standards (Faupl, 1962; ILO website). It includes employers and workers' organisations, and governments, when they formulate labour standards (Faupl, 1962). For the purposes of this project, the IMO will be the primary concern even though some provisions of the ILO also cover cadets mostly with reference to their shipboard living and working conditions. The reason being that the IMO is the organisation with directly linked with the primary concern of this study: the MET.

Given the breadth of its regulatory environment, shipping has effectively adopted a network of international and national bureaucratic systems to which global regulations, promulgated by the IMO and the ILO are central. As a bureaucratic system, maritime administrations have developed procedural controls through regulations such as the STCW. This has allowed the maritime sector to achieve a degree of control over different standards including MET. This level of control, exercised through STCW impacts on MET in terms of its fundamental content and direction such as the standard of theoretical knowledge to be achieved and the skills seafarers must acquire in order to work aboard.

2.4.3 Introduction of international maritime conventions and related labour convention

The development of global standards in the STCW focused on safety and seafaring competence is crucial to the evolution of MET. The aim of this section is to identify the standards that the international community adopted in order to tackle the challenges of globalisation (see for example Alderton & Winchester, 2002; Alderton *et al.*, 2004). These standards are primarily to preserve the safety of life and protect the environment. The IMO has three main global standards and the ILO one that regulates the international shipping

industry. The IMO conventions are the *International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea* (SOLAS), *International Convention for the prevention of Pollution from Ships* (MARPOL), *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping* (STCW) 1978 for seafarers. The ILO's convention, *Maritime Labour Convention* (MLC) 2006, sets the minimum labour and welfare standards for merchant seafarers. MARPOL is the main international convention that sets standards for the prevention of pollution of the marine environment by ships from operational or accidental causes (Simmonds & Hill, 1994; IMO Website). The IMO convention SOLAS sets the 'minimum standards for the construction, equipment and operation of ships, compatible with their safety' (IMO, 1999). The STCW regulates the maritime education and training as well as the certification system of merchant mariners; and the MLC covers the labour and welfare rights of seafarers (Piniella *et al*, 2013; Adascalitei, 2014). The maritime community has referred to these regulations as the 'four pillars', as it were, that make up the regulatory structure of the industry (Piniella *et al*, 2013; Adascalitei, 2014; Read, 2014). The following Chart (Figure 1) shows an illustration of the broad regulatory environment where STCW is located.

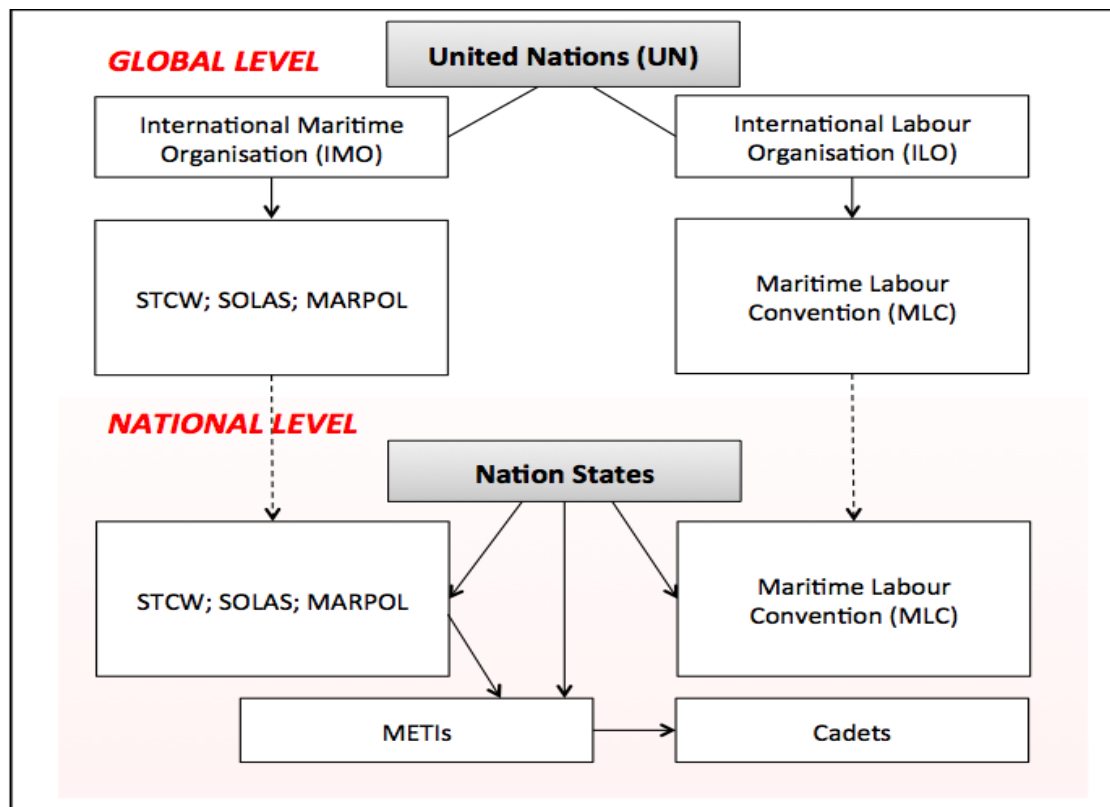


Figure 2.1: Illustration of the regulatory structure of the international maritime sector (Source: Author).

Figure 2.1 shows the key stakeholders at international and national levels involved in enforcing STCW, among the other international conventions. It shows how the STCW has a direct bearing on MET, maritime education and training institutions, and cadets.

2.4.4 Summary of the section

This section has shown the adoption of the regulatory strategy after World War II by the maritime sector in order to adapt to the worldwide changes of doing trade such as the growth of the FOCs. This was discussed particularly in the influence of ‘flagging out’ of ship owners and how this impacted particularly the practice of multi-national crewing. The regulatory approach of the sector has also been examined in relation to (a) the evolution of the roles of the IMO and ILO in establishing international standards, and (b) the

significance and effects of sourcing seafarers from new countries like the Philippines and India. Thus, these changes pose challenges to MET particularly how the global regulations of MET influence the training experiences of cadets.

Summary of the chapter and concluding remarks

The overall aim of Chapter 2 was to utilise occupational socialisation as a perspective in establishing a relationship between shipboard occupational culture of merchant seafarers, the global standards of MET (i.e., STCW) and officer training. It did this, firstly, by reviewing the literature on occupational socialisation in order to come up with an appropriate use of the theory of socialisation applicable to the cadets as a process between an individual's experience in relation to formal education and training, where the latter influence the development of work roles of future seafarers but at the same time constrained by global standards. Chapter 2 identified specifically the socialisation that is taking place during the cadets' college-based education and ship-based training immediately prior to their employment as seafarers.

Secondly, this chapter highlighted the contributions of social science research in conceptualizing the bases of seafaring as an occupational community with its culture. By examining the ship as a social space with its own temporal dimension and viewing the ship as a symbolic space, the chapter examined the hierarchical, dangerous, enclosed, and isolated qualities of a ship to reveal highly defined work roles aboard ships that typify the roles and relations aboard the vessel. Of great significance is the idea that seafaring occupational culture is deeply concerned with safety of its seafarers whilst working aboard, the environment, the ship and its cargoes.

Thirdly, the encompassing concern on safety of the maritime sector brought us to a central basis of establishing a link between seafaring's occupational culture, international standards particularly standards of MET and training of cadets. This shows that safety concerns are deeply embedded in the maritime sector's operations including the regulatory requirements of shipping's global operations, such as the standards of MET. Thus, MET is anchored to a regulatory mechanism through which the maritime sector appears to be convinced that in setting up international regulations, then maritime states have a minimum basis that ideally they would follow in order to ensure the competence of seafarers.

Thus, taking account these four broad reasons, Chapter 2 depicted the cultural context including the regulatory framework under which the occupational socialisation of cadets is embedded. The following chapter will examine the STCW as a regulation and as competence-based training framework.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF MARITIME EDUCATION AND TRAINING AS COMPETENCE-BASED EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Introduction

Chapter 3 reviews literature on understanding the *International Convention on the Standards of Training, Certification, and Watchkeeping* (STCW) for seafarers¹¹ as international regulations and as a competence-based training framework. Its overall aim is to explore the development of maritime education and training (MET) in the STCW as a competence-based training framework (CBT) in order to determine its impact on the socialisation of the officer cadets.

To examine the general aim stated above, Chapter 3 explores the regulatory approach¹² adopted by the administrations of the maritime sector, particularly what regulation means in relation to STCW (Section 3.1). Then, it will review the Philippines regulations of maritime education and training in an attempt to understand the influence of the STCW as well as the roles of both the global and national standards in the training of the Filipino cadets (Section 3.2). Chapter 3 will also evaluate the notions of education and training as key concepts in the way the international maritime standards have been developed, particularly the use of competence-based training within this development (Section 3.3).

¹¹ There is an International Convention on the *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping* for fishing workers too, thus, it is important to identify the STCW *for merchant seafarers*.

¹² The idea of ‘approach to regulation’ is sometimes used as synonymous to the term ‘regulatory instrument’, that is, as regulatory mechanisms used to achieve certain ends (see Coglianese & Mendelson 2010: 148).

Finally, it will examine the existing literature on MET in relation to cadet training within the Philippines in the context of ensuring competence and maintaining the safety concerns of the maritime sector (Section 3.4). A summary section with some conclusive remarks will complete Chapter 3.

3.1 The meaning of STCW as regulation: regulation as functional activity

This section lays down a particular usage of the concept of regulation as ‘functional activity’ in order to understand the role of STCW as regulation, exploring the role of STCW as a means adopted by maritime administrations for regulating the global maritime industry through requiring and prescribing education and training of seafarers.

Regulation has been suggested as one of the main characteristics of most modern states (Yeung, 2010). There are numerous international and domestic laws and policies that cover most of human activities. In this thesis, the regulation of MET is of central importance that it is necessary to determine what is the function of STCW as regulation. To do this, it is crucial to explore literature that helps to situate the notion of STCW as a mechanism adopted by parties in order to safeguard the safety of lives and the protection of the natural environment by standardizing MET.

For the purposes of this thesis, it follows the notion employed by Black who conceptualized regulation as a ‘functional activity’, that is, a regulation is a means to achieve certain ends (Black, 1997: 18). Black’s distinction between ‘what regulation does’ from ‘what regulation is’ (1997) is very useful in understanding the role of STCW as regulation because it is concerned with what the international regulations ‘do’, as it were, in ensuring

competence of seafarers globally (Morrison, 1997). Positing that regulation ‘does something’ points to a positive aspect of regulation (Veljanovski, 2010). That is, even if there are different views on the nature of regulation, nevertheless it is believed to perform or do something. Black (1997) observed that any attempt to define regulation is underpinned by an essentialist approach because it indicates some fundamental elements inherent in the concept. If the action of regulation is emphasised then what is of significance is the ‘functional activity’ of the concept such as a state’s control of economic activity within its jurisdiction (Black, 1997). This understanding of regulation as a functional activity is the conventional view of STCW within the maritime sector because of what the regulation intends to achieve in terms of the education and training of seafarers.

The general intention of this chapter is to sketch a nuanced understanding of STCW. This attempt would lead us to exploring the impact(s) of regulatory standards for MET, specifically its impacts on MET and cadet training programs. Moreover, the meaning of STCW as regulations is mostly associated by regulatory scholars with the notion of public regulation. I discuss public regulation below in relation to private regulations.

3.1.1 Public and private regulations

For the purposes of this thesis, the STCW is understood as part of both public (i.e., state’s) and global regulations. This means that though an international body (i.e., International Maritime Organization), developed the STCW the state is indispensable, as it is the primary agent and power, in enforcing the global standards. As such, according to Sampson (2004),

STCW introduced a ‘system of enforced self-regulation’¹³ because it was requiring individual states to “self-impose a series of measures and practices relating to their national provision of MET” (Sampson, 2004: 251). We turn first to identifying STCW as a public regulation.

Public regulation is understood as rooted in the power of the state and its activities through its government and its government’s arms (i.e., its agencies and/or departments). Selznick referred to it as “a sustained and focused control exercised by a public agency over activities that are valued by a community” (Selznick, 1985:363). Baldwin, Scott and Hood (1998) explained that regulations are employed as a specific set of commands, as a deliberate state influence or as forms of social control or influence. Additionally, the literature suggests the idea of a ‘regulatory state’ as a conceptual tool that could examine the activities of a state (Yeung, 2010; *inter alia*). This theory acknowledges the power of a state to form, enforce and monitor regulations (Yeung, 2010). Within a state’s regulatory architecture, agencies and/or departments are perceived to be technocratic strategies that are responsible for developing regulatory solutions for governmental problems in society. The regulatory state and its arms (i.e., agencies and departments) are central in understanding modern societies as the source and author of public regulations (Yeung, 2010). Thus, once a state ratifies the STCW (and for that matter any of the international treatise of the IMO), the international convention becomes part of a state’s public regulations.

¹³ For Hutter (2001, 1999) and Baldwin *et al.* (1999) enforced self-regulation is an umbrella term that covers regulatory trends particularly the co-existence of private and public forms of regulation where a state is increasingly attempting to control or influence the private sphere.

Conversely, private regulation means the capacity of non-state organisations such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private firms, professional groups or individuals to perform some of the regulatory and/or statutory functions of the state (Scott, 2002). This capacity is either delegated or contracted out by the state to a private regulator. Also, some of these private regulators are conferred a legal mandate to perform regulatory roles (Scott, 2002; Allsop, 2002). For example, in the UK it is well known that the General Medical Council (GMC) acts as a professional regulatory body for the health care system backed by state legislation since the 19th century (Irvine, 1997; Allsop, 2002). Allsop (2002) observed that the GMC is perceived as the ‘symbol of self-regulation’ partly because it is the prototype for self-regulation owing to its long history of dominating the UK health sector’s division of labour.

The two previous paragraphs point out that public and private regulation are distinctive regulatory means that nation states can use to administer control. It is critical for this thesis to locate STCW as part of a state’s public regulations as this has bearing on identifying the key stakeholders involved in administering the provisions of the MET standards and the problems that they face in doing so. Particularly, this line of reasoning distinguishes the nation state as the authority and power behind the enforcement of the STCW. However, private regulation cannot be disregarded in sectors that private interests are high and where public regulation (i.e., STCW) is used to control activities of that sector. This is true in the maritime industry where ship owners have many significant interests (mainly economic) including the quality of training of officers for their fleets (Sampson *et al.*, 2011). As will be discussed below (Section 3.4), the literature indicated that new labour supply countries have problems complying with the global training standards due to lack of financial, technological and human resources (Sampson, 2003) and/or due to the failure of an

enforced self-regulatory system for standards of MET (Sampson, 2004). Using the case of the Philippines (Section 3.4 below), the chapter reviews the literature regarding institutional problems in relation to a state's enforcement attempt in complying with global standards of MET. What follows is a review of the local standards of MET that potentially affect the socialisation of the cadets.

3.2 The local standards of maritime education and training and the STCW

This section describes and examines the Philippine national standards for maritime education and training, and the influence of the STCW on the local standards in an attempt to outline the roles of both standards in the socialisation of Filipino cadets. The regulatory environment of post-WW II shipping is both international and national, where the system of international regulation is far-reaching (DeSombre, 2006 *inter alia*). The literature indicated that the development of shipping regulations has been largely responses to its global operations and the problems associated with these. As a global industry, shipping has a range of maritime activities that take place on the high seas beyond the reach of regulatory powers of nation states (Sampson, 2003; DeSombre, 2006; Sampson & Bloor, 2007). Nevertheless, the flag state is still indispensable in enforcing the global maritime standards particularly on MET. We examine firstly the role of a maritime nation state.

3.2.1 Philippine MET standards

The path to a seafaring career in the Philippines is through a college maritime degree. Working as a professional seafarer can be achieved commonly by enrolling in a higher education degree, in particular either the Bachelor of Science in Marine Transportation

program (herein after BSMT) for deck officers, or the Bachelor of Science in Marine Engineering program (herein after BSMarE) for engine officers.

By virtue of Republic Act (RA) 7722 also known as the “higher education act of 1994”, the *Commission on Higher Education* (CHED) is mandated to supervise and regulate all higher education programs in the Philippines including BSMT and BSMarE. One of the powers and functions of CHED is to formulate and recommend policies and programs on higher education and research (Section 8, RA 7722). Normally a bachelor’s degree in the Philippines is a four-year course, a provision that has practical and financial implications in developing training programs such as officer cadetships because of the length of completing the course.

Quite recently, in March 2014, the Philippine government through *Republic Act (RA) 10635* established the *Maritime Industry Authority* (MARINA) as the “Single Maritime Administration Responsible for the Implementation and Enforcement of the 1978 International Convention on *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping*” for seafarers (RA 10635; Dacanay, 2015). In other words, MARINA monitors and verifies, in coordination with CHED, maritime programs and higher education institutions for compliance to both domestic and global standards (RA 10635, Section 2). This meant that MARINA’s new mandate is to oversee the implementation of the STCW provisions in maritime programs in coordination with CHED.

In other words, MARINA and CHED share a collaborative role as government agencies mandated to regulate maritime programs in the country. This situation where two

government agencies regulate maritime program in the Philippines that was established last year (2014), 3 years after the data collection stage of this thesis.

The following chart (Figure 3.1) presents the regulatory framework of Philippine maritime programs and where STCW directly impacts these programs.

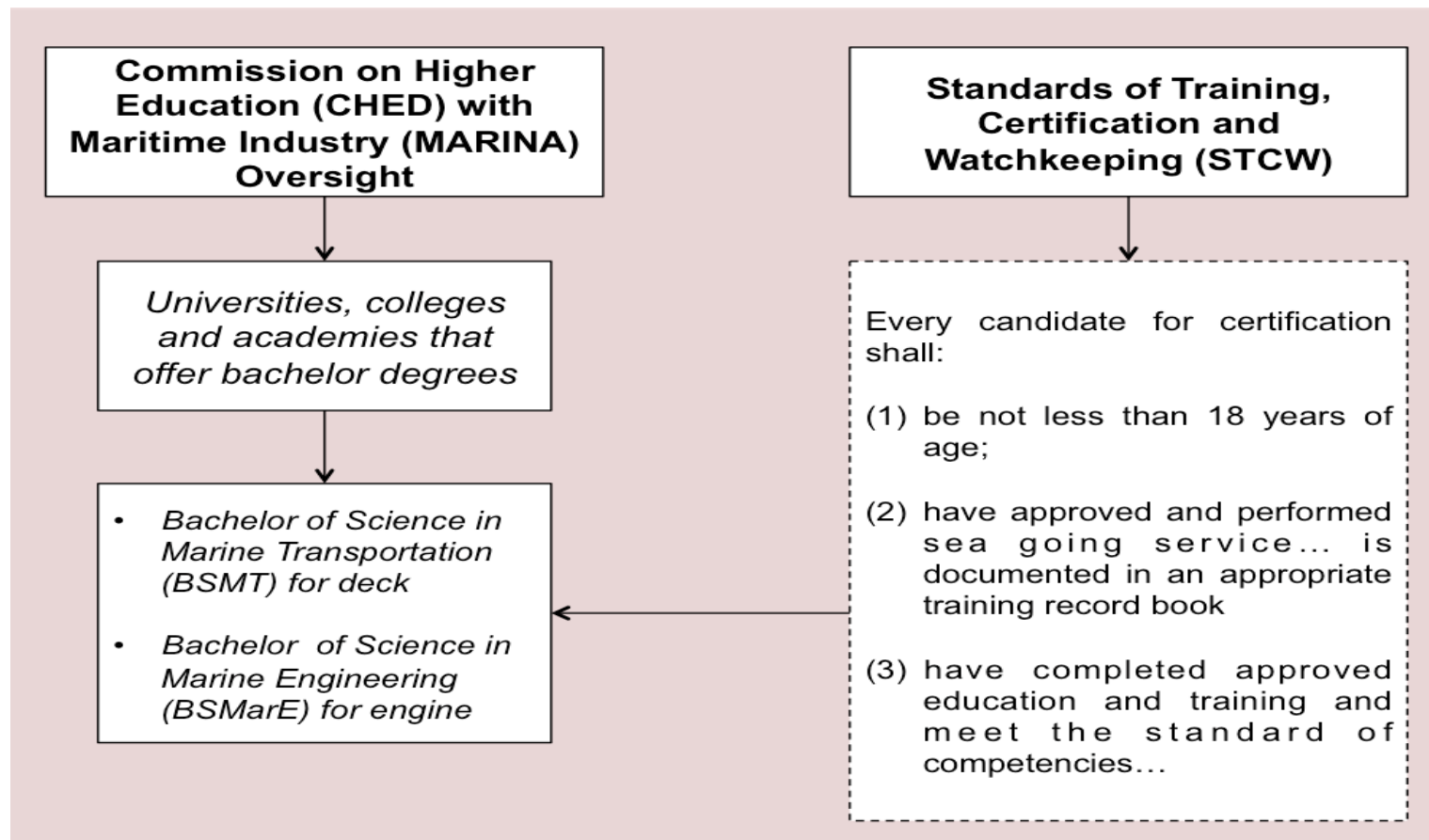


Figure 3.1: Regulatory framework of Philippine maritime degrees
 (Source: CHED and MARINA official documents, see RA 7722 & RA 10635).

Figure 3.1 outlines the Philippine government departments that regulate maritime programs and identifies areas where STCW exercise a direct influence in terms of the structure and content of maritime programs through the state's departments (i.e., MARINA and CHED). In addition, the outline presents MARINA and CHED as regulators of maritime higher education institutions (both public and private) that offer maritime programs.

Given the changes in the regulation of Philippine maritime programs based on the functions of two government departments, the government still has the same fundamental responsibility in relation to STCW, which is to comply with the latter's requirements. Broadly, STCW established that maritime programs must cover two phases: a theoretical and college-based education and training phase, and the shipboard training phase.

3.2.2 Sea-time training standards and the role of ship owners

The STCW specified the following key principles for the management and organisation of the shipboard training (SBT) of cadets: a) SBT is part of an overall training plan; b) the program for SBT should be managed and coordinated by the company, which manages the vessel where the cadet will be trained; c) the cadet must be provided with a training record book "to enable a comprehensive record of practical training and experience at sea"; d) the cadet "should be aware of two identifiable individuals immediately responsible for the management of the programme of onboard training"; and e) the company should ensure the appropriate time periods for the accomplishment of the SBT program within the normal

operations of the ship (IMO, 2011, Ch. II, Section B-II/1).¹⁴ In other words, the SBT of cadets is framed as a regulated, company-managed, and officer-guided training model. Thus, the approach of the global standards for the sea-time training of the cadets emphasise the leading role of the employers in managing and organising the training of the cadets aboard the vessel.

For the Philippine standards, the CHED's *Memorandum Order (MO) 20, Series 2014* (hereinafter CHED MO 20, 2014) regulates the sea-time training of Filipino cadets. CHED MO 20, 2014 requires a structured twelve months seagoing service where SBT: 1) For (navigation) cadets, refers to a structured accumulated seagoing service of not less than twelve months under the Deck Department which includes onboard training that meets the requirements of Section A-II/1 of the 1978 STCW Convention and Code, as amended, documented in an approved training record book (TRB) and company's training program and at least six (6) months of which shall involve the performance of watchkeeping duties under the supervision of the master or a qualified officer on board seagoing vessel of not less than 500 gross tons.

For engineering cadets, a combined workshop skills training and structured accumulated seagoing service of not less than twelve months under the Engine Department which includes on board training that meets the requirements of Section A-III/1 of the 1978 STCW Convention and Code, as amended, documented in an approved training record book (TRB) and the company's training program and at least six (6) months of which shall involve the performance of engine watchkeeping duties under the supervision of the chief

¹⁴ See Appendix 14 for the complete text from the STCW regarding the shipboard training of the cadets.

engineer or a qualified engineer officer on board seagoing vessel of not less than 750kW propulsion power (CHED MO 20, 2014).

For this chapter the details of both the local and international standards for the sea-time of training cadets are important as these prescribe the organisation and management of the training. This thesis intends to discover how these standards are played out in the experiences of the trainees. Moreover, the standards of the sea-time training also require documentation as part of the regulations. This is discussed next.

3.2.3 The training record book

The training record book (TRB) is a requirement of both the global and local standards for the shipboard training of the cadets. This thesis aims to examine its function in the socialisation of the cadets. The TRB, according to the global and Philippine standards, is to be completed during the shipboard training of the cadets. The literature indicates that the use of the learning portfolio is common in other training systems because these logbooks or portfolios are used as evidence of the acquisition of professional competencies of the trainees. Learning portfolios are used in medicine (Snadden & Thomas, 1998), teaching (Tanner *et al.*, 2000), and nursing (Garrett & Jackson, 2006; Harris *et al.*, 2001). Snadden and Thomas (1998) described a portfolio as the “documentation of learning, and the articulation of what has been learned... (such as) records of events and projects carried out” (Snadden & Thomas, 1998: 192). It appears that the sea-time training of cadets employ the same strategy of employing the TRB as a learning portfolio.

Furthermore, the sea-time training of the cadets as a work-experience phase offers the potential for the trainees to employ a self-directed learning strategy (Knowles, 1975). Towle and Cottrell (1975) defined self-directed learning, mainly based on Knowles (1975), as a process in which individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes. That is, the students take responsibility for, and control of their own learning (Towle & Cottrell, 1996). Sea-time training, like any work-based training, has the potential of allowing the trainees to apply what they have learned theoretically in college to real work tasks and problems (Emad & Roth, 2008). Thus, this study intends to examine if there is space for the cadets to apply their learning aboard the vessel as documented in their learning portfolios.

3.2.4 Occupational licensing and the global and national standards of MET

The STCW does not only set the standards of MET but also the certification system of merchant mariners (IMO, 2011). The STCW stipulates that only those who hold the necessary certificates of competencies can perform defined roles aboard ship. For example, a second officer who holds qualifications to perform navigational watch on board a tanker cannot perform duties that go beyond his or her certifications. The argument is more or less the same for, say, the surgeon and the general practitioner where the former holds qualifications permitting the performance of certain surgical procedures that the latter group cannot. The practice of certifying the qualification of workers has been studied under several scholarly topics such as credentialism within the professionalization movement (Freidson, 2001, 1994 & 1986; Larson, 1977; discussed in the previous chapter), or as a

labour market mechanism (Kleiner, 2006). Kleiner (2006) pointed out that “occupational licensing has a long history as a labour market institution” (2006: 19). This means for Kleiner (2006) that occupational licence is a state’s mechanism to control participation and rewards of occupations such as law and medicine. Thus, an occupational licence requires the state’s approval in the form of regulations applicable to that occupation and thus it forms part of the labour market.

In addition, Kleiner (2006), as have other academics such as Freidson (2001 & 1986) and Larson (1977), acknowledged that the traditional professions such as medicine and law were key examples of the institutionalization of occupational licenses. In other words, professions work side by side with the state in order to control entry to, and participation in certain occupations. With the participation of the state in regulating occupations, there are now in relation to the previous chapter three key elements to the internal mechanisms within the professionalization movement - control of the knowledge base, education and certification. These same elements are deployed by the maritime sector in the STCW. For the purposes of this study the STCW and each maritime state have been identified as keys to the regulations of MET and the certification of seafarers. Thus this section has shown, firstly, that seafarer certification falls under the public regulatory function of the state in compliance with STCW. Secondly, it has demonstrated that the concept of regulations (i.e., both STCW and a state’s public regulation) influences the concepts of maritime education and training of seafarers. These two conclusions show significant developments in MET that influence the development of the education and training standards, and the training experiences of cadets. The next section (Section 3.3) attempts to determine the effects of regulation on MET and how this has the potential to impact on the socialisation of cadets.

3.2.5 Summary of the section

The STCW has a fundamental impact on the development of the basic notions of maritime education and training. Thus, this development would inevitably influence the socialisation of cadets. Section 3.2 laid down what is meant in this thesis by the regulation of MET. This section has also proposed an interpretation and definition of regulation as a functional activity, emphasising what regulation does rather than what regulation is. By doing so, it postulates that STCW functions as a means to ensure the adequacy of seafaring competencies through MET. It has also shown that STCW is dependent on maritime states to apply, certify, and enforce its standards, and where control exerted by individual states, using STCW to maintain MET's knowledge base and certification system for the occupation.

3.3 The meaning of education and training in STCW

When the STCW convention was amended in 1995 there was a crucial change in the policy language relating to the development of MET (McCarter, 1999; Emad & Roth, 2008). In the 1995 amendment the concept of competence was introduced in to the body of the convention and was supported by an addition of the STCW Code where competencies were identified and the methods required to acquire these through MET (McCarter, 1999; Emad & Roth, 2008; IMO, 2011). Of particular interest to this study are (a) the credence given to competence, or rather the acquisition of competence, (b) the process and structure through which competencies are understood to be acquired (i.e., education and training), and (c) the aspect of the learning process (i.e., assessment through performance) that permits the student to display the knowledge and skills gained. This section presents firstly how the STCW text fails to adequately define competence.

The failure of the STCW to define competence follows a pattern, prevalent in vocational education and training (VET) with regard to the use of and the problems associated with the lack of clarity surrounding the notion of competence and competence-based training (CBT). Like other CBT programs, MET standards focus on ‘performance-based or outcome-based’ learning objectives (Emad & Roth, 2008). The learning goals set within MET are based on explicit behavioural statements, related to the daily out-of-school requirements of performance, and reflects outputs rather than inputs (Emad & Roth, 2008). In other words, cadets must be able to demonstrate their competence through the performance of certain shipboard-related tasks that MET requires of them. If those requirements are satisfied, a certificate of competence can be awarded to a trainee. Nevertheless, the literature on the use of CBT indicates that such a training framework does not always guarantee that this overall objective of acquiring competencies is achieved. Firstly the issues related to the concept of competence are discussed.

3.3.1 What is competence?

Although cadets and seafarers are required to obtain competencies, the use of the core concept of competence is not well established within STCW (McCarter, 1999). This is not unique to seafaring as this issue is similar to other CBT programs outside the maritime sector (Norris, 1991; Hoffman, 1999; van der Klink and Boon, 2002; Le Deist & Winterton, 2005). The literature indicates that the term competence is fuzzy because it may be seen as either a trait or ability of individuals (Boyatzis, 1982; Woodruffe, 1991; Hartle, 1995), or of collectives such as groups or organisations (Prahalad & Hamel, 1990; Jessup, 1991). For some, competence is also viewed as a characteristic of an act or practice, emphasising the performance of a job (Hyland, 1994; Dooley *et al.*, 2004). Still others highlight the collective aspect, which underlies a competent performance (Prahalad & Hamel, 1990;

Jessup, 1991). Competence as a concept is also considered elusive because outside its local organisational or situational context competence is not a straight-forward concept to understand (Fielding, 1984). Thus, the conceptual issue of what competence means, as found in the literature, appears to be reflected in the STCW as the standards themselves do not define this concept but attach to it a central significance within MET and in the professional practice of seafaring.

Furthermore, nation states and occupational professions formulate policies and practices that are based on their own preferred view of what competence is (see Eraut, 1994; Jeris *et al.*, 2005; Gallagher *et al.*, 2012). This may imply that competence can make sense only within the national and/or occupational contexts. Maritime states that have ratified STCW are examples of this practice, as they have to adapt STCW as it is formulated even though they may choose to build on what the STCW requires. For example, a maritime administration can define how it understands competence as long as it is consistent with STCW. If this takes place in some maritime administrations, there is no evidence in the literature available so far. What is clear from the literature is that cadets and seafarers must acquire competencies.

In addition, the general trend in the use of competence in education and training programs has been to align it with the work-based or professional requirements of an occupation. Burgoyne referred to this trend as the ‘Competence movement’ in education, which is

a set of beliefs and practices about how education, training and development can and should be organized in a vocational and work context, with particular emphasis on the definition and achievement of purposes’ (Burgoyne, 1993: 6)

However, Burgoyne and others also recognised the ‘competence movement’ as suffering from an ‘overtly simple model’ because it anchors competence primarily within a work-based context without considering the relationship and interactions with the economic and socio-cultural environment (Ashworth & Morrison, 1991; Norris, 1991; Burgoyne, 1993; Hyland, 1997; Jeris *et al.*, 2005). Nevertheless, as Lester (2014) observed in the UK, the ‘competence movement’ effectively led to the creation of occupational standards and national vocational qualifications (NVQs). This dominance of the concept of competence on VET and other related programs has also permeated MET (Winbow, 2005; Emad & Roth, 2008). As such, learning from the experiences of other CBT programs is beneficial in examining the experiences of merchant marine cadets whilst they undergo MET particularly in how standards utilise competence within training programs. The following section deals with the uses of competence within training programs.

3.3.2 Behaviourist approach to competency-based training

There are several approaches to understanding competence and CBT as used in the educational and professional sectors: these are the generic¹⁵, cognitive¹⁶ and behaviourist approaches (Norris, 1991). This section reviews particularly the behaviourist approach to CBT, as it is believed to underpin the way STCW employs competence (Emad & Roth,

¹⁵ In the generic approach to competence, specifications of competencies are avoided. Generic competence has come to mean an aggregate of skills, information and motivation (Norris, 1991). For example, Norris (1991) points out that generic approach to competence will not be easy to evaluate partly because of the inductive and interpretive method in drawing out generic qualities. This means that the generic approach allows a degree of subjective interpretations regarding how competence is developed, taught, acquired, and practiced.

¹⁶ The cognitive strategy in understanding competence, according to Messick (1984), is where competence is equal to knowledge and application of such under ideal situations. Messick (1984) distinguishes between competence and performance by assuming that performance is what is done actually in a particular situation. Hence, competence appears to be a potential behaviour while performance is an actual behaviour. Cognitive approach to competence, for some authors, are very ambitious research study as it assumes that the full range of human abilities and adaptations can be captured by the concept of competence (Norris, 1991: 295).

2008). Equally as significant, the use of competence in the STCW has direct implication on this study particularly on the experiences of the cadets of MET. The following discussion is not meant as an exhaustive critique of the behaviourist approach to competence but rather it affords only a basic exposition.

For some academicians and of particular interest to this thesis, the most prevalent strategy that underpins competence is behaviourist (Norris, 1991; Marshall, 1991; Hyland, 1997). For example, Marshall pointed out that CBT in the UK is ‘unashamedly behavioural’ (1991). This approach is based on associating a performance with behaviour. It starts with “a description of behaviour (sometimes referred to as performance) and the situation(s) in which it is to take place (sometimes referred to as range statements’)” (Norris, 1991: 294). The performance objectives (i.e., behavioural objectives) define learning aim(s) so much so that the objectives make observable, transparent, and measurable the learning process (Norris, 1991). Furthermore, each performance objective is associated with a particular competence. Thus, once a learner demonstrates through a performance a particular learning objective, it is assumed that s/he has achieved a degree of competence in relation to that learning objective. In other words, competence is measured by performance outcomes (i.e., performance of a defined task). What this translates to in education and training settings is that competence is “associated with a *statement* of competence (i.e., description of an action or behaviour), usually with a performance criterion that can be observed and assessed” (Norris, 1991: 294). This is best exemplified in vocational education and training where key roles within a job role are defined (Le Deist & Winterton, 2005). Each of these roles is then believed to be transmittable through education and training. To show how this learning structure relates to this study, the chapter will discuss next the competence-based education and training framework of the STCW.

3.3.3 Competence-based education and training in the STCW

Emad and Roth (2008) believed that the competence-based education and training that underpin STCW is based on the UK model of CBT. The UK standards of CBT, according to Emad and Roth, assume that “competencies are considered as units of assessment of workplace activity” and it covers “both training and assessment” in the work environment (Emad & Roth, 2008: 262). This model of CBT in the STCW is not different from VET.

Le Deist and Winterton described how VET works in general, as follows

Occupational standards identify key roles, which are then broken down into a number of units of competence. These are further subdivided into elements of competence and, for each element of competence, performance criteria are defined which form the basis of assessment, with range indicators provided for guidance (Le Deist & Winterton, 2005: 34, emphases in the original; See also Horton, 2000)¹⁷

The above description of the structure of VET is regarded as being embedded in the realities of work environments (Mansfield, 1993). In order to link this study with the structure of CBT, the STCW Code will be examined. The ‘STCW Code’, is annexed to STCW and contains the basic requirements of the convention. The code consists of two parts, A and B, where A is mandatory and B contains recommendations or guidelines to assist the participant parties (i.e., states that have ratified the STCW) to comply with the convention.

Part A identifies the functions that officers must be able to perform on board ships. They are technical, constituting a set of watchkeeping duties of officers. Generally speaking, for a cadet to qualify as an entry-level officer (referred to as officer-in-charge or ‘OIC’ by the

¹⁷ There are, however, a number of criticisms raised against this competence-based training model as an instrument in developing occupational standards. In medicine see for example ten Cate *et al.* (2010); ten Cate *et al.* (2007); Grant (1999). Criticisms raised against CBT in general see Hyland (1994).

STCW), there are three, sometimes four generic and general functions that she/he must learn. These are (1) navigation functions for the deck cadets, or its equivalent in the engine department, (2) cargo handling functions, and (3) safety management functions. The fourth is the Medical Function but this is often not immediately expected of an OIC (IMO, 2011).

In the tables included in Part A, the first column of each identifies the competencies required for deck or engine watchkeeping duties. The second column, addresses knowledge, understanding and proficiency. These requirements include matters relating to seamanship such as ‘celestial navigation’, ‘terrestrial and coastal navigation’ and so forth. The third covers methods for demonstrating competence, including tools for assessment such as examination, ‘approved in-service experience’, ‘practical training’, ‘approved training ship experience’, ‘approved simulator trainings’, ‘practical demonstrations’ and so forth. Finally, the fourth column deals with the criteria for evaluating competence. This last column prescribes the basic skills and knowledge required to perform navigational watch or engine watch duties. Below, in Table 3.1, is an example taken from the STCW code (IMO, 2011).

STCW appears to reproduce a widely accepted view in the literature relating to VET that follows a competence-based education and training framework. Both figuratively and literally speaking, the STCW is a competence-based education and training program, as the functions that have to be learned by merchant marine officers are literally referred to as competencies. This is best exemplified by the requirement of the STCW that each competency a seafarer acquires through training must be accredited with a Certificate of Competency.

Under the STCW, each seafarer candidate must be able to demonstrate the competencies as prescribed in the convention. These competencies are to be achieved through a combination of school-based education and training, plus practical experience on board a vessel (IMO, 2011, 1996). MET generally consists of (a) classroom-based education of defined theoretical subjects, (b) training of skills in a number of practical courses of short duration, and (c) a mandatory period of sea-based training experience on board ship, usually lasting one year, on board ships.

Table 3.1: Sample table from STCW Code (Source: IMO, 2011).

Table A-II/1			
Specification of minimum standard of competencies for officers in charge of a navigational watch on ships of 500 gross tonnage or more			
Function: Navigation at the operational level			
Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
Competence	Knowledge, understanding and proficiency	Methods for demonstrating competence	Criteria for evaluating competence
Plan and conduct a passage and determine position	<i>Celestial navigation</i> Ability to use celestial bodies to determine the ship's position <i>Terrestrial and coastal navigation</i> Ability to determine the ship's position by the use of: .1 landmarks .2 aids to navigation, including lighthouses, beacons and buoys	Examination and assessment of evidence obtained from one or more of the following: .1 approved in-service experience .2 approved training ship experience .3 approved simulator training, where appropriate .4 approved laboratory equipment training using chart catalogues, charts, nautical	The information obtained from nautical charts and publications is relevant, interpreted correctly and properly applied. All potential navigational hazards are accurately identified. The primary method of fixing the ship's position is the most appropriate to the prevailing

Table A-II/1

Specification of minimum standard of competencies for officers in charge of a navigational watch on ships of 500 gross tonnage or more

Function: Navigation at the operational level

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
Competence	Knowledge, understanding and proficiency	Methods for demonstrating competence	Criteria for evaluating competence
	<p>.3 dead reckoning, taking into account winds, tides, currents and estimated speed</p> <p>Thorough knowledge of and ability to use nautical charts and publications, such as sailing directions, tide tables, notices to mariners, radio navigational warnings and ships' routing information</p> <p><i>Electronic systems of position fixing and navigation</i></p> <p>Ability to determine the ship's position to use of electronic navigational aids</p> <p><i>Echo-sounders</i></p> <p>Ability to operate the equipment and apply the information correctly</p>	<p>publications, radio navigational warnings, sextant, azimuth mirror, electronic navigation equipment, echo-sounding equipment, compass</p>	<p>circumstance and conditions.</p> <p>The position is determined within the limits of acceptable instrument/system errors.</p> <p>The reliability of the information obtained from the primary method of position fixing is checked at appropriate intervals.</p> <p>Calculations and measurements of navigational information are accurate.</p> <p>The charts selected are the largest scale suitable for the area of navigation, and charts and publications are corrected in accordance with the latest information available.</p> <p>Performance checks and tests to navigation systems comply with</p>

Table A-II/1			
Specification of minimum standard of competencies for officers in charge of a navigational watch on ships of 500 gross tonnage or more			
Function: Navigation at the operational level			
Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
Competence	Knowledge, understanding and proficiency	Methods for demonstrating competence	Criteria for evaluating competence
			manufacturer's recommendations and good navigational practice

3.3.4 Criticisms of CBT

Important issues may be found in ethnographic writing regarding the acquisition of competence through education and training. The works of Fielding (1984 & 1988) on the socialisation of and acquisition of competence by the police in the UK, demonstrated how “the criteria for attributions of competence can only be specified by micro-sociological attention to the (police) officers’ situation and the cognitive constructions of a police role” (Fielding, 1984: 583). This means for Fielding that competence is “a matter of accounting for certain actions as ‘effective’, ‘skilful’, or ‘good’... by close attention to the nature and occasions of such accounting” (Fielding, 1988: 45). In other words, competence should not be thought of as a simple collection of a series of fragmented albeit related skills devoid of the social context in which it is embedded. For however extensive and comprehensive the list of competencies may be and how they may be acquired through education and training, they do not and cannot form the whole (White, 1959). This view of competence comes from the argument that competencies are developed through a constant interaction with the

human and material world. As such, the development of competence is: “slowly attained through prolonged feats of learning” (White, 1959: 297) whilst interacting with the socio-cultural and/or work-related environment.

The idea of the development of competence and its rootedness in a particular socio-cultural environment is very important as this thesis maintains that the occupational culture of seafaring (discussed in Chapter 2) is believed to be an important influence in the socialisation of the cadet. Chapter 2 argued that certain values and practices within shipboard occupational culture are anchored on the safety of life and property at sea, and all these underpin MET as developed in the STCW. Thus, ideally MET focuses on developing competencies and must show that these competencies revolve around the concern for safety. How this supposedly ideal symbiosis between safety concerns and seafaring occupational culture, transmitted through the socialisation of cadets is played out, is the main concern of this thesis. However, what this section has done is to show some of the possible limitations of the very instrument, namely STCW, that has standardized MET. It has done this by examining the criticisms in the literature that centred on the confusion surrounding the concept of competence and the development of competence that underpin STCW. However it remains to be seen how the experiences of cadets contribute to the debate regarding CBT, and particularly whether CBT is an efficient strategy in developing seafaring competencies.

3.3.5 Summary of the section

This section established that MET, as developed within STCW has become the global standard. It is viewed as being an important mechanism in promoting the safety of life and property at sea and the marine environment. It is further understood as a series of processes

that seafarer candidates undergo to enable them to perform defined job roles aboard merchant ships. Moreover, in the development of MET in the STCW, much consideration has been given to the idea of supporting and developing competencies for seafarers. However, this section has shown important and fundamental issues raised in the literature relating to the basic concept of competence especially as it is used in competence-based education and training. It demonstrated that competence is an indistinct idea on which to base education and training programs. In addition, some academics question whether competence can really be transmitted through education and training because it cannot be separated from an individual's account of what it is and from its embeddedness in a particular work-related and social environment (White, 1959; Fielding, 1984 & 1988). Nevertheless, competence remains at the core of STCW and MET. Therefore, this thesis finds it important to explore the implications of the use of competence in MET and stakeholders particularly the seafarer trainees. To explore the potential impact of MET, this study will look at the experiences of cadets from the Philippines because, for the last two decades or more, this country has become one of the world's top sources of seafarers, thus the experiences of Filipino cadets of MET are indicative of the transformation taking place in MET.

3.4 Maritime education and training in the Philippines

This section explores the literature pertaining to the institutional problems related to attempts at enforcement by the Philippine state to achieve compliance with the global standards of MET, and how these issues affect the training experiences of Filipino cadets. The Philippines' case is worth exploring because of the country's recent advance as a supplier of both ratings and officers to the global seafaring labour market. It highlights the

institutional (i.e., state) problems experienced by states, particularly less developed states when enforcing global standards due to insufficient financial, technological and human resources and to some extent corruption.

3.4.1 Philippine MET in the literature and in the media

In the maritime global labour market, the Philippines has become one of the major labour supply countries (Amante 2003; BIMCO/ISF Reports 2000, 2005, 2010; Ellis & Sampson 2003; Mendoza *et al.*, 2004). In the past two decades, there have been changes in the labour market that have contributed to the development of the Philippines as a major emerging supplier of merchant marine officers, such as the successes of FOCs discussed previously. Nevertheless, there is little detailed academic literature about the different aspects of Philippine MET. To complement the dearth of detailed academic analysis of Philippine MET, this section will utilise certain media reports covering some current initiatives regarding MET and related issues in the Philippines that are not mentioned in the academic literature.

The academic literature mostly focused on the overall quality of MET in relation to compliance with global standards. The works of Sampson (2003 & 2004) and her colleagues at the Seafarers' International Research Centre exemplify this view (see Sampson *et al.*, 2011; Bloor *et al.*, 2014; Dacanay, 2015). Issues revolved around the quality of Philippine MET arising from the insufficiency of financial, technological and human resources (Sampson, 2003), the failure of the state's strategy of self-regulatory enforcement to achieve global standards of MET (Sampson, 2004), and the appropriate method of assessment of seafarers' certificates (Sampson *et al.*, 2011) and training (Bloor *et al.*, 2014). Dacanay (2015) examined what the Philippine state has done in response to

the threat of the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA) not to recognise the Filipino seafarers' certificates on the grounds that the issuing authority (Philippine administration) is not complying with STCW, including its failure to monitor substandard maritime colleges (Dacanay, 2015). Dacanay (2015) pointed out the administrative mechanisms introduced by the Philippine state as responses to the evaluation of EMSA such as the introduction of MARINA as the STCW administration of the Philippines (Dacanay, 2015). The issues facing the Philippines are arguably common to the so-called "new labour supplying countries" (NLSC) where concerns exist over how and why some NLSC continue to be in disposed towards or non-compliant with global maritime standards (Sampson 2003; Obando-Rojas *et al.* 2004; Sampson *et al.*, 2011).

The portrayal of Philippine MET in the media and grey literature is consistent with what is claimed in the literature about its quality and the institutional problems of enforcing the global standards (Wadeson, 2003; Leander & Osler, 2012; Gamboa, 2013; Ronda, 2013; Hand 2013 & 2013B; MARITIMA, 2015). Particularly, issues in the grey literature suggest that the accreditation and monitoring capacities exercised by the Philippine administration over the maritime colleges, especially in relation to standards, has been left wanting (Philippine Star, 2011; Philippine Daily Inquirer, 2012; Gamboa, 2013; MARITIMA, 2015). This is exemplified by reports about audits conducted by the EMSA on the Philippine Maritime administration as mentioned above (Leander & Osler, 2012; Hand 2013 & 2013B; Ronda, 2013). Given that the results of the findings of EMSA are confidential and not meant for public use, the establishment of the Philippines' Maritime Industry Authority (MARINA) on March 2014 as the 'Single Maritime Administration and Enforcement' of STCW and 'international agreements and covenants related thereto'

(MARINA, 2014; Dacanay, 2015) has been viewed as the Philippine government's reaction to the EMSA audit (see Leander & Osler, 2012).

Given these analyses (offered both in the literature and to some extent in the media) the literature in general has failed to take into account two important changes in Philippine MET that have been taking place for the last 20 years. Firstly, the educational initiatives for seafarers introduced by the collaborations between the ship owners, unions, and private maritime colleges that have sprouted in the country in an attempt to improve cadetship programs, have been ignored except for the few accounts in the media (Garcia-Yap, 2011; Wingerie, undated). Secondly, the accounts of Filipino cadets on how they experience MET in the era of STCW have also largely been ignored. This thesis will examine these two areas using the experiences of cadets as a framework of reference to explore how these changes are influenced by the global standards. Moreover, the Philippines continues to train officer candidates for the labour market. It is valuable, therefore, to study this practice of training officers and the effects it has on the quality and experiences of officer cadets.

3.4.2 Role of ship-owners in STCW and the Philippine MET

The Philippines' *Commission on Higher Education* Memorandum Number 20, Series of 2014 sets the policies, standards and guidelines for the sea-time training of cadets (CHED, 2014). Following the recommendations of the STCW and as discussed above, ship owners are generally entrusted but not mandated to provide training berths for cadets aboard their vessels (CHED, 2014). This view can be deduced for example from Resolutions 12 & 13 of the 2010 STCW. Resolution 12 "recommends that Administrations, ship owners, ship managers, shipping companies, seafarer organizations and any other entities concerned, do their utmost to promote among young persons, a career at sea and to retain existing seafarers

within the industry” (IMO, 2011: 56). Resolution 13 of the 2010 STCW ‘urges ship owners, ship managers and shipping companies to provide suitable accommodation for trainees on board their ships both existing and new, whilst the cadets are undergoing training (IMO, 2011). In other words, the STCW provides guidelines to ship owners in how to fulfil their role in the training of cadets but cannot oblige them to provide training berths.

In spite of this less than ideal situation regarding the incapacity of global and national regulations to place ship owners under an obligation to provide training berths for cadets, the STCW and local regulators recognise the central role ship owners play in the officer cadetship training programs. It is common sense that ship owners need seafarers to crew their ships. Ultimately, it is ship owners who will employ the cadets once training is complete.

However, the maritime literature suggests that ship owners have differing attitudes towards and take different initiatives regarding the provision of training berths for cadets (Sampson, 2004; Gekara, 2009; Ghosh & Bowles, 2013;). Gekara (2009) attributed wastage or attrition rates of British cadets to a government policy that does not guarantee work, post-qualifications, in shipping companies sponsoring these cadets. Gekara’s (2009) findings partly addressed why there are fewer British seafarers compared, say, to Filipinos and concluded it is because British shipping companies are not legally obliged to provide post-qualification employment to British cadets as they command higher wages compared to, say, Filipino or Indian seafarers. Ghosh and Bowles (2013) examined the scarcity of shipboard training berths for cadets in Australia. They found that without the guarantee of a shipboard training opportunity “the potential personal cost including training fees, time and income loss provides a significant disincentive for trainees to become a qualified

seafarer, irrespective of the potential benefits” (Ghosh & Bowles, 2013: 18). Sampson (2004) demonstrated that ship owners are reluctant to invest in the training and education of cadets. If they do it is usually for the short-term labour requirements of their companies. Additionally, when ship owners provide training berths or placements for cadets during the latter’s shipboard training, questions have been raised about the quality of shipboard training programs suggesting that, in the past, some cadets have been used as cheap manual shipboard labour rather than being provided with a quality training period aboard (Sampson, 2004). However some of these findings, particularly of Sampson’s (2004) were based on research work done more than 10 years ago and it appears that some maritime stakeholders such as ship owners and maritime states have initiated changes to MET ever since. Significantly, the literature is silent about the more recent initiatives and collaborations between ship owners, maritime colleges and unions with regard to improving MET in the less developed countries, such as the Philippines.

There is a gap in the literature about the collaborations between stakeholders, primarily from the private sector, to improve MET in the Philippines and the effect this has had particularly in the training of cadets. Although there are some accounts in the media that call attention to the investment made by ship owning countries and/or foreign shipping companies in the training of Filipino officer cadets (Garcia-Yap, 2011; Wingerie, undated), the academic literature is silent on how these investments are organised and how they influence the training experiences of cadets. It is also silent on the type of relationships between the ship owners or companies and the cadets, where the former provide training berths aboard their vessels (see Ghosh & Bowles, 2013): Is the relationship between the ship owners and the cadets similar to the contractual relationship between the employer and

the apprentice like in the UK (Gospel & Fuller, 1998)? What is the potential effect of this relationship in the training of the cadets?

3.4.3 Summary of the section

Section 3.4 examined the literature on the effects of STCW on MET in the Philippines. It has shown that most of the literature about Philippine MET is framed under a regulatory perspective specifically examining how the country's MET is struggling to meet international standards. The case of the Philippines is crucial as it has been considered as one of the top so called 'new labour supply countries' for seafaring labour for the last two decades and it continues to train a new generation of Filipino officers. Section 3.4 also examined the literature on the role played by ship owners and shipping companies, acknowledged under the STCW, especially in relation to the development of future seafarers. It illustrated the different attitudes of ship owners and shipping companies towards supporting cadets although there is a gap in the literature regarding how this support is playing out in the less developed countries. Thus, this thesis will explore how the STCW affects (a) cadet training experiences and practices in the Philippines and (b) the role that ship owners and shipping companies play.

Summary of the chapter and some concluding remarks

This study will examine the experiences of cadets particularly within the process of education and training, and to place them into context. Firstly, Chapter 3 examined, the function of STCW as regulation intended to ensure the acquisition of seafarers' competencies through MET. However, STCW introduced a system of enforced self-regulation because of the primary role of individual states to enforce STCW through their

national provisions of MET. The literature indicated that this regulatory strategy is not delivering the intended aims of STCW. In spite of this, there are unexamined initiatives in the maritime sector such as cadetship programs in less developed countries such as the Philippines, aimed at improving MET whilst also providing the future shipboard labour needs of the shipping companies.

Secondly, Chapter 3 discussed STCW as a competence-based training framework and how this impacts fundamentally the conception of MET as providing the means and processes by which seafarers can obtain the competencies required to perform (future) work roles aboard ship. It discussed how the STCW structured MET in two phases, a college-based and a ship-based training program, which is akin to competence-based training programs such as teaching where there is a theoretical instruction phase and a work placement or apprenticeship phase. It also explored conceptual issues that have plagued the lack of clarity over the idea of competence as it is utilised in competence-based education and training, such as in vocational education and training. Mounting evidence in the literature has criticized CBT anchored to a behaviourist approach, where at the heart of these criticisms is the idea that CBT training programs are flawed at the fundamental conceptual level of competence. It remains to be seen how MET, as a CBT program using two phases (i.e., a college-based and an apprenticeship phase), affects the training experiences of cadets in relation to the desired goals of the global standards of MET.

Finally, using the case of the Philippines, it was demonstrated that STCW as a set of regulations poses challenges for the Philippine state, given its development as a major supplier of seafarers, as well as for ship owners as the employers of seafarers, and cadets. The literature has shown that there are institutional problems related to MET within the

Philippine state. In spite of these challenges and issues, competence development persists to be at the core of education and training for merchant seafarers. Hence, this chapter raises a couple of questions in relation to the occupational socialisation of cadets given what has been said in the literature. First, ‘What are the ways in which the international regulations of MET, couched within a CBT framework, influence the socialisation of cadets?’ Second, ‘What are the implications of this use of competence in MET for different states and stakeholders particularly the seafarer trainees? To respond to these questions, this thesis will look at the experiences of cadets from the Philippines in three data chapters (Chapters 5-7).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCHING MARITIME EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN THE PHILIPPINES

Chapter 4 discusses the use of qualitative method in this study and symbolic interactionism as a framework for collecting, constructing and interpreting maritime education and training as experienced by Filipino cadets especially in their college-based education. It does this: firstly by presenting selected elements of symbolic interactionism utilised by this study (Section 4.1); secondly, it shows and examines how symbolic interactionism can account for my fieldwork experiences in collecting and interpreting data in the college campuses (Sections 4.2); finally, it presents and examines the positionality of the researcher relative to the researched topic as well as the ethical concerns of the study.

4.1 Using symbolic interactionism to study cadet training

Symbolic interactionism (subsequently referred to as SI) is a sociological theory (Plummer, 1996) within qualitative research. SI is “a down-to-earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and human conduct. Its empirical world is the natural world of such group life and conduct” (Blumer, 1969: 67). For this thesis, SI is employed in terms of the process of collecting, constructing, presenting, exploring and analysing its case study (i.e., cadetship schemes) and research data taken mainly from the college campuses. Following Denzin and Lincoln (2005), for this study qualitative research is defined broadly as

...a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible.

These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln 2005: 3).

The foregoing quote provides a generic description of how this study views itself as a work of qualitative research. It shows a close relationship between the researcher (i.e., observer) and the world it seeks to understand. It is the researcher who tries to make sense, through interpretive practices, of the materials naturally found in the world that he/she studies. In this thesis it is the study of the daily experiences of cadets whilst they are in a maritime academy. The campus environment is the cadets' natural setting or their "life-world"¹⁸ as students. Hence, this research seeks to produce "rich descriptions" of the "everyday and mundane" life-world of the cadets within their college community thus making the same life world visible through my representation as a researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Ideally, the shipboard environment would constitute the cadet's sea-time training. However, shipboard observation and fieldwork were not possible because no shipping company gave access to their training vessels.

The foregoing view of qualitative research is consistent with how this study utilises SI, where the material collected and examined in qualitative research is something that cannot be separated from how the researcher discovers, frames and documents the researched field (i.e., the college campuses). This is only possible if (and this brings us to the first of four

¹⁸ For Schutz and Luckman (1974), life-world is a phenomenological concept referring to the everyday world of shared, ongoing flow of experience, from which we constitute objects and abstract objects.

themes of SI) it is assumed that “the human worlds are not only material, objective worlds but also immensely symbolic” (Plummer, 1996: 223).

Symbolic interactionism has four interweaving themes, which are use of symbols, process, interaction and engagement with the empirical world (Plummer, 1996). As shown in Chapter 2, seafaring is permeated with occupational culture full of symbols and meanings. This thesis assumes and examines empirical and experiential realities of the training of cadets, as imbued with symbols and meanings, embedded in a life world of an occupational culture (see Chapters 2 and 6). Moreover, SI focuses on processes observed as either evolution, adjustments, emergence or becoming (Plummer, 1996). This emphasis on process recognises the importance of the interactions of different stakeholders, including the interaction of an individual to his/her self (i.e., cadets) as a process of self-becoming. In this study, the development of cadets as they acquire competencies through education and training has been identified as a key element (see Chapters 6&7). Thus, symbolic interactionism theorizes acts and activities of human beings whilst going about their daily business, coming together as societies and establishing communities, through these interactions (Plummer, 1996). For this study, this translates into how the cadets are transformed daily in college campuses to become seafarers as they individually reflect on their educational and training experiences, as well as interact with their teachers, trainers, shipping sponsors and among themselves.

Furthermore, SI is primarily concerned with the interactions between the researchers and their study focus. Interactions are not necessarily those of the individual or society taken separately from each other but the “joint acts through which lives are organized and societies assembled” (Plummer, 1996: 224). As Becker puts it, interactionism concentrates

on “how people do things together” (Becker, 1986). In this thesis, the development of officer training programs is a central field of interest to the different stakeholders such as shipping firms and cadets themselves as well as to this researcher. Thus, such development is conceived of as a joint act of different stakeholders for example cadets, shipping companies and maritime colleges. Finally, an engagement with the empirical world is at the core of SI (Plummer, 1996). As mentioned above, the world that SI speaks of is the natural world the researcher finds him/herself in, particularly the life-world of the cadets in their college campus. This thesis assumes and explores the experiences of cadets embedded in a life world of education and training.

Given all the four themes of symbolic interactionism (i.e., use of symbols, process, interaction and engagement with an empirical world), Plummer noted rightfully that they are all “meshed together” in an interactive practice of knowledge production (Plummer, 1996: 224). For this thesis, primary importance is given in this study of the voices and reflections of the cadets and the symbols that are naturally found in their life-world as representations of the experiences of the quality of maritime education and training of would-be seafarers. Studying the occupational symbols of seafaring and their significance is assumed to contribute to understanding the occupational culture and ethos of seafaring reproduced in the training experiences of cadets. All the other key themes of SI mentioned here assist my role as researcher in understanding the training and educational experiences of cadets, including their shipboard training experiences.

As briefly mentioned, I had no access to ships where the cadets spend their sea-time training. Hence, this study did not benefit from shipboard observation. The application of

SI is limited to the college-based educational experiences of the cadets. I will discuss next how I applied SI in the collection of data.

4.2 Charting my case study and navigating fieldwork

This section presents how symbolic interactionism can account for my fieldwork experiences of collecting, constructing and interpreting data about experiences of cadets under the so-called “sponsored cadetship programs” (SCPs) in different campuses in the Philippines. The particular aims of this section are to justify and assess (a) the use of case study research design that consists of utilising (b) different data collection techniques such as individual and group structured interviews, (c) document analysis, and (d) field notes. Although my study will eventually revolve around the experiences of cadets and SCPs they were not within my original focus when I first went back to the Philippines to carry out a pilot test. In fact, when I conducted the pilot test my research focus was broad and based on research questions regarding the nature and function of (a) maritime education and training (MET), (b) the Standards of Training, Watchkeeping and Certification (STCW) for seafarers, and (c) training experiences of cadets and seafarers. SCPs were not part of my initial vocabulary at that time. Nevertheless, I can now present how and why SCPs have become pivotal in the story of my thesis and how it frames the experiences of the recruited trainees.

4.2.1 Officer cadetship programs in the Philippines: A case study

The use of a case study to examine *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs) within Philippine MET is methodically strategic for a couple of reasons. This strategy shows the contextual nature of a phenomenon under scrutiny, illustrated in Yin’s (2003 & 2014) concept of a

case study as an empirical inquiry that examines a contemporary or present social phenomenon within its real-life context and concentrates on a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003 & 2014). Thus, for this thesis I considered SCPs as a collective phenomenon, though there might be different programs under this general term (as will be shown in Chapter 5). In so doing, the empirical and symbolic realities of different training programs and those involved in them informed my understanding of who and what are involved in educating future officers.

Gummesson (2000) pointed out that a significant benefit of case study research is an opportunity to examine in detail what is involved in the phenomenon under study. In this study, the experiences of the trainees, the organization and practices of training as experienced by the cadets were explored. For Gummesson, a case study affords “detailed observations” that “enables us to study many different aspects, examine them in relation to each other, view the process within its total environment and also use the researchers’ capacity for understanding” (Gummesson, 2000: 86). That is, a case study of SCPs allows for an investigation of the different elements and aspects of the said phenomenon including the everyday language, symbols and practices that constitute a life-world of cadets whilst they are in training. It also presents opportunities to explore the broader factors that affect the same phenomenon. What follows is an account of conducting fieldwork and data collection in the Philippines.

4.2.2 Discovering, observing and constructing my case study

In hindsight, my fieldwork was rather a pivotal period because without my pilot test experience in the field, I would have not discovered SCPs as a legitimate and valid case study upon which to build on a thesis. My fieldwork is made up of two stages corresponding

to two visits to the Philippines. These two visits covered a total of 8 months, from August to October 2011 (pilot test), and November 2011 to March 2012 (data collection). Prior to these visits, Cardiff University granted me ethical approval for doing MET focused fieldwork and research in the Philippines. The Philippine trips were bridged by returning to Cardiff University from October to November 2011 in order to analyse my pilot test with my supervisors, with a view to improving my research interview protocols. In particular, the interview questions were focused on exploring the experiences of former and current cadets recruited to SCPs.

My fieldwork involved visiting several organisations and sites such as maritime campuses, training centres, crewing agencies, and shipping firms scattered all over the archipelago for example Manila, Bataan, Laguna, Cebu, Bacolod, and Iloilo (see Figure 4.1 below). Given the variety of organisations that I visited, the issue of bringing them all together under one common and useful concept was important because I needed a conceptual hook, as it were, to organise my data. I found this concept by coining ‘sponsored cadetship programs’ during my pilot test, which I discuss next.

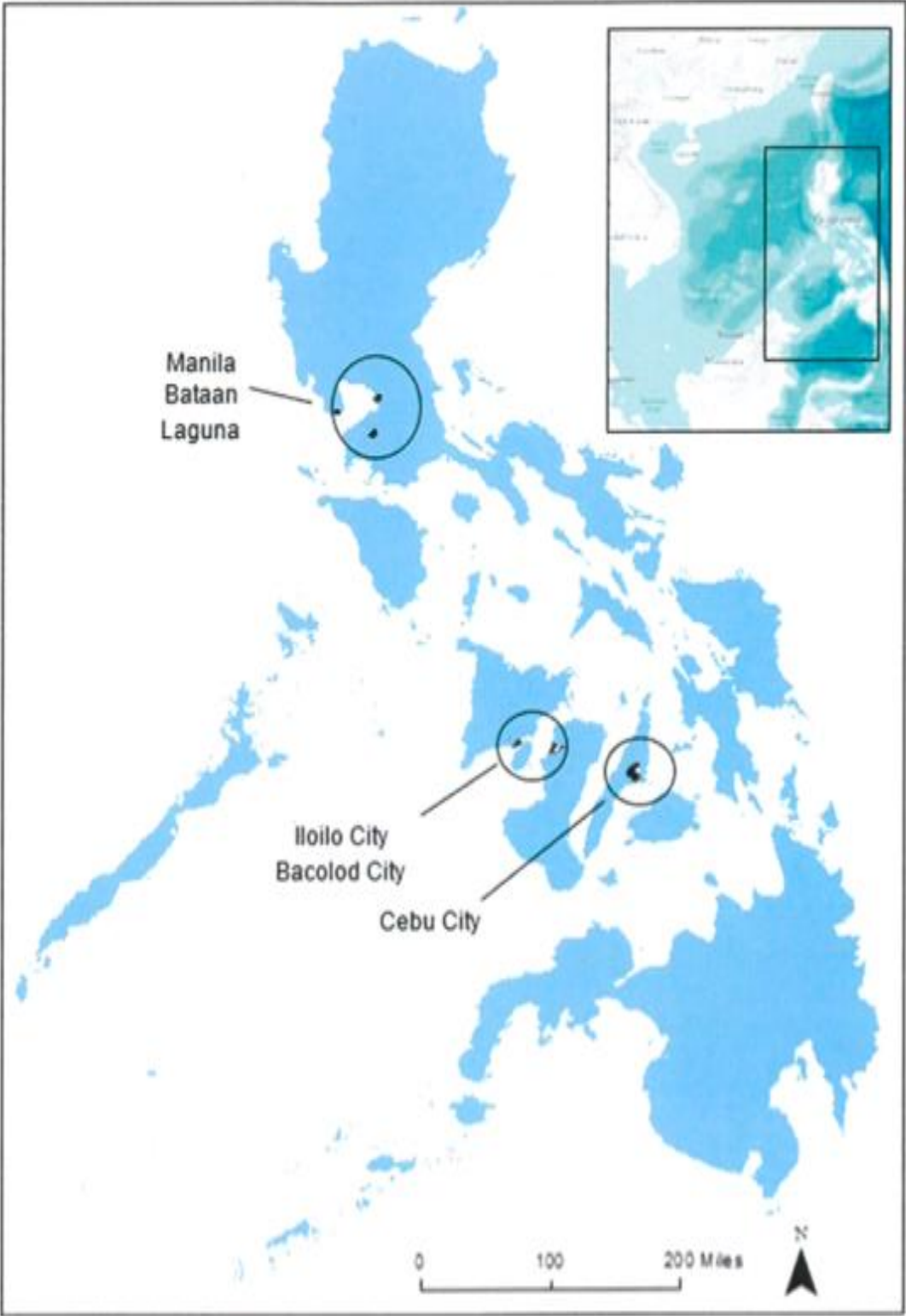


Figure 4.1: Philippine map with study sites (Source: Author).

4.2.3 The pilot test and its significance for this study

Commonly, the pilot test is carried out to test how well the research has been designed: the quality, efficacy and/or usefulness of the research instrument, for example the questionnaire (Scott & Marshall, 2009). However, for this thesis the pilot test was crucial in the development of the key research questions and the direction of the study in focusing on the experiences of cadets under SCPs. I explain this significance below whilst at the same time describing the pilot test.

For the pilot test, there were 3 interviews, two were conducted with individuals and one was a group interview. Prior to the interviews, I briefed the gatekeepers and the participants regarding the nature of my research and what was expected of them should they wish to participate (see Appendix 10). The briefing and debriefing were presented in written documents and included an informed consent form, the purpose of which I also explained to the participants (see Appendices 10-12; also Section 4.3.1 below regarding ethical concerns of this study).

After the consent forms were signed, the interviews were conducted in a mix of English and Hiligaynon, our native dialect in Iloilo (see Appendix 11).¹⁹ Two interviews took place on private maritime campuses at the expressed preference of the participants. One interview was conducted in a café. The questions for these participants revolved around the meaning or significance of maritime education and training, the basic requirements in MET, the purposes of MET, the strengths and weaknesses of MET, the roles of ship owners and/or shipping companies in MET, the role of the STCW in MET, their experiences of MET, and

¹⁹ The use of native language in order to engender trust from research participants will be discussed in Section 4.3.2 when I explain the ethical aspects of data collection.

the role of government in enforcing STCW, and sponsorships in MET. The average length of the interviews was an hour. After the interviews, I debriefed the participants through a document informing them how I intended to use the information they had shared as my research data, and to what purposes I would use it (i.e., data for thesis and as potential material for publication; see Appendix 12). I also reminded them about confidentiality and privacy afforded to research participants. Furthermore, I gave them my contact details (i.e., local mobile number and email address) through which they could reach me should they have questions about my research and/or their participation.

For the pilot test, I interviewed respectively a group of fourth year cadets (n=10), a school representative (who is also a seafarer, though he stopped working on board ships), and a chief mate who is an alumnus of a cadetship program (See Appendix 2 for tabular presentation of participants). In my first interview with cadets, I decided that instead of an individual interview, a group interview with 10 cadets would prove to be time-saving and interactive (see Appendix 3).

Following analysis of the pilot test interview data, I modified my research questions by focusing more on (a) the training experiences of cadets under SCPs, (b) the role of ship owners as sponsors of cadetships, and (c) the role of STCW in MET. At first these changes narrowed down what was initially a very broad research agenda prior to the pilot test. In hindsight, these modifications were important as they centred my research on the individual training experiences of cadets as a socializing process, whilst at the same time examining cadetship schemes as institutional practices adopted by program managers of cadetships and colleges that influence the socialisation of cadets. If I had not experienced conducting interviews in college campuses and observing what was going on in maritime schools, on

top of the constant reminder of my PhD supervisors to limit my research focus on a specific area or phenomenon, it would have never dawned on me to focus on SCPs themselves and the training experiences of cadets.

4.2.4 Data collection: The interviews

Having benefitted from the pilot test in terms of a much more focused topic to pursue, I conducted my fieldwork where I used several data collection techniques and the primary method, interviews, is what this section is all about. I managed to conduct two types of interviews, group and individual. The total number of participants interviewed was 74, where 47 of which participated in group interviews (n=7), and 27 were interviewed individually. The following table (Table 4.1) details the types of interview (i.e., group and individual) and the number conducted for each type.

Table 4.1: Types of interviews and number of total participants (N = 74)
(Source: Author)

Types of interview	Number of interviews
Individual	27
Group	7
Total interviews	34

The common themes running through the interview guides were questions concentrated on the development of cadetship training schemes and the training experiences of cadets within these programs. Examples of questions posed can be found at Appendices 4-6. In order to gather data for these questions, a number of different groups were interviewed

(e.g., cadets, seafarers, maritime colleges, and training managers). Each group was made up of 3-10 members. As a result, several different sets of interview guides, and informed consent forms were designed and conducted.

I used the same briefing and debriefing protocols I used during the pilot test when the interviews were conducted for my data collection. Before each interview, I asked all participants to read the study's information leaflet and sign the consent form provided prior to the interview. After the interview, I informed the participants about how I was going to use the data I gathered from them and gave them my contact details if they have questions about their participation or any issue about my research (See Appendices 10 - 12).

For me, interviews were “not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results” (Fontana & Frey 2000: 646). The interviews consisted of conversations that focused on the stories and experiences that my research participants encountered as a result of being part of MET. Moreover, I followed Holstein and Gubrium's notion that an “interview is a process of experiential animation” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011:151). This means for me that those involved in the interview (i.e., the interviewer and the interviewee) are considered as the active voices that together, creatively interpret a phenomenon or experience. This is especially applicable to the interviewee, because the respondent “does not only hold the facts and details of experience, but, in the very process of offering them up, constructively adds to, takes away from, and transform them into artefacts of the occasion” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011: 153). On my part as an interviewer, I also consider myself as part of the interpretive process during the interview (and subsequently in the analysis of the data) because I deliberately directed the participants to share their experiences about MET,

through my questions. This understanding of interview as a process of experiential animation is based on the perspective that meaning is “socially constituted from the actions undertaken to obtain it” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011:151). In other words, I thought of the interview as an encounter through which the voices of the participants communicated meaningful narratives about the experiences of maritime education and training in the Philippines whilst I was constructing an understanding of these experiences of MET.

For this study, a structured interview format was used. A structured interview meant that I asked respondents the same series of pre-established questions (Kvale 1996; Angrosino, 2007). The use of a structured interview was considered beneficial and practical because this strategy proved generally sufficient and useful in ‘building up’ ideas about cadet’s training experiences in particular and MET in general. As a result, I managed to collect valuable interview data because the participants shared their experiences in being trained as cadets or experiences of training cadets. The concept of the quality of the interview data used in this study reflects what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) called ‘interview quality’ as an element for good interview practice. Interview quality includes (a) the extent of spontaneous, rich, specific and relevant answers from the interviewees (e.g., cadets, seafarers), (b) the degree to which I, the interviewer, followed up and clarified the meanings of the relevant aspects of the answers, (c) my attempts as interviewer to verify my interpretations of the subject’s answers over the course of the interview and through follow up communications by email, and (e) the interviews being ‘self-reported,’ that is as self-reliant stories because these stories are common among those involved in cadetship schemes in the Philippines (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Significantly, the interviews with the current cadets were arranged by respective college coordinators, or managers of cadetship schemes. The typical way of recruiting cadet participants was that I first contacted the schools who would normally refer me to the cadets' sponsors (i.e., shipping firms or ship owners). The sponsors would decide whether I would interview the cadets or not. Some sponsors allowed me whilst some did not. This experience reaffirms what the literature claim about the role of gatekeepers, who are "people (who) can help or hinder research depending upon their personal thoughts on the validity of the research and its value" (Reeves, 2010: 317). In my case, the interviews I conducted were always dependent on the gatekeepers (i.e., sponsors, training managers and the colleges) because my main respondents (i.e., the cadets) were under the charge of gatekeepers. Interviewing officers who were trained under the SCPs posed less problems of access because the seafarers were not under the control of any organisation. The seafarer-respondents were recruited either in schools or training centres, where they were teaching or serving as trainers, or through snowballing and my informal network. How I negotiated access with the different groups I interviewed will be discussed separately in this chapter (see Section 4.3).

4.2.5 Group interviews

I had a total of seven (7) group interviews (see Appendix 7), with 3 to 10 participants in each, and 47 participants were involved in total. Of these group interviews, four involved cadets from four different maritime schools. Two interviews were conducted with seafarer alumni of cadetship programs and one with program managers of a shipping organisation that has a cadetship program. Morgan and Spanish (1984) noted the relative practicality of conducting group interviews compared to individual interviews, in terms of less time needed to gather the necessary information to develop a list of topics. Using group

interviews would yield probably the same result in terms of information gathered. Moreover, the quality of information gathered from groups depends on the interaction of the group members. Hence, it is suggested that homogeneous compared to heterogeneous groups would work better in a group interview because of the potential benefits brought about by shared experiences of a homogeneous group, for example students of the same college (Powell *et al.*, 1996 cited in McLafferty, 2004).

All the group interviews I conducted were homogeneous, that is, if I interviewed a group of cadets, then all were cadets with no officers present; if I interviewed officers then no cadets were present. In hindsight, conducting interviews with a homogeneous group appeared less problematic in terms of discussing the themes this research was exploring because group members were very familiar with each other, familiar and conversant with the themes being explored in the interview, and the homogeneity afforded the participants relative freedom to share among peers compared to a constraining encounter if, say, a training manager or school representative was present. Broadly, my experiences of group interviews appeared to have “positive group dynamics and” as a result our “interaction clearly enhanced (my) data collection” (McLafferty, 2004: 193). In short, I believe the participants responded well to my questions, giving very relevant and straight-forward answers, especially the descriptions of their training experiences as well as personal and professional views of their training and educational experiences as cadets.

4.2.6 Individual interviews

The interviews with individuals totalled 27 (see Appendix 8 for profiles). The type of interviewees varied. These were cadets (n=4), seafarer alumni of cadetship programs (n=7), president of a maritime academy (n=1), shipboard training officers of the different schools

(n=3), school coordinators (mostly guidance counsellors and seafarer lecturers) for the cadetship programs (n=5), deans of maritime colleges (n=2), and government representatives involved in MET such as the *Commission on Higher Education* (n=1), Maritime Training Council (n=1), the *Maritime Industry Authority* (n=2), and the *Technical Education and Skills Development Authority* (n=1). See Appendices 7 - 9 to view a snapshot of who participated in group and individual interviews.

Most interviews were conducted at the school of the cadets or the offices of the other participants. Whilst I audio recorded most interviews, not all participants were willing to be audio recorded particularly some government representatives. I wanted to qualify though that most of the audio-recorded data comes from group interviews that lasted from one hour to two hours, while individual interviews last from an hour to an hour and a half. Exceptionally there was one 35-minute group interview because it was carried out within the hour-long class period of the cadets. It was short due to the time spent finding the classroom, the routine pleasantries and the tight class schedule of the cadets that afforded me only a very small window to interact with them.

4.2.7 Data collection: Field notes as textual construction of study site

In hindsight, my visits to the Philippines for fieldwork was not only about conducting interviews or collecting documents from research participants, but it was also about constructing a textual representation of my research study site and how this influenced my analyses of the important issues of my study. Thus, my field notes, that is, my diary played a central and functional role in my thesis during my fieldwork, which I will discuss next. As much as possible, I kept a daily diary that eventually filled 4 notebooks. This diary was, following Jackson (1990), “a running log written at the end of each day... representing the

process of the transformation of observed interaction to written, public communication... ‘raw’ data, ideas that are marinating” (Jackson, 1990: 6-8). Without doubt, my diary is my personal account of the interviews and field observations. For instance, most of the time when I spoke to representatives of maritime colleges the word “sponsor” in cadetship programs would be mentioned (Field note, 30 August 2011), thus this allowed me to take note of this term and examine its potential meanings in relation to the said programs and in relation to my understanding of how MET in the Philippines is organised.

I used fieldwork notes to help me construct a representation of my study site by observing key patterns and relationships in relation to key stakeholders involved in SCPs. These notes included descriptions of (a) structure of MET in the Philippines, (b) locations of maritime colleges and shipping companies, (c) physical structures of maritime colleges, (d) routines in campuses, and the like. Using field notes in this way echoes what the literature says about field notes as raw “descriptive database for later generalization, synthesis, and theoretical elaboration” (Clifford 1990: 52) even though they are “personal diaries” (see Jackson, 1990; Sanjek, 1990; Fontana & Frey, 2000). This means that field notes are not only a source of personal recollection and collecting descriptive data but also as a source of constructing, representing, and interpreting a study site and the data collected.

In one of my earlier entries in my diary, I wrote

This maritime college is isolated and remote as it is about a 3-hour drive from the capital, Manila. The campus is perched, literally, on the edges of southern part of Luzon Island. It overlooks the historic Manila bay. A World War II heritage site, a small island, can be made out from where I was standing. It maybe surrealistic to see that small island where Filipino and American soldiers were battling it out against the Japanese navy 60 years ago and at the same time know that this campus was donated by a Japanese shipping organisation.

The campus felt like a rampart. You cannot go in unless the security guard allows you. Students are marching and saluting every day. When you walk and you approach them, they would stop, execute a salute, and greet you “Good morning, Sir”. It is a bit confusing for me to realize that I am observing this military-type drills in a private and merchant marine college. Confusing because these cadets are not going to be part of the navy or the armed forces immediately after graduation but they are trained, dressed, and talked a bit like the navy

– (Field note, 29 September 2011).

The above entry was intended to register my personal observations and some random thoughts. In hindsight, as I re-read it I realise that my personal diary has recorded an important insight for my data analysis, in this case observing the “military-type” training of cadets in a fortress-like private college campus as an important detail in understanding how cadets in the Philippines are being trained in private maritime academies. That is, some of these academies utilised a certain type of training practice (i.e., military-like) that at first impression seems unnecessary in training merchant mariners because these cadets would not go to the military navy.

During the pilot test, I managed two to three site visits per week, within my two month stay, to two maritime colleges. These visits meant turning up at the colleges in order to achieve two things. Firstly, they were important to help me familiarise, observe, and reflect on MET and the training environment within these campuses by taking notes of what I observed. Secondly, they allowed me to introduce the general direction of my research to key participants and to invite them for interview. During these visits, I would also conduct interviews, as described previously (Section 4.2.4).

During my main fieldwork, I followed the same pattern of visiting colleges for at least two to three times a week. In one of these visits, I was also given an opportunity to stay for a

couple of nights in a maritime campus in order to conduct interviews and observe as much as I could the routines of the cadets. Thus, my field notes are indispensable and are important in the way they helped me collect, construct and interpret my data. However, the interviews would remain as the main source of my data that substantiated, and at times challenged, my own understanding of what is going on in cadetship programs. I discuss next the content and the method of analysing the interviews.

4.2.8 Transcription and coding of interviews and documents

I transcribed all the interviews, which gave me the opportunity to listen to and study them carefully, and in consequence I became very familiar with the contents of the recordings. Some researchers consider that familiarization with recorded data, such as transcribing them, is part of the interpretative act (Bird, 2005) where themes, ideas and meanings are formed, challenged, changed, or strengthened (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). After transcription, I coded not only the interview transcripts but also the documents I gathered because for this study coding is an analytical method that allowed me to thematise the different data sets (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The use of themes in analysing data sources is a widely known practice in qualitative research which I adopted when coding interview transcripts, documents and my field notes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This is typically referred to as “thematic analysis”, which is an analytical tool that focuses on identifiable and key topics, matters, patterns of living and/or behaviour (Aronson, 1994). Themes are typically defined as units derived from patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006) such as conversation topics, vocabulary, regular activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). What these meant in practice, I coded the words, terms, or phrases that

pointed to or alluded to symbols, and meanings that could be associated with training, education, occupational socialisation, seafaring culture, the shipboard life-work environment, or the values associated with seafaring and MET. Codes were also developed in relation to the organisation, structure and elements of sponsored cadetship programs including the symbolic significance of these in the formation of officer cadets. In my field notes, I recorded symbols or signage in maritime colleges, shipping companies, brochures of cadetship programs, the persona of the cadets (e.g. uniforms, hairstyles), and the like as these symbols appear to be part of the daily lived experiences of the members of local communities and organisations involved in the training of cadets, seafaring and MET.

In analysing symbols and other artefacts I found in schools and shipping companies, I utilised Pepper's concept of "root metaphors". Pepper (1942) viewed symbols as a set of categories for conceptualizing and organising aspects of an experience (e.g., training experience) based on the likeness of those aspects of experience with the symbols used. In this view, there are key symbols around which the aspects of an experience can be organised and understood, which Pepper referred to as "root metaphors" (See also Ortner, 1973). For example in my field notes, the dominance of daily routines in the daily lived-experiences of the cadets on campus is very apparent that these routines were almost mechanistic and ritualized. So, I categorised as a root metaphor the concept of routine or ritual. However, I also employed a different technique in thematising the other data sources, which I describe next.

The following is a description of how I thematised my data sources (i.e., interviews, documents and field notes), to varying degrees. I was more methodical in thematising interview transcripts as these constituted the primary source and bulk of the data I present

in this study. The two other sources (i.e., field notes and documents/records) are just as important but they have been organised by me and by participants respectively, according to particular purposes (i.e., for my field notes as my personal diary, or by the organisation who own the document).

In thematising my data sets, I began to form codes and themes based on what my participants were sharing in relation to their experiences of MET, how they view their MET experiences, how they felt about being part of the SCPs, how they behaved or misbehaved during their training period and so forth. For interview transcripts, my supervisors guided and critiqued my initial coding. From this experience, I developed patterns based on the codes of the different data sources (i.e., interview transcripts, field notes and documents). Patterns are repeated codes from which some of the important themes of the thesis were introduced. For example, daily routines and the use of symbols (e.g., uniforms) were found both in interview transcripts and my field notes. All of the interview lines or document items that fall under specific patterns are identified and placed under a corresponding and general theme. The research questions and my growing familiarity with cadetship training programs were the reasons for adopting the themes.

After this initial process of coding and thematising my data sets, I linked and catalogued related patterns into sub-themes, where the latter are “themes-within-a-theme” (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Now that I have different subthemes I related them together by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone" (Leininger, 1985: 60). That is to say, I made sure that the sub-themes I have developed could be categorised under a broader theme. In practice this meant, themes and subthemes that I have developed from the participants' accounts, documents,

and my field notes were pieced together so as to outline a comprehensive picture of the data on the collective educational and training experiences of cadets. However, it should not be forgotten that I am the primary interpreter and analyst of my data sets, following Leininger (1985) I believe that the "coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together" (Leininger, 1985: 60). This means that the final decision of what interpretations and arguments to use in this study rested on the author of this thesis.

The following extract from a transcript is an example of how I coded my data.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT #1	CODES
<p>Respondent: Welcome to (name of maritime academy). This is a 100% scholarship school. We do not accept tuition fees. We are welfare arm for education of a seafarers' union (names union), so, all the properties here are owned by the union. (I think) It is the only seafarers' union in the world that has a tertiary school. Of late, we have an approval from the government to run a master's degree. So, we are more than a tertiary level now. But it is the only seafarers' union that has it (the academic structure).</p>	<i>Sponsorship of cadets</i>
<p>Having said that, since all our students are scholars, the scholarships are being paid for by shipping companies. Before I get into the shipping companies. But first, in the Philippines there are companies that are the manning agencies. The shipowners themselves, the ones that signed the collective bargaining agreement with the union, are not really here. They are represented by the manning agencies in the Philippines whose task is to crew the ships, and get people to recruit for them to man the ships. This is slowly changing now. Some of the manning agencies are "upgrading", if you like, to become ship managers. That means that crewing agencies now manage the whole operation of the ship. This is an added layer to the operation of shipping firms.</p>	<p><i>Sponsors of cadets</i></p> <p><i>School relationship with sponsoring shipping firms</i></p> <p><i>Tasks of sponsors or agents of sponsors</i></p>

Figure 4.2: Sample of interview transcript.

The way the codes are expressed in the sample above however, may not always directly provide the reasons for the codes. That is why in thematic analysis, codes are related to the concepts that are introduced elsewhere such as in the literature reviewed and the objectives of this study. This means that the codes developed in the sample followed a certain logic

of the research, that is to say a way of connecting codes with potential arguments that the data can support.

The following (Figure 4.3) is an example of a portion of a document obtained during my research and how I interpreted it using codes.

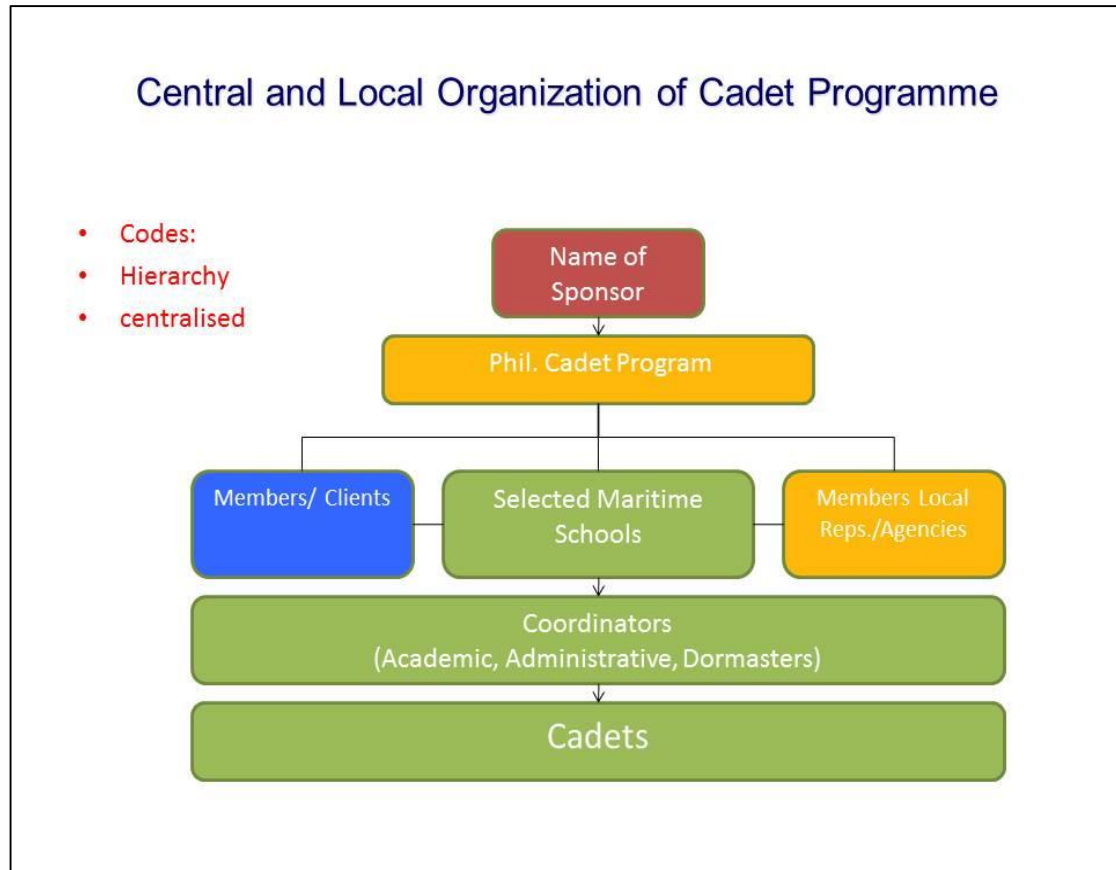


Figure 4.3: A structure of a shipping organisation (Source: Research Participants).

The figure above demonstrates how an organisation views its own structure in relation to managing its cadet program in the Philippines. It shows which parties are involved at different levels of the program. Figure 4.3 also shows, in the left hand side of the figure, the codes I used to interpret this document.

4.2.9 Validity and reliability of qualitative research data

This study is located in qualitative research and as such it follows the assumption employed in qualitative research, expressed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 2007), that validity refers primarily to the inferences or reasoning of the author based on the data. This means particularly that the validity of the data focused chiefly on the quality of the arguments and claims about the experiences of the cadets of MET. This means to say that the trustworthiness and credibility of the arguments and representations of this study rest on how these faithfully represent the experiences of the cadets of MET (Seale, 1999). Furthermore, following Lincoln and Guba (1985), the reliability of the method of this study is manifested along its validity because in a qualitative study “there can be no validity without reliability” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 316). This means to say that the reliability of this study is based on the consistency of its claims in representing the experiences of the cadet of MET in the Philippines.

4.3 Access, the insider-outsider researcher and ethical concerns

Using literature on a researcher’s positionality, I discuss my own status relative to my case study and how this position is an integral part of data collection and interpretation, accessing participants, and the ethical responsibilities as a researcher (4.3.1).

For my study, access meant conducting interviews with participants such as cadets, seafarers, shipping sponsor representatives, or school representatives, and an opportunity to ‘sit and observe’ students and maritime college campuses as they go about their daily business. Feldman *et al.* (2003) called attention to both theoretical and practical aspects of gaining access to key informants. These aspects present “a general theory of access that

recognizes gaining access as a process of building relationships... (and) includes the art of self-presentation” (Feldman *et al.*, 2003: vii). In my experience, it is important to note that the process of building relationships was taking place not only with my human participants but also with my study site, that is, the environment of maritime college campuses. One important aspect of gaining access was my status as an insider-outsider researcher for the reason that my positionality would either facilitate or hinder access to the research participants and/or the study site.

For this study, the insider-outsider status is not an absolute binary between ‘being in’ and ‘being out’ of a group or community, but rather, following Fay (1996) my researcher’s status is a dialectical approach where one is neither totally an insider nor outsider. In other words, it is a complex and negotiated status (De Andrade, 2000; Guevarra, 2006), a ‘space between’ (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), where differences (i.e., being an outsider) and similarities (i.e., being an insider) are neither absolute nor utterly antagonistic (Fay, 1996). An insider researcher is thought of as one whose research approach is characterised by his/her membership status within a group including knowledge of and familiarity with its culture, members, language and practices (Fay, 1996).

I consider myself as an ‘insider researcher’ in relation to the Philippines and seafaring families because I am a Filipino native who grew up in an extended family of seafarers and shore-based workers in the maritime industry. My father, brother, cousins and now nephews were or are seafarers. My hometown, Metro Iloilo,²⁰ is historically one of the main

²⁰ For a detailed historical account of the development of Iloilo as a port town in the 19th century onwards see McCoy and de Jesus (1982) and Larkin (1982). Also, see Appendix 1 for a descriptive overview of geographical and demographic features of Metro Iloilo.

port cities in the archipelago. Iloilo's history as a port town goes as far back as the times when the Spaniards colonized the archipelago in the 16th century and it developed significantly when it shipped sugar to the Americas and the United Kingdom in the period spanning the end of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century (McCoy & de Jesus, 1982). One of the most enduring and significant influences of Catholic Spain was to establish a diocese in one district of Iloilo, Jaro in 1865 (Abella, 1963; Corrigan, 1918).

The development of Metro Iloilo as one of the country's educational centres is crucial as it became home to a number of maritime colleges (CHED, 2013). This is of personal importance to me as I was schooled in this town and spent almost 10 years teaching introductory philosophy and ethics courses in a state university. As an instructor, this gave me some experience in how higher educational institutions operate in the Philippines. Thus, considering myself an insider researcher in higher education institutions, I used my personal and professional networks to identify and invite potential research participants. I was aware too that in spite of my status, research is about building relationships.

For this study, the process of building relationships whilst doing fieldwork involved identifying key informants, and learning how to build up and nurture relationships within the research process (see Feldman *et al.*1993). At the start, I used my informal network of family and friends who are working in the maritime industry to access participants. In other words, I used my insider status as a means of gaining access and building relationships to potential research participants. Feldman *et al.* (2003) noted that in gaining access to research participants, researchers in qualitative studies have to negotiate their roles (see Feldman, *et al.*2003). I used formal letters with attachments that included the research

information sheet, an informed consent form and a debriefing document, all written in English, to invite suitable candidates to become research participants (See Appendices 10-12). I first sent these documents to maritime colleges/academies in my hometown, Iloilo, during the pilot test. As discussed previously, the site visits to the campuses were seminal in identifying a particular training practice (i.e., the SCPCs) because one of my first encounters with maritime schools was a group interview of cadets recruited in one sponsored program.

Eventually, I used the same technique of research invitation I had employed during pilot test for my data collection. However, I extended my research invitation not only to maritime colleges but also to shipping companies, crewing agents, government departments, seafarers who were alumni of SCPs.

Having benefited from my insider status to gain access, I was also aware of its potential limitations for research. Asselin (2003) showed that although the researcher might belong to the researched group or community, there is a need for bracketing assumptions because a researcher might not always understand certain aspects such as the subculture of the phenomenon being studied (e.g., MET or cadetships). In the same vein, Rose (1985) claimed that in this type of research,

There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing" (Rose, 1985: 77).

What the quote means is that the awareness of being an insider researcher is important because a researcher's status can both be a strength and weakness. That is to say, one's status is a fluid status where it could be a barrier or an enabling factor in collecting and

examining data depending on the intellectual sensibility and awareness of the researcher on what is actually going on during the research process. The argument being that collecting good data is not the same as the critical examination of the data because a researcher may have good access to data but this does not translate necessarily to a critical analysis of the data. However, I am also an ‘outsider researcher’ to seafaring, which I discuss next.

“I am not a seafarer” is an expression that I am an outsider researcher to seafaring. For Adler and Adler (1987), “outsider researchers” are those who are not involved in core activities of a community or group that they study. Outsider research is thought of as a research approach, which is similar to what Fay asked: “Do you have to be one to know one?” (Fay, 1996: 9). Fay (1996) argued that membership of a group being studied is neither necessary nor sufficient in order to “know” the experience of that group. His argument is, “Knowing an experience requires more than simply having it; knowing implies being able to identify, describe, and explain.” (Fay, 1996: 20). However, being an outsider to seafaring could also mean that I am not personally and professionally involved in the occupation. Fay (1996) proposed that even though one is not a member of a group this fact could sometimes facilitate an understanding of the group that is different from the group’s own self-understanding of their community. Fay’s argument is that group members are often very involved in their own experience that the necessary and sufficient distancing required to examine their experience is not available; thus, non-members might more satisfactorily conceptualise their experience (Fay, 1996). So, my distance as a non-seafarer permitted me to view potentially the seafaring profession without the emotional and professional attachment to it.

What these notions of insider and outsider researcher means is that I was aware of my dual but fluid positional ties as a researcher. Fluid because being an insider-outsider is often times conferred to the researcher by the research participants, which means I can be an insider in one instance and be an outsider in another (Guevarra, 2006, Turgo, 2012 & 2012B).

4.3.1 Ethical concerns

The research study was carried out following the guidelines of Cardiff University and *British Sociological Association* (BSA). Prior to fieldwork, ethics approval was granted by Cardiff University. My study raised some general ethical concerns during the ethics review process. These were that my research might potentially be a disruptive activity for participants because their anonymity and the confidentiality assured for the study and the participants might be issues for them. However, during fieldwork there were other concerns such as the use of native language (i.e., Hiligaynon) as a means to establish rapport and trust before and during interview.

The first ethical issue raised was the kind of intervention that the researcher must inevitably make that is instructive of the research study but not intrusive into the lives of those who would participate (BSA, website; Guillemin & Gillam 2004; Wood; 2006). That is, as this project meant interviewing different private individuals, especially seafarers and cadets, it was guaranteed that any personal information shared should be kept confidential particularly the personal views and opinions that may attract unwanted and unpleasant attention to the participants. For example: a) all names referring to the participants in Chapters 5 to 7 are aliases in order to protect my participants' identities; and b) as this research touched on the regulation of maritime training, comments on regulatory bodies

may be sensitive. Thus, the researcher guaranteed that views on sensitive matters would be kept confidential if the respondents so wished.

The second ethical concern was to communicate to participants the nature of the research project and its ethical dimension (BSA website). Important details were given to participants such as what is the research all about, what is expected of them if they participate, what are the concerns at stake such as ethical issues if they decide to participate, the responsibility of the researcher to protect the interests and privacy of the participants, ethical matters of publishing texts where personal identities are involved, and so forth (BSA website). Ethical matters regarding the publishing of texts where personal identities are involved were handled with due care and caution especially when there was information shared by respondents that is sensitive. This was addressed by flagging or cautioning respondents that some of the information they shared could be of a sensitive nature. This was done in several ways. One was through the written informed consent form. That is, respondents were informed in writing that they might be serious, sensitive and/or confidential information that they might unwittingly share and that they were reassured that due caution was necessary before sharing anything. A second means was either in the interview schedule by identifying explicitly which questions were of a sensitive nature, or by the interviewer asking the respondents during the interview to decide which interview content was sensitive. Furthermore, the respondents were informed that they might either choose whether or not to answer questions they found sensitive.

The third issue raised was how to protect the identity of those who participated such as those being interviewed. At times, the interview process had to touch on personal identities, professional lives, and the operation of different organisations. As with all communal life,

conflicts and problems, both personal and professional, were revealed in both individual and group interviews and/or conversations. The researcher had to be ethically responsible in handling sensitive, personal and professional information that was willingly and at times unwittingly shared. Furthermore, culturally sensitive techniques and issues of drawing out informed consent of individual participants was clearly delineated. For example, the use of written informed consent forms when conducting interviews was necessary. However, sometimes informed consent forms were not sufficient to communicate to participants the prerequisites of conducting an ethical interview. Thus, verbal communication was at times necessary to communicate what the research was all about and what was being asked from participants. Literature suggests that there might cultural differences between the researcher and the research participants, which might affect how informed consent may be drawn from participants (Turgo, 2010). Some cultures may find it unnecessary to put into written form what has already been agreed in conversation. This was true of this research during fieldwork because at times consent was negotiated through personal contacts where trust and familiarity were factors. Nevertheless, the researcher did make the signing of informed consent forms a priority during fieldwork. Interviewees were always informed of the necessity of giving their consent for participating, and a written informed consent form was always ready.

Fourthly, the researcher was aware of the potential agenda of the informants (e.g., cadets, maritime colleges, cadetship program managers, and government representatives) when they grant interviews (Miller-Adams & Myers, 2003). Organisations and individuals within organisations represent the thrusts of that organisation. If a researcher managed to gain access to a key informant in an organisation, he or she must also manage critically the information that is shared by the organisation and its staff. As Hammersley and Atkinson

(1983) pointed out, organisations would want to make sure that they are seen in a favourable light. As independent research, the aim of this study does not include advertising the best or the worst images of key informants and the organisations they respectively represent. Rather, this research is very much aware of what Coffey (1993) refers to as the researcher's dilemma in social science research. That is, how to balance the study's narrative so that the key informants such as different organisations and its members would evaluate the presentation of study without necessarily being represented as either agreeable or disagreeable organisations.

Fifthly, by asking participants to speak either or both in English and our native language, I intended to achieve two things. First, I aimed to create a rapport by using our native language so that a sense of belonging and trust can be achieved. By choosing to interview them in Hiligaynon and neither in English nor Tagalog, I was deliberately using our language as a means to establish that rapport. I was also aware that in mentioning my family as a seafaring family, I was further negotiating my role as an 'insider' to seafaring families by advocating perceived commonalities with other seafaring families especially from my home town.

Lastly, the safety and well-being of the researcher was part of the research process (BSA). The fieldwork for this research took place in several cities in the Philippines. One of which is the province and the city (Iloilo) from where the researcher comes and has worked for several years. Nevertheless ethical issues such as constant communication with the researcher's home university through his supervisor(s) were acknowledged. So a regular communication pattern with the Seafarers' International Research Centre (SIRC) of Cardiff University was set up. SIRC is the research centre to which the researcher is connected. A

constant and regular communications pattern with the supervisors through e-mail was part of the arrangement for the fieldwork.

Summary of the chapter

Chapter 4 presented the methodological account of this study. The account included a selection of purposeful data collection techniques and a framework of data analysis so that a comprehensive set of data could provide responses to the questions and aims of the research. A broad use of symbolic interactionism coupled with a case study research design, anchored the methodological framework of this study while acknowledging and justifying the embeddedness of the researcher as a native to the local study site.

In addition, the researcher utilised a multi-modal strategy in collecting data such as individual and group interviews, analysis of relevant documents or records, and site visits using observational field notes. This strategy afforded the researcher rich opportunities for interaction with the participants, their life worlds, and the study area (i.e., maritime campuses, Philippine MET). As data sources are multiple, this presented an opportunity for an extensive view of the socialisation of cadets, which is the experience of Filipino cadets while they are under “sponsored cadetship programs” in Philippine college campuses and on commercial vessels plying internationally.

The different sources of data, their analysis, the growing familiarity of the researcher with the study area, the participants and their life worlds, and revisiting the relevant literature, all contributed to employing the theory of occupational socialisation to be applied to the experiences of cadets. The next three chapters (Chapters 5-7) present and examine the data.

CHAPTER 5

SPONSORED CADETSHIP PROGRAMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Introduction

Chapter 5 broadly identifies and examines the nature and functions of *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs) as the adopted training platforms within Philippine maritime education and training (MET). Specifically, it aims to (a) present and situate the SCPs as the primary learning and training environment of the cadets through which they are socialized into seafaring (Section 5.1); (b) identify and describe models of officer training schemes within the context of Philippine MET, primarily focusing on what SCPs offer in relation to compliance with global and national standards of MET (Section 5.2); and (c) to describe and analyse key elements shared by different cadetship schemes, principally examining the use and significance of “Memorandum of Agreement” (Section 5.3). In other words, Chapter 5 examines SCPs as a means to providing the training environment in which to initiate cadets into learning the work roles of officers. Its analysis is based on data from interviews, documents, and field notes gathered in the Philippines from August 2010 to May 2011. The names of the participants in this chapter and in the rest of the thesis are all aliases in order to protect their identities.

5.1 Sponsored cadetship programs as training and learning environment for the socialisation of officer cadets

Section 5.1 presents and situates the sponsored cadetship programs (SCPs) as the training and learning environments adopted by shipping sponsors of cadets in collaboration with private maritime colleges in the Philippines. It is crucial to situate and identify the learning

environment of the cadets in exploring their experiences of training because it would be a mistake, according to constructivist theories of learning, to separate out either learning or the learner from the contexts in which the learning takes as each is part of the other (see Scribner, 1990/1997; Packer & Goicoechea, 2000). Learning is thought of as an interactive process, rooted in a specific socio-cultural context. From this point of view, knowledge is inextricably interwoven with the social and physical environment in which it is developed and applied (Scribner, 1990/1997; Packer & Goicoechea, 2000). In other words, in this analysis, the experiences of training of the cadets are regarded as embedded in the training environment produced by the SCPs, in particular what these offer in terms of officer training.

5.1.1 SCPs as the new learning and training environment for officer training

The notion of sponsored cadetship program (SCP) as a new training and learning environment in the Philippines will be unpacked initially in this section but the extent of this environment encompasses the next two chapters. The SCPs are characterised by formal, binding and private agreements between a ship owner or a shipping organisation, who acts as a patron or sponsor, and a maritime student; where the sponsors provide support for the student, so that the latter completes a bachelor's maritime degree required to become an officer. Each of the elements in the preceding description will be discussed in detail in Section 5.2 below. By introducing here the nature of SCPs, it is intended to set it up as both a training program and a learning environment. The literature on learning experiences suggests that “the learners construct their own experience... in the context of a particular social setting and range of cultural values (because) learners do not exist independently of their environment” (Boud *et al*, 1993: 13). This means that to understand the experiences

of cadets in the Philippines, it is necessary to set up and understand the environment in which their experiences are embedded.

The SCPs are relatively new learning and training environment because these are the platforms adopted by the shipping sponsors in collaboration with local private maritime schools in the Philippines to train officer trainees in the last 20-30 years. A managing director of one cadetship program shares how their program was developed in the 1990's:

The cadetship program started in 1993. The European ship-owners saw the need to improve the quality of maritime education and training in the Philippines so they went to different maritime schools and identified 7 or 8 schools to be their affiliate schools for the SCP.

– Johann, Managing Director of a Model 1 program, Group Interview #1.

The quote appears to respond to the concern over the quality of Philippine MET, discussed in Chapter 3, when the participant pointed out that the reason why foreign ship owners come to the Philippines was to improve the quality of MET. Another way of understanding the quote is probably that Filipino seafarers, if trained according to the standards that regulators and ship owners require, are much more cheaper to train and hire compared to, say, their European, American or Japanese counterparts (see Sampson, 2003). Nevertheless, it is clear from the quote that sponsors intent on recruiting seafarers from new labour supply countries like the Philippines are seeking out and establishing officer training programs in some of these countries. In effect, what this means is that the sponsors are establishing new platforms of officer training.

To unpack this concept of SCP as a training and learning environment, one of the participants viewed the development of SCPs as follows

The sponsors have decided that the training of their cadets will be a little different. They cannot change the national curriculum because we are using the national curriculum. They cannot change the curriculum but they can add. So, because of that they put up their own campus. Those structures are only for cadets who are going to these patron companies.

– Peter, President of a maritime school, Interview #5

The participant is saying that the patrons of cadetship schemes could determine the type of training of the cadets the sponsors recruited. In the extract, the sponsors invested in setting up a campus for their trainees, which means that the sponsors in collaboration with a maritime school decided to train a selected group of trainees recruited by the sponsors. Furthermore, the president of the school noted that sponsors have to abide with the Philippine standards of seafarers' training but they can also 'add' to it. This means that aside from the national curriculum, sponsored cadetships could potentially modify seafarers' training according to, say, the requirements of the shipping patrons.

To sum up, there are a number of key elements of a sponsored cadetship program identified in the above extracts to justify the notion that SCPs produce new learning and training environment for officer training. First, any shipping patron should follow the Philippine standards of MET but they could modify by adding some training elements that they see fit. Second, sponsors invest in training the Filipino cadets (more of this in the following section). Finally, the sponsors collaborate with maritime colleges if they want to train the cadets according to a program they preferred. From these elements, we could infer that sponsored cadetships tend to create a particular training and learning environment in educating officer trainees because they fund these schemes and they want to either 'add' other training elements to the existing national curriculum or 'improve' the quality of Philippine MET, whatever that may mean. As a conclusion for this section, the SCPs are

considered as part of the institutional practices of training officer cadets in the Philippines because they intent to train officers according to the national standards of MET but they are mainly developed by shipping sponsors. The different functions and operations of SCPs will now be unpacked, starting with the next section, which describes the different models of SCPs found in the Philippines.

5.1.2 Models of SCPs in the Philippines and their organisation

This section intends to present how SCPs organise and function within the global and local standards of MET. As described in Chapter 3, the STCW and the Philippine standards structure MET in two phases: college-based training and sea-based training. This structure of MET is significant because it provides the framework for the operations and organisation of SCPs.

From my analysis of the interviews, records and documents collected, I have identified 4 models of SCPs as a means of understanding different schemes by distinguishing and examining their functions, operations and organisation including the key stakeholders involved. The models are also developed in order to identify shared and common elements among the schemes (Discussed in Section 5.2 below), in particular key elements that influence directly the occupational socialisation of cadets (see Chapters 6&7).

I used two criteria in developing these models: the organisational structure of SCPs and the sources of funding to support the cadet's MET. Broadly, SCPs are designed in order to deliver provisions consistent with the way MET programs are structured (i.e., college-based education and ship-based training). However, from an analysis of information received through participant interviews and documentary sources, how the college-based and ship-

based training are delivered differs; while these models are not exhaustive they are illustrative of sponsored cadetships in the Philippines I have identified as the main ones. The models of SCP that I have devised are *Shipping Sponsor-controlled model*, *Union-backed model*, *Company-owned school model*, and *Shipboard Training-only model*.²¹

These models are not intended to be comprehensive and deductive conceptual constructs from which all cadetships in the Philippines could be subsumed; rather they are based on limited access to cadets and maritime colleges. Thus they are starting points for examining how these institutional practices of cadetship programs may be understood within a regulatory framework, and specifically how these models are designed to comply with the standards.

The following table (Table 5.1) presents in tabular form the characteristics of each model of SCP. This table is presented at the onset of Chapter 5 in order to provide the reader an initial overview of the models and to highlight the differences among SCPs. The tabular presentation is provided as Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: An overview of the different models of cadetship schemes in the Philippines.

Models of Sponsored Cadetship Programs (SCPs)	Characterisation of Models
Shipping sponsor-controlled model (Model 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sponsor or their representative dictates the terms and conditions of the SCP • Either fully or partially funded program depending on the shipping sponsor’s financial resources • Duration of scholarship could be between 3-4 years • Sponsors conduct their own selection and retention process

²¹ The Philippine Merchant Marine Academy (PMMA) was deliberately omitted from the study as this thesis intended to focus only on private maritime colleges. The PMMA is a state-funded school. The PMMA’s cadetship model is based on a 3-year state-subsidized MET and companies recruit PMMA’s cadets for the mandatory shipboard training (PMMA Representative, Interview #22).

Models of Sponsored Cadetship Programs (SCPs)	Characterisation of Models
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sponsors select affiliate maritime colleges where to recruit students • Sponsors on the average recruit 400-500 students per year
<p>Union-backed model (Model 2)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A seafarers' union owns a private maritime school • The school through the union has a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) and/or Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with different shipping sponsors to support students in the union's school • The union's private maritime school has its own policy for sponsoring cadets whilst accommodating at the same time the policies of the sponsors • The school conducts its own selection process and distributes the students to their sponsors according to the CBA or MoAs with the sponsors • 4-year and fully funded cadetship program • Sponsors on the average recruit 400-500 students
<p>Company-owned School model (Model 3)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private school is co-owned by a foreign shipping firm • Families of cadets pay for tuition and other school fees during the 3-year college-based MET but shipboard training is guaranteed by the private school • The guarantee of shipboard training is possible because the sponsoring shipping organisation is part-owner of the school • The private school takes about 150-200 students per year
<p>Shipboard Training-only Model (Model 4)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only shipboard training is promised by a sponsoring shipping organisation through a maritime college • Families of students pay for tuition and other school fees but the school does not guarantee the shipboard training • Offered in different maritime schools by different sponsoring firms • Sponsoring organisations conduct its own selection process for shipboard training • After student finishes the 3-year academic requirements they would be allowed to apply to companies for shipboard training • It is difficult to calculate how many cadets are taken in this model type due to the sheer number of students from Philippine maritime schools (n=91) operating in 2010/2011 when data was collected and because these students have completed their college-based education and therefore are no longer in campuses

5.1.3 Shipping sponsor-controlled model (Model 1)

The first SCP model I refer to as “Shipping sponsor-controlled Model” (Model 1). Model 1 is a management approach characterised usually by the control over the cadetship program exerted by shipping companies or ship owners through their representatives. According to the group interview with 3 managers of the cadetship program, Model 1 aims to recruit the best possible senior high school students who are about to enter higher education and run a campaign to persuade them to pursue a MET degree. The students targeted for recruitment to this model usually have good high school grades. My analysis suggests that in Model 1 the utilization of the high school grades obtained by students to identify their quality is a very important element in their program. This model has recruited about 400-500 students per year since 1993 (Group Interview #1).

The financial resources of this model come from different sources (Group Interview #1). Part of the money comes from the training levy the organisation is entitled to from the European country of which the individual shipping sponsors are citizens (Johann, Managing Director, Group #1). That is, the levy is collected from the shipping community of sponsors from a European country of domicile and used for the MET of seafarers working for the fleet of that country.

Basically, the program is funded by an association of European ship-owners.... The funding comes from the training levy on Filipino seafarers working or serving this particular group of European ship-owners.

– Vic, Project Manager, Group Interview #1

According to Vic, another source of financial support for this scheme is through the ship-owners themselves. A ship-owners' association as an organisation is composed of a significant number of owners, each of whom pledges to sponsor a number of cadets in a given year. Among themselves, the ship-owners control between 1,500-1,700 commercial vessels (Group Interview #1).

My analysis of the data indicates that the Shipping sponsored-controlled model usually gives full four-year scholarships that cover tuition fees, accommodation and living allowances, a guaranteed shipboard training (herein after referred to as SBT), and a support network of academic and human resource personnel such as a guidance counsellor or psychologist. Moreover, depending on the individual sponsor within the group of sponsors, this model may also include 3-year scholarships covering the same benefits as the four-year full scholarship.

A closer look at the first model suggests that the program managers control the program. They manage the recruitment, selection, and monitoring of the students including monitoring the performance of the affiliate private maritime schools where the program is implemented. From the information shared by participants, this program does not own a school but instead selects which schools, mostly private, through which to recruit students and implement their cadetship program.

Further analysis of the model indicates that the program managers have a series of responsibilities and activities that focuses on the selection and recruitment of students.

One of the most important parts of the process in the program is the selection of candidates. This is done by the partner schools, which is to promote our program. We are also doing our part to promote the

program. Then from a large number of applicants, there is a series of streamlining and selection... We wanted to start the program with the students who were about to start their college education.

– Vic, Project Manager, Group Interview #1

The quote suggests that this model takes selection and recruitment of students very seriously. Moreover, it seems the program is also active in recruiting affiliate schools to promote their cadetship scheme. That is to say, the cadetship program selects from the private maritime colleges in the Philippines, and from this selection the program will recruit students into their officer training program. If the managers convince the schools to support its program, it may have some form of agreement or negotiation with the maritime schools such as the sponsors could recruit among the students of the schools in exchange for funding the MET of the recruited students. A closer look at the investments made by the sponsors of Model 1 into their different affiliate schools suggests such investment is substantial. Hence, Model 1 must indeed have convincing negotiating power, as it were, with the schools through these investments. The director of the training department in one of the program's affiliate schools has the following to say regarding the investment of Model 1,

The sponsors donated computers, classrooms and dormitories. They also provide enhancement trainings for faculty members to their training centres for some specialized training.

– Ed, Director, Shipboard Training Department of a private maritime college, Interview #7

With the program's 'substantial investments', the sponsors behind this program have a lot of financial leverage in their dealings with their partner private maritime colleges. Furthermore, my analysis of the program suggests that the foundation is in control of the

terms and conditions of the cadetship. This will be shown in how they exert control over the conduct and performance of cadets (Discussed in Chapters 6 & 7). If true, it may mean that the terms and conditions of the cadetship scheme favour the sponsors.

Lastly, an analysis of the program as described by the managers indicates that one very important part of the cadetship scheme is the shipboard training of the cadets. Whilst undergoing the mandatory shipboard training, the cadet receives an average monthly training allowance of US\$400-500 (Rowil, Training Manager of Model 1, Group Interview #1). As important, my analysis points to the existence of a program of shipboard training designed by the managers of Model 1. The project manager describes their shipboard training program as follows,

We have a structured shipboard training program. We also have an evaluation and assessment for our shipboard training program after the cadets disembark from vessels. The cadets give direct feedback based on their on board training. We also receive reports from training officers on board the vessels such as captains and training officers. These information and reports are easily and openly sent to us. Hence, we have mechanisms where we can identify areas that need to be addressed (for shipboard training – mine).

– Vic, Project Manager, Group Interview #1

In this model it appears that the cadetship scheme takes seriously the shipboard training of cadets because it is part of the global and national standards of training officers. Nevertheless, there are questions that need to be asked in order to determine the quality of officer training such as, “How do the cadets view their experience of shipboard training (SBT) under this model/program?” (Discussed in Chapter 7). Looking at the general topic of SBT, it is also worth asking whether the individual sponsors (that is, ship owners and ship managers) of this model follow the same structured training on board commercial

vessels for SBT or not. That is, “Do all ship-owners that take cadets follow the shipboard training program as designed by the managers in the Philippines?” (Discussed in Chapter 7). From the interviews, shipboard training is an open issue on which there are debates such as the availability of training berths on vessels (Ghosh & Bowles, 2013). This study will explore in detail in Chapter 7 the shipboard training experiences of cadets and issues associated with SBT.

5.1.4 Union-backed model (Model 2)

Analysing interview and documentary data, the “Union-backed Model” (Model 2) began as a MET arm of a Filipino seafarers’ union.

Before presenting the union-backed model, something must be said about how a Filipino seafarers’ union functions in the Philippines in order to situate the following SCP model. There are three major seafaring unions in the Philippines, the Unified Filipino Seafarers’ Union, the Associated Philippine Seafarers’ Union, and the Associated Marine Officers’ and Seafarers’ Union of the Philippines (Amante, 2004; Swift, 2010). According to various academics such as Swift (2010), Amante (2004) and Ruggunan (2011), seafaring unions in the Philippines do not operate like their European counterparts, where the latter represent only labour or workers’ rights. Swift (2010) has shown various and conflicting functions of a seafarers’ union by examining one influential union, the “Associated Marine Officers’ and Seafarers’ Union of the Philippines” (AMOSUP) (See also Ruggunan, 2011). Swift (2010) concluded that

In its collective bargaining AMOSUP represents labour, but in its day-to-day activities the union works more closely with the state, employers and the Catholic Church (via ministries) than it works with workers themselves. In other instances, AMOSUP is an educational

organisation. Capt Oca (founder and executive director of AMOSUP) sits on the boards of training institutions and AMOSUP runs its own maritime academy. AMOSUP's administration of International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) pension schemes associates it with ITF's role in global financial markets. Meanwhile, in its power to assist individuals' employment prospects (see previous chapter), AMOSUP's activities overlap with those of manning agencies. And on top of all these examples, AMOSUP is most commonly described by its members, derogatorily, as a 'family business'. Without access to AMOSUP's accounts it is not clear in what way the union might be considered a 'business'. Describing the union as a family 'corporation' might be more suitable, if a corporation is taken to mean a group owning and controlling property or resources which has continuity over time and forms a legal, single individual apart from the people it comprises.

– Swift, 2010: 145

The extract is an overview of how one seafaring union in the Philippines performs various functions, some of which appear to conflict with the mainstream view of a workers' union, for example, in Europe where unions tend to be organised and operate independently from the state and/or the employers. While there is a distinct lack of theoretical and empirical development in the literature on contemporary Philippine trade unions, in particular seafaring unions, an analysis of one seafaring union by Swift (2010) suggests that labour relations in this sector have moved towards a more centralized and top-heavy union organisation that directs its operations within the wider concern over workers' welfare. Swift (2010) has demonstrated that in the Philippines a union can perform several functions where workers' rights and interests are just one but which also involved working closely with employers, the state, International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) and even the Catholic Church (Amante, 2004; Swift, 2010; Ruggunan, 2011). The union's strategy in managing and negotiating conflicting interests between workers (i.e., seafarers) and employers has been shown by academics to favour the latter (see Amante, 2004; Swift, 2010; Ruggunan, 2011).

What the above brief discussion does is to emphasise that a Filipino seafarers' union could perform different functions including being involved in the education and training of seafarers, and post-qualification employment. This latter function provides the context of my data that present a model of SCP where a union actually owns and operates a maritime college.

The *Union-backed Model* is based on a maritime college, which was established and run by a union and has been in operation for more than 10 years (School's website). For anonymity, I refer to this union as "Merchant Filipino Seafarers' Union" (MFSU), and the school as "Union's school". The school began with about 140 students in the 1999-2000 academic year and by the 2012-2013 academic year about 1,600 students enrolled in the maritime school (Peter, President of college, Interview #5). Part of the requirement of the program is that all students stay in the dormitory for 3 years while in college. An analysis of this information about the ownership structure of the maritime school is significant as it is a program run by the school where all the students are considered scholars.

This is a 100% scholarship school. We do not receive tuition fees. We are welfare arm for the maritime education and training of a seafarers' union. It is the only seafarers' union in the world that has a tertiary school.

– Peter, President of Union's maritime school, Interview #5

An analysis of the school's origin shows that it cannot be separated from the operations and networks of the union. The scholarships offered by the school and its sponsoring partner organisations come primarily from the existing relationships of the union within the maritime sector and the union's substantial resources. The school has two primary

sponsors; each is a group of ship-owners and ship managers. One is a group of Asian ship-owners and ship managers, and the other a group of European ship-owners and managers.

This time I have two large organisations that I deal with. These are the Asian ship-owners. Some members are ship-owners but a big bulk of them is ship managers. But of course, they (managers) have a big mandate from their owners. This group has almost 3000 ships. The other is a group of European ship-owners or employers. This group has about 7000 ships. They also have ship-owners' representatives here in the Philippines, though fewer than the Asian ship-owners... And I deal with specific companies with 4 or 5 more particular companies.

– Peter, Interview #5

From the interviews, this model provides the same benefits as the first model of SCPs with a difference that the school itself will sponsor students if no shipping firm will take them. The school sponsorship begins when the school accepts the students. Students are first considered to be the school's scholars before they are allocated to the individual shipping sponsors (Peter, president of the college, Interview #5; Group of Seafarer Alumni of school, Group Interview #3). That is, once the school admits the quota of students it can support, for example 500 students per academic year, then the school distributes, as it were, the students to each of the two primary sponsors. Each group of sponsors takes on average 250 students per academic year,

Two groups of 250 cadets are assigned to each of the two big groups of sponsors.

– Peter, Interview #5

From what Peter is saying, it appears that their school have two main client-sponsors that recruit quite a lot of cadets each year. Alternatively, the number of cadets to be sponsored

was already agreed upon using the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) entered into by the respective shipping organisations and the school. Alluding to how the CBA, the president of the school shares,

So, what they have done is that the sponsors have donated money. Well, you can say it is donated, but the money that is being used is a training tax. So, it is not really the ship-owners' money anymore. It is a training levy based on the CBA. When they signed the CBA, it is not their money anymore. The union is part of that. Of course they will say it is their money. Sure. But really there is a committee that handles this money and we are part of the committee. So, when they say that's our money, we say too it is our committee. This is where we get the money to sponsor cadets. In the past, it is quite difficult to get sponsors because it is out of the pocket of ship-owners.

– Peter, Interview #5

In the extract, the same participant indicates how the union-backed model is funded by the sponsors and how this fund for training is managed by a committee where the union is part of. The school enters into CBA with shipping sponsors on the management of their collaborations to sponsor Filipino maritime students in the school.

A further analysis of the data suggests that Model 2 covers other SCPs where the school is collaborating with particular shipping organisations or where the shipping sponsors offer 3-year or 2-year full scholarships to the students of the school instead of the 4-year schemes. According to the president of the union's school, these 3- or 2-year sponsorships cover the same financial support as the four-year full scholarship (Interview #5). Whilst undergoing the mandatory shipboard training, all cadets receive an average monthly training allowance of US\$400-500 (Peter, Interview #5).

5.1.5 Company-owned school model (Model 3)

From the data, I refer to the third model as a “Company-Owned School Model” (Model 3). The school has enrolled about 150-200 students every year since it started operating in 2007. My analysis suggests that Model 3 is very different from the previous two. When I interviewed the school’s dean, he mentioned that the bulk of the expenses of MET are paid for by the student’s family. However, the school guarantees the student’s shipboard training (SBT) upon enrolment, and further guarantees eventual employment. The cadets from this school confirm that themselves

We are assured that after 3 years of study, we have shipboard training. After graduating from this academy, we have a shipping company that will take us in for shipboard training. This is unlike most maritime colleges, where cadets have to look for their own companies.

– Larry, 3rd Year Cadet, Group Interview #4

In addition, one of the cadets mentions,

During our shipboard training, we will receive a monthly allowance of about \$400.00. While in the other schools, cadets are the ones who will pay for their expenses. And also, when we graduate here from the academy as long as we pass the board examinations, we can go on board as an officer. No more falling in line in companies to apply for jobs.

– Ronald, 3rd Year Cadet, Group Interview #4

Analysing the model, this arrangement appears highly probable because the private school is owned by a private partnership between a non-Filipino Asian shipping company (for anonymity will be referred as “Sunday Shipping Firm”) and a Filipino maritime

organisation (for anonymity will be referred as “Ocean Deep Transnationals”). For anonymity, I refer to this school as Rising Sun Maritime School.

The school is a joint venture between Ocean Deep Transnationals - which is a group of companies, and Sunday Shipping Firm, our Japanese partner.

– Mos, Dean of college, Interview #6

The school opened in 2007 and had its first batch of graduates in 2011 (Rising Sun Maritime School’s website).

I think this is my first time to work in a school, which has a sister company and a manning company, so I think this is much better, although I cannot really compare it with other schools.

– Mos, Interview #6

From this arrangement, a closer examination of the data suggests that the school has its own terms and conditions for sponsorships that cover the academic pre-shipboard training and the shipboard training of students. For Mos, if a private school is co-owned by a manning agency, this arrangement is “much better” because it is supposed that the manning agency could supply the cadets with vessels for their shipboard training. To support such claim the dean of the school shares,

As long as the students comply with the requirements of the school for the 3 academic years, then they will be endorsed to the Sunday Shipping Firm, our sister company that partly owns our school. Sunday Shipping Firm is also our manning agent. The firm will be the one to arrange everything for the shipboard training of our cadets. Of course, this is also upon the approval of Mother Sunday Shipping Firm in Singapore because they are the ones that assign cadets and seafarers to ships.

– Mos, Dean of college, Interview #6

The extract reveals again the selling point of this model, that is, the guarantee of shipboard training. However, my analysis indicates that participation by students in this training program is based on two factors: a) the capacity of the student's family to pay for the 3-year pre-shipboard training MET; and b) the academic and non-academic performance of the student while completing the 3-year academic training at the school. In all appearances, this model suggests that the sponsoring entity, which is a partnership of two private organisations (i.e., school and shipping company), controls the terms and conditions for shipboard training and eventual employment of the cadets. There is little indication that future sea-based workers will have any power to negotiate their future working conditions. One of the cadets shared,

We have a contract of 5 years with the company.

– Dave, 3rd Year Cadet, Group Interview #4

In a context where the sponsoring firm dictates the terms, the private regulation of MET seemingly does not show how seafarers can possibly have a voice over their future employment; however they do have the necessary guarantee of SBT. As a brief summary, Model 3 is based on the co-ownership of the private school by a Filipino shipping organisation and a foreign shipping firm. The latter guarantees the SBT of students accepted by the school as long as the students fulfil all the academic requirements of the school prior to SBT.

5.1.6 Shipboard training-only model (Model 4)

On closer examination of the data, I propose a fourth and last model – “Shipboard Training-only Model” (Model 4). Model 4 is based on the decisions of firms to offer only shipboard

training. Moreover, the decision of sponsoring firms that offer shipboard training (SBT) is primarily based on their contingent decisions as to when and how to sponsor a cadet for SBT. What this means in practice is that companies offer limited slots for SBT but not on a regular basis.

The inconsistent (sponsor) firms are those that offer only placement (that is, placement for shipboard training – mine). These firms are not totally committed to offer regular sponsored cadetships.

– Ed, Director, Shipboard Training Department of a private maritime college, Interview #7

Model 4 applies to cases where the students do not have sponsors. After finishing the required 3-year academic training, the students have to apply to companies for SBT to complete a maritime bachelor's degree. The student's family pay for the 3-year academic training out of their own pockets. However, the students themselves have to apply to a company for SBT. Hence, in this model SBT is not guaranteed, it is only a prospect that the schools can offer because of the ties between the maritime colleges and the shipping firms providing students with a commercial vessel for SBT. One shipboard training officer of a private maritime school had this to say,

We fit with what the companies need. That is, we adjust to the budget of the company as long as they promise the cadets that they go on board for their shipboard training. Our school is unlike the other private school where their students are scholars (referring to the Union-backed SCP model). So, the parents really know that they will pay for the education of their child. We inform cadets that this is not really a scholarship program but only a prospect or possibility for a shipboard training. If they want to apply, then they can apply.

– Matt, Director, Shipboard Training Department of a private college, Interview #21

From the quote, it is quite clear that the informant is referring to how the students need to apply to companies for SBT in order to finish the mandatory SBT requirement. A closer examination of the model suggests that in relation to the respective colleges involved in this model, they have their agreements for collaboration with shipping organisations, who provide the vessels for student shipboard training. These agreements are private. The sponsoring firms apply their respective terms and conditions to the students when they go on board for SBT. These terms and conditions are also private (that is, the MoA for SBT). Whilst undergoing the mandatory shipboard training, the cadet receives an average monthly training allowance of US\$400-500 from the shipping company or ship owner (Matt, Interview, #21).

5.1.7 Summary of the section

At the beginning of this chapter, it was argued that SCPs are responses to the required standards of Philippine MET. To understand SCPs as responses to the maritime sector to regulations and the quality of MET, Section 5.1.2 has identified and described four models of SCPs that operate in the Philippines. It has shown the models of SCPs as management approaches because they are designed to comply with the two-phase structure of MET standards: a college-based MET and a shipboard training phase. The models are generally illustrative of cadetships programs in the Philippines because of the variety of programs on offer; the differences in funding provided by different ship owners or companies; the different training provisions available; and not least, the different roles of the key stakeholders involved such as ship owners, seafaring unions, manning agencies, maritime colleges, and seafarers/cadets.

In terms of identifying how many cadets are enrolled in each model per year, the exact figure is difficult to acquire practically for various reasons.²² However, a very rough estimate of the numbers of student intake into SCPs per annum based on my data would be in the region of 1500-2000. The following (Table 5.2) compares the approximate number of recruits into SCPs in 2005 to the *Commission on Higher Education* or CHED's enrolment data for the same year in order to understand the scale between the two.

Table 5.2: Comparing 2005 figures of CHED and sponsored cadetships (Source: Commission on Higher Education and the Author).

Approximate Recruits to SCPs in 2005	CHED's enrolment data for BSMT & BSMarE in 2005
1,500 - 2,000	40,995

Table 5.2 is a snapshot of the number of students enrolling in BSMT and BSMarE combined in one school year (n=40,995)²³, and a smaller number of whom were recruited to SCPs (1,500-2,000). Having presented descriptively what and who are involved in SCPs, Chapter 5 will discuss next the shared and common characteristics among SCPs and how these shape the relationships of the key stakeholders involved.

5.1.8 Elements of Sponsored Cadetship Programs in the Philippines

This section identifies and examines the shared and recognizable elements of SCPs and how these elements create the conditions for the socialisation of cadets into the seafaring

²² For example, shipping companies and crewing agents did not grant any interview for this research and so the opportunity to ask them how many cadets they have on their vessels is lost. Also, maritime students who have paid for and completed their college-based MET requirements are entitled to apply to any shipping company or crewing agent for their shipboard training. These students were not covered in the interviews, as they are usually not based anymore in their colleges having completed the college-based instructions.

²³ From 2000-2008, the average number of enrollees to maritime degrees in the Philippines was 40,662 (Source: CHED; See Appendix 13).

ethos, on the one hand, and indentured employment, on the other. SCPs are agreements based on a relationship between a student and a shipping organisation, where the latter sponsors the former so that a student can complete a bachelor's maritime degree, and thereafter work for the shipping sponsor as a seafarer. There are basically five key themes from the data, which I consider are the basic elements common amongst SCPs, and which I individually explore next.

5.1.9 Training future officers

The first theme or element central to SCPs is the bigger goal of these cadetship schemes, which is to recruit and train future merchant marine officers for the fleet of foreign shipping sponsors. This objective of recruiting and training future officers is related to the reported global shortage of supply of officers (see Leong, 2013). The BIMCO/ISF Reports from 1995-2010 have been consistent in their prediction that officers are in short supply. As of 2010, the short fall of officers is estimated at 2% of demand. This 2% is equivalent to 15,000-16,000 officers (BIMCO/ISF Report 2010). For shipping firms and maritime administrations that have a high stake in maritime trade, this shortage is a persistent and crucial area that must be addressed. Given this scenario, it would be logical to locate the SCPs within the initiatives of global sponsors and their Philippine collaborators, which address this shortage issue. This phenomenon of supply shortage within a particular segment of the work force is not necessarily unique to the shipping sector as most highly skilled occupations also often struggle to recruit and train the right candidates (see Yadav,2012, for example of retention issues in aviation).

One fourth-year cadet described the objectives of SCPs as follows,

The cadetship program is very effective in order for me to prepare the cadet's life at a much higher level, like being an officer someday. Both the cadetship program of our sponsor and our maritime college have always instilled in our mind that we must not be aspiring to become ratings but we must always strive for the best, that is, become officers.

– Alex, 4th Year cadet, Interview #16

It is clear that the cadet is saying that SCPs are programs intended to produce officers. The above quote is a typical expression used by cadets who were recruited into SCPs. They are very much aware that the program is ultimately all about training students to officer level. How the school and the sponsors deliver the officer training program is another question but what is clear, and the point that is stressed at this stage, is the specific goal of SCPs of training a pool of officers. What follows are the other elements that define SCPs.

5.1.10 Providing a network of support and financial benefits

The second theme focuses on the provisions offered by SCPs and these were discussed above (Section 5.1). For this section, these provisions are presented and examined as a network of support and financial benefits for maritime students.

The types of support available can be classified as follows: (a) financial support where sponsors pay the tuition fees of students, and provide them with cost of living allowance; (b) academic support where sponsors provide students with books and other learning resource materials necessary to complete a maritime degree; and (c) staff support where sponsors, with their affiliate maritime college collaborators, provide students with coordinators to meet non-academic needs such as guidance counsellors and psychologists.

These types of support and benefits are wide-ranging and involve significant financial and human resources from sponsors and their partner maritime schools.

To illustrate the support and financial benefits, a participant described the support system as follows:

What do the cadets get under our program? (a) Tuition fees are paid for; (b) Free dormitory and meals, that is, cost of living allowance; (c) Administrative, Academic, and Discipline Support from Coordinators – these coordinators manage the academic performance of our students and so as other administrative functions needed by the students such as arranging for their visa and passport when they go on board for shipboard training on internationally plying vessels. (d) Subsidy of school supplies, books, training equipment, and other learning materials. (e) Access to- and use of the learning resource office, personal computer laboratory, and library that our program donated in each of our affiliate maritime schools.

– Vic, Project Manager of Model 1, Group Interview #1

The quote is intended to provide an overall picture of the support and benefits that SCPs might offer students. What SCPs offer, to remind the reader, depends on their resources. Some programs have more resources than others. Nevertheless, the types of support are varied and cover different areas of the student's life while under training, from fees to meals to academic support and supervision, or an accommodation arrangement (i.e., free dormitory stay). From the above interview extract, the project manager interviewed here specified those areas that focus on the academic performance of students, their conduct while they are in their dormitories and their conduct on board ship whilst training. By specifying these areas, this research participant indicated what they view as the significant

aspects of a student's MET.²⁴ This view is indicative of what other participants claimed especially those involved in generous cadetship schemes. A corollary to the support extended is that students receive financial benefits. The participants share that maritime students recruited to the different SCPs receive different types of benefits depending on the model type of the sponsoring organisation.

However, from the interviews of cadets, seafarers and maritime school representatives, a closer examination of SCPs will reveal that the programs are not necessarily a free scholarship due to the benevolence of the sponsors. As the next section reveals, SCPs first and foremost are agreements between the stakeholders. In return for the support and as part of the agreement between parties, the student is put in a position where he or she has responsibilities to the program and the shipping sponsor. The next sections (sections 5.2.3 & 5.2.5) will discuss these responsibilities and how they are created.

5.1.11 Memorandum of Agreement: The contract

This section shows and discusses how Memoranda of Agreements (MoAs) are perceived and used by the sponsors, by maritime colleges, and how these perceptions are in turn experienced by the cadets and/or seafarers. The research participants claim that the MoA a cadet signs with a shipping sponsor and/or a private maritime higher education institution (HEI) plays a significant role in formalising the agreement for a sponsored cadetship. This begs the question, “What is a MoA in sponsored cadetships?”

²⁴ These areas of MET will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 but it is important to note that resources available to students in the cadetship programs are considered to be wide-ranging.

A participant describes the practice of using the MoA in SCPs as follows:

Our school sees to it that we have a sponsorship agreement, a Memorandum of Agreement with a sponsoring shipping organisation. That is, our school and the shipping sponsor come to terms about the training and welfare of the cadets. As it is a Memorandum of Agreement, we require the sponsors to provide us (the school) with the details of how they are going to train our cadets during the shipboard training period. Once we have signed a MoA with the sponsoring firm, the cadets shall also sign a separate agreement between him or her and the shipping company. Of course, this must be a separate undertaking. If the cadet is not of a legal age to sign the MoA, we ask the parents to sign on their behalf. As you know, anybody in the Philippines who is underage cannot enter into a legal agreement. The MoA is intended to inform the parties that these are the things that their sons or daughters have entered into.

– Jim, Director, Department of Shipboard Training of a private maritime school, Interview #4

From the quoted transcript, a MoA is described as a private agreement between parties that is perceived to have legal status (I will return to this point later). The participant states that there is a MoA between the private school and the shipping sponsor regarding the terms of training of cadets, and of the welfare of those cadets while on board ships for training. The participant also indicates that a separate MoA is entered into between the cadet and his or her sponsor. Other participants note there is also a MoA between a student and a private maritime college if the latter is a sponsor (Peter, President of a private college, Interview #5). That is, in some cadetship schemes some maritime colleges offer scholarships as well.

The agreement may function or be perceived to function as a legal document²⁵ among the parties. To be a legal relationship, SCPs utilise a MoA as a legal document that is binding

²⁵ In the Philippine Civil Code, a contract is defined as “a meeting of the minds between two persons whereby one binds himself, with respect to the other, to give something or to render some service” (Art. 1305, *Philippine Civil Code*)

and holds the parties responsible to their agreement. This idea that MoAs bind parties to consequences if the terms are not met was suggested when I asked a president of a private college what the consequences would be if cadets failed to meet the terms and conditions. His reply was succinct and straight-forward,

They will have to pay for everything we have paid for in their behalf whilst they were enrolled as students here.

– Peter, President private college, Interview #5

The above respondent makes clear the idea that a cadet will have to repay all the monies if they do not complete the cadetship training. The same quote implies that cadets who do not adhere to the rules and regulations stipulated in their MoA with their sponsor face consequences, including the inability to complete the degree. The basis of what rules apply and what consequences will follow if those rules are violated is the MoA. The above quote speaks too of the probable pressures maritime students face once they become part of the program. In a country where a maritime degree is costly for most ordinary families, the MoA formalises an uneven relationship between student and sponsor where the pressure to meet the policies of the cadetship scheme falls mostly on the student. This means that they will have to repay the financial costs, and are unlikely to have the funds to do so.²⁶ Legally, those who take part in an agreement are bound by the provisions of that agreement including how to repay, give something back, or to render some service.

²⁶ Chapters 6 and 7 will explore in detail the standards and policies of SCPs to which students must comply with if they are to remain in the program.

By showing that the MoA serves as a contract, this strategy appears to be consistent with attempts to professionalize the status of recruits by stipulating the education and training credentials they should acquire. This view can be observed from the following,

The MoA was a copious document where the rules and regulations are specified. It is a document that describes the cadet's code of conduct. It includes important details such as maintaining a grade of not below 85% for each course that we take. It also includes what our conduct should be when we are staying in the dormitory. It also specifies our conduct when we go on board for our shipboard training. It also mentions our responsibilities to our (sponsoring) company. It does mention something about our loyalty to our company. Our school stresses loyalty to our sponsoring company. This is so since some of the alumni of the program (i.e., alumni who are now licensed officers-mine) transfer to other companies once they are offered a bigger salary.

– Alex, 4th Year Cadet, Interview #16

From the description provided by Alex, it is quite clear that the terms and conditions of his agreement are set by the sponsoring organisation (i.e., a shipping firm). The MoA also contains what the cadet refers to broadly as a “code of conduct” that covers different areas of a cadet’s student life. These areas are (a) academic performance, (b) conduct while staying in the school and its dormitory, (c) conduct whilst on board ships for training and (d) post-training employment prospects. It appears that the code of conduct serves as a monitoring mechanism, which extends into the daily activities of cadets (discussed in detail in Chapter 6) including the periods they are on board a vessel for their shipboard training (discussed in detail in Chapter 7). Thus, my understanding of the purpose of the MoA is to formalise a strategy that is deployed in professionalizing a workforce in such areas as integrating values and principles of a profession through the establishment of a code of conduct within its training and education program or system. In other words, the MoA sets

out the criteria for the potential non-compliance of the trainees as well as the mechanisms of disciplining their behaviour.

At this stage one must emphasise that the MoA is an important constituent within the process of enrolling students, and ensures they remain with the sponsor for many years following the completion of their “supported” training through regulating their training and behaviour. In return for the financial and other support and as part of the agreement between stakeholders, the student must contract to work for the sponsor after completion of their maritime degree. Such contracts may last from as little as 4 calendar years to as much as 10 depending on the agreement stipulated in the MoA. However, the most common term is between 4-6 calendar years (Group Interviews #2, #3, & #7; Interviews #3, #5, #11, #12, #16, #24, #25). This condition in the MoA is no doubt an indentured employment, which is a form of bonded employment made possible by the MoA where the cadet is supported by the shipping sponsor throughout MET and repays the sponsor by working for him/her once qualified.

Other participants note that honouring a MoA is left to the discretion of the sponsoring ship owner or company. This view is suggested by a chief mate, who is an alumnus of one SCP,

I was required 5 years of service to the company after I pass the licensure exam in 1999. But I think the MoA was not really honoured by the company's managing director. The MoA was a kind of a formality, if you like, during the cadetship training.

– Roy, Chief Mate, Interview #18

The extract suggests that in this particular case, the seafarer views the MoA as not legally binding due to his perception of the conduct of the managing director of the sponsoring

company. This view is very exceptional among the research participants. Here, it is notable that the company faces no consequences in not fulfilling its requirements, in contrast to the consequences that students face. This is picked up again in the next theme in the following section (5.2.4).

My analysis, therefore, suggests companies can use the MoA as a binding agreement. This shows that a sponsor has more power than the cadet in terms of dictating what terms apply whether agreements can be honoured or not. Therefore, my analysis maintains that in a very real sense, there is precariousness in the present program and in the future employment of recruited students. This means to say that for the recruited cadets their future employment is still uncertain. This precariousness is present while they are still in the program, as they have to adhere to the terms and conditions of the program with its own consequences if students fail to meet the terms. This precariousness of SCPs will also be manifested in relation to the future employment of the cadets. That is, from the interviews, it is clear that the MoA performs another function: it serves as a basis of the future employment arrangement with sponsoring patron (discussed below in Section 5.2.4).

The three aspects that SCPs focus on in terms of cadet training as identified above, which are academic performance, conduct while on campus and shipboard training conduct, each will be discussed in other chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) in this thesis. Chapter 6 covers academic performance and conduct while staying in the college campuses. Chapter 7 will discuss the experiences and conduct of cadets whilst on board vessels for training. The post-qualification job prospects of cadets under SCPs will be examined next.

5.1.12 MoA as Basis for future employment and the promise of a professional growth

The fourth theme concentrates on the link between SCPs and the future employment of the cadets. My interviews with participants attest to the use of the MoA in determining the future employment of cadets. That is, through the MoA, the participants point out that those who are recruited to the schemes will have to work for the sponsors after their training period. The interview data indicates that there is a direct relationship between SCPs and future employment. The way both cadets and sponsor companies value this relationship can be gleaned from the following extracts

The foreign sponsoring-company obliges us to work for them for five sea going years as officers. I think with that five sea-going years of being tied up, I will only be able to pay that in 10 (calendar-mine) years.

– Ian, 4th Year Cadet, Group Interview #3

Interviewer: *Are all your MoA's the same in terms of years that you are required to work for your respective sponsors?*

Chorus of 10 cadets: *No. There are 3 years, or 5 years be tied up with a company.*

Lea: *It depends on the company.*

Maria: *For me, as far as I know, I have not signed a MoA.*

Interviewer: *And the rest?*

Ian: *6 years.*

Mac: *For us, 4 years because (inaudible) that includes the shipboard training.*

Lea: *5 years.*

Aron: *5 years.*

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

It is important to note that in the first quote above the participant states that he will only finish his indentured employment to the sponsoring company when he has completed five years as an officer at sea. As a cadet does not automatically qualify as an officer, the time between being a cadet and an officer is uncertain and may require additional time and effort (additional to the five years stated here) for him to qualify as one in order to commence his bonded employment. Therefore, the cadet has to make sure he qualifies as an officer after the period of his sponsorship. The extract suggests that the employment of the seafarer candidate is binding, that is, the future officer's employment is a bonded employment. In other words, the use of the MoA serves to define the relationship between cadets and sponsors as a type of a patron-client relationship (Scott & Marshall, 2009). This means that shipping firms are the patrons of the MET of cadets and in return the cadets would be required to render service to the patron's vessel after the client's training period.

Stretching the idea of bonded employment may mean that the sponsoring firm has the upper hand in setting the terms of employment of its future employees. Failing to meet the qualification of officership will also have its own consequences with regard to the employment opportunities of the cadets. One such consequence is that the seafarer will have to serve the sponsor for an extended period of years. I will discuss this idea of bonded employment in detail in Chapter 8, where I discuss the key findings of the study.

5.1.13 Summary of the section

Section 5.2 has identified the key features of SCPs in spite of the many and varied programs that operate in the Philippines. By doing so, it has highlighted key elements in SCPs such as the use of the Memorandum of agreement (MoAs). In discussing the MoAs, Section 5.2.3 has alluded to the indentured employment of seafarers under SCPs, where indentured employment means that in order for cadets/seafarers to access the provisions offered as support for a MET degree, cadets have to agree to work for sponsors after the training period and according to the employment policies of shipping sponsors. Thus, it appears that MoAs are used as powerful levers by shipping sponsors to recruit, train and employ cadets and seafarers. It also appears that indentured employment is a form of bonded labour, which is made possible by using MoAs to establish the responsibilities of participants in SCPs.

Charting a Course for Cadets – Summary and Conclusion

Chapter 5 examined SCPs as formal structures that provide training environment to initiate cadets to the ethos of seafaring, on the one hand, and create conditions of bonded employment of seafarers on the other. Chapter 5 has shown that SCPs are viewed as (a) platforms offering training provisions that include financial and support mechanisms in aid of MET, and (b) initiatives put in place by ship owners or companies in collaboration with private maritime colleges in the Philippines with the intent to comply with STCW and the Philippine standards of MET.

Furthermore, the organisation of SCPs creates a regulatory/regulated environment for cadets. This is exemplified by the practice of using a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) that is used as both a guide and a constraint to the training experiences of cadets. As

Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 have shown, for the participants the MoA serves two functions: as contract and as a basis for future work arrangements that cadets must abide by. The function of the MoA as a contract demonstrated that SCPs exercise control over the cadets and their behaviour in order to influence their professional and personal conduct according to values associated with the seafaring ethos. Thus, bonded labour appears to be one of the consequences for cadets/seafarers in cadetship schemes in the Philippines. This form of indentured employment will be addressed in a later chapter when I discuss key issues related to my research questions and my findings. Lastly, as a training and learning environment, the cadetship programs appear to create distinct training practices because these are highly selective programs that could last the 4-years of training and education cadets go through as they become socialized into seafaring. The details of these socializing activities will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6

OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF CADETS IN COLLEGE CAMPUS

Introduction

Chapter 6 presents and examines the data on the ritualized, regulated and highly reinforced training experiences of cadets under sponsored cadetship programs (SCPs). In Chapter 2, it was argued that the occupational socialisation of cadets is anchored on the relationship between an individual's experience of formal education and training, where the latter contributes to shaping work roles of future officers. In Chapter 5, SCPs were portrayed as the adopted training platforms developed by shipping patrons and maritime colleges in order to train Filipino officer cadets. Situated in the context of SCPs as platforms and of MET as the framework of socialisation, this chapter evaluates the "ritualization" of training experiences of cadets as part of their occupational socialisation.

Maritime education and training are imbued with symbols which Pepper (1942) defined as a set of categories for conceptualising and organising aspects of an experience based on the likeness of those aspects of experience with the symbols used. There are key symbols around which the aspects of an experience can be organised and understood, which Pepper referred to as 'root metaphors' (See also Ortner, 1973). Using data from the first three models of SCPs discussed in the previous chapter, we discern a root metaphor, which is the ritualization of maritime schooling anchored to the aim of cadetship programs of producing competent officers. To discuss the various aspects of ritualization of maritime schooling: Section 6.1 probes the daily routines of cadets, which serve as the core of the ritualization

of their schooling experiences. This section interrogates cadets' everyday lived experiences, including the rituals and symbols that facilitate and permeate their socialisation; Section 6.2 depicts and analyses the maritime college campus as a highly controlled living and learning space built like a 'gated community' where membership practices to the community is monitored daily; and Section 6.3 investigates the dormitory experiences of cadets where 'the dorm' functions as a space of resistance to the rules of the cadetship program and/or of the college.

6.1 Rituals of socialisation

This section describes and examines the 'rite of passage' of cadets in order to understand how they are socialized into the culture of seafaring where competence has become the overarching and normative notion of what it means to be an officer (see Chapter 2). Examining the cadets' experiences, the data suggest that they undergo an elaborate "rite of passage" to become officers (see van Gennep, 1960). Section 6.1 explores this rite of passage, in particular showing how training has been transformed into ritual performances of the everyday.

Ritualization of schooling experiences has been used in the literature to examine what symbols and rites socialize students into the ideology of being a good (future) worker (McLaren, 1993). McLaren (1993) borrowed from Grimes (1982) the notion of ritual as a type of symbolic action comprised primarily of gestures and postures (Grimes, 1982; McLaren 1993). From Grimes' concept (1982), McLaren offered a complex notions of rituals that cover a few basic elements that included structural, distinctive, repetitive and symbolic forms of gestures and postures that aim to transform students into workers (McLaren, 1993). Some of these elements that are useful in the analysis here are (a) rituals

are clusters of symbols and possess their respective symbolic languages; and (b) rituals involve repetition of gestures and/or postures, which exhibit evocative staging (McLaren, 1993).

Given McLaren's notions of ritual, he used these concepts to examine the lived experiences of students (McLaren, 1993). For example, he distinguished a 'micro ritual of instruction', which is the daily and individual lessons of the students, from 'macro ritual of instruction', which are "aggregate of classroom lessons observed in a single day" (McLaren, 1993: 81). Taken together, that is the micro and macro rituals of instruction, McLaren (1993) used the metaphor of 'rituals of instruction' as one of his key themes to analyse the daily experiences of schooling. Appropriating the notion of rituals of everyday to evaluate the experiences of cadets, this thesis understand rituals as the repetitive and symbolic gestures, postures and activities of cadets that are intended for their transformation into competent officers, albeit an idealized version of the concept of competent officers. In the following subsections (Sections 6.1.1 to 6.1.5), I explore the different cadetship rituals of the everyday in maritime campuses.

6.1.1 The routines of cadets and its symbols: Setting the scene

One very common, shared and overarching experience among cadets and seafarers is the ritualized and regulated daily routine they went through in the campus. To support the notion of the ritualization of the everyday lived experiences of cadets, the following discusses how this is possible. A cadet summarized their routine as follows.

Every day we start with a morning calisthenics at 0400. At 0600 we will have shower time. Breakfast is served at 0630. At 0700, we'll have our formation for the Morning Colours. After that, we will be going to our classroom instructions. Depending on the schedule, we

eat our lunch between 1030-13:00. Classroom instructions resume after lunch. Dinner starts at 1700-1930, depending on what time class ends. We have time for studying from 1930 until 2200. At 2200, we would go to bed.

– Sophie, Deck Officer, alumna of Model 1, Interview #26

The key theme that the above extract highlights is the physical movement of the cadets between the ‘dorm’ and the ‘classroom’, where the former represents rest period while the latter represent ‘work’ or obligations of students. This daily routine takes place in the three of four years of their college training, thus such ritualization will potentially leave an indelible mark on how cadets experience training. Such ritualization is an idealized version of the cycle of life aboard vessels revolving around rest and work periods. However, their routine reduces the complexity of working and living aboard the vessel into a timetabled binary of work and rest cycle in order presumably to help cadets organise their experiences of training into two distinct spheres of rest and work. Thus, the over-all picture of their routine is a ritualized and regulated daily activity.

The technique of ritualizing cadets’ activities is reminiscent of a technique of fixing individuals in time and space in order to shape, as it were, nonstop their behaviour (see Foucault, 1979). However, the daily routine appears to be very rigid, which reflects what Lamvik (2002) referred to as the ‘circularity of time’ experienced by seafarers aboard the ship, where “daily life had a rhythm as regular as clockwork, marked by recurring events like changing the watch, breaks and meal times” (Knudsen, 2009: 296)²⁷. That is to say,

²⁷Researchers who did field work aboard merchant vessels like Sampson (2013), Knudsen (2009) and Lamvik (2002) observed the same experience of the circularity of time when doing research aboard the ship, even though these researchers are not seafarers. In other words, the shipboard environment had an effect to those who are staying/working/living aboard the vessel irrespective whether they are seafarers or not.

campus-based routines appear to mimic the marked ‘circularity of time’ experienced by seafarers aboard the vessel. Thus, the training practice of using routines to regulate the behaviour of cadets is potentially effective in instilling in them the experiential learning of a rhythmic work and life environment through the daily lived-experiences of routines.

The experiential learning of the cadets of the circularity of time in college is helpful in the recruitment practices of the global seafaring labour industry because merchant vessels have more or less the same routines revolving around work and rest. The similarities of the shipboard routines were referred to by Knudsen (2009) as the “global synchronism” of shipboard routines, which is a synchronism characterised by similar time-tabled and highly defined division of labour among crewmembers. Thus, the familiarity with the shipboard routine appears necessary to the new recruits so that these trainees would know what to expect when boarding a vessel because their training experience afforded them the same work-rest dynamic.

To unpack the daily rituals and explore the symbols used, the following sections will explore four different forms of rituals: the ‘rituals of fitness and physical presentation’ (Section 6.1.2), ‘rituals of bodily inscription’ (Section 6.1.3), ‘cadet-talk’ (Section 6.1.4), and the ‘academic rituals’ (Section 6.1.5) that taken together organised the activities of the cadets during their college-based education and training.

6.1.2 Rituals of fitness

The ritualization of maritime schooling utilise symbols and symbolic performances that are intended to make the cadets physically fit and disciplined (see Hopwood, 1973). This ritual is reminiscent of how the military trains its recruits, where “military training is the

acquisition and development of a collection of physical and mental attributes required to do tasks necessary for waging war” (Woodward, 2000: 646; see also Franke, 1999). In military training, physical attributes of fitness and dexterity are emphasised as necessary. The ritual of fitness particularly means having enough prescribed hours of sleep and physical training to strengthen the body. The program intends to produce disciplined and physically fit bodies by requiring cadets to “wake up at 0400 hours in the morning” in order to exercise for more than an hour, five times a week. This practice is quite physically intense. Cadet and seafarer research participants shared that the reason for this ritual is meant to make them physically ready to meet the demands of the intensive physical labour aboard ships. A cadet offered an explanation for this fitness practice as follows,

I realised the importance of the physical exercises in school once I was on board because the work on board is hard. The hard tasks, added to that are the big waves that smashes the ship, the changing weather. The work on board is somewhat endless.

– Alex, 4th Year Cadet, Interview #16

From the foregoing extract, Alex expressed a known aspect of work aboard ships as hard, physical, and dangerous (Walters & Bailey, 2013; discussed in Chapter 2). The association of physical fitness with the physical demands of an occupation has also been noted in other occupations such as the police (see Marquis, 1987) and the military (Franke, 1999: Woodward, 2000). What the data illustrates is that physical fitness is a normative concept associated with the competent officer who is expected to do hard, physical work and deal with difficult weather conditions at sea. Moreover, cadets’ physical exercises are then followed by another ritual, the ‘Morning Colours’, which I describe below:

The “Morning Colours” is a sort of a parade of the troops to honour the flag. Cadets are wearing their crisp white uniforms with a pair of shiny black shoes. The whiteness of their uniforms stood out in the glare of the morning sun. Their formation reminded one of the “soldiers’ formation” during a flag ceremony, where each group is squarely lined up. When in that formation, the “senior” will call the group to "Attention" and then "Parade, Rest" just before the ceremony starts. The morning colours started with Christian prayers, followed by a “flag ceremony”, where cadets saluted the flag while the Philippine anthem is being sung. After that, the “inspection of the troops” took place where each cadet was “checked” especially his/her uniform, haircut, shoes and even the fingernails were all checked to see if these are all in proper order. It finally ends with a school hymn, which for me was a bit strange.

– Field notes, 12 January 2012



Image 6.1: Graduation ceremony in one private maritime college, photo taken from the public domain (Source: <http://www.maap.edu.ph/>).

The ‘Morning Colours’ is, indeed, an allusion to the practice of the military when rendering honour to the flag. It is a ritual on its own that show the control and power of the college (and by extension of the cadetship programs) on each cadet as the rite is replete with regulated and symbolic gestures and postures borrowed from the military such as the troop

formation, the checking of uniforms and other coded practices such as haircuts, proper and cleaned shoes, and length of fingernails. Thus, the ritual is a collective performance where each cadet has to follow certain bodily inscriptions which appears to represent each physical body of the cadet and their entire assemblage as an embodiment of self-discipline in the way they attend to each detail of their uniform and hairstyle, while at the same time marching and saluting under the heat of the morning sun. Image 6.1, above, a photo of a graduation ceremony in a private college, reveals some of the elements of the practice of morning colours such as use of uniforms, the bodily posture of cadets' signifying "at ease" or rest, and the troop formation of the entire student body.

6.1.3 Rituals of Bodily Inscription: The uniform

In the Philippines, wearing of school uniforms from nursery to university is a common practice especially in private schools. Thus, maritime colleges reflect this wider practice among Philippine educational institutions. It is not surprising to see cadets from different maritime colleges wearing their uniforms with shiny pair of black shoes, very short and clean haircut, and other artefacts such as name plates and ID cards. These symbols and the rituals of wearing these are part of the rite of passage of cadets as these constitute the 'cultural inscriptions'²⁸of their bodies into the norms of the college (Hopwood, 1973; Turner *et al.*, 1991; Blackman, 2008). The wearing of uniforms is regulated by colleges, thus, there are different versions of the uniform of maritime students but these are mostly white top and white trousers, or white top with black trousers, and some colleges require

²⁸Cultural inscription is "part of the tradition of sociology where the formation of human subjects is based on social or cultural processes that inscribe or speak through individuals" (Blackman, 2008: 16). For this thesis, cultural inscription is focused on the regulation of the human body and its behaviour through the rituals of education and training of officer cadetship program including the use of symbols of an organisation such as a school or a shipping company.

their students to wear ties. One revealing quote of how colleges regulate the uniforms could be deduced from the following quote,

Some companies would give a complete set of over-alls with their logos on it while other companies do not give. If cadets have these over-alls, we do not allow them anyway since our college has its own set of over-alls and uniforms.

– Peter, President of a private college, Interview #5

Peter pointed out that even sponsoring companies are not allowed to require their recruited cadets to wear uniforms other than that of the college. Given all these, uniforms are constitutive of the regulated and coded forms of dress of the cadets. Coded forms of dress such as occupational wardrobe of nurses or the armed forces has been ascribed symbolic significance both by those who wear them and those who do not (see for example, Bradby, 1990; Barnes & Eicher, 1993; Ugolini, 2010). Ugolini (2010) suggested that once new recruits put on their military uniform, this act allowed them to be transformed into servicewomen/servicemen and fostered esprit de corps. Bradby (1990) noted that the process of nurses' entry into the profession involved the ascription of the title 'nurse' when actually wearing their uniform. In other words, and quoting Taylor (2002), "coded forms of dress are used to mark a sense of 'belonging'" (Taylor, 2002: 209). Thus, the wearing of similar dress code and hairstyles may appear to foster the values of similarity and belonging.

However, there are other types of culturally inscribing to the bodies of cadets the symbols of their training such as executing salutes and marches and the practice of nominal addressing one another in campus based on purported ranks. The last practice, nominal addressing, will be explored next as part of the rituals of socialisation.

6.1.4 'Cadet-talk'

The ritual of dressing is reinforced by what I would refer to as 'cadet-talk', which are the vocabularies used by the cadets signifying their routines or symbolic gestures of respect.

'Taps' is what we call our sleeping time. At times, cadets would apply for a "shore pass", which means going home for a night's stay, or others would ask for "shore leave", which is a break from campus life and is good for 2-6 hours of liberty.

– Sophie, Deck Officer, alumna of Model 1, Interview #26

A number of the activities of cadets are referred to by or are named after symbolic terms used in seafaring such as 'taps', 'mess hall', 'muster', 'shore pass', and 'shore leave'. Mess hall is the dining area, the muster is a gathering or a gathering point, say, for a meeting. A 'shore pass' is a permission to leave the vessel for a short break ashore, while a 'shore leave' is permission for a time-out of a vessel for rest and recreation longer than a shore pass. Moreover, the cadet participants also used the hierarchical terms of rank used in the military when referring to other members of the college such as 'first class', 'second class', 'dorm master', and 'third class'.

The dorm master will decide if we will have our muster or just do a bed check for taps.

– Aron, 4th Year Cadet, Group Interview #3

The use of verbal metaphors reflect what Alvesson and Billing (1997) referred to as organisational metaphors thought of as culturally rich symbolic expressions that construct "vocabularies to facilitate and guide interpretations" of words and actions in an organisational setting (Alvesson & Billing, 1997: 107-112). In Aron's brief account, he was

referring to who decides (i.e., dorm master) whether after the day's activities they either have a muster (i.e., meeting) or go straight for taps (i.e., sleep). However protracted it may be, the use of symbolic terms in the routines of cadets are part of their training. Though, in a male-dominated occupation such as seafaring, it appears that the regulated and organisational practices of compulsory uniforms and prescribed haircuts reproduce gender stereotypes as a consequence.

To highlight the influence of the ritualistic practices and symbols used in the daily routines of cadets, a revealing quote from a female junior officer is used because her experience shows the gender-based nature of the rituals of the training program²⁹. In particular, her words revealed the struggle of female cadets in the symbolic practices of wearing uniforms, prescribed haircut and using nominal titles as the following extract shows:

Training was tough... We (female cadets) had same treatment as the male cadets. When we became 3rd class (that is, the second of a four year maritime degree), we were also called "Sir". We were required to have short hair, same uniform as the male cadets, and we were marching everyday when going to our classrooms.

– Miriam, Officer-in-Charge, Interview 27

Miriam explained how female cadets are required to follow the male-patterned requirements of dress code and hairstyle. In other words, it appears that the bodies of the female cadets are culturally inscribed with masculine symbolisms. The above quote demonstrates not only the practices of wearing uniforms and categorising personnel

²⁹According to the same informant, the number of female students recruited in Model 1 is very small relative to the male students. Having visited her alma mater recently just before my interview, she claimed that during her college years (4-year period) there were about 30 female cadets in total recruited in their cadetship program out of roughly 1,600 recruited students spread over 4 years.

through ranked labels but also the apparent anomalous presence of females in a male-dominated training environment.

However, the same coded practices of dress and hairstyles, as shown in the above interview, are also indicators and producers of segregation and discrimination between genders (see Schwarz, 1979; Barnes & Eicher, 1993). Barnes and Eicher argued that “gender distinctions are crucial part of the construction of dress, whether they are made on biological or social grounds” (Barnes & Eicher, 1990: 2). In the interview above, it is reported that Miriam and other female cadets had similar “treatment as the male cadets”, where Miriam claims the treatment is as literal as possible whereby the female gender is subdued to that of the masculine, captured in the arbitrary practices of, first, requiring females similar uniforms and hairstyle as their male counterparts, and secondly addressing them as ‘Sirs’.³⁰ However, regardless of whether Miriam’s account of these particular practices are deeply established or not in training programs, her account goes on to show that for some female cadets, the experiences of officer training appears to be associated with masculine symbolisms, and which might be problematic when required to be used by females because they are treated not as females but as males. The image below (Image 3) is a photograph of female seafarers dressed in their uniforms and executing a salute. It is an image that could give some indication of how female cadets are dressed and prescribed to have a particular haircut in the Philippines.

³⁰ In the Philippines, the local maritime community sometimes used an eccentric term referring to female cadets as ‘cadettes’. This might suggest an attempt to ‘feminise’ the term cadet, which appears to be associated with being a male cadet (see for example Manero, 2013).



Image 6.2: Female cadets with their uniform executing a salute, photo taken from the public domain

(Source: http://www.norway.ph/FileCache/Global/SiteFolders/webmani/Salute_female%20cadets_cropped.jpg/width_650.height_487.mode_MaxWidthOrHeight.pos_Default.color_White.jpg).

6.1.5 Academic Ritual

The daily routine of cadets revolved around the “academic ritual” of going to class and performing well academically. To impress upon the cadets the importance of this ritual, Models 1 and 2 required their cadets to maintain an above average grade (i.e., 85 percent) for the 3 academic years in college. It is worth mentioning that in the Philippines, 75 percent is the passing mark for each course. The 85 percent requirement is a specific policy of cadetship Models 1 and 2 that is beyond what the regulations of Philippine maritime programs require. The project manager of Model 1 described, as follows, the grade requirement,

The cadets must maintain above average grades – 85 percent.

– Vince, Project manager of Model 1, Group Interview #1

The consequence of cadets not meeting the grade requirement is quite serious. Some participants shared that they can be removed from the programme if they fail to meet this policy as Alex shared below,

There was a 4th year cadet who failed academically. So what the cadetship program managers do when the failing marks are quite severe is that they will kick you out of the program... The 85 percent grade is actually like our passing mark. If you get a grade below that, you will be given a warning. But if your grades are worse then you'll be dropped from the program.

– Alex, 4th Year Cadet, Interview #16

Although Alex above described the strict academic policy of their maritime colleges, it appears that Model 1 offers some flexibility in favour of the cadets who may not always achieve the minimum mark of 85 percent. Some cadets reported the burden of maintaining the required marks.

Interviewer: *What are the constraints of your programme?*

Carlo: *Do you mean the disadvantages?*

Interviewer: *Ok, the disadvantages.*

Carlo: *The pressure of studying, as we have to maintain a minimum grade of 85 percent.*

(Where most participants agreed)

– Group Interview #7

Carlo revealed how he feels pressured to meet this academic policy. That students recruited to cadetship Models 1 and 2 are expected to perform well academically is part of the rules of the game, as it were. However, expectations can be a double-edged sword, as it can be used either against or in favour of the cadets. In reality no one expects all students to be always at their optimum in every task, including performing well above the average in each of the courses that they are required to take in college. Indeed, there are different views about the 85 percent grade policy. Some think of it as a form of ‘pressure’ while others think of it as a means for self-discipline (i.e., studying well). Furthermore, the academic ritual of Model 1 involved an extra assessment practice where the managers of Model 1 conduct academic assessment each semester of its cadets. The so-called “Semester Test” of Model 1 is mandatory. When asked for the reason for this practice, the project manager replied,

The purpose of the tests is to identify the sort of discrepancies or gaps in the tests of affiliate schools. We know there is a curriculum for our cadets. But we need to verify the performance of our cadets through our own tests. In a way these tests are our ways of correlating what is delivered in the school and what our program expects from our cadets.

– Vic, Project Manager of Model 1, Group Interview #1

It is quite evident from Vic’s statement above that Model 1 imposes its academic assessment on top of what the school required. The assessment practice of Model 1, as a management approach, points to the power of sponsors to monitor the academic performance of their recruits.

6.1.6 Summary

The routine of cadets on campus is a significant and key part of their socialisation because it is structured to simulate the idealized notion of life aboard the vessel. As such, the routine has been presented as an elaborate, ritualized and ritualizing passage that cadets go through in order to become officers. The rituals and their performative symbols permeate the daily-lived experiences of cadets from waking up, studying to resting, and were developed to transform both the body and the mind of the cadets to the idealized values of the seafaring occupation such as physical fitness, disciplined behaviour, and competence in performing their jobs. These values are reinforced during training by the constant surveillance of the managers of the cadetship programs through the rules, regulations and assessments that have been in place to shape the daily conduct of the cadets. Furthermore, it is noted that the experiential learning of the cadets of the circularity of time in college is helpful in the recruitment practices of the global seafaring labour industry because merchant vessels have more or less the same routines revolving around work and rest.

However, the gender-bias associated with the seafaring culture in general appears to be reproduced in cadetship schemes. This bias is reflected in the experiences of the female cadets in terms of how they are socialized in a male-dominated work environment by the type of wardrobe, verbal metaphors used to address them, and hairstyle. The cultural inscriptions used in the training of female cadets seemingly intend to silence, as it were, their femininity.

6.2 Inside these walls: The Maritime College as a space of surveillance

Cadets' college-based education and training cover three of their four-year maritime bachelor's degree program, thus, they spend a significant time of their training period on college campuses. This section describes and examines the participating private maritime college campuses (n=7) in this research as "gated communities", characterised as purpose built enclosed spaces where there are clear manifestations of controlled and patrolled access to facilities and the people within (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Dick & Rimmer, 1998). The following section presents and examines the management and control of college campus as space that cadets occupy.

6.2.1 College campus as gated community

One mechanism of control used in cadetship schemes is to purposely build the training environment of cadets as 'gated communities'. The concept of gated community explores the control of private entities of public and common spaces and places (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). Blakely and Snyder defined gated communities as "residential areas with restricted entrance in which, normally, public spaces have been privatized" (Blakely & Snyder, 1997: 2). The definition of gated community is focused on the control exerted over private residential areas but this notion has relevance also in the control of a maritime campus as private space, particularly when the campus functions as residence of cadets.

The practice of controlling the maritime campus involves managing the access and use of this space, the expected conduct of those who occupy this space and what rules govern this space. Control rests primarily on administrators and/or owners, as the colleges I visited are privately owned. In a real way, the experiences of cadets of the college campus reveal that these are gated communities because these are private and enclosed spaces that are

systematically regulated. The following entry in my diary is a description of one of the seven colleges I visited. Although the entry describes one college, it would apply appropriately to all other six campuses I studied.

Upon entry into this private and walled college, one is stopped by uniformed security guards and, more often than not, they have real firearms. These guards are stationed at the entrance of the college. In spite of being a local and looking like some of those professional seafarers who are training on site, without the proper uniform and/or identification card, the guards stopped me and politely asked what is my business in visiting the college. I have to give them a name of contact, show them a valid identity card, leave this card, register in a logbook at their station and wear a visitor's ID. Only then was I allowed to see a contact person I have earlier contacted through email.

– Field notes, 23 August 2011

The above extract is a typical experience when visiting a campus. As most of those who enter the campus have their respective uniforms, as noted above (Section 6.1.3), I inevitably stand out because I do not wear any uniform or identity card. Further on my field visits, the security guards would recognise me but I nevertheless logged in and out, and wear a visitor's identity card every time I visit. In a literal way, I was engaged with a 'ritual of entry' every time I visit. However, my experience is just a superficial level of how access and control are negotiated within the college. Significantly, it is not only visitors who are monitored upon entry but especially those who are part of the college particularly the cadets. In my journal, I noticed in all campuses I researched that

It appears everyday students are monitored by the guards or other staff members if they are properly wearing their uniforms and have in their person their ID cards. Failure to show these results in a 'chit-chat' with the staff to the extent that some of the students are not allowed inside the campus.

– Field notes, 25 August 2011

The daily-lived experiences of cadets entering their campus, indeed, are seemingly artificial but liminal and symbolic daily “rite of passage” (see van Gennepe, 1960)³¹.

Moreover, the notion of gated community creates boundaries of inclusion and exclusion as well as security, that is, they define boundaries of membership and how this membership is manifested. In the campuses, the students have to consistently perform practices (‘membership practices’) that manifest adherence to the rules of the college such as the use of uniform, having the required type of haircut, and possession of other artefacts such as ID cards. These practices and symbols of membership appear to be perfunctory expressions of regulation but they actually signify surveillance by the college’s administration. Blakely and Snyder (1997) wrote,

The setting of boundaries is always a political act. Boundaries determine membership: someone must be inside and someone outside. Boundaries also create and delineate space to facilitate the activities and purposes of political, economic and social life (Blakely & Snyder, 1997: 1)

Indeed, the setting of physical and symbolic boundaries of membership facilitates the control exerted by those who are inside over those who intend to get in, and how the latter must perform acts of membership. Translating this notion of control in the experiences of cadets, the ‘practices of membership’ must be performed daily through the wearing of symbols. Symbols themselves have been argued to have performative functions (McLaren, 1993). That is, the use of symbols *performs* a certain function (e.g., membership). Cadets,

³¹ Arnold van Gennepe (1960) argued that individuals are not just borne into a society but has to be re-created into that society through a rite of passage. Van Gennepe proposed three stages of the rite of passage, which are separation, liminality and reincorporation. Separation means the detachment of an individual from a former status; liminality intermediate status where initiands occupy an abnormal social position because they have left their former status but not yet fully integrated in the new; and reincorporation is when the passage is completed through symbolic gestures and artefacts (van Gennepe, 1960).

even though they have enrolled in the college, can be denied access to classrooms and other learning facilities simply because they do not wear their uniforms and/or could not show to the guards their ID cards. In effect, cadets are trained to follow these coded performances of wearing ‘membership artefacts’ in order to prove one’s belongingness. To actually do this on a daily basis, cadets have to achieve a degree of self-discipline, which is the technique of governing or regulating one’s self according to accepted rules or norms (see Foucault, 1979). Thus membership and how it is performed is underpinned by regulations, customs or norms that are in place in the campus as means of distinguishing acceptable from non-acceptable behaviour of belongingness.

6.2.2 Summary of section

This section demonstrated the college campus as a gated community where space, access to space and membership is regulated and controlled by the ‘insiders’. As such, the campus is a purpose-built training environment that could serve a couple of functions, which are as a training/academic facility and also as space where trainees could be monitored. In other words, the experiences of cadets of the campus are experiences of gated communities because these are private and enclosed spaces that are systematically regulated. However, the data indicate that there is another important function of the campus in relation to the socialisation of cadets, which is it is a temporary residence of cadets (i.e., the dormitories) and which the next section will explore and discuss.

6.3 Dormitory as “home away from home”: Space for self-discipline and resistance

From the interview transcripts of cadets, seafarers, program managers, and school representatives, the dormitory serves as part of a temporary but highly regulated ‘gated

community' intended not only as a practical solution for the lodging of cadets but also as a symbolic environment around which cadets and program managers could organise the cadets' formal training and social activities. In other words, the dormitory and the campus are the spaces and places where the rituals of socialisation of cadets are taking place. In Chapter 2, it was presented that two of the salient characterisations of seafaring's occupational culture are the routine of work and rest aboard the vessel, and how this routine regulates seafarers' lives and relationships on board. Thus, it appears in the data that training programs aim to simulate this routinised lifestyle aboard vessels in the college campus. This section focuses on the experiences of cadets and seafarers of the dormitory/campus as both a space and place of refuge and resistance.

6.3.1 The dormitory as a physical and symbolic environment

Having briefly described a college campus as a regulated and monitored space, the most generous cadetship schemes I followed require their recruits to stay in the campus dormitory. In two of the four models of SCPs, this practice of 'housing' commences months before the start of the first semester of the cadets' first academic year. In a few entries in my diary, describing the dormitory is a consistent theme that served as a signpost about its importance as a physical and symbolic environment in the training of the cadets. The following is an example.

The dormitory is within the walled campus, and the campus is typically guarded. The cadetship coordinator of the college introduced me to their 'dorm manager', who is actually a former seafarer and now works with the college. The dorm manager pointed out a four-storey building just across the building that housed the classrooms and the library. From where I stood, I could make out 'lifebuoys' used aboard vessels normally, hanging on the railings from the second to the top floors. This makes one think that these lifebuoys are seemingly out of place. The dorm manager described to me that cadets usually share a

room where there are usually two double-decked beds, thus four cadets in a room. Toilet and shower rooms are shared in each floor. He said that female cadets are separated from the boys and usually they are at the top floor. Furthermore, he said that fourth year cadets are housed in a different building, in a one-storey building near the library and computer room donated by the sponsors of the cadets. These learning facilities, he added, are only for cadets of this group of sponsors and not for everyone in the college

– Field notes, 2 September 2011

The typical layout of a college campus is that classrooms and other learning facilities are not that far from the dormitories where cadets are housed. Conspicuously displayed in all college campuses I visited were the names of the companies who paid for or contributed in the construction of different facilities such as classrooms, libraries and dormitories. There were also a number of symbolic objects surrounding the campus such as the helm, anchors, a boardroom designed as a bridge, the bow of a vessel as an embellishment in the façade of a building, flags of countries from where sponsors come from and so forth (Field notes, 11 January 2012). The following Image (Image 6.3), is a photo of one of the dormitories for cadets in a private maritime college.



Image 6.3: A photo of a dormitory, from the public domain, in one private maritime college (Source: <http://ntcmanila.com/post.php?id=316>).

Having described the physical facility, the dormitory is also a symbolic environment for the training of the cadets. Recalling the beginning of their respective cadetship programs, Lito and Alex, 4th year cadets shared the following,

After we were accepted to the program and before the school year started, we were restricted to stay in the dormitory for three months as part of our orientation. This included rules regarding not using our mobile phones, our laptops, and the Internet. After 3 months, it was ok, they granted us access to our mobile phones, laptops, and the Internet but we have to stay in the dormitory. We were only allowed to go out every Friday but we were expected to be back on Sunday. It is like being granted a “shore pass”.

– Lito, 4th Year Cadet, Interview #17

Staying in the dorm was to simulate life on board ships. It was meant to teach us that in the outside world, that is the sea, it was like that so that we would not suffer from culture shock later on when we board

our ships. The dormitory stay was worth it, sir. Our third year was spent on board for our cadetship, aboard an international vessel.

– Alex, 4th Year Cadet, Interview #16

From these extracts, the participants appear to associate their experiences of ‘staying in the dormitory’ with something important, as something ‘restricted’ and as a means to simulate life aboard the vessel. The experience of staying in the dormitory is associated with rules that are very restrictive because of rules that limited their movements and access to communications technologies even before the school year of their first year as recruited students started. These rules denied the cadets opportunities to communicate and interact with their usual network of families and friends through mobile phones, laptops and the Internet. For young Filipinos, this is tantamount to cutting them off from their social world. By designing training this way, it appears that SCPs were intent to simulate the potential culture shock that any person can experience when isolated at sea for an extended period. Thus, for Alex, isolating them from their families might teach them how to manage the culture shock when they go aboard international voyages.

The dormitory marks out cadets’ initiation to the program and remains to be a central aspect of their training experiences inside the college all throughout their four-year training. The dormitory is not only a place where they stay; it is also an organising space of their training that functions as a reference point of their lived experiences. The following two sections will discuss the dormitory as a space and place of (a) refuge and discipline, and (b) resistance for the cadets.

6.3.2 The dormitory as a place and space of refuge and discipline

Although the college campus was presented above as a gated, regulated and guarded community, it also served as a transient and influential residential space in the lived experiences of cadets. The campus has been transformed into a private residence for cadets. As noted earlier, cadets are required to stay on campus for three of the four years of their training, hence, cadetship schemes saw the potential importance of creating an environment where cadets could learn not only academic and technical knowledge but also the ethos, custom or morality of their (future) occupation (McLaren, 1993). The way that this learning strategy played out is manifested in the meanings that cadets constructed out of their experiences of staying in the dormitory by associating it not only as a space of rest and refuge but also as a space where the ethics of self-discipline could be potentially learned and practised. These views of the dormitory can be gleaned from the following interview extract.

Interviewer (I): *How about your dormitory life?*

Chorus: *Quite nice, very funny (some laughter).*

I: *Does it help in your training?*

Chorus: *Yes, sir.*

Allan: *Especially for those who are from Manila and other places outside of Cebu, as we do not have a house here in Cebu, and the issue of homesickness.*

Julia: *It takes a lot of getting used to (i.e., staying in the dorm) including being homesick.*

Mario: *It is hard to be far from one's family.*

Francine: *It is quite difficult to study if you are outside of the dormitory because there are a lot of distractions. Also, if we were not in the dormitories, our lives would have been more difficult. The expenses such as fare, and also we will not be monitored properly compared to when we are in the dorm.*

Leo: *I think there is an advantage in staying at the dormitory compared to regular students (i.e., non-sponsored students). We at the dormitories are more mature compared to them.*

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

For the above participants, the concept of the dorm is not only a physical reality but also a symbolic and multi-faceted one for the dorm involves a space that one could be housed properly. We could not underestimate this important fact that cadetship schemes provide safe and secure abode for the cadets especially those who are coming from a different city, town, or island relative to where their college is. This is evidenced when one cadet said that the dormitory is a helpful space “especially for those who are from Manila and other places outside of Cebu, as we do not have a house here in Cebu”. It is worth mentioning that SCPs recruit students from all over the Philippines. For example the case of Model 1 where they put all their recruits initially in 7 colleges in different cities and islands in the Philippines such as in the cities of Bataan (in Luzon island, Northern Philippines), Cebu (central-east Philippines), Iloilo (Central-west Philippines), Bacolod (Central-west Philippines) and Davao (in Mindanao Island, Southern Philippines) (see Chapter 4 for study sites). Thus, this type of arrangement would require a number of cadets to migrate internally within the Philippines and as a consequence cadet participants often associate the dormitory as meeting the basic requirement for housing especially when one is away from home.

Moreover, the dormitory is associated with a suitable place where cadets could manage issues such as homesickness or isolation as some of them find “it hard to be far from one’s family”.

For me, it was a new world especially living far from our families. We only went home once a month as we were only allowed to go home once a month. So, it took some time to adapt to changes. Though, it did not take long time to adjust. We were quite comfortable with each other and with the program.

– Rex, Chief Mate, Interview #24

For Rex, the training of isolating them from their family early in the training period would allow them to adjust to such practice. That is, in living together with other cadets, they are able to form friendships that extend beyond the campus and encompass their professional lives. Given this picture, the dormitory is an important space for cadets because it provides them one of their basic needs, housing, even though some of them find it difficult to adjust to their new living arrangements.

Other participants interpreted in similar terms the same practice of isolating cadets from their families as an allusion to the isolation of seafaring life aboard ships. Roel captures the view of his classmates about their dormitory life:

Because when we go on board, isolation and being away from our parents are part of our life. So that when we go on board for our shipboard training, loneliness and other factors that are related to our emotions, we can overcome them. So, staying in the dormitories for 5 days a week, and having our routines inside the academy are better ways by which we can overcome loneliness.

– Roel, 3rd Year Cadet, Group Interview #4

Roel associated the stay in the dormitory with overcoming emotions related to being away from their parents and families. Isolation from life ashore and loneliness, as described briefly in Chapter 3, are two of the salient characteristics of the occupational culture of seafaring (Sampson & Thomas, 2003; Thomas *et al.*, 2003; Oldenburg *et al.*, 2010; Acejo, 2013). From the last three extracts, it appears that SCPs are creating a training environment where cadets are physically isolated from their parents or families so that students could feel the potential depths of the emotions of loneliness and isolation as part of their initiation to seafaring. This practice of isolating appears to train, even force cadets to learn to cope up with isolation and loneliness once they join the profession. The logic seems to be that if they can manage and discipline themselves to cope with these, which are a rough simulation of the future isolation that they will surely experience when they work aboard ships, then these cadets are of the right material, as it were, to become seafarers.

The dormitory is also a space where self-disciplining practices are possible as suggested by the participants' responses particularly practices associated with "being responsible".

Yes, we feel a bit professional or responsible because you have to take care of yourself when you are in the dormitory.

– Allan, 4th Year Cadet, In Group Interview #7

Being responsible could mean studying on one's own or with one's peers every day and generally taking care of one's self as a trainee. Francine, a fourth year cadet, presented this view in a contrasting way when she claimed that cadets who are not required to stay at the dorm are probably easily lured not to study because of the youthful distractions that are available in the city and outside of the campus.

It is quite difficult to study if you are outside of the dormitory because there are a lot of distractions. Also, if we were not in the dormitories, our lives would have been more difficult. The expenses such as fare, and also we will not be monitored properly compared to when we are in the dorm.

– Francine, 4th Year Cadet, In Group Interview #7

Francine noted if she has stayed outside the walls of the dormitory/campus, her life would probably be difficult because it would entail more “expenses such as (transportation) fare”, or that she would find it presumably hard to discipline herself to study, if she “will not be monitored properly” by managers of their cadetship scheme. A female officer have shared the same view that in the dormitory cadets are expected to be “responsible personally”.

Interviewer: *Does the dormitory setting help you adapt to the lifestyle on board?*

Sophie: *Yes, sir. You have to be responsible personally whilst staying in the dormitory.*

– Officer-In-Charge, Alumna of Model 1, Interview #26

Hence, for some participants the dormitory becomes a space for practising self-discipline because they are expected by the program to be responsible. The self-regulating practices used by cadets to cope up with isolation and expectations of being responsible are practices reminiscent of Foucault’s notion of ‘disciplinary power’ (Foucault, 1979; see also Rabinow, 1991). Disciplinary power, Foucault argued, works through ideals such as codes of conduct, regulations, and norms and how these are imbibed or inculcated into the individual’s conduct through acquiescence, self-governance and self-discipline (Foucault, 1979; Blackman, 2008). Practices of self-discipline are possible in the context of a regimented and regulated environment such as the training strategies used in cadetship

schemes specifically in using the college campus as a regulated and controlled space that functioned as means to isolate students whilst at the same time providing them with a gated, guarded, temporary but also symbolic housing. However, a caveat of these (personal) ethical notions of responsibility and professionalism is that the cadets are also constrained by the regulated routines of the cadetship program (discussed in Section 6.1). That is, although the dormitory offers them guarded and basic accommodation as well as a space to practise responsibilities, it is also a potentially stifling place. What follows are instances where resistance are expressed by cadets within the rules of their cadetship and/or college.

6.3.3 Dormitory as space of resistance

The regulations in place in the dormitory and on campus have bred resistance to rules among some cadets. The following quote presents one form of resistance, albeit a minor one.

Interviewer: *What are the disadvantages in the dormitory?*

Brandon: *If we are in the dormitories, we just wait for the bell to ring. Even though we know the schedule of our classes, which are held in next door or the next building, we are still waiting for the bell. And even despite the bell and the proximity of our dormitory to the classroom, we are still not on time. We do not go to the classrooms earlier.*

Interviewer: *Is it because you know the routine?*

Chorus of cadets: *Yes. The facilities are near. We tend to relax.*

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

The dorm is seen by the respondents as a space of resistance to the rules of the cadetship program and/or of the college as manifested in a cadet's admission that even though they

know that the bell signifying the start of classes has rung, they would choose to ignore it and as a consequence they are not always on time for their classes, which are taking place stone's throw away from their dormitory rooms. The simple act of ignoring bells becomes interesting because the dorm is also seen as a space where cadets knowingly are "monitored". This means that even though cadets know the rules they can bend these. The more serious forms of resistance are downright violations of the rules of the dorm and/or of the college such as "escaping from the dorm" in order to leave the campus for whatever purposes and hazing among cadets. I explain these examples of resistance below.

In a vivid although unfortunate incident, I witnessed how a cadet was "disciplined" by the guidance counsellor because he had gone out of the dormitory/campus without permission. This incident took place before interviewing the guidance counsellor of a college. The same guidance counsellor has also served as a non-academic coordinator of Model 1 since 1997 when this scheme was implemented in this college. She was in-charge of the cadets' personal and social development including how they behave (Interview #8). The aforementioned incident was recorded in my diary as follows:

I was waiting at the office of the guidance counsellor/coordinator of Model 1 for an interview with her. A few minutes after I was asked by her staff to make myself comfortable on a sofa, the guidance counsellor entered her office with a very young cadet in white uniform and black pair of shoes. The counsellor appeared to be questioning the cadet, almost scolding him. Upon noticing this somewhat serious meeting, I tried to excuse myself by going out of the office while the counsellor and the cadet talked. However, for reasons I do not know, the counsellor asked me to stay, as her meeting with the cadet is almost finished, she said. It took another five or so minutes of hearing the counsellor informing and reminding the cadet of a number of violations he committed against the rules of Model 1. Two of which I cannot help but hear, "escaping from the dorm" and 'not maintaining the required average grade of 85%". All that time the cadet was standing facing the seated counsellor. However, towards the end of their meeting, she changed the tone of her voice, almost a motherly

tone (at least in my mind) and she reminded the cadet that his scholarship is a great opportunity for him and that he should not lose this chance. She reminded him of the many boys like him, who do not get his opportunity and the potential career after the training period.

– Field note, 11 January 2012

For me, this situation is a glimpse of how erring cadets are managed by the administrator(s) of the system of cadetship programs like Model 1. As mentioned in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.2), there are cadetships like Model 1 where they have non-academic coordinators who are charged with monitoring the personal and social development of cadets including managing erring and/or struggling cadets. The above case of a cadet appeared to me to be very serious because of the types of violations against the rules of the program, an academic violation of not maintaining the required average grade and a non-academic violation of ‘escaping from the dorm’. As I neither knew the cadet and the details of his case, nor was given a chance to interview ‘erring’ cadets, I could not speculate about the potential reasons he may have had for his ‘violations’. Nevertheless, this particular case afforded me a glimpse of how serious the program managers are about developing cadets according to the rules of their program such as following the expected conduct (staying in the dorm) and performance (achieving the grade requirement). The ‘violations’ of the cadet appear to me as forms of resistance to the rules of the program especially ‘escaping from the dorm’ and failing the academic grade requirement because the cadet knew the rules. Another serious claim about resistance is the practice of hazing in college campus, which I discuss next.

One officer, Robin, who was teaching in a college during his break from work on board, reported that hazing was taking place in their maritime campus.

Interviewer (I): *As you have been in the program as a cadet and now as seafarer and educator, what do you think is the weakness or limitation of the program?*

Robin: *Seniority.*

I: *What does that mean?*

Robin: *Meaning the guys who are on senior levels they try to impose their positions on junior cadets that they have to do something for them like cleaning their shoes or cleaning stuff. So, instead of the cadets studying, they are working on things for the sake of the seniors. That would be the weakness because seniors are disturbing the time of the cadets for studying... The worst cases are hazing of cadets.*

I: *Does hazing take place in academies?*

Robin: *Yes. There are a lot of programs that try to eliminate the hazing of cadets. But nevertheless, hazing can still happen behind closed doors, so to speak.*

I: *Does it happen here in this academy?*

Robin: *Yes.*

– Robin, Chief Mate and Part-time college instructor, Interview #24

According to the Anti-Hazing Law (Republic Act 8049), hazing means ritualised forms of humiliation, discomfort and/or physical violence during initiation rites, with or without the consent of the initiates. Hazing is illegal in the Philippines because of the violence it perpetuates among students in colleges and universities (R.A. 8049; Alimario, 2015), including in maritime schools (Supnad, 2013; Diola, 2014; Nonato, 2015). It is also practiced in some countries including military police training programmes (de Albuquerque & Paes-Mechado, 2004).

Hazing rites involve the symbolic and physical attempt to strip the initiates of their old identity as outsiders to the organisation and their integration to the organisation as new members through these rituals (de Albuquerque & Paes-Mechado, 2004). In the Philippines, some form of hazing or initiation rituals are practiced among different organisations including those in colleges and universities (Biado, 2014).³²Because of the sensitive nature of the topic (i.e., hazing is illegal in the country), Robin did not want to speak more on the topic (Memo on the interviews of 12 January 2012). However, hazing among senior cadets reveals the informal practices of rituals within an already ritualised training program. In the above quote, hazing rituals such as junior cadets “cleaning their (seniors’) shoes or cleaning stuff” are in fact just the tip of the iceberg, as it were, of potential hazing practices among students. The worst and illegal forms of inflicting physical pain during hazing rituals, as what the above participant seems to imply and what hazing normally means in the country, are kept “behind closed doors”. In the Philippines, violent and physical hazing practices among fraternity and sorority members of maritime colleges have been one of the most serious problems in society (Alimario, 2015; Biado, 2014), which is why the state has an anti-hazing law (R.A. 8049). Nevertheless, this does not stop students including cadets to develop their own initiation practices due to the enclosed nature of the dorm/campus and the structure of the student body based on year levels. That is, the notion of ‘seniority’ among cadets reflects a type of college hierarchy where the senior members appear to be afforded certain privileges over the junior students.

³² There is even a blogspot dedicated to reporting cases of suspicion of hazing (see <http://philippineshazing.blogspot.co.uk/>)

6.3.4 Summary of the section

The views of the participants demonstrate that the term dorm has evolved into a symbolic and nuanced notion that signifies the advantages and constraints of the cadetship by providing housing to cadets. Furthermore, the dorm and its rules are also replete with potentials for both acquiescence and resistance to the rules of the cadetship on the part of the cadets. That is, the dorm and its rules are spaces where cadets could express some form of their personal agency, or the ability to decide on their own when and where to follow or not certain rules, or to imbibe the value of practices of self-discipline associated with the notion of personal responsibility.

Conclusion of chapter

Chapter 6 aimed to demonstrate the ritualization of the maritime schooling manifested in the daily-lived experiences of cadets. Through the use of different forms of rituals and their related symbols, the daily routine of the cadets was presented as an elaborate rite of passage that turn them from being outsiders to potentially becoming competent officers. The ritualization of their training illustrates what Foucault referred to as disciplinary power, the ability of the regulated to negotiate, potentially imbibe and/or resist the rules, norms and expectations of the regulators (i.e., the managers of cadetships and school administration). The occupational socialisation of cadets through college-based education and training appears to develop certain work-related behaviours and thus the training practices are focused on changing behaviours by compartmentalizing training into ritualistic practices based on an idealized notion of life aboard the vessel. However, the elaborate and ritualistic training practices also reproduced the gender-bias that seafaring has been criticised for, in particular the apparent resistance to integrate women seafarers.

Finally, Chapter 6 has also shown the controlling influence of capital (i.e., ship owners) in the education and training of a labour source (i.e., cadets as future seafarers) through broad practices of management in order to safeguard the former's controlling interest in relation to the type of labour requirements they need. In particular, the practice of requiring above average grades and the extra academic assessments, conducted by cadetship programs on top of what the college requires and offers, are specific forms of management surveillance to measure the academic performance of the cadets. This management practice also involves the regulation and assessment of the general behaviour of their cadets specifically the conduct of the cadets whilst staying in the dormitory. The next chapter (Chapter 7) will examine the shipboard training experiences of cadets in order to understand how these continue to shape (or not) the development of cadets as future officers and how cadetship schemes influence these experiences (Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 7

THE SHIPBOARD TRAINING OF CADETS

Introduction

Chapter 7 presents the experiences of the cadets during their *shipboard training* (SBT) in order to examine what takes place in competence-based training within the working environment of a commercial vessel. Using data from all the models of sponsored cadetship programs (see Chapter 5), the data presented here is based on the key themes coming out of the training experiences of the cadets, which are a) the nature of shipboard training (Section 7.1); b) the documentation and assessment of competence-based training (Section 7.2); and c) the organisation of the shipboard training in relation to the practical management of work-based training (Section 7.3). Chapter 7 closes with a conclusion based on the analysis of the findings.

7.1 The nature and experience of shipboard training: Practical training and experience at sea

In order to explore the nature of the *shipboard training* (SBT), this section will examine the training experiences of the cadets vis-a-vis the standards of training and the literatures of on-the-job training and apprenticeship. The shipboard training model of the *Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping* (STCW) is not really clear whether it is patterned after traditional apprenticeships, or the *standard training model* (STM). Briefly, apprenticeship is a work-based learning with functional aims such as the development of skills, and transformative effects (e.g., personal growth to adulthood) for young trainees (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Fuller & Unwin, 1998, 2003). STM is a framework where an

organisation develops, plans, and implements the training needs and requirements of its employees (Buckle & Caple, 1990; Sloman, 1999). What follows is a presentation and analysis of the sea-time training of the former and current cadets from their experiences and perspective.

7.1.1 What is the nature of the shipboard training as experienced by the current and former cadets?

The experiences of the cadets and former cadets suggested that shipboard training aboard vessels could be characterised as either a form of apprenticeship (i.e., quasi-apprenticeship) or a type of mentoring, or a combination of both. This broad finding about the sea-time training as experienced by the cadets is clearly associated with the language of the STCW and the Philippine standards in prescribing what the sea-time training constitutes. The STCW and the Philippine standards following the STCW suggest that the nature of the SBT is a combination of some form of apprenticeship and mentoring because the terms used by the STCW states that the sea-time training is both “a planned training managed by companies” through the guidance of the shipboard training officers but which allows time for the cadets to record their “practical training and experience” within the daily operations of the vessel (IMO, 2011, particularly STCW Code, Ch. II, Section B-II/; CHED, 2014).

As a type of apprenticeship, sea-time training requires the supervision or mentoring skills of shipboard training officers as crucial to the learning process of cadets. Mentoring means coaching or supervision of young trainees by experienced professionals (Frei *et al.*, 2010). We now turn to the experiences of the sea-time training of the cadets and relate these to competence-based training. The experiences of the cadets suggest perhaps that the role of

the trainers is akin to a mentor, which is described by Frei *et al.* (2010) as synonymous with “coaching” or “tutoring”. The tutoring of cadets is suggested in the following

Yes, that is my personal training program. I have my experience as a cadet so I made it a point that the juniors have proper training. For example, in the logbook there are tasks, so each task I require them and once the task is done, I require each cadet to perform the task to me. This is what I do to make sure that they undertake those tasks. And that they have an idea.

– Rex, Chief Mate, Interview #24

As officers, we check how experienced they are before they go on board. Like for example, we check the cadet’s previous record. If we find in his record that it is his third trip aboard as cadet, for us this information means that he can do things on his own. If it is the cadet’s first trip, we do not give them the difficult kind of operations such as cargo handling. We have to teach them first before we give them any task. In a way, handling cadets on their first trip is a bit of a work for us training officers.

– Roy, Chief Mate, Interview #18

The coaching practices indicated above come from the personal experiences of seasoned officers who were once cadets themselves. The “coaching” practices in the two fore-going extracts demonstrates two techniques, the first is subjective methods of training the cadets, the second is applied knowledge through proficiency, where the officer classifies the cadet’s proficiency based on the number of sea trips they have taken and how they have performed accordingly. Thus, sea-time training could be considered as mentoring, which is understood as “a process whereby an experienced, highly regarded, empathetic person (mentor) guides another (usually younger) individual (the mentee) in the development and re-examination of their own ideas, learning, and personal and professional development”

(SCOPME, 1998). In the maritime literature, Gould (2010) referred to the British cadets' sea-time training as "quasi-apprenticeship" because contemporary cadet training is not the same as the traditional craft apprenticeship, where the apprentice works closely with a 'master' for a significant period of time (see Fuller & Unwin, 1998), while cadets do not.

Moreover, the management model of the STCW for the sea-time training is akin to the logic underlying the *systematic training model* (STM). Fundamentally, in STM an organisation plans and implements the training needs and requirements of its employees (Sloman, 1999; Buckley & Caple, 1990). A commonly used definition of STM is

training undertaken on a planned basis as a result of applying a logical series of steps. In practice, the number and description of these steps tends to vary, but in general terms they would cover such aspects as: development of training policy, identification of training needs, development of training objectives and plans, implementation of planned training, and validation, evaluation and review of training (Sloman, 1999: 45-46; Manpower Services Commission, 1981: 59 as cited in Sloman, 1999)

The quote describes the structure and elements of STM. If one compares the above quote with the following requirements of the STCW for the shipboard training of the cadets (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3), there seems to be a lot of similarities. In other words, the SBT of cadets is framed as a regulated, company-managed, and officer-guided training model. Thus, the approach of the global (and the Philippine) standards for the sea-time training of the cadets emphasise the leading role of the employers in managing and organising the training of the cadets aboard the vessel. What the data of this study reveals, is that a number of the cadets experienced sea-time training as planned training, as depicted in the ensuing extract.

Internship in a company or sea-based training was pretty much predetermined. We had 2 months training in our school's training vessel during our 3rd year. After which we have to take refresher courses. And after that, we have 3 months of training on board a training ship that was actually a commercial vessel. There were 20 cadets. There were cadets from different maritime schools in the Philippines and even some Chinese cadets. We also had subjects or training courses and seminars while on board the ship. After that I have been with Norwegian officers on board another commercial vessel. I was most of the time in the deck for watchkeeping duty training with the officers.

– Raffy, 4th Year Cadet, Group Interview #3

The above quote implies the central role of the company, in providing cadets with training berths, and broadly the organisation of training aboard a vessel. The quote pointed to a particular SBT program (under SCP Model 2) that was designed and implemented by the cadet's company. The extract showed how a company managed the shipboard training through a series of courses, seminars and trainings aboard two types of vessels, a training and a commercial vessel. In between boarding the vessels, the cadets took refresher courses. The quote also pointed to a practice of conducting courses and seminars on board the commercial vessel that presumably allowed cadets to observe and learn from actual navigation or engineering watchkeeping duties. Thus, the extract suggested a well-managed SBT program, at least in terms of how SBT was organised aboard different vessels.

Furthermore and following Gould (2010), the sea-time training of Filipino cadets could also be qualified as “quasi-apprenticeship” because of the mobility of the trainees across different ships and learning environments (i.e., different types of vessels and shore-based courses), and working alongside different trainers. Gould (2010) described the sea-based training of British cadets she studied as “quasi-apprenticeship” because this training is characterised by the mobility of trainees from ship to ship, and from one training method

such as courses, seminars to another (e.g., work-based experience through watchkeeping duty). Furthermore, even though the cadets had little opportunity to work alongside their seasoned peers because of their mobility during and within the sea-training period, learning skills was fundamentally required. Gould (2010) borrowed from Melia (1987) the term “quasi-apprenticeship”, which for Melia (1987) referred to the nurses’ clinical training where the trainees spent much of their time moving across different wards while observing, working with, and learning from, non-qualified staff and from more experienced peers. Melia (1987), therefore, used the term “quasi-apprenticeship” because the trainees do not spend a significant time with a dedicated “mentor”, unlike in the traditional apprenticeships (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Fuller & Unwin, 1998). What this means for this section is that Gould’s use of “quasi-apprenticeship” to describe the training of British cadets could also be appropriated toward describing the experiences of some Filipino cadets.

7.1.2 The constraints of training: Routines of training, working and resting

This section presents and discusses the sea-time training of cadets that is constrained and defined by the routine of work and rest of the crewmembers of the vessel. It reveals and examines primarily the potential and limitations of self-directed learning of the cadets during training in a work environment. Cadets represented their training time as “work hours”. This substitution of terms was triggered by one group interview of ten cadets (Group Interview #7) but the same substitution of terms were also observed in other cadet (Group Interview #3) and seafarer participants (Interviews #24, #25). This subtle exchange of terms reminds us of one of the traits of seafaring’s occupational culture discussed in Chapter 2, which is work reigns supreme over the human relationships aboard the vessel.

When asked to describe generally their cadetship program, the first collective response of one group of cadets was to describe their working hours, this is exemplified in the following.

We went through a lot. In my experience, there will be times, what they refer to as “work hours” during our cadetship, there are times that you will exceed those work hours. For example, I would exceed my work hours in one day, and the next day they will give me extra time to rest as I exceeded the working hours of the previous day.

– Kevin, 4th Year Cadet, In Group Interview #7

What the cadet is saying is that the sea-time training was embedded in the work culture of the vessel. The cadet is presenting the idea that cadets form part of the vessel’s workforce. Hence, the substitution of the term “training” for “working” is to be expected given the actual environment of where the training is taking place, and it appears that for the trainees the tasks that they have performed is real work rather than just a learning experience. It seems that part of the socialisation of the cadets during their sea-time training is to afford them the experience of how it is to be part of the crew of the ship. In other work-based training such nursing, Melia (1987) has also observed that nurse trainees have presented themselves as part of the workforce. Melia (1987) pointed out that for nurse trainees, looking like they are performing professionally in a hospital ward, even though they were still trainees, was part of their self-presentation. What this means for this section is that the self-presentation of trainees that they are part of the professional workforce appears to be similar, at least, between these two training systems.

It appears that the training of the cadets could not be separated from the real routine of the crewmembers aboard the vessel given the unique environment of the vessel as an enclosed,

mobile and shared space (see Chapter 2). This brings us to the importance of shipboard routine as it defined and constrained the actual space and time of the training of cadets. This means to say that training aboard the vessel could only be organised within the routine of all crewmembers especially the training officers. Thus, when asked about their “work hours” the response of the cadets were about their schedules or routines on board.

Interviewer: *On the average how many hours did you actually work during your shipboard training?*

Carl: *10 hours. 4 hours in the morning, 4 hours in the afternoon or night, and 2 hours of overtime. On the average we would be working daily between 10-12 hours.*

Chorus of cadets: *10-12 hours.*

Francine: *Every month my schedule was shifting, for example, my duty is “10 to 2” in the morning and in the night, plus 2 hours of overtime. Your rest hours also demanded working on basic necessities like washing your clothes. So, my sleep pattern was not regular like I would sleep for only 4 straight hours, and then another 2 hours.*

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

The quote illustrates the routines of work and rest that cadets encountered during their sea-time training. The routines were the time-tabling of the activities of the trainees. In the socialisation of nurse trainees in hospital wards, Melia pointed out that “nursing work was presented to the students in the form of set routines” (Melia, 1987: 33). Melia (1987) argued that if nursing work was organised as routines, the ward sisters, that is, those who managed the wards, were seen as ‘scientific managers’ as expounded by Taylor (1911). Scientific management or Taylorism is a work strategy introduced by Taylor in the late nineteenth century. It is based on the general principle that the supervision and organisation of work

could be scientifically designed, where the less skilled workers could be managed by qualified and experienced staff (Scott & Marshall, 2009). What this means for this section is that the training of the cadets were managed by embedding it within the shipboard routines and, as will be shown below (Section 7.1.3), managed by trainers and the patron companies. Aside from the routines, what takes place in individual training exercises aboard the vessel is important in understanding the socialisation of cadets aboard the vessel because this potentially shows how competencies are developed.

The following account of an engine officer gives the reader a sense of what potentially takes place aboard a ship when cadets are training.

We were so many aboard the school's training vessel. In a specific task we were divided to a minimum of 15 cadets per training officer. So, if we were given a task to overhaul a machinery, given there were 15 cadets, some of these cadets will only be standing, watching and not do anything. What I heard from international vessels is the strategy of putting a maximum of 2 cadets per ship. This kind of arrangement is where the cadets can focus on the job. They had more hands on experience. So, going back to the overhauling of a machinery, the ships with less cadets, the cadets can do the same task for several times, unlike in our case where we performed the task only once.

– Juan, Second Engineer, Group Interview #3

Juan's account reveals how training is organised aboard the training vessel. The respondent viewed that the number of trainees during task-based training may affect the quality of training because the limited material resources of a facility constrained the hands-on training experience of the cadets. Nevertheless, the above account gives us a glimpse of how competencies are potentially developed aboard a vessel as a form of guided learning where the training officer appears to be supervising the training exercise.

7.1.3 The experiences of the cadets: spectrum of sea-time training experiences

This section presents evidence of the different approaches to sea-time training employed by shipping patrons aboard their vessels as revealed in the experiences of the cadets. Broadly, the SBT practices employed by companies and their training officers appear to be either planned, less rigid, or there were no training programs at all. Thus, these practices indicate the different ways in which, companies and trainers manage the training of their cadets.

In planned programs, the routines appear to follow formal and conventional training activities of following a course work, using the *International Shipping Federation's* (ISF) logbook³³ as guide for courses delivered, the use of the training record book, company reports, and assessments. The following cadets shared the formal training they received aboard the vessels as follows.

Ian: In our case, I came from (names shipping company) and we boarded a training ship. Actually it was a container ship having a training facility for cadets. We were 14 engine cadets. Then we had a series of programs wherein we have to follow these technical courses and we had test about these things. The training program was based on the ISF logbook. Every time we accomplished something for our ISF record book that is the time that the training officer signed our training record book. We had two months of training aboard the ship, and we had accomplished a lot from the ISF logbook.

Norben: After the day's work, we have to go back to our cabin to study, do the paper works for the company. There were also the projects for the school and the projects for the company. Like my

³³ The ISF logbook is a record training book that could be used by cadets as evidence of their shipboard training. It complies with the STCW 2010 requirements (ISF, 2015) and with the Philippine standards (CHED, 2014).

classmate, we were required to submit progress reports to our company every month.

Jake: I was assigned under the 3rd engineer. Also, our company has a program aboard the vessel. Every week we were required to submit regular reports to the training officer, which the officer sent to the company. Then, we also have to go through competence assessment conducted by company-trained officers.

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #3

The fore-going extracts are samples of the planned training programs that some companies employed to train the cadets. It is worth-noting that in planned sea-time training, there are a number of formal requirements that cadets have to comply with such as formal assessments in different forms, such as the logbook, tests, and company reports. These details suggest the practices of extensive documentation of the sea-time training of Filipino cadets, primarily by companies. Chief of this documentation is, as the first (Cadet 4) of the three cadets mentioned, the ISF training book for the cadets. The ISF logbook is used by colleges as a guide of the training record book issued by colleges to their respective cadets (Jim, Interview #4, Director, Shipboard Training Office, Maritime College in Luzon; Matt, Interview #21, Director, Shipboard Training Office, Maritime College in Visayas). Below, the regulatory and training functions of the training record book will be discussed (Section 7.2). For now, suffice it to say that the cadets who have undergone planned sea-time training, experienced it as a controlled learning and working environment. It appears that the cadets' experiences involved objective training practices such as taking course examinations, and submitting logbooks and reports about their training. It may have also involved opportunities for the cadets to reflect on their experiences of gaining competencies especially when they went back to their cabins to study and do the paper works such as submitting monthly progress reports. Aside from the requirements of training that cadets

have to comply with, what takes place in individual training exercises aboard the vessel is important towards understanding the socialisation of cadets aboard the vessel.

In less rigid programs, sea-time training appears to be not as well-planned as the first type described above. This is a type of training which exhibits a combination of a supportive training environment as well as a poor one. The following extract, which is about the experience of an officer during his sea-time training could be indicative of the less rigid programs. In this case, some of the shipboard officers failed to properly train the cadets. This loss is exemplified in the following

In my first vessel, my experience was good. I had supportive colleagues especially my officers but there was a part too that I experienced hell, or whatever you want to call it because there was a change of crew. This new crew was different as they were treating me not as a cadet, but as a regular crew. As a cadet you were there as a student but they were treating me as a regular crewmember. I did overtime work with them without pay. That is how it all started that I was not able to focus on my training. But I finished about 80% of my logbook earlier with the previous officers.

– Robin, Chief Mate, Interview #25

The above participant shared a mixed impression of his SBT experiences, where the first part of the SBT was considered good whilst the second part was described simply as “hell”. The supportive conduct of training officers during the first part of the cadet’s SBT was perceived as crucial by this cadet as they helped him focus on training including completing about 80% of the logbook (i.e., the training record book, to be discussed in Section 7.2). The perception of the trainee of the support offered by his/her colleagues especially supervisors or mentors during training has been reported and discussed in different training systems of different professions such as teaching (Ehrich *et al.*, 2004; McIntyre *et al.*, 2005;

Hobson *et al.*, 2009; Hennisen *et al.*, 2011), nursing (Andrews & Chilton, 2000; Webb & Shakespeare, 2008) and medical profession (Bligh, 1999; Frei *et al.*, 2010). Mentoring skills of experienced professionals on trainees in the workplace environment have been perceived as offering vital emotional and task-related assistance to trainees such as teaching (Hennisen *et al.*, 2011), and mentoring has been reported to provide young medical doctors with personal and professional role models (Frei *et al.*, 2010). In the second part of the seafarer's account, the absence of the support expected of training officers is prominent. It also appears that the lack of support the seafarer received is something he associates with a negative training experience. If training officers failed in their duty, then the cadets potentially lose the personal and professional support expected of a mentor. Moreover, that the former cadet was "treated like a regular crewmember", working overtime and not being paid for it are also some of the negative aspects of the "hellish" experience he described. Given the combination of good and bad experiences of the cadet aboard one vessel, this type of training appears to be conflicted because those who managed the training (i.e., companies, trainers) are not consistent in delivering the quality of training that the cadet needed.

Finally, there are experiences where cadets felt that their companies and/or trainers failed them totally, because there was no shipboard training program for them aboard the vessel. The following case demonstrates the potential effects of a training environment where companies and trainers fail to implement a training program and as consequence fail in their duties to train the cadets. The following extract from a second officer's account of his SBT illustrates a case where there was no program for cadets on board a commercial ship,

In my case, actually the first half of the 11 months or shall we say 6 months was really zero. If we did not take the effort or initiative and

at a certain point filed a complaint, then nothing could have changed our situation. What actually happened, well discrimination was part of the picture as we were the first Filipinos who were absorbed by the company. So what happened was that the officers then, Pakistanis and Indians, may have been surprised as to why there are now Filipinos. So, what happened is that we felt we were not treated well by the officers as cadets. I overheard, our DPA (designated person aboard), “Why are they sending Filipino cadets? They will be ratings anyway.” The DPA was also Indian. When I heard that, I said, this is not right. I was with another Filipino cadet and we raised issues. We said this is not just and right. So, when I was asked by a representative of a company if what the problem is, I responded: “Sir, you do not have a cadetship program on board your vessel.” After that, they started to give us what we needed for our training.

– Ben, Second officer, Group Interview #2

The fore-going quote is quite rich as a source of information about some of the experiences of cadets during SBT where there is no program implemented by companies. There are a number of points that the above participant is sharing. First, he claimed that his and another Filipino’s stint as cadets on board an international vessel started badly as they felt that they did not receive any kind of training as cadets for months. Second, he explained that part of the reason why they were not treated well as trainee-cadets is due to discrimination of other nationalities. That is, he points out that discrimination is due to seafarers stereotyping other seafarers based on nationalities such as Filipinos are good only for job roles of ratings. Third, he states that they (cadets) initiated a series of decisions that helped them change their training experiences. That is, he had to take the initiative to write to the company and complain about their lot as trainees. Finally, he claimed that their negative experiences related to training as cadets could be attributed to the company’s failure to design and implement a cadetship program on board commercial vessels.

The above case exemplifies a company’s failure to follow a widely accepted framework of competency-based training (CBT), which states that a training program is the basis of the

units of measurable and explicit standards of performance of the trainees (Burke 1989; Fletcher 1992). Where a training scenario lacks a program duly enforced, it is not surprising that candidates will feel short-handed. Nevertheless, in spite of the absence of a structured program, in the above case the candidates used the situation to express their personal agency to question and report the problems associated with the training that they were entitled to. Though the participant claimed that their agency changed their situation by providing them with training in the second half of the training period, in a highly organised workplace such as an international vessel, personal agency may not always lead to favourable results for those who think that their needs (i.e., training) are left wanting.

7.1.4 Cadets as deck hands: Consequence of non-existent shipboard training program

One of the reported consequences when there is no shipboard training program for the cadets is their exploitation as cheap labour. The exploitation experienced by some cadets is characterised by the marginality of their subordinate social status aboard the vessel (Breznitz, 1979; Sabar, 2004). Breznitz (1979) described marginality as a transitional and non-member status of individuals to a social or occupational group, which they intend to join, which in the case of cadets the officer class. Two officers who both have experienced as training officers confirmed the negative treatment of cadets as deck hands. They claimed that,

Pedro (Deck officer): It is hard to get away from what has been the practice that when a cadet boards the vessel for training he is treated as a kind of a helper. Also the cadet is given tasks by different officers or crewmembers. "Cadet, we have this job right now. Go there." It should not be that way. There should be a program; then follow strictly the program.

Juan (Engineer): The cadet is made into a deck hand instead of training to be an officer.

– Group Interview #2

The preceding quote clearly reports that some cadets are treated as hired hands, as “a kind of a helper”. Hence, in cadetships the SBT of cadets do not always appear to be a guaranteed proper training due to existing practices of exploiting cadets as low ranking hired hands. For cadets and seafarers, a proper program for SBT should not be focusing on tasks referred to as “chipping the deck”. That is, instead of being supervised by an officer while learning the competencies as indicated in the training record book, some cadets performed menial tasks such as chipping the rusts and paint on the deck and other parts of the vessel.

7.1.5 Summary of Section

This section presented and examined the experiences of the cadets during their sea-time training in order to determine the nature or function of on-the-job training. What can be concluded is, that sea-time training is akin to what Gould (2010) refers to as “quasi-apprenticeship” because the cadets do not spend a lot of time under the guidance of one dedicated officer-mentor, received diverse and many training methods, and they transfer from one training officer to another. Furthermore, this section also analysed the influential role of shipboard routines of work and rest because this constrained the training experiences of the cadets, who have to adapt to the workloads of the vessel and their training officers. Finally, this section explored three broad types of sea-based training practices ranging from well-managed programs to a practice that did not develop sea-time training program aboard the vessel.

7.2 The functions of the Training Record Book: Pedagogical, regulatory and organisational

Section 7.2 presents the different ways the cadets and former cadets utilised the training record book (TRB) during their sea-time training in order to examine how the TRB and its functions contributed to the training development of the cadets. These functions of the TRB are the pedagogical, organisational and regulatory functions. To explain each of these functions, we first turn to the global and local standards of MET to situate the practice of the use of the training logbook.

7.2.1 Pedagogical and organisational functions of the TRB

The experiences of the cadets and seafarers in using the TRB indicate that it was used as an educational portfolio, which has pedagogical, organisational and regulatory functions (the latter to be discussed separately in the next section). Without doubt the use of the TRB is based on the fact that it is a regulatory requirement for all aspiring officers, a requirement that I analyse first.

As reviewed earlier in this thesis, the STCW states that the cadets of any company “should be provided with a training record book to enable a comprehensive record of practical training and experience at sea” (STCW Code, 2011, Ch. II, Section B-II/1.4.4). The Philippine regulations for the sea-time training of cadets practically follow the requirements of the STCW (CHED, 2014). The training logbook requirement of the standards appears to be similar to the use of a learning portfolio in other training systems because these logbooks are used as evidence of the acquisition of professional competencies such as in medicine (Snadden & Thomas, 1998), teaching (Tanner *et al.*, 2000), and nursing (Harris *et al.*, 2001; Garrett & Jackson, 2006). Snadden and Thomas (1998) described a portfolio as the

“documentation of learning, and the articulation of what has been learned... (such as) records of events and projects carried out” (Snadden & Thomas, 1998: 192). This view of the TRB as a learning portfolio is illustrated in the following extracts.

Aron: I think the ISF logbook contains the things that we really have to know before and after we become an officer. –

Norben: I boarded (names the vessel) and they were strictly following the ISF logbook. So, the programs that we were required and finished were based entirely on the logbook. But there were exceptions that, for example, skills for cargo tankers, these things were exempted, as our ship was not a tanker.

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #3

Walter: It is a book used to follow up or use as the basis for what we should do on board. Or you can use the logbook to monitor what you can do and have done. But not everything in the logbook can be done within your shipboard training.

Carlo: Actually, sir, the logbook is more of a guide on what a cadet must do while on board for training.

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

The quotes point out the pedagogical and organisational function of the TRB. Primarily, it is a document that identifies the skills and tasks that the cadets “can do and have done”, as these are the same set of skills and tasks required of them as future officers. The logbook also contained a list of specified training objectives and tasks that cadets have to perform on board the vessel. In other words, the TRB serves as a check-list of tasks (“proficiencies”) that the cadets must perform on board. As a sample, the following extracts describe what tasks cadets are expected to perform,

We are to train for things like mooring, steering, or how to prepare the pilot's ladder and the like.

– Greg, Deck Officer, Academic coordinator of Model 1, Interview #11

In complying with the logbook, on board we have to learn and execute the rules and procedures in approaching the port.

– Gil, Group Interview #3

The quotes illustrated some examples that cadets have to know and perform on board. Broadly, these tasks are either engine (e.g., overhauling an engine) or deck watchkeeping duties (e.g., mooring, steering, approaching a port), or duties related to security and safety (e.g., fire-fighting, or lowering a life raft) (IMO, 2011). The organisational and pedagogical functions of the portfolio helped the cadet sort out their activities amidst the normal daily operations of the vessel. As a document, the TRB functioned as a lever for the many practical accomplishments that cadets have to perform on board. These functions of the TRB are similar to the use of learning portfolios in medicine where the portfolio is also used as a means of organising and learning the competencies of would-be physicians (Snadden & Thomas, 1998) and nurses (Harris *et al.*, 2001). The TRB of cadets is used to structure and document their activities on board because the TRB covered an encompassing range of training requirements.

As noted earlier (Chapter 3), the TRB and broadly the sea-time experience could potentially afford the cadets a degree of self-directed learning, which is a learning strategy employed usually by adult learners, where the learners tend to take control of, and take responsibility

of their learning see Knowles, 1975). The following extracts either identify or imply the tendency of some of the cadets “to find their way”, that is, take responsibility of their learning during sea-time training.

Aron: There is another thing that we learned from the academy and that is initiative. If you do not have the initiative, it would difficult because even though you have the TRB and the officers, but you still have to find your way.

Mac: I am typically a bit silent. I have an anxiety in approaching people. But I learned how to handle people as well work on my own during my apprenticeship. There were cadets from other countries who do not work the way I do, so I have to work on my own especially when I was assigned to be the group leader of cadets from India and Russia.

Ian: I also came from a ship with a multi-national crew of fellow cadets such as Vietnamese and Chinese. I think being responsible is what had changed in me during the shipboard training. There were times that your crewmates would not work with you. But you have to do it with confidence, as this is the reality of the workplace.

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #3

The extracts indicated a couple of important points about the potential for self-learning during sea-time training. First, at least two cadets are saying that initiative is important during sea-time, because even though there are training support mechanisms such as the TRB and the training officer, in a real workplace environment, for example in a multi-cultural, multi-national workplace, the ways different people work may differ from one’s own, or from what one might expect. Second, in spite of the presence of training officers and a training guidebook, “finding your way” appears to be part of training that is taking place on-the-job. This is especially true aboard merchant vessels, where the primary concern of the crewmembers is the work on board, which was discussed previously. As an

effect, the training needs of the cadets would take a backseat relative to the shipboard work schedule. Thus, the cadets recognised that initiative is part of how things work aboard the vessel.

However, all of the prerequisites of the TRB cannot be practically covered in one type of vessel alone, as the following quote shows

Some instructions in the logbook are not applicable. For example, I boarded a car carrier ship. But in the logbook there are instructions for tankers.

– Tim, 4th Year Cadet, Group Interview #7

It appears, then, that the TRB is a generic guide for all types of merchant vessels but there were some instructions that are not applicable to the type of vessel that cadets actually boarded. In practice, the TRB is reported by participants to be based on the *International Shipping Federation* (ISF) logbook. However, for some cadets, the TRB is not always viewed as a helpful tool as the next extract demonstrates,

Carlo: *For me the ISF logbook was an added work for the cadets.*

[Chorus of laughter from other cadets in the group.]

Interviewer: *Why do you think so?*

Carlo: *It is because when it is time to rest you have to work on the logbook. In my case, my work hours were from 8 am to 8 pm. If you are a cadet, what would you choose, study the logbook or rest? At times, there are emergency jobs and they will wake you up at the middle of the night, isn't it? Do you think you will have the time to work on the logbook? There are a lot of projects in the logbook, mind you. For me, the training record book really is an added work to cadets.*

[Followed by a chorus of “yes” from other cadet participants in the group].

– 4th Year Cadets, Group Interview #7

For the above participants, the TRB was an “added work” to the daily duties of cadets, which for some would take about 10-12 hours of their time. Working on the logbook took away time from either rest or on board tasks, according to one participant. Thus, the observations of cadets raise a particular concern: “What takes priority for cadets during SBT, is it work or training?” The conflict that merchant cadets felt in accomplishing their TRB appears to be similar to the way other student trainees (e.g., nurses) were reluctant about the use of learning portfolios. The concern of cadets about how the TRB could take time to accomplish reflects the same time-related issue of the learning portfolio for student nurses (Harris *et al.*, 2001). Harris *et al.* (2001) observed that among student nurses they might have neglected their portfolios because these were time consuming. Relatedly, Harris *et al.* (2001) also noted that the time-constraint imposed by a learning portfolio on a student nurse is linked to how the tutors used the portfolio, where some tutors encouraged students to utilise portfolios while others did not. These different approaches of tutors on the use of portfolios resulted in the unequal treatment of the portfolio between students (Harris *et al.*, 2001), which by extension either stimulated or constrained the potential benefits of learning portfolios such as allowing trainees to be self-reflective of the learning process especially during their internships.

Having discussed the pedagogical and organisational functions of the TRB and some concerns of accomplishing it, the following section discusses the use of the logbook as a method of assessing the trainees.

7.2.2 Documentation of the cadet's training: Regulatory function of the portfolio

This section discusses the regulatory function of the portfolio by examining its function as evidence for the sea-time training of the cadets. The Philippine regulations of MET require that cadets submit their completed TRBs through their college in order to complete their bachelor's maritime degree (CHED, 2014, 2015). Thus, the TRB is important evidence in professionalizing Filipino seafarers. The definition of a portfolio applicable to the TRB is based on the definition used by Harris *et al.* (2001), where the "educational portfolio is a collection, record or set of material or evidence that gives a picture of an individual's experience in an educational or developmental situation" (Harris *et al.*, 2001: 278). This definition captures a key function of a TRB as a record that is used as evidence for the sea-based training the cadets undergo, which is presented here.

The TRB, like any other student portfolio, requires a method or methods of assessment especially as it is the regulatory evidence for the completion of a maritime college degree. Literature suggests that one of the functions of assessment is to contribute to the preservation and control of professional standards (Rowntree, 1987). However, the assessment policy for the SBT of cadets is based primarily on the observations of the training officers of the cadet's performance and their signatures in the TRB (CHED, 2014).

The following quote from a SBT officer of a college explained these requirements,

In the TRB, the assessment is practical. That is, the cadets are required to perform certain tasks while on board. However, there is no marking or grades in the logbook. It is up to the cadet if the entries there are real or not. It is their responsibility. If you think some tasks is really that easy then it is up to you. The TRB is their guide or tool. It is a requirement though.

– Matt, Director, Shipboard Training Office of a private college, Interview #21

The participant had identified a key concern about the TRB, which is the assessment of the cadet's performance aboard the vessel. As SBT is a competence-based training, the use of a portfolio as a tool for assessment of competence has been observed to be problematic because by their very nature portfolios are often times individual and subjective impressions of both the learner and the trainer (McMullan *et al.*, 2003). Perhaps this is what the above participant is saying when the director claimed that the authenticity of what was learned aboard rests primarily on the cadets. However, this may be very hard to verify simply based on the entries of the portfolio, that is, on a check-list. The literature on assessment of competence has identified concerns whether portfolios are reliable summative assessment as opposed to formative assessments (McMullan *et al.*, 2003). The generally accepted notion of formative assessment is to monitor student learning in order to provide feedback that can be used by teachers or tutors to improve their teaching, and by students to improve their learning (William & Black, 1996; Garrison & Ehringhaus, 2010). The commonly held view of summative assessment is to evaluate student learning at the end of an instructional unit (or each competency in SBT) by comparing it against some standards (e.g., the STCW) (William & Black, 1996; Garrison & Ehringhaus, 2010). Portfolios are generally accepted to be useful as formative assessment, which is, as a means of monitoring learning but problematic as a summative student evaluation method (Snadden, 1999; Pitts *et al.*, 1999; McMullan *et al.*, 2003). In other words, if the function of the TRB is a summative assessment, this is problematic because attempts to standardise the portfolio as a summative assessment tool, is difficult to attain. This criticism noted in the literature is based on the subjective and individual nature of portfolios (McMullan *et al.*, 2003), and this applies to the TRB especially where the assessment of the performance of cadets is based solely on the trainer's observations.

During their sea-time training, the cadets were aware of two important aspects of training, the authenticity of the TRB as evidence of training, which is officially guaranteed by the signature of the training officer, and the quality of their training and assessment that is supposedly reflected in the TRB. These concerns are reflected in the following two extracts.

In my case, I showed the captain my logbook every end of the month for my evaluation for the competencies required in the logbook. For my competency, it was my captain who evaluated me then signed by my training officers. It all depends on who supervises a cadet on a certain competency. There are competencies that are assigned to the 3rd mate, the 2nd mate and the chief officer. Hence, the assigned officer signs my logbook while the captain evaluates me for my competencies. Also, they will respectively ask me if I have learned this or that although in some cases they were not really teaching or guiding me. At times it was my own initiative to learn what the logbook required but nevertheless they sign my TRB. But they never really looked at the entire content of the logbook.

– Francine, 4th Year Cadet, Group Interview #7

The quote reports a mixture of training experiences where sometimes the cadet is guided by the training officers and sometimes not. In other words, it reveals the tension that the cadet felt that some training officers were not really after her training because of a perceived lacklustre effort of the trainers as evidenced by their lack of attention to the requirements of the logbook, even though they have signed it. It also shows the cadet's initiatives to have the portfolio signed by approaching the captain every month, and more importantly that the cadet attempted to take control of her training by studying the requirements of the portfolio. Thus, these initiatives reflect a degree of being responsible over one's learning (see Knowles, 1975). The issue regarding the conduct of trainers' in relation to the TRB was also raised by the following cadet.

The other serious stuff regarding signing logbooks is that officers at times after signing the logbook do not ask the cadets if indeed they have learned and performed the tasks and projects in the logbook.

– Raffy, Group Interview #3

The extract demonstrates the cadet's concern about the method of some of the trainers of signing the portfolio without either verifying the content of the logbooks, or the quality of the training and performance of the cadets. This means to say that the trainers, as expected, play a pivotal role in the training of the cadets, and how they play this role could be manifested, at the surface level at least, in the way they manage the TRB. For the cadet above, some officers even at the surface level of checking the entries in the portfolio is not even doing a good job. By extension, this type of trainers may not be a really effective trainer because they are not even dependable enough to check the paper work. Sampson (2004) pointed out that mariners are not professional teachers and therefore they would need trainer's training when they serve as trainers aboard the vessel. The argument to coach mariners to be trainers is based on the idea that professional mariners have different skill sets as mariners, compared to being a trainer. The core responsibilities of the trainer are to train and evaluate the training performance of the trainees (i.e., cadets), which are different from seafaring watchkeeping competencies (Sampson, 2004). To support this view, literature suggests that training and "assessing are different from being a competent practitioner" of a profession like seafaring (McMullan *et al.*, 2003: 288).

7.2.3 Summary of section

This section discussed the TRB as a student portfolio that functions as a check-list for tasks to be done during the sea-time training of the cadets. Aside from this, the portfolio or logbook also offers a potential for cadets to reflect on and document their training

experiences. As a portfolio, the TRB has been shown to perform different functions, which are pedagogical, organisational, and regulatory functions. The data also pointed out that the policy strategy of assessing cadets in the TRB shows how the system of evaluating the training of cadets during their SBT boils down to the signatures and subjective impressions of the officers.

7.3 Organisation of the shipboard training of cadets: Standards and their effects on training

Section 7.3 discusses how the STCW and its training model are the bases of the practical management of shipping companies in the organisation of the sea-time training of the cadets. To explain this view, this section examines the experiences of cadets and maritime colleges that reveal the management approaches of shipping companies toward delivering sea-time training of the cadets. To analyse the management styles of delivering the SBT, this section uses the key elements from the modern apprenticeship programs, which are schemes where employers provide the training provision to their future employees particularly by providing on-the-job training berths (Gospel & Fuller, 1998; Lewis, 2014).

7.3.1 Organisation of the Shipboard Training of Cadets: Global and local standards and their effects

In principle, the STCW and the Philippine standards assigned the management and the implementation of the shipboard training program for cadets to the shipping companies (STCW Code, 2011, Ch. II, Section B-II/1; CHED, 2014). The STCW specified the following key principles for the management and organisation of the SBT of cadets: a) SBT is part of an overall training plan; b) the program for SBT should be managed and coordinated by the company, which manages the vessel where the cadet will be trained; c)

the cadet must be provided with a training record book “to enable a comprehensive record of practical training and experience at sea”; d) the cadet “should be aware of two identifiable individuals immediately responsible for the management of the programme of on board training”; and e) the company should ensure the appropriate time periods for the accomplishment of the SBT program within the normal operations of the ship (IMO, 2011 - STCW Code, Ch. II, Section B-II/1; see also CHED, 2014). In other words, the SBT of cadets is framed as a regulated, company-managed, officer-mentored, and competency-based training model. For the sea-time training to be an effective training tool, it has to be planned by the company so much so that the training activities would develop or enhance the acquisition of seafaring competencies of the cadets. This view of a planned training program is a typical view of training in the literature. For example, Buckley and Caple (1991) defined training as “a planned and systematic effort to modify or develop knowledge/skill/attitude through learning experience, to achieve effective performance in an activity or range of activities” (Buckley & Caple, 1990: 13).

In practice, specifically in sponsored cadetship programs (SCPs) in the Philippines, key stakeholders attested to a spectrum of management practices of SBT ranging from the total lack of a program to the more well-managed and structured SBT program as discussed above (Section 7.1.3). It is important to emphasise that the key stakeholders of SCPs chiefly the ship owners or shipping companies are the ones in-charge of the sea-time training of the cadets. This is consistent with the management model of shipboard training found in the STCW, which envisions the SBT of cadets as the responsibility of ship companies or ship-owners. This model is widely acknowledged by different research participants involved in the four models of SCPs (see Chapter 5) as can be gleaned from the following extracts.

Shipboard training is essentially provided by the sponsor ship-owner.

– Rowil, Training Manager, Model 1, Group Interview #1

The sponsors want their cadets to be on their ships.

– Peter, President, Private College, Model 2, Interview #5

All our cadets go directly to (names the manning agency) and then they will all go to the different vessels of (names the shipping company) for shipboard training.

– Mos, Dean, Private Maritime College, Interview #6

The fore-going extracts appear to follow the principle suggested by the STCW and the Philippine standards where SBT is the responsibility of the ship-owners or companies (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2). How these international and local standards were translated into practice among cadetships in the Philippines is that the SBT of cadets became contractual agreements between the cadet and the sponsoring firm. In this sense, the shipboard apprenticeships share similarities with modern apprenticeship programs because in these types of apprenticeships the roles of the employer and a contractual agreement between employer and trainee, are key elements in providing, planning and implementing a training program (Gospel & Fuller, 1998). Following Lewis (2014), modern apprenticeship is understood as,

A contract between an employer and a person that combines structured programme of on-the-job training and productive work with part-time, formal technical education. Apprenticeship training is

usually formally certificated and equips people with intermediate skills (Lewis, 2014: 498; see also Gospel & Fuller, 1998; Steedman *et al.*, 1998).

Key elements of the above definition reflect what cadets go through during the shipboard training. To break down these elements of Lewis' definition of apprenticeship and how these specifically apply to SBT, SBT is considered a contract between an employer and a person (discussed in Chapter 5), the involvement of a structured program of training coupled with formal technical education (discussed above), and that like apprenticeships in the UK, SBT is also a formal certification process (discussed below). It can be recalled that cadets entered a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with their sponsor before going aboard for SBT (see Chapter 5). In one SCP model, the project manager described the agreement as follows,

On the cadets' third year during their shipboard training, the cadets also enter into a MoA with their (sponsoring) companies. The MoA describes their eventual employment.

– Vic, Project Manager, Group Interview #1

The MoA signalled that the cadet was now the responsibility of the company during the training period and also tied the cadet to the company for future employment (discussed in Chapter 5). Thus, all cadetship models developed in Chapter 5 shared one common feature, which is that all offered cadets an assurance of a SBT berth aboard a vessel that is negotiated through a contractual agreement.

As a brief summary, this section pointed out that ship owners or companies are the ones who are primarily responsible for delivering training aboard because that is the way the global standards of MET envisioned the shipboard training of cadets in terms of its

organisation. We now turn to the shipboard training programs delivered in the Philippines in order to demonstrate how the global and local standards are translated into training programs.

7.3.2 Types of shipboard training programs: 2-1-1, 3-1 and 1-1-2

This section presents three types of *shipboard training* (SBT) schemes revealed by the data in order to explore the timing of when an organisation should require and deliver on-the-job training. If training has to achieve its intended goal, for example of developing a competent workforce, one key component to settle is the timing of the delivery of the on-the-job or apprenticeship training because it has implications for the readiness of the trainee to perform work roles within a training context.

Each of the four models of sponsored cadetships discussed in Chapter 5 follows one of these types of SBT schemes. To recall what was described in Chapter 3, the MET programs in the Philippines are four-year bachelor degree courses for either navigation or engineering. Within this four-year training structure, the first type of SBT program (Type 1) is where the sea-time training is delivered in the third year. The college representatives and managers of cadetships refer to this program as “2-1-1”, which means the first two years of training is in college, followed by one year of sea-time training, and finally the final year of college-based training. The next type of shipboard training (Type 2) is the “3-1” scheme, which is typically considered the national curriculum under the ‘CHED’s curriculum’. Type 2 typically means that cadets finished the three-year academic requirements in college before being allowed to board a vessel for their sea-time training. The following extracts show the two types of SBT programs.

The CHED's scheme is 3-1. 3 years in school and 1 at sea.

- Abner, College Representative of a private maritime college, Interview #1.

We have the 2-1-1 system, that is, 2 straight academic years, then on their third year we assign the cadets to our members or subscribers for their respective shipboard training or apprenticeship. Then on the last year, the cadets go back to their school for their final academic year.

- Johann, Training Director of Model 1, Group Interview #1

The above quotes show how Type 1 of the sea-based training appears to have been developed by altering the Philippine standards' scheme of "3-1". The argument of those who employed the Type 1 (i.e., 2-1-1 scheme) is that on the final college year of the cadets, it offers a time for both the cadets and the cadetship managers to reflect or evaluate the sea-time experiences of cadets because the latter are back in school.

The cadets give direct feedbacks based on their shipboard training. We also receive reports from training officers on board the vessels such as captains and training officers. These information and reports are easily and openly sent to us. We also have an evaluation and assessment for our shipboard training program after the cadets disembark. Hence, we have mechanisms where we can identify areas that need to be addressed.

- Johann, Training Manager of Model 1, Group Interview #1.

According to Johann, by re-structuring the national curriculum, this would give them an opportunity to formally evaluate the shipboard training of their cadets after the cadets have disembarked from the vessel and are back in school. It appears that cadets are not only

assessed while on board (discussed above in Section 7.2) but also after they have disembarked.

However, it appears too that the CHED's national curriculum of 3-1 could also be interpreted in a different way aside from what was developed by Type 1 (i.e., 2-1-1). Thus, another type of sea-based training program (Type 3) was operated, as described by the following.

In the Commission on Higher Education's program, it does not really say that a cadet has to finish 3 years of academic training before going on board for shipboard training. It means that as long as a cadet has one year of shipboard training and 3 years of academic training, then the student has completed the requirements.

– Matt, Shipboard Training Officer of a private college, Interview #21

In the past, the cadetship scheme was different for navigation cadets. It was "1-1-2." That is, the first year was in college, then the second year is training at sea, then the two last years are back in school.

– Abner, College Representative of a private maritime college, Interview #1.

It seems that there are three different types of shipboard training schemes operating in the Philippines, Type 1 (2-1-1), Type 2 (3-1) and Type 3 (1-1-2). It remains to be seen as to why there are three and not just one. The issue here appears to be determining the appropriate time for the cadets to be ready to board an international merchant vessel in terms of their academic and psychological preparations. From the three types of training schemes presented, the maritime colleges and the representatives from a cadetship program do not have the same view as to when is the best time to require cadets to board a vessel

for training. Type 3 appears to suggest that after only one year of academic preparation, a cadet is ready to train on board, whereas it is two years for Type 1, and three for Type 2. Moreover, all these differences are supported by the Philippine standards because the standards seem to be flexible in allowing the different shipboard training schemes to be operated.

7.3.3 Summary of the section

This section has shown that the practices of companies in developing shipboard training programs aboard their vessels are grounded on the global and national regulations. SBT is envisioned as a company-led and designed training akin to modern apprenticeships where employers are contractually obliged to provide training for their future employees. Moreover, the training model upon which SBT is based, identifies the important role that shipboard officers play, as trainers or mentors during a cadet's sea-time. However, in practice the SBT of cadets reflected some familiar concerns raised against the maritime sector such as the variety of responses in the implementation of the program for the SBT of cadets based on the existence of different training schemes for the sea-time training of the cadets.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

Chapter 7 started with understanding the nature of the sea-time training requirement by studying the experiences of the cadets and former cadets. The sea-time training of cadets was envisioned by the STCW as a regulated, company-developed, mentoring and work-based training for cadets akin to modern apprenticeships and the systematic training model framework. However, the chapter has also presented data that manifest the many challenges

in following the global standards for SBT among the key stakeholders, who are the cadets, training officers and the companies. According to the global regulations, the shipboard training of the cadets is primarily the responsibility of companies, which provide training berths and (ideally) a program with well-trained officers mentoring the cadets. In cases where companies do not have a SBT program, Chapter 7 has shown the negative effects of this on cadets such as not being trained and a cadet being exploited as cheap labour. Where companies have well-managed programs, cadets reported a training system that reflected the variety of training methods used, but still there are also concerns about the primary assessment used to evaluate the cadet's training performance.

Chapter 7 has also examined the TRB as a student portfolio, which is a tool that could potentially enhance the training experiences of cadets by allowing them to be reflective learners. However, in practice the TRB was primarily interpreted as the documentary evidence of the SBT of the cadets, that is, it was chiefly treated as a sort of check-list of proficiencies. In effect, this ticking of boxes approach limited the potential of a learning portfolio as a student-directed tool that allows students to reflect on the process of acquiring seafaring competencies. Finally, the chapter discussed the different ways that sea-time training was organised by the colleges and the shipping patrons of the cadets.

The next chapter (Chapter 8) will discuss the key findings of the thesis in relation to the wider literature on the occupational socialisation of merchant marine cadets and the regulations of maritime education and training.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION CHAPTER

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine critically the key findings of this study focused on the experiences of the quality of the maritime education and training (MET) of the officer cadets in order to understand the impact of the global and local standards on officer training. These findings are focused on three key elements of the experiences of MET under the so called *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs): first, the professionalization of the future labourers arising from the training programs; second, the processes and people who from a trainee perspective influence the quality of education and training and their potential effects to the socialisation of the trainees; and finally the trainees' experiences of the regulation of competencies focusing on the on-the-job training and its assessment, and how these contribute in competence development. All of these elements have been used in this thesis as an assessment of quality of training that shows the influence of the global and local standards of maritime education and training on officer's training programs.

In order to achieve the aims of this chapter, I relate the findings to the literature reviewed on competency development and the occupational socialisation of trainees through education and work-based training (Chapters 2&3) in order to show what the key findings contribute to understanding the socializing influence of competence-based education and training as well as the global and local standards of education and training. The chapter has four sections starting with the three key elements stated above. I end with a summary conclusion that broadly reviews the quality of education and training provided for future

officers, based on the experiences of former and current trainees, and what these experiences contribute to the literature.

The collection and analysis of data in this study focused on the experiences of current and former cadets whilst learning and training within the prescribed standards. Thus, I afforded critical significance to their voices and experiences based on the assumption that key issues might emerge about the quality of MET in the Philippines through their first-hand experiences. The discussion starts with the professionalization of officer cadets based on the findings and what this contributes to the literature.

8.1 The Quality of professionalizing officer training in the Philippines: Officer training and the professionalization of the workforce

This section claims that based on the evidence provided in the previous chapters, the global and local standards as well as the interests of the shipping patrons and maritime colleges have shaped the quality of the professionalization of the future officers in the Philippines. To unpack this statement, this section presents primarily the experiences of the trainees as evidence of the quality of the professionalization of the sea-based workers.

The view of the socialisation of Filipino cadets presented here and the empirical evidence to support it are, to the author's knowledge, the first academic exposition of the topic in the Philippines. Thus, it fills a gap in the literature about how officer cadets are trained from a new labour supply country, and the potential consequences for the cadets when recruited and trained.

8.1.1 Platforms of producing officers: Training under the sponsored cadetships

In professionalizing an occupation's future workers, the education, training and qualifications gained through formal education and training remains a dominant practice (Wilensky, 1964; Freidson, 1986, 1994). What has so far been demonstrated by this study is that on the general level, the sponsored cadetships (SCPs) were developed to meet the key prerequisites of the standards of Philippine MET including the certification requirements for entry-level officers. In Chapter 4, I presented the SCPs as platforms offering training provision that include financial and support mechanisms in aid of MET, and also initiatives put in place by ship owners or companies in collaboration with private maritime colleges with the intent to comply with the STCW and Philippine standards. As significant, SCPs were also illustrated as desirable to students because of the quality of the training programs included a guaranteed post-training employment for the trainees. Hence, what this study has shown are two important points: firstly, in professionalizing the sea-based workers, the development of training platforms chiefly initiated by shipping patrons in collaboration with maritime colleges was necessary in order to determine the objectives of the program, and the mechanisms to achieve the goals of the program and of the collaborators; and secondly, the officer trainees mostly were positive of what the programs offered not only in terms of training but also in relation to future employment. The arrangements between the patrons and trainees in SCPs reflected the contractual framework of apprenticeships in the UK, which concerns "reciprocal rights and obligations between an employer and trainee" stipulated in formal agreements (Gospel & Fuller, 1998).

On the one hand, the intent of the shipping patrons in offering support to cadets was to recruit the latter to work as officers aboard the former's vessels. On the other, seafaring

continues to be appealing to young Filipinos as manifested in the high number of students enrolling in maritime courses (see Appendix 13). Hence, we have two key stakeholders (i.e., patrons and young Filipinos) who seem to want what the other has to offer: future labour of the young for the shipping patrons and supported MET and guaranteed employment for the young Filipinos. However, to work as officers, the cadets have to complete a maritime college degree (i.e., either navigation or engineering), which would give them the right to become certificated officers (CHED MO 20, 2014). In Chapter 2, the literature reviewed indicated that MET is part of the process of the professionalization of seafaring, that includes: the establishment of the objective standards of competencies (i.e., STCW and local regulations of MET); the formal education and training of cadets based on global and local standards; a regulatory body that warrants such training and licenses for the seafaring practice; and the role of a code of conduct particularly in the professional conduct of seafarers, be this code of conduct formal or informal. In other words, to produce a pool of trained and certificated merchant marine officers, the SCPs have to comply with the local (and by extension the global) standards of training. What this study has shown is the experiences of the students recruited to SCPs of this professionalizing process. That is to say, experiences that were shaped by the requirements of the standards of MET as well as that of their shipping patrons in order for the trainees to work as officers.

When cadets and other respondents (e.g., college representatives and managers of cadetships) argued that the SCPs were intended to develop officers (as opposed to ratings), this meant that the formal qualifications that cadets aimed to acquire were the certificates of competencies of officers. The recruitment and training practices of SCPs reflected the processes of professionalization (i.e., recruitment, selection and training of future workers) because the sponsoring companies were directly involved in each step of the process as

shown in the three findings chapters. In Chapter 5, the data demonstrated how the sponsors and their partner private maritime colleges in the Philippines organised, managed and delivered the training provision for the cadets. For Freidson (1986), the practice of training to gain qualification is an example of the process of professionalizing the workforce, as the process involved the control of the recruitment, selection, and training of new entrants (i.e., the cadets) to a workforce (Freidson, 1986, 1994; see also Marshall, 1998).

Furthermore, what this study has depicted is that SCPs were considered as agreements between the patrons and the college students (i.e., the cadets) not only for training but also for guaranteed employment after the training period. In other words, the data has shown the contractual relationship between the patron and employee that has been established during the college training of the future workers.

As part of the deal between the patrons and the cadets, the latter have to sign a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA), which served two functions: as contract and as a basis for future work arrangements that cadets must abide by. From trainees' perspectives, as a contract, the MoA specified their duties and responsibilities while they were in college, which included staying in the dormitory of the college for three of the four-year training period, follow daily routines, comply with the extra academic requirements of the sponsors on top of what the colleges already demanded such as the extra assessments and maintenance of an above average class mark (discussed in Chapter 6). Yet, it was also argued that the SCPs created conditions of bonded employment of seafarers because even though the programs offered generous support to the cadets, these did not come free, as cadets would work for their patrons after the training period (discussed below in

8.1.2). Thus, these arrangements between the patrons and the cadets demonstrated the control of the sponsors over the MET and employment prospects of their cadets.

What the last two paragraphs mean in terms of the quality of the professionalization of the trainees is that there is another influential external agent (i.e., the sponsors/patrons) in the training process aside from the existing conventions of higher education (i.e., academic and training standards). The data has shown that for the cadets, the external agent (i.e., the sponsors) exerted greater influence in the overall training of officer candidates because the shipping sponsors guaranteed them post-training employment. This guarantee of employment was viewed by cadets as one of the most important factor of being trained because they see an important continuity between the training scheme and a post-training employment. The active role of the patrons in developing and delivering cadetship training in a top labour supply country is perhaps what this thesis offers as new to the academic literature in terms of providing empirical data. Conceptually, this means that the relationship between employer and employee could start at the college level where the employer controls the training of future employees.

Thus, the conclusion of this section suggests that the quality of the professionalization of the future workers is affected by the quality of the training platforms and its requirements developed by employers. Although the data manifested diverse training programs in the Philippines, the studied cases demonstrated shared similarities such as the emphasis on employing routines in campus for the duration of the training period of the cadets in college (i.e., 3 years), the use of MoAs in cadetships to formalise the patron-client relationship between the cadets and their shipping sponsors, and the guarantee of shipboard training in order to complete the MET degree of the cadets. The following section looks at the overall

quality of the training of cadets focusing primarily on the trainees' voices and experiences in order to identify and explore key issues in the quality of the MET in the Philippines.

8.1.2 The quality of the professionalization of cadets

One of the key findings about the socialisation of Filipino cadets I examined was the use of routines in college and aboard the vessel to shape the behaviour of officer candidates. From the data presented in Chapters 6 and 7, it appears that the socialisation of cadets is characterised by routines and rituals of training used as mechanisms to shape the behaviour of the trainees according to the standards envisioned by the training program. As such, the cadets accepted as normal the daily rules and rigid practices of the training program as the means to shape behaviours fit for officers to be. This meant accepting and abiding with the highly reinforced and regulated daily training routines in college and aboard the vessel during shipboard training. As would be expected in highly regulated environments, Chapter 6 has also illustrated the ways that the cadets resist or defy the different rules imposed on them such as not fulfilling the above average grade requirement, or the expected mischief of “escaping” from the dormitory. Nevertheless, the overall impression of this study is that most of the cadets recruited under SCPs tend to adhere to the rules of the training program in spite of the apparent monotony of the daily routines in the campus.

In Chapter 6, I demonstrated how the daily routines of cadets whilst in the college campus were transformed into different forms of rituals (i.e., rituals of fitness and physical presentation, rituals of bodily inscriptions, rituals of speaking and academic rituals). It has shown that the rituals were permeated with performative symbols intended to transform both the body and the mind of the cadets to the idealized values of the seafaring occupation such as physical fitness, disciplined behaviour, and competence in performing their jobs.

In Chapter 7, I have elaborated the role of the shipboard routines of the cadets as means to socialize cadets into seafaring. The routines aboard the vessel were characterised as dynamic as opposed to the static routines experienced in the college campus because the routines aboard the vessel were dictated by the shifting workload of the vessel and its crew, and the mobility of the ship across time-zones. Instilling the value of routines in organising one's daily activities appears to be an effective training strategy when all merchant ships follow the same routinised work-life cycle. The experiential learning of the cadets of the circularity of time in college is helpful in the recruitment practices of the global seafaring labour industry when merchant vessels have more or less the same routines revolving around work and rest. Thus, the familiarity with the shipboard routine appears necessary to the new recruits so that these trainees would know what to expect when boarding a vessel because their training experience afforded them the same work-rest dynamic. For Knudsen (2009), the circular time-trait of the shipboard environment would also reinforce the requirements of the rigid and hierarchical social organisation of the ship because any new seafarer hired would not disrupt the hierarchy as each crewmember occupies a strictly regulated work role and most probably will follow a familiar time-tabled schedule of watch duties and rest hours.

What the foregoing paragraphs mean for this thesis is that SCPs professionalized their cadets by reinforcing the four-year college degree required for officer training with daily, rigorous and routinised rules of discipline. In other words, the quality of the occupational socialisation of the trainees I am suggesting here could be characterised as a highly controlled, regulated and reinforced professionalization, intent on shaping the behaviour of the trainees according to the requirements of the standards of maritime education and training, and of the shipping patrons.

What follows is my analysis of an important aspect of the cadetship schemes, bonded employment. In the next section, bonded employment will be presented as arguably the effective leverage used by shipping companies to recruit and keep the young to work at sea, at least for a certain period. This is the strategy of the SCPs of guaranteeing the post-training employment of their recruited cadets.

8.1.3 Patron-client relationship and bonded labour: The role of the industry in the socialisation of trainees

In Chapter 5, I depicted the sponsored cadetships as the contractual agreements between the patron (i.e., shipping sponsors) and clients (i.e., the cadets), which involved guaranteed jobs for the trainees after the training period. This section analyses the contractual arrangements between the patron and the client in order to understand what this means to the trainee-employee and more broadly to the state's role in regulating training. The patron-client relationship is a system where the patron gives or lends support to the client so that the latter meet certain needs (e.g., finances for training). In exchange, the client renders services or repays the patron (Campbell and Stanziani, 2013).

This form of the patron-client relationship is reflected in cadetship schemes in the Philippines. Chapter 5 has established that sponsored cadetship programs are formalised agreements between the sponsors (patron) and the cadets (clients), where the former provided finances and other forms of support for the latter to complete a maritime degree required for acquiring the qualifications of an officer. In exchange, the cadet/seafarer is bounded to work for the shipping sponsor as an officer. As mentioned above, the cadets perceived the guaranteed post-training employment as a powerful leverage used by the shipping sponsors in the training scheme in order to recruit cadets. This means to say that

the cadets tend to see the guarantee of a post-training employment as a crucial element in their officer training because of the widely acknowledged difficulty of other Filipino cadets (and broadly of cadets from other countries, see Gould, 2011) who do not have the same guarantee from a sponsoring company.

In Chapter 5, I explored the use of the Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) to formalise the relationship between the shipping sponsor and the cadets as contract. The contractual function of the MoA revealed the control exercised by the shipping sponsors over the cadets. As a consequence of the arrangement between patron and client, a type of bonded or indentured employment existed and the cadets worked for their sponsoring company as officers for at least four years to as long as 8 years depending on the terms of the MoA they signed with their patrons. This practice of indentured employment raises questions about the freedom of labourers in terms of their professional mobility within the labour market as seafarers because they are constrained in choosing which companies they might prefer to work for.

The form of bonded employment experienced by seafarers is made possible by the labour policy of the Philippine state. Since the 1970's the Philippine state has developed policies that encouraged labour emigration of its citizens (Battistela, 1992; Ball, 1997; Tyner, 2004). The Philippine government enacted the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 (Republic Act or RA 8042) in order to "institute the policies of overseas employment and establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers and their families and overseas Filipinos in distress" (RA 8042). The Philippine state has become dependent on the remittances sent from abroad by the Filipino migrant workers, commonly called the *Overseas Filipino Workers*(OFWs) such as

domestic helpers, nurses, and seafarers (Burgess & Haksar, 2005; Pernia, 2006). For example, in 2009, it was reported that remittances from the OFWs amounted to a little over US \$17 billion (Adriano, 2009). This amount was roughly 12% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country for that fiscal year. In 2014, remittances reached up to US\$24.3 billion accounting for about 8.5% of the country's GDP of which the Filipino international seafarers have contributed approximately US\$5.5 billion (Jaymalin, 2014; Kersting, 2015).

To promote the Philippine state's labour migration policy, the state has maintained the so-called "regulation by contract" as its regulatory strategy governing Filipino seafarers working internationally (Dacanay *et al.*, 2015). This means the Philippine government, through the POEA, has prescribed regulations governing the recruitment and employment of Filipino seafarers embodied in the POEA's *Standard Employment Contract (SEC)* (POEA website). In practice, this means that the POEA requires every Filipino seafarer (including cadets of legal age), who intends to work on board international vessels, to submit a SEC to the POEA as the basis of the seafarers' working conditions and employment. What the Philippine state's strategy of regulation by contract means for this section is that when cadets signed their MoAs with their sponsors (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.3 & 5.2.4), they have become employees of their patrons and bounded to the terms of the agreement. As a consequence, Filipino maritime students have become part of the international labour pool, a pool that the Philippine state seems eager to expand because of the significant contribution that seafaring remittances bring to the state's coffers.

The maritime students were integrated to the international Filipino labour force through the Philippine regulation of MET, which allows foreign and local employers to recruit cadets

through cadetship schemes. In particular, the state's training requirement for shipboard training obligates the trainee to complete a "standard training agreement or contract of employment" with a ship owner or company (CHED MO 20, 2014). This means that a trainee enters into a contract with ship owners to provide her/him a training berth aboard the vessel of the latter, which in practice I have shown through the use of the MoA in SCPs. Thus, this description shows how the Philippine state could integrate its migrant labour policy with its regulation of maritime education and training. As a consequence, the cadets have been integrated by their contract in SCPs to the Filipino migrant labour force, even before they could earn their first official professional income.

The strategy of the Philippine state of "regulating by contract", which is the state's policy of regulating Filipino migrant labour, is manifested by the use of the MoA in sponsored cadetships. What this regulation of the state implies is that the duty of care for the welfare of the cadets when they go on to train aboard international vessels have been passed by the state to agencies and foreign shipping companies. However, in the literature it has been observed that a number of manning agencies and foreign shipping principal employers have reneged on their duty of care to Filipino seafarers (Couper *et al.*, 1999; Abila & Tang, 2014). Elsewhere, Abila and Tang (2014) have shown that employers fail in their duty of care to Filipino seafarers because the SEC does not explicitly cover certain working and living conditions. Abila and Tang (2014) have demonstrated that employers failed in their duty of caring for the psychologically traumatized Filipino seafarer victims of maritime piracy because the employers did not provide long-term support needed by the traumatized. Abila and Tang (2014) argued that employers managed to get away from their duty of care because the POEA's SEC and the Philippine seafaring labour policy as a whole do not cover the care of the psychological well-being of seafarers.

8.1.4 Summary of the section

In this section, I argued that the professionalization of officer cadets is based on regulating the behaviour of trainees through various academic and non-academic mechanisms. Section 8.1 has demonstrated that SCPs are training platforms that shape the quality of MET by being complicit with global and local standards. Broadly, the training experiences of the cadets are elements of a process of professionalization not dissimilar to the socialisation of trainees from the traditional professions of medicine or law, where formal education and training are the primary means to train the future practitioners of an occupation (Freidson, 1986, 1999, 2001). The traditional professions typically operate within the domain of national laws, and at the advent of the strategies of nation-states of regulating the professions and other occupations, traditional professions nevertheless retain a degree of autonomy over their expertise. What distinguishes the professionalization of officer cadets in this study was the controlling influence not only of a national and/or professional body but the impact as well of the global standards of maritime education and training. For this study, this analysis has implications for our understanding of the occupational socialisation of trainees, which this thesis will discuss in the next chapter (see Section 9.2.2).

Finally, the cadetship schemes were also illustrated not only as practices of socializing cadets to seafaring but also functioned as labour arrangements between the patron-shipping company and the client-cadet. Within these arrangements, it was noted that the Philippine state's migrant labour policy sanctioned these arrangements because of the remittances that seafarers contribute to the national economy. However, it was also observed that a form of bonded employment existed between the patron and the client relationship, where

seafarers' choices of employment are constrained because of the employment contracts they signed with their shipping patrons.

8.2 Learning and regulating competencies in workplace environment

The experiences of the trainees in this study, specifically the experiences of workplace training and its assessment, provide the focus to examine the regulation of competencies in order to understand the socialisation of the workforce into the occupation. The development of competence-based training commonly involved the regulation of competencies required to perform job roles (Robinson & Griffiths, 2007; Guthrie, 2009; Swanson & Roberts, 2016). This section will discuss three aspects of the trainees' work-based learning experiences, which are (a) the formal and informal means of regulating the behaviour of the trainees (Section 8.2.1);(b) the quality of the training experiences in a workplace setting (Section 8.2.2); and (c) the assessment of competence during work-based training (Section 8.2.3). I based the choice of discussing work-based training and its assessment on the idea that the workplace provides the actual environment where the trainees would apply what they have learnt in school because that is seemingly the vision of the global and local standards of MET for shipboard training (Emad & Roth, 2008; IMO, 2011; see also Schilling, 1987; Fuller & Unwin, 1998; Khan & Ramachandran, 2012). Hence, examining key aspects of the trainees' experiences of workplace training provides understanding of what works or does not work in the training strategy adopted by those involved in cadetship schemes.

Seafaring competencies are regulated nationally, even though it is widely acknowledged in the literature that the processes and material realities for training and the licensing of training differ from country to country (Sampson, 2004; Bloor *et al.*, 2014). Bloor *et al.*

(2014), for example, presented three different models for the national examinations of seafarers from six different countries.³⁴ However, the analysis of the assessment practices by Bloor *et al.* (2014) was focused on the national level, whereas the following analysis examines the trainees' experiences of training assessment in a workplace environment. To the author's knowledge, this one of the first attempts to understand the quality of training and assessment from the perspective of the trainees (see also Gould, 2010, 2011), especially of trainees from a new labour sending country.

8.2.1 Training and Learning in a work environment

In this section, I analyse the formal and informal practices of learning reported by the trainees in order to understand their potential in developing competencies. For this study, informal practices are the non-codified or subjective practices that are not directly associated with the learning of technical competencies but appear to be associated with the occupational culture of the workplace. Informal practices include the direct observation of trainees of how officers or other crewmembers perform their duties on board in order to determine what works or not aboard the vessel, or the use of shipboard routines as occasions of informal training/learning. On the contrary the formal practices of training are those activities that explicitly intend to teach and assess the competence of the cadets in performing technical watchkeeping duties. These formal practices included the use of conventional teaching methods like seminars, workshops and formal assessments such as

³⁴According to Bloor *et al.* (2014), there are generally three general models in assessing seafarers. In the first model, the assessment and seafarer licensing falls into the hands of accredited universities. The second model relied upon centralized examinations either conducted by a national administration or in behalf of it. The same national administration issues seafaring license upon completion of requirements such as the sea-time of the cadets. The last one is a combination of the first two, where qualifications are issued by accredited colleges or universities, and those cadets not enrolled in any of these accredited institutions, they are required to take centralized examinations (Bloor *et al.*, 2014: 461).

performing tasks or written examinations. One of these formal practices, the assessment of shipboard training, will be examined separately in a different section (Section 8.3.2.).

In Chapter 7, I have illustrated that the shipboard training experiences of the cadets manifested different ways of potentially learning competencies within the workplace environment of the vessel. The learning experiences were chiefly manifested in three related areas: the shipboard routines of the cadets, the quality of the sea-time training, and the formal assessment of their performance as trainees. To examine the informal practices of learning in helping the trainees develop competencies, I argue in this chapter that the informal practices provided the cadets invaluable and real first-hand experiences of how the ship and its crew functions in real life. The flexible nature of informal learning perhaps stimulated or awakened among the trainees to reflect on the realities of work. The fact that occupational training standards continue to value the generic requirement of “work-experience” as part of the socialisation of future workers, including the global and local standards of MET seem to support the view presented here. Furthermore, the educational principle underpinning a trainee’s work-experience, which is to allow a trainee to gain real insight and experience into the world of work, continues to be appealing to both well-established and contemporary training systems including seafaring (Schilling, 1987; Lave & Wenger, 1991). In this study, the cadets have experienced the real conditions aboard the vessel that led them to report different, at times contrasting experiences. Some cadets experienced sea-time training as “pretty much predetermined” set of training activities with clear aims and procedures. While others experienced a total absence of a training program for them coupled with “hellish” experiences of being treated like the paid crewmembers working overtime without actually being paid. Some cadets claimed that the sea-time

experience changed them because some of them hinted that working at sea may or may not be for them in the long run.

What the preceding paragraph tries to convey about the learning experiences during work-based training is that the actual experience at work remains an invaluable potential source of insights about the realities of a future worker's life and work. Informal learning, therefore, might stimulate real life lessons discerned by the trainees themselves.

8.2.2 Quality of work-based training

Another important aspect of the work-based socialisation is the quality of training experiences that trainees go through during their work placement. This is an important part of the training process because the qualities of the training and the work environment are shown to the trainee for the first time and this might affect the way they view their training and their future work environment. In seafaring, sea-time training is part of the over-all induction of cadets into the occupation; Gould (2010, 2011) noted that the poor shipboard training environment was one of the reasons that most of the British cadets she interviewed did not pursue seafaring. The British cadets may have associated the quality of their work-based training experience as suggestive of the potential quality of their future work environment. This conjecture of the association between the experiences of training in a workplace environment with the quality of the work environment itself is not without evidence. Couper (2000) and countless media accounts have documented the poor working environment of seafarers (Urbina, 2015A, 2015B). What these accounts mean for this section is the issue of the quality of work-based training in the workplace, which we turn to next.

Chapter 7 has shown from the experiences of the cadets the variety of the training practices, both formal and informal, during the shipboard training of the cadets, which are taken collectively to mean an indication of the quality of training. On one extreme, Chapter 7 presented that some cadets experienced formalized training aboard the vessel through the “courses and seminars aboard the ship”. Some of these cadets also claimed that they have supportive training officers, with whom they spent much of their training time. This training strategy followed the *standard training model* (STM), which is “training undertaken on a planned basis as a result of applying a logical series of steps” (Sloman, 1999: 45). STM is widely acknowledged in the literature as the classical training model used by different industries and occupational sectors (Sloman, 1999). Thus, one type of quality of training is a planned and systematic model.

In the middle of the spectrum of training experiences, Chapter 7 has demonstrated that a number of the cadets in this study experienced a less structured training experience where “it all depended on the officers’ initiative” in training the cadets. Again, these experiences of training are indicative of the quality of training that Filipino cadets received. Some Filipino training officers, who were product of cadetship schemes, admitted that when they served as training officers they employed their “personal program” based on what they “have experienced as a cadet “such as they “checked how experienced the cadets are... before giving them any task”. The training officers used also the training record book to guide their training strategy. As a consequence, the officers’ training practices were varied strategies, based on their respective personal experiences as former cadets and as experienced seafarers.

In Chapter 7, one quote, worth repeating here because of its insightful quality, came from an officer describing the fundamental individual strategies of the trainers. He claimed that, “in the (training) logbook there are tasks, and so I required them to learn each. And once the task is done, I required each cadet to perform the task in front of me” (Rex, Chief Mate, Interview #24). In other words, the data indicated that the training practices employed by officers varied and there is no common standard that each has followed. On the other extreme of the spectrum, Chapter 7 also illustrated the opposite training experiences where the cadets were ignored, used as hired hands, even discriminated because of their nationality because the sponsor has no clear program of training them.

What the preceding paragraphs pointed to were the different training practices used, which for this study means the indications of the quality of officer training. The potential effect of this variety of practices to the socialisation of trainees could also be a variety of understanding of what it means to be a competent seafarer. For a training program to be effective in achieving its learning goals, the literature is replete with advice such as that the program must possess the appropriate formal training structures, which are the quality of trainers, the quality of on-the-job training programs, and the involvement of the industry (Boahin & Hofman, 2013). What the data of this thesis has proven is that only if these provisions of training are efficiently implemented, then and only will the trainees have a fighting chance of developing whatever skills they are expected to acquire. From the accounts of the cadets and seafarers in Chapter 7, what this study has depicted are the variety of shipboard training programs and practices. Some are claimed to be systematic and well managed, whilst others failed the cadets. The data has shown that without the appropriate formal structures of training and duly implemented, the trainees are prone to neglect and even abuse, as demonstrated by this study’s data. In the case of the merchant

seafarers, the formal structures of training fall under the care of shipping sponsors. Some appear to accept this important role of training cadets, and therefore duly developed and delivered reasonable training programs. Others totally ignored their responsibilities of training the cadets.

8.2.3 Assessment of competencies in work placement

The assessment method used during the work placement of the trainees, a method based on the global regulations, appears to be ineffective in establishing a common practice among the trainers. In addition, the function of the learning portfolio (i.e., the training record book) in the development of the trainees appears to be unclear especially in the training experiences of the cadets whilst aboard the vessel. The Philippine standards, following the STCW, require the use of an approved training record book as the documentary evidence for the work-experience of trainees aboard the vessel. However, as will be discussed below, the effect of the local and global standards on the training practices aboard the vessel indicated a variety of assessment methods used in evaluating the work-experience of the trainees. Thus, the failure of the training standards raise the question about establishing appropriate, common and authentic method(s) of assessment because the training programs were based on a global (and therefore common) framework with the same universal intent centred on the safety of lives, the environment and property.

I relate the experiences of the cadets of being assessed to the literature on competence-based training (CBT), in order to understand which aspects of the trainees' assessment appears to be ineffective in developing competencies. If the trainees know what the assessment method is, for example performing a task in order to show one's proficiency, then they could properly plan how to address the prerequisite. Now, whether passing an

assessment prerequisite proves authentically one's proficiency remains to be arguable because one could simply follow an experienced worker's performance of a task without knowing the principles or reasons that underpinned the task. Nevertheless, it is worth examining the assessment method and the trainees' experiences of it, as a way of understanding how competencies are developed within the work environment.

The focus on the experiences of assessment during the shipboard training (SBT) is based on the idea that shipboard training, according to the global standards of MET, is the "practical training and experience at sea" (IMO, 2011, STCW Code Ch. II, Section B-II/1). In other words, in the structure of MET envisioned in the STCW, the college-based education is mostly learning the theories and principles of seamanship, whilst the SBT is the practical training, or application of the theories and principles learnt in real work environment. Given this MET structure, the assessment of the cadets' performance during shipboard training is a crucial element in the learning process because potentially this is an opportunity to test and apply what they have learnt theoretically in school to the real work environment of the vessel. In Chapter 7, I presented the different means of assessing the cadets employed by shipboard trainers, ranging from unsystematic and subjective training practices to the more conventional method of assessment used in college such as written tests. In spite of the different methods used, the trainees' experiences of being assessed indicated that the assessment was an important part of the socialisation of the cadets because it was one of the occasions where the trainees felt that they either have learnt something or not.

Some trainees in this study reported that they have a satisfactory and fit-for-purpose experience of being assessed during sea-time training. Some felt the evaluation was not fit

for purpose because the trainers did not really guide and evaluated them appropriately. The variety of the assessment methods employed could partly be explained by the prescribed evidence required by the local standards, which is the training record book. In Chapter 7, I have analysed the role of the training record book (TRB) as the documentary evidence of the assessment of the work-experience of the trainees. I considered the TRB both as a formal and informal means of regulating the shipboard training of the cadets. The TRB was used a formal tool of regulation because it is one of the key requirements of the regulator (CHED MO No. 20, 2014) for the completion of a maritime degree and for acquiring officer qualifications.

It was also presented in Chapter 7 how the TRB becomes official once the signature of the training officers is affixed. As an effect, Chapter 7 has shown that the cadets attributed considerable attention in completing the portfolio especially in acquiring the signatures of the training officers on TRBs because the signatures validated and, therefore, making the TRB official. Thus, the TRB was mostly treated as a type of a check-list of proficiencies, where the required proficiencies needed only to be ticked, and in effect the cadet's sea-time training is officially supported and corroborated. Some of the Filipino cadets also recognised that completing the paperwork (i.e. TRB), or ticking the boxes, was not similar to learning the skills of seamanship. The educative purpose of reflection that a portfolio offers was instead altered into a to-do list of familiarisation of tasks in order to adapt to the vagaries of the work environment. Where seamanship is thought of to be an art of making situational decisions for safety reasons (see Knudsen, 2009), fostering reflective thinking among trainees during the training period is a good way to stimulate the qualities required to judge key decisions. The learning portfolio offers the cadets an opportunity and space to

reflect about the training process, if only guided properly by trainers and given the time to do so.

In Chapter 7, I have examined the TRB in relation to the literature of the documentation of learning competencies, that is, the use of the educational portfolios as a widely employed assessment method of trainees in different occupational training systems such as medicine (Snadden & Thomas, 1998), teaching (Tanner *et al.*, 2000), and nursing (Harris *et al.*, 2001; Garrett & Jackson, 2006). Chapter 7 has shown that seafarers' training employed the same strategy in codifying learning experiences during their shipboard training. The shipboard training of cadets is the most promising opportunity for both the training officers and cadets to meaningfully construct, define and discuss how seafaring competencies are developed out of the actual interaction between and among the actions of the seafarers and the working environment of the vessel. However, the trainees have not mentioned about their own input in their assessment except to describe what was required of them. This could mean that the trainees were not given a chance to contribute actively in understanding the reasons and method of evaluating their proficiencies. The input of the trainees is potentially important because the assessment method required a learning portfolio, which is a tool where the inputs were the responsibility of the trainees. The use of learning portfolios would have presented a helpful tool where the trainee could put down in words her/his understanding and reflection of the training process she/he went through under the guidance of an experienced seafarer. In the same process of thoughtful documentation, the trainer could have served as a guide to either confirm, expand, challenge, or contradict the reflections of the trainee so that both trainer and trainee come to a common understanding of the learning process of the trainee.

In addition and more broadly, there were no attempts from those who designed and managed the sea-time training as a holistic and inclusive training experience intended to, for example, integrate the pedagogical function of a work-experience as a learning process, with the work-related function of the same where trainees are in a state of transition from school to work (see Schilling, 1987; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Broadly this means that the sea-time training of the cadets as envisioned by the global and local standards are not yet clear as to what to emphasize during the training period: is it the pedagogical aim of a work-experience, which is focused on learning work roles, or its more practical, industry-related function, which is to help the trainee transition from being a student to a professional worker?

8.2.4 Summary of the section

This section examined the regulation of competence by looking at the experiences of workplace training and its assessment. It also examined the informal ways that trainees are developed during the latter's work-experience period such as the use of shipboard routines to organise the activities of the trainees. It also pointed out that competence-based training and assessment require basic provisions such as appropriate training programs including proper assessment tools, competent trainers/assessors, and the involvement of the industry in order to train appropriately the future workforce. Without these provisions, as shown in the experiences of some cadets, workplace training is an ineffective means to develop competencies, or in some cases workplace training became avenues to exploit the trainees as extra and cheap labour supply.

The data of this study revealed the variety of the training strategies and assessment methods used by shipboard training officers. This situation proves problematic for a globalized

training system because as a consequence, it appears that the standards (e.g., the STCW and Philippine MET standards) did not achieve a common practice of training cadets aboard the commercial vessels. One of the reasons given was that not all training officers followed the envisioned role of trainers in the global standards as supervisors of the practical training of the cadets. Indeed, some trainers were reported to disregard their supervisory roles to the cadets, whilst others who to a certain extent trained the cadets were shown to employ different training techniques. The aim of training standards to produce quality workforce must be accompanied with appropriate training and assessment practices, practices that have been noted elsewhere to be very diverse at a global scale (see Bloor *et al.*, 2014). The analysis here indicates that a potential consequence in developing competencies using a prescribed standard for trainers (i.e., the STCW and local standards) is not effective because the trainers used various training techniques in order to develop the competencies of the trainees.

Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter examined three key elements of the quality of the training experiences of future workers from a new labour supply country in order to understand the impact of the global and local standards of education and training. All of these elements were based on the trainees' perspectives and these are the quality of the professionalization of the trainees, the processes and people who influence the quality of education and training, and the regulation of the competencies that trainees are expected to acquire. The first analysis focused on the formal route of the professionalization of future sea-based workers through education and training and how this process was influenced by, on the one hand, the global and national standards, and on the other, the influence of the shipping patrons of the

trainees. Specifically, I examined the training platform that key interest groups developed in order to meet the local and global standards of training. The core value intended by the platforms was to produce competent and certificated seafarers capable of safely navigating the deep seas and protecting human lives, the environment and properties.

To produce quality and certificated seafarers, key stakeholders such as shipping companies and maritime schools developed initiatives through officer cadet programs in order to exploit the available human resources from a low wage but widely known labour supplying country, the Philippines. These initiatives were the sponsored cadetship programs (SCPs), the main focus group of this study. The SCPs utilised the Philippine standards of training merchant marine officers through higher education programs (i.e., navigation and engineering) as the bases of their specialised training schemes, schemes that professionalized the cadets according to the requirements not only of the global and Philippine training standards but also of the shipping patrons.

The requirements for the sponsored cadetships developed by the shipping patrons and their partner maritime colleges in effect produced training environments that could be characterised as a structured and controlled, and intended to shape the work-related behaviour of the trainees. As the data has shown, this meant that the trainees' daily experiences in school and aboard the vessel were regulated according to the requirements of the patrons and colleges, which were requirements intended to comply with the national standards of training and certification to produce a pool of officers for the shipping sponsors (i.e., completion of the TRB). Thus, in the occupational socialisation of the cadets the key drivers that shape the structure and delivery of training were not only the global and local standards of MET but also the interests of patron shipping companies.

The second analysis looked at the quality of the work-based training by examining particularly the trainees' learning experience during their on-the-job training, and the assessment method used to evaluate the trainees' work-based training performance. The data of the study has shown that the quality of the workplace as a training environment depended on the initiative and commitment of employers in developing and implementing work-based training programs. Some employers showed their commitment by delivering well-planned training programs, others did offer less systematic programs, while others did not have any program at all. In effect, there were a variety of reported training experiences, ranging from good (i.e., fit for purpose) to bad (i.e., not fit for purpose) experiences.

The last analysis examined the method of assessing the performance of the trainees during their placements in the real work environment of the vessel. Again, the experiences of the trainees were used to understand the practices of evaluation of training in a workplace setting with the aim of understanding the effectiveness of the evaluation methods used in developing competencies. The conclusion reached was that there were a variety of assessment methods employed by the trainers, even though the national regulations required only the training record book as evidence for the sea-time training of the cadets. Broadly, this meant that in spite of the standards, there were different methods used in evaluating the work-based training performance of the trainees.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The function of this concluding chapter is to: a) summarize the key findings of this study (9.1); b) draw out its contributions particularly in relation to the literature on the maritime education and training of seafarers from new labour supply countries (Section 9.2); and c) explore the potential for future research in such areas as the education, training and professionalization of the labour force (Section 9.3).

Before presenting the key findings of this study, the reader may find a recap of its background a useful reminder of the study's context. This thesis examined chiefly the experiences of former and current cadets in order to understand the influence and the intent of the global standards of maritime education and training (MET) in achieving the occupational socialisation of cadets to seafaring. It specifically concentrated on cadets who were recruited and trained under the so-called *sponsored cadetship programs* (SCPs) in the Philippines. To frame the experiences of MET, this thesis understood MET as instruments in the socialisation of future seafarers in order to develop the trainees into competent (and therefore professional) officers.

9.1 Key findings of the study

Each of the following key findings were found to influence the training experiences of the cadets to become merchant marine officers in the context of the prescribed competence-based training framework of the global and national training standards for officers. The key

findings concern: a) the variety of the sponsored cadetship programs, (which included different organisational and training practices); b) the quality of the training under sponsored cadetships; c) the gaps between the college-based education and the shipboard training of the trainees in relation to the training methods used in developing competencies; and d) the sponsorship role played by the ship owners and/or companies as a key trait in the development and management of officer cadetships. I discuss how each finding has affected the experiences of the trainees within the framework of MET as a process of competence acquisition.

9.1.1 The variety of the sponsored cadetship programs as training platforms

The first key finding of this thesis is that it has identified and described four models of sponsored cadetship programs (SCPs) in order to determine the functions and operations of the SCPs as training platforms through which the cadets experience training. This study has shown the variety of officer training programs available in the Philippines. It has also shown the models of SCPs as management approaches used by the shipping patrons over the cadets because they were designed to comply with the two-phase structure of MET standards for officer training: a college-based MET and a shipboard training phase. In other words, sponsored cadetships were the training programs adopted to socialize the cadets to seafaring.

To recap over the four models presented in Chapter 5: Model 1 was referred to as the ‘shipping sponsor-controlled model’. The key elements in Model 1 were: the duration of the scholarship was between 3-4 years; sponsors conducted their own recruitment and retention process; sponsors selected affiliate private maritime colleges in which to recruit students (Model 1 on average has recruited 400-500 students per year since the mid-

1990's). Model 2 was called the 'Union-backed model'. This model is the training arm of a seafarers' union, which owned and operated its own private college complete with a training vessel. The school through the union has a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) and/or Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with different shipping sponsors to support the students attending the union's college. All students were on a 4-year and fully funded program. The sponsors on average recruited 400-500 students annually since 2000. Model 3 was referred to as the 'company-owned school model', where a private school is co-owned and co-managed by a foreign shipping firm. The families of the cadets paid for the tuition and other school fees during the 3-year college-based MET but shipboard training was guaranteed by the private school through its co-owner, a shipping firm. The private school has accepted about 150-200 students per year since the first decade of this millennium. Finally, Model 4 was called the 'Shipboard Training-only Model' because only the shipboard training was provided by a sponsoring shipping organisation through its recruitment practice. The families of the students paid for the tuition and other school fees without a guarantee of shipboard training immediately after the 3-year academic training.

This study's approximation of the average number of cadets recruited annually to all models of SCPs was 1,500-2,000 students, from the period 2000 to about 2010. However, the recruits formed a fairly homogeneous group because all were from the Philippines and mostly males. As a homogeneous training group based on nationality and ethnicity, this fact posed some challenges to the individual cadets such as dealing with racial slurs and language problems, (as discussed during the cadets' shipboard training (see Chapter 7), when they encountered multi-nationality crewing practices aboard the vessel.

The models were generally illustrative of cadetships programs in the Philippines because of the variety of programs on offer; the differences in funding provided by different ship owners, companies or seafaring unions; the different training provisions available; and not least, the different roles of the key stakeholders involved such as ship owners, seafaring unions, manning agencies, maritime colleges, and seafarers/cadets. Seafarer and cadet participants in this study affirmed that they were recruited into SCPs to train as officers. The quality of the cadets' education and training is the next key finding of this study, which is discussed next.

9.1.2 The quality of training under sponsored cadetships

The second key finding of this study is that the quality of training of officer cadets under sponsored cadetships is characterised as being a highly regulated and reinforced professionalization process intent on producing officers, and has been developed to comply with the Philippine training standards. The quality of training will be discussed from two important aspects. Firstly, as a reinforced training program, the study has shown how the bodies and minds of the trainees were constantly being transformed on a daily basis through different practices of discipline both physical and academic. The disciplinary practices, as discussed previously, were meant to shape the behaviour of the trainees into the idealized version of a merchant marine officer, who is competent at work.

The study has shown the socialisation of the cadets through the ritualization of their training in maritime schools. Through the use of different forms of rituals and their related symbols, the daily routine of the cadets was presented as an elaborate rite of passage intended to change the cadets from being outsiders to the world of seafaring to becoming full-time members. The ritualization of their training illustrated the ability of the regulated to

negotiate, potentially imbibe and/or resist the rules, norms and expectations of the regulators (i.e., the managers of cadetships and school administration). The occupational socialisation of cadets through college-based education and training and its attendant practices were intended to, and focused on the development of certain work-related behaviour and on changing such behaviour by compartmentalizing training into ritualistic practices based on an idealized notion of a competent seafarer aboard the vessel. However, the elaborate and ritualistic training practices also reproduced the gender-bias that seafaring has been criticised for: in particular the apparent resistance to the integration of women seafarers. The training experiences of the female cadets showed that female cadets are singled out due to their femininity. Thus, the gender discrimination they felt made it difficult for women to be integrated into the working culture aboard the vessel as competent seafarers. The difficulties for female cadets was compounded by the very low number of women recruited to SCPs, which was only about 2% of the cadets recruited to Models 1 and 2. Low recruitment of female cadets meant they were very much a minority, and this fact reinforced the prejudice against women working aboard the vessel because of their absence from most crews (see Kitada, 2010). For this study, this meant that the recruitment and training practices of SCPs reflected the bias against integrating female cadets to seafaring.

This thesis portrayed also the quality of training under sponsored cadetships as the professionalization of merchant marine officers through formal education and training. The aim of the education and training practice is to prepare the cadets and help them acquire the formal qualifications conferred by the state's regulatory body after the training period. Once the cadets/seafarers receive their formal qualifications i.e., the certificates of competencies they can now offer their professional services to the labour consumer, which

is the patron company or ship owner who paid for their education and training. The process of the professionalization of seafarers has been observed to be similar to that in other occupations such as nursing and teaching (Wilensky, 1964; Melia, 1987) because of the use of formal education and training as well as certificates to qualify for professional work.

What distinguishes the professionalization of officer cadets in this study is the controlling influence not only of a national and/or professional body but also the impact of the global standards of maritime education and training. In other words, contemporary seafaring is an occupation in which the expertise of the seafarer is prescribed and regulated both globally and domestically (implications discussed in detail Section 9.2.2 below). Moreover, as has been shown earlier in this study, especially in the previous chapter, the controlling interest of ship owners in the professionalization of seafarers is also a very influential factor. The value of the ship owners' role in MET is reflected in how the STCW and Philippine MET standards entrust to them the shipboard training of the cadets, without which a trainee is not qualified to work as a seafarer. As a consequence, the sponsor-employers were part of the structure in the professionalization of officer trainees in the Philippines because the sponsors supported and provided training of the cadets, and ultimately they were/will be the consumers of the trainees' labour or service. However, this study further pointed out that the ship owners or companies have also developed ways to bind their trainees to employment contracts, a matter on which I will elaborate next.

9.1.3 Sponsored cadetships as gateways to migrant employment

The third key finding of this study is that sponsored cadetships have become a route for young Filipinos who were still in college to be guaranteed a post-training sea-based migrant employment. One of the important and fundamental aspects of the global standards of

maritime education and training is the participation of ship owners or companies for the obvious reason that seafarers require vessels on which to train and eventually work. The role of the ship owners is clearly supported by the STCW by *in principle* entrusting to their care the shipboard training of the cadets. This study demonstrated that the shipping patrons were not only concerned with one aspect of the cadets' MET, which is their sea-time training, but they also exerted a considerable degree of influence on the whole process of recruiting, educating, training and employing the officer trainees. The SCPs did not only guarantee support for the education and training of the cadets but they also guaranteed them post-training employment. In effect, the patrons managed to capture a labour source for the labour requirements of their vessels. By investing in the Philippines to recruit, train and employ Filipino officer candidates, the sponsors' demonstrated their preference for future officers sourced from a new labour supply country (NLSC) to replace the pool of officers from traditional maritime embedded states (BIMCO/ISF 2005, 2010).

For the Filipino cadets/seafarers recruited to SCPs, there was a general sense of value and pride in being recruited, trained and employed by their patron firms. However, the current and former trainees were cognisant of the fact that the guaranteed post-training employment may not always work to their advantage. For example, there were no indications from the cadets and seafarers that the contracts would lead to permanent employment. From the accounts of current and former cadets, the employment opportunities offered to them were contractual and non-permanent. These offers could potentially be terminated at any time by the employers as they had no legal obligation to engage the seafarers permanently. Crucially, the contractual employment of cadets/seafarers revealed the control exercised by the shipping sponsors over the cadets because the patrons dictated the terms of the employment through the Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) signed by the cadets with the

sponsors. As a consequence of the arrangement between patron and client, a type of bonded or indentured employment was created and the cadets had to work as officers for their sponsoring company for at least four and possibly as long as 8 years depending on the terms of the MoA. This practice of indentured employment raised concerns about the freedom of seafarers in their choice of which companies they could work for and job security, as they are constrained in terms of their professional mobility and prospects for job permanency within the labour market.

What is more, the previous chapter has illustrated how the Philippine state's migrant labour policy fosters the conditions where seafarer trainees are integrated into the migrant labour force. So the Philippine state has extended its migrant labour policy to the extent that it is possible for foreign employers to contract college students to become part of their labour pool even when the students have yet to complete their degrees. The state's labour policy was exemplified in the previous chapter by the *Standard Employment Contract* (SEC), which is an employment contract required for all seafarers and seafarer trainees if they intend to work on foreign-flagged vessels. The SEC exemplifies the state's "regulation by contract" policy. The effect for the cadets and seafarers recruited to these SCPs is that the SEC (and by extension the state) has legitimized the practice of the labour arrangements used between the patrons (i.e., ship owner-sponsors) and the clients (i.e., the cadets): the cadet as part of the agreement to be sponsored through his/her MET, is required to work for her/his patron (sponsor/client/ship-owner). Broadly, this finding confirms the active role of the state in brokering labour relations between foreign employers and local employees (Rodriguez, 2010). Given the challenges facing the Philippine state to protect its sea-based migrant labourers when working all over the world (see Abila & Tang, 2014; Dacanay *et al.*, 2015), the practice of bonded labour in the maritime sector may be seen as

a potential future threat to the welfare of seafarers as bonded labour has been historically shown to favour the patrons.

9.1.4 Gaps in the education and training of officer cadets

The fourth key finding of the study is that there is no common or shared understanding of the notion of seafaring competence - especially among the trainers. As a result, this may affect the way competencies are taught and assessed. The literature on competence-based training acknowledged that the socio-cultural environment where competencies are embedded, are important because different countries and occupations have different notions about standards of competence (Le Deist & Winterton, 2005; Guthrie, 2009;Boahin & Hofman, 2013). The main reason given is that the socio-economic and cultural realities differ from each country (or occupation), and these socio-economic and cultural realities are crucial and real conditions in the development and understanding of a competent practice (Guthrie, 2009; Boahin & Hofman, 2013). In the experiences of the cadets, the learning environment experienced in the maritime colleges differed significantly in comparison to the training environment of the commercial vessel. In colleges, the experiences of the trainees were of a structured and highly monitored educational environment, especially when it came to their academic performance and general conduct because all cadets were required to follow a code of appropriate conduct as well as comply with academic requirements of the programs (e.g., 85 percent). In effect, the cadets have similar experiences of being assessed academically no matter which college they attend. Aboard the vessel however, the cadets' experiences of training and training assessment varied considerably depending mainly on the practices of trainers and how companies organised shipboard training. Thus, there is a discontinuity between the college-based

education and the shipboard training of cadets because each of these learning environments employed different forms of assessments that do not appear to complement each other's.

The differences in the learning environments of the school and aboard ship were based on different emphases in the development of competences. In college, the objective of MET is to introduce and teach the cadets the principles and theories necessary to operate a vessel safely Chapter 6 presented how the trainees experienced different forms of conventional academic assessments including extra academic assessments conducted by the shipping patrons. These assessments were intended to test the theoretical understanding of the cadets. This meant that in college a theoretical understanding of competence or competencies was emphasised. Aboard the vessel, the purpose of sea-time training is to provide the trainees with practical training and experience workplace life. Chapter 7 then pointed out that even though there were a variety of training strategies and assessment methods employed by training officers, the common practice was to assess the performance of the trainees in certain shipboard tasks.

In other words, the differences in the environments of the college and the ship meant that the experiences of the cadets would either be of a positive transition from school to the workplace, or a difficult and potentially confusing transition from one environment to the next. The reason for either outcome results from the variation in collaboration and cooperation between the two environments, which are respectively under the management of the colleges and the sponsors. If these two stakeholders of MET collaborated and developed a comprehensive and coherent college-based theoretical education with a work-based practical training, then the cadets would experience a well-guided transition from school to the workplace. If there were no cooperation and collaboration between the two,

the trainees would not be given the best opportunities for success. Indeed, some cadets reported that college education and shipboard training were fit for purpose because of a broadly positive training experience in both the college and the vessel. For some, it was not the same. Some of the trainees complained of being not trained properly aboard the vessel and of being used as cheap labour during shipboard training. Hence, this study provided some evidence of the gap between school-based learning and shipboard training especially where the ship owner or shipping company did not collaborate with the college in developing a shipboard training program of the cadets. A manifestation of the gap related to a collaborative management between a company and a college is the case of cadets being used as extra workers aboard the vessel during their training period.

To sum up, the competence-based program of MET appears to be based on educational and training standards where there is excessive reliance on the training providers to develop a program with continuity between what is taught in school and what is done in the practice of seafaring aboard the vessel. In college, it was cognitive competence or the competence to understand abstract concepts that was the focus of training. Aboard the vessel, it was practical skills that were emphasised. This study has shown broadly that gaps exist instead of continuity between college-based education and shipboard training.

9.2 Contributions and limitations of the study

This study has contributed mainly empirical data but it also offers theoretical and methodical reflections. Its empirical contributions lie in the fields of education, training, the professionalization of the workforce, and in competence-based training. The empirical contribution of this study is primarily the provision of data on the experiences of maritime education and training from the perspective of the trainees from a new labour supply

country. The theoretical reflections of this thesis are focused on: (a) the application of the theory of occupational socialisation to the experiences of merchant marine cadets, and how the experiences of the cadets offer new insights about the socialisation of trainees especially within the globalised processes of the maritime sector; and (b) the relationship between patron and client within the context of a modern apprenticeship program. Lastly, this study offers its own methodical reflection on the conduct of a qualitative study of maritime education and training.

9.2.1 Empirical contribution

As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, as far as the author is aware, this is one of the first studies that has examined the first-hand experiences of officer cadets from one of the top labour supplying countries in the world, the Philippines. The empirical data presented focused primarily on the quality of the training experiences of Filipino cadets during their college-based training, which in itself is a contribution to the literature on maritime training and education because it has documented and examined these experiences. This thesis also contributes empirical data on the variety of officer cadetship programs and their respective operations in the Philippines. As far as the author is concerned, this is a first academic work on officer cadets from the new labour supply countries and the programs that socialize them to seafaring.

9.2.2 Theoretical contributions to the understanding of occupational socialisation

The modest theoretical contributions of this study to the understanding of the occupational socialisation of a workforce are shown in two related aspects of the socialisation of merchant marine officer trainees. Firstly, this study has demonstrated the connection

between the concepts of occupational socialisation and the processes of globalisation, in particular the role of global standards for the education and training of a workforce, the role and influence of international employers in the global standards of training and the post-training employment prospects of the trainees, and the role of a state in legally establishing migrant employment of its citizens through higher education and training programs. Secondly, the occupational socialisation of merchant seafarers is related to their professionalization within a prescribed competence-based education and training framework. Each of these aspects contributions will be discussed below.

The application of the concept of occupational socialisation to understand the experiences of merchant marine cadets from a new labour supply country is one of the contributions of this study to the academic literature. The qualitative data presented in this work revealed how a planned program of education and training could potentially shape the behaviour of the trainees, while at the same time demonstrating indirectly the key drivers involved in the training of officer candidates (e.g., global regulations of maritime education and training, post-training employment in the international labour market of seafaring, and the employers' interest in recruiting international labour). This study exhibited how the interrelationships of concepts associated with occupational socialisation, particularly education, training, and occupational culture, on the one hand, and the processes of globalisation particularly the global standards of seafarers' education and training and the role of international shipping employers in MET, on the other hand, are useful concepts to understand the qualitative experiences of training.

The focus on the qualitative experiences of officer cadets also afforded this study to understand how Filipino seafarers are professionalized into the occupation of seafaring.

Thus, the notion of occupational socialisation was also related to the notion of the professionalization of the workforce specifically within a prescribed competence-based training framework. This study may then be, to the best of the author's knowledge, the first qualitative study of the style of professionalization of officer trainees from the Philippines, where the Philippines could be taken as an example of a new labour supply country for the international seafaring labour market. Although seafaring adopts a similar process of formalizing and regulating the education and training of seafarer trainees as means to professionalize its global workforce, the traditional professions of medicine and law historically set their respective standards not only for the education and training of its future practitioners but more importantly the professional practice of their members (Freidson, 1986, 1999, 2001). In other words, the traditional professions have autonomy and control over the entry of new members and the professional conduct of all members. The autonomy and control exercised by and staunchly defended by the traditional professions could not be said to be possessed by our seafarers because of the prescriptive nature of their education and training dictated by the international and domestic standards, standards that include the control of international employers of the workplace training of officer cadets. What distinguishes the professionalization of officer cadets in this study was the controlling influence not only of a national and/or professional body but the impact as well of the global standards of maritime education and training. Thus, contemporary seafaring is an occupation where the expertise of the seafarers is prescribed and regulated globally and domestically, where the controlling interest of ship owners in the professionalization of seafarers was also a very influential factor. The value of the ship owners' role in MET is reflected in how the STCW and Philippine MET standards entrust to them the shipboard training of the cadets, without which a trainee is not qualified to work as a seafarer. As a

consequence, the sponsor-employers were part of the professionalization of officer trainees in the Philippines because the sponsors supported and provided training of the former and current cadets, and ultimately they were/will be the consumers of the trainees' labour or service.

Finally, this study has contributed to the literature on competence-based training by applying fundamental ideas found in the literature to the training experiences of seafaring cadets. This study demonstrated that the underlying notion of competence employed by the global and local (i.e., the Philippines) regulations of MET appears to favour the behaviourist approach to competence, which means that competence is equivalent to a skilled performance of a task. In effect, the standards of training and assessment were designed to test the performance of the trainees. However, this study has shown that there were different training programs and assessment methods employed to train and evaluate the performance of the trainees. As a consequence, the different training strategies used led to perceptions of different training outcomes. This means to say that the trainee participants reported that they were either properly trained according to the standards, or mostly trained sufficiently but there were still training areas of concern, or they were not properly trained at all especially during their sea-time training.

In the terms of this study's contribution to competence-based training, the preceding paragraph means that the global and local standards of seafarers' education and training appear to have a limited view of competence. The reason for this view is that the standards have favoured a behaviourist approach to competence although the practice of seafaring is known in the literature to involve not only technical competence but also other forms of competencies such as the social competence of officers in managing the crew, or their

emotional competence when required to face extended periods of isolation from their families (see Knudsen, 2009).

9.2.3 Methodical reflection of the study

This study does not claim to offer anything new towards qualitative research methods. However, it provides its own reflection on conducting qualitative research on maritime education and training in the Philippines. There are two key points for the methodical reflection of this study, which are on the issue of access to, and the role of, the qualitative interview in conducting research on MET.

The first methodical reflection of this study is that field visits and the observation of the cadets, the maritime schools and the shipping firms that recruit cadets, have led to the insight about the central importance of the daily routines, rituals and symbols that permeated the lived-experiences of the trainees in the maritime schools. The schools allowed reasonably easy access for an outsider researcher to conduct field visits and observe the rhythm of the maritime school environment. As an effect, the visits afforded the researcher a growing familiarity with the way the maritime schools operate daily and the place the students occupied in these routines. Methodically, this study may be one of the first to closely observe and examine the experiences of cadets in private maritime schools in the Philippines as spaces and places for the professionalization of trainees. Related to this area is the second contribution to research methods, the indispensable role of interviews in qualitative research, which is discussed next.

The interview techniques employed in this study were central to collecting, organizing and analysing its core concepts such as the functions of education and training in the lived-

experiences of the cadets. Qualitative interviews provided personal, honest and critical views especially from former and current cadets, about the state of MET in the Philippines through their first-hand experiences. Hence, for this study the use of the qualitative interview was a valuable and basic technique to unravel and identify the realities that Filipino trainees are faced with during and after the training period because it showed how the trainees understood their experiences.

9.2.4 Limitations of the study

This study could have had a wider scope had the ship owners, companies or their representatives granted access for interviews. Thus, the first limitation of the study is the absence of the voices of the patrons. The patrons could have offered insights into the education and training of officer cadets, specifically as end-users of the quality of the training received by the cadets because the employers are the ones to benefit from the quality of service provided by their future officers.

The second limitation of the study is methodical: that is, the thesis could have benefitted from prolonged access to one of the maritime schools in order to conduct an ethnographic study of the trainees' lives whilst on campus. Although maritime schools were generous enough to grant access for research purposes, my access was very limited in terms of who and what I could access in schools.

Finally, and related to the second limitation, the third limitation of this thesis is the access to an important research site, the ship. In hindsight, this study could have accessed extensive data if the researcher had been given the chance to observe and study ethnographically the training of the cadets aboard a vessel. The actual living and working

environment of the vessel, as noted in Chapter 6, were important and integral factors in how sea-time training was experienced by the cadets. In a busy workplace, observing how the trainers and the trainees managed the latter's training could have been a very rich source of data. In particular, the opportunity to study ethnographically sea-time training may have offered insight into how the trainers and the trainees discussed (or not), constructed, developed and accomplished the concept, technique and delivery of a competent performance.

9.3 Moving forward: Future research

The final section of this thesis suggests future research areas that a study could potentially examine given the key findings and analysis developed here. This section will look at the possibilities for research in the following areas: (a) research on the development of competencies during the shipboard training of the cadets; and (b) research on the development of assessment policies and methods appropriate for seafarers' training.

9.3.1 Research on the development of competencies during sea-time training

The author has shown that the work-experience phase of seafarers' training, which is the shipboard training, offers a rich potential for learning how competencies are developed, constructed and accomplished by the trainers and trainees. The workplace environment of the vessel is a unique space and place because it is a mobile and isolated working and living environment of very few people. Moreover, the social relationship on board is mostly defined by a hierarchical order based largely on defined work roles.

An ethnographic study of the shipboard training of the cadets could potentially capture the complex reality of living, working and training aboard the ship. Direct observation and

encounter with the life of a cadet at sea is a promisingly rich research opportunity in understanding how cadets are socialized into real world of the seafarer aboard ship. Usually it would be the cadet's first time working and living aboard an international vessel; this reality also offers the potential to track how the cadet would value her/his training before and after the sea-time training.

9.3.2 Research on the assessment of maritime education and training

There seems to be no attempt from cadetship program managers, the colleges or the state, to harmonize and/or develop common assessment policies and practices that are appropriate for the development of competencies required of merchant marine officers. In spite of all the assessments that the cadets are required to take, no initiatives have been put forward from either cadetship program managers, the colleges or the state to balance, develop and possibly share common assessment policies and practices that could authentically and appropriately contribute to the development of competence in merchant marine officers. Theoretically, the key stakeholders involved in the training of cadets occupy influential positions that they could use to create and develop a master plan of how best to educate, train and assess the trainees. The state and maritime colleges could hypothetically work in collaboration with employers to decide exactly what quality of theoretical instruction trainees require in order to best help them understand the skills and task they will need to perform once in the workplace. To achieve the development of a master plan, research into educational and assessment policies and practices might be of significant assistance to the key stakeholders who regulate and implement maritime education and training.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Locating Metro Iloilo, Philippines

There are three main geographical areas in the Philippines, Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, all of which are divided into 13 regions. Metro Iloilo is located in Region VI, in the island of Panay. Region VI is also known as Western Visayas.

Iloilo is shown in the Philippine map as part of Visayas (Western Visayas). The archipelago comprised 3 major areas, Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

Socio-economic profile

- Western Visayas total land area: 20, 223.2 sq km
- Six provinces: Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Iloilo, Negros Occidental and Guimaras
- Population (2010) – Total (7,089,739): urban (2,466,1099) rural (4,636,3299)
- Overseas employment: 216,000 (2013)
- 4th largest contributor Philippine GDP (2013), 63% of sugar production (1996)

Port infrastructure

- Five ports Iloilo City and surrounding areas: International port, national (domestic) port, fish port, RoRo and municipal wharves (Iloilo-Guimaras passenger ferry terminals).
- Foreign vessels (72); domestic vessels (10,471) in 2000 amounting to gross registered tonnage of 12,076,649 tons.
- Passenger traffic 1,933,964 (in 2000): disembarked (1,003,909) and embarked (930,055)

Education profile

- Iloilo City is the centre of education in Region VI
- Literacy rate in Iloilo City and surrounding areas: 98.4%
- Average of 16,000 graduates a year
- Students generally come from the Visayas and Mindanao regions

Sources: Philippine Information Agency, Philippine National Statistics Office, and Commission on Higher Education



Maritime Higher Education Institutions (MHEIs) in Western Visayas Region	Address
Aklan Polytechnic Institute	Aklan
Colegio dela Purisima Concepcion	Roxas City
John B. Lacson Foundation Maritime University	Arevalo, Iloilo City
John B. Lacson Colleges Foundation	Bacolod City
John B. Lacson Foundation Maritime University	Molo, Iloilo City
St. Therese-MTC Colleges Tigbauan (formerly: MTC College)	Tigbauan, Iloilo
St. Therese-MTC Colleges Main (formerly: St. Therese College)	La Paz, Iloilo City
VMA Global College (formerly: Visayan Maritime Academy)	Bacolod City
University of Iloilo	Rizal Street, Iloilo City
Western Institute of Technology	Lapaz, Iloilo

Appendix 2: Profile of participants for pilot test

Type of interview	No. of interviewees	Classification of participants	Gender
Group	10	Cadets	All males
Individual	1	College representative and seafarer	Male
Individual	1	Chief Mate	Male

Appendix 3: Sample profile of interview participants for pilot test

Table: Profile of 4th Year Cadets from one Iloilo maritime college (Source: Author)

Cadet Identifier	Gender	Duration of scholarship	Age	Vessel Type(s) during sea-time training	Duration of sea-based training
C1	male	4 years	20	Chemical tanker	12 mos., 4 days
C2	male	4 years	19	Crude oil shuttle tanker	10 mos., 18 days
C3	male	4 years	21	Oil tanker	9 mos., 25 days
C4	male	4 years	20	Container ship	11 mos., 17 days
C5	male	4 years	19	Oil tanker	11 mos., 18 days
C6	male	4 years	18	Car carrier	11 mos., 27 days
C7	male	4 years	23	Container ship	12 mos., 19 days
C8	male	4 years	20	Container ship	12 mos.
C9	male	3 years	20	Unspecified	Unspecified
C10	male	4 years	19	General cargo	11 mos., 23 days

Appendix 4: Interview guide for cadets

Interview Questions

- Tell me about your cadet maritime education and training (MET) program. In your own words, what do you think is the meaning of MET?
- Tell me about your MET institution or college.
- In your own words, tell me about the basic things about training.
- Does MET fit the purpose?
- Has MET always been that way?
- What would you improve in MET?
- What are its MET's limitations and constraints (time, costs etc...)?
- Who is involved in your MET aside from your college/university? Are their partners (other stakeholders) involved such as sponsor(s), family and the like?
- Can you tell me about your reasons why you went to the maritime college that you have chosen?
- In your own words, what do you think is the purpose and role of the Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping for Seafarers (STCW) 1978/1995/2010 in the MET of a Filipino cadet?
- Can you tell me whether there would be differences between training in college and potential work experience?
- In your own words, will your training and education be sufficient enough to handle work at sea?
- Can you tell me about the values or benefits of being trained in your training centre or college?
- Was your MET during college sponsored? Tell me about the sponsorship of your MET.
- What are the advantages of the program?
- What are the disadvantages?
- What was the duration of the sea-based program (in months)?
- How many tours did the sea-based programme take?
- How many hours every day did your training take on the average?
- What specific competencies and/or skills related to MET were addressed by the sea-based training?
- What competencies and/or skills related to MET were not addressed?
- Are you satisfied with your sea-based experience in providing you the needed work-like training? Why or why not?
- What needs to be improved in the program?
- Kindly name the sponsor of your MET.
- Kindly describe in what ways your maritime college benefitted from the cadetship program that you are part of?
- If you had a sponsor for your maritime education and training, do you feel obliged to repay your sponsor(s)? By repaying, what this means is that you somehow feel that you owe them something and that you may do something about your feeling of obligation. It could be supporting financially the training centre or college, or that

you may work with them as a seafarer, or any other way by which you think you are repaying your sponsor. Can you tell me about the means by which you believe you are repaying your sponsor?

- Are there other issues related to the relationship between MET and potential work experience that you may want to discuss? Can you tell me about these issues?
- Can you tell me about the other issues related to maritime education and training that you may want to talk about?
- If you have something to say about this research project that you are participating in, what will it/they be?

Biographical Information

- Name (optional):
- Age:
- Gender:
- Address (City/Town and province):
- Training Course taken or enrolled in:
- Name of college or university where you are enrolled:
- Do you have a sponsor for the degree you are taking?
- If yes, what is the name of the scholarship?
- Do you know the sponsor/funder of the scholarship?
- Start and end of sponsored MET period (in school years):
- Duration of sponsored MET (in years and/or months):
- Do you have a sea-based training experience while in college?
- Duration of cadetship on board training (in months):
- How many cadetship tour(s) on board ship do you have?
- Type of vessel(s) that you have trained for or training on: (Encircle your answer(s)]
 - Container
 - Oil Tanker
 - Gas Tanker
 - Passenger Ferry
 - Freight Ferry
 - Cruise Ship
 - Bulk Carrier
 - Other: (Please specify) _____

Appendix 5: Interview guide for representatives of private maritime schools

Interview Questions

- Kindly describe your relationship(s) with foreign shipping organizations that you work with especially in cadetship programs.
- What are the advantages in working with the foreign shipping organizations?
- What are the disadvantages?
- What do you think are the benefits in your working relationships with them?
- What are the trade-offs, if any, in working with foreign shipping organizations?
- Can you tell me, in your view, the urgent issues in the delivery of cadetship programs in the Philippines in general especially in relation to the Standard of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping or STCW 78/95/2010?
- Is there any other issue in the maritime industry you may want to talk about or comment on?
- Are there any other things that we have not talked about the topic of collaborations in relation to maritime education and training between your institution and shipping organisations that you may want to talk about?

Biographical Information

- Name (optional):
- Age:
- Gender:
- Address (City/Town, province/state, country):
- Nationality:
- Your position in the organisation:
- Name of your organization:
- Country of origin of your organisation:

Appendix 6: Interview guide for sponsoring organisations

Interview Questions

- What is it that your organisation or firm do within the shipping industry?
- Kindly describe the role of your firm or organization in relation to the funding or sponsoring of Filipino cadets trained in private maritime colleges in the Philippines.
- Tell me about the cadet training that you sponsor.
- In your own words, tell me about the basic things about maritime education and training (MET) that is significant to your firm's or organization's operations.
- In your own words, what is the purpose of MET in the Philippines? Does it fit the purpose?
- What would you improve in your program of the sponsorship of Filipino cadets?
- What are the strengths of your program of sponsoring Filipino cadets trained in private maritime colleges?
- What are the limitations and/or constraints of your program of sponsoring Filipino cadets trained in private maritime colleges?
- Who or what are involved in your sponsorship program? That is, are there other significant stakeholders that you work with in the sponsorship program?
- Tell me about the significance of your role in MET in the Philippines through your cadet sponsorship program.
- Do you find your role(s) useful in what way?
- Kindly describe how you work with private maritime colleges aside from your cadetship program.
- What kind or types of support do your organization extend to private maritime colleges specifically in aid of MET?
- What is/are the advantages in working with private maritime colleges in the Philippines?
- What are the disadvantages?
- What are the constraints and limitations in working with private maritime colleges?
- What should be improved in your working relationship with private maritime colleges?
- Tell me about your own understanding of the regulatory environment that shapes maritime education and training (MET) in the Philippines. That is, what do you understand about the regulation of MET in the Philippines?
- Tell me about the retention in your firm's workforce of Filipino seafarers whose cadetships you have funded.
- Is there any other issue in the maritime industry you may want to talk about or comment on?
- If you have something to say about this research project that you are participating in, what will it/they be?

Biographical Information:

- Name (optional):
- Age:
- Gender:
- Address (City/Town, province/state, country):
- Nationality:
- Your position in the organisation:
- Name of your organisation:
- Address of your organisation:
- Country of origin of your organisation:

Appendix 7: Profile of group interview participants

Table: Profiles of Group Interview Participants (Number = 7) (Source: Author).

Group Interview Code	Number of participants	Classification of participants	Gender
G1	3	Program managers of sponsors	All males
G2	3	Alumni, officers	All males
G3	10	cadets	8 males, 2 females
G4	10	cadets	All males
G5	3	Alumni, officers	All males
G6	8	cadets	All males
G7	10	cadets	8 males, 2 females

Appendix 8: Profile of individual interviewees

Table: Table of Profile of Individual Interviewees (N = 27) (Source: Author).

Interview Code	Classification of participant	Gender		Interview Code	Classification of participant	Gender
INT1	College representative, seafarer	male		INT15	TESDA Rep	female
INT2	College dean, chief engineer	male		INT16	cadet	male
INT3	Chief mate	male		INT17	cadet	male
INT4	College Shipboard training officer	male		INT18	Master Mariner	male
INT5	College president, officer	male		INT19	MARINA rep	male
INT6	College dean, chief engineer	male		INT20	MARINA rep	female
INT7	College shipboard training officer	male		INT21	College Shipboard training officer	male
INT8	College Guidance counsellor for cadetships	female		INT22	PMMA rep, seafarer	male
INT9	College coordinator for cadetships	male		INT23	cadet	male
INT10	College coordinator for cadetships	female		INT24	Chief mate	male
INT11	Third Officer	male		INT25	Chief mate	male
INT12	Third Officer	male		INT26	Officer-in-charge	female
INT13	Government rep (MTC)	female		INT27	cadet	female
INT14	CHED Rep	female				

Appendix 9: Sample profile of 4th Year Cadets from one maritime college

Table: Sample profile of 4th year cadets from a private college (Source: Author)

Cadet Identifier	Gender	Age	Duration of scholarship	Type(s) of vessels during sea-time training	Duration of sea-based training
C1	male	20	4 yrs.	Oil tanker	11 mos.
C2	male	20	4 yrs.	Oil tanker	11 mos., 21 days
C3	female	21	4 yrs.	Cargo ship	10 mos., 15 days
C4	male	20	4 yrs.	Oil tanker	11 mos., 10 days
C5	male	20	4 yrs.	Oil tanker	11 mos., 18 days
C6	male	19	4 yrs.	Car carrier	10 mos., 19 days
C7	male	20	4 yrs.	Chemical tanker	11 mos., 29 days
C8	male	20	4 yrs.	Oil tanker	10 mos., 4 days
C9	female	20	4 yrs.	Training ship	2 mos.
C10	male	20	4 yrs.	Chemical tanker	10 mos., 28 days

Appendix 10: Research information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

I am a student working towards a PhD in the School of Social Sciences at the Seafarers' International Research Centre in Cardiff University.

As there are several key groups that will be interviewed for this project, participation in this study means responding to at least one or a combination of the following:

- a) Answering questions about your views on the regulation of maritime education and training in the Philippines;
- b) Answering questions pertaining to your views on the management strategies of maritime education and training in the Philippines;
- c) Answering questions pertaining to your views on the implementation of standards for maritime education and training in the Philippines;
- d) Answering some questions about your perceptions and, where appropriate, your experiences on maritime education and training;
- e) Answering questions regarding your views and perceptions of seafarers and cadets trained in private maritime training colleges who work with foreign partners; and
- f) Answering questions pertaining to the relationship between maritime education and training and work-based experience.

Your participation will mean having an interview with me (the researcher) that should last between 60 to 90 minutes, and will take place in a room that has been booked specifically for this purpose and where we will not be overheard. Participation is voluntary, so you may withdraw at any time without consequence. As far as the researcher knows, there are no risks associated with participating in this research.

The interview will be conducted through the medium of the language of choice of the interviewee. English is widely spoken in the Philippines. The other main languages that will be used are Tagalog (the national language of the Philippines), Hiligaynon or Ilonggo, and Cebuano or Bisaya. It is highly probable that interviewees are at least bilingual, speaking their dialect (such as Hiligaynon or Cebuano) and English. As the researcher speaks English, Hiligaynon and Tagalog, a translator and an interpreter will be needed to conduct the interview in Cebuano.

The researcher will ask a limited set of questions regarding your personal and professional details. These details include your name, year of training (for cadets) or professional position, and the number of years you have been in the particular sector you belong as of the interview. Furthermore and more importantly, your name will be anonymized. The researcher will require your signature on the informed consent form below before we can proceed. This is to assure you that your responses will remain completely confidential and any personal details that you give me about you or anyone else will be made anonymous. The researcher will record the interview on a digital recorder and write down your responses to use for a PhD thesis.

All the information will be stored securely in a password-encrypted file on the researcher's computer or in a locked cabinet. Your information will not be seen by anyone other than the researcher, and his supervisors, Dr. David Walters and Dr. Sara MacBride-Stewart, at Cardiff University. My contact details and those of the research supervisors are included below, in case you

have any questions about the research. If you would like to see the result, you may get in touch with the researcher and I will be able to forward you a copy of the final thesis.

Thank you very much for your time.

Best regards,

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Appendix 11: Informed consent form

As an informed participant in this research, I understand and acknowledge that:

I have been duly informed that my responses will be kept anonymous and my personal details and those of any other people or organisations I name will be kept confidential.

I have been properly informed that the details I provide will be used for the completion of a PhD thesis and will be published as a PhD thesis that will be available in university libraries, and may also be used as material for books or journal articles.

I have been duly informed that I may choose to end my participation at any time without consequence.

Any questions that I had about this research have been satisfactorily answered.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Signature of Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 12: Debriefing

Thank you for your participation today. This PhD research is an attempt to understand the experiences of maritime education and training (MET) of Filipino officer cadets. The aim of the study is to understand the occupational socialisation of officer cadets during their training period in order to explore the influence of the intent of the global and national standards to produce competent seafarers.

The Philippines is one of the top labour supplying countries for the international labour market of merchant marine seafarers. Its share of the labour market for officers is seen to increase in the next few years, therefore, it is important to study how officer cadets are trained in relation to the aim of the international and local standards of MET.

Given the Philippines' role of educating and training future officers, this interview intended to identify and explore either the first-hand training experiences of the former and current cadets; or those involved in training them such as the maritime schools, Philippine regulators of maritime education and training (MET), and the shipping companies, ship owners or their representatives. The reason for the interview was to allow the participants to share their experiences, thoughts and views of what was taking place during the cadets' training period so that the representation of this study of officer training is as accurate as possible.

All the information collected in today's interview will be confidential, and there will be no way of identifying your responses in the data archive.

If you have any questions or concerns, you are welcome to contact the researcher, and his supervisors, Dr. David Walters and Dr. Sara MacBride-Stewart. My contact details and those of the research supervisors are included below. If you would like to see the result, you may get in touch with the researcher and I will be able to forward you a copy of the final thesis.

Best regards,

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Appendix 13: Number of enrollees in maritime degrees in the Philippines from 2000-2008

Figure: Number of Enrolees in Maritime Degrees in the Philippines from 2000-2008
(Source: Commission on Higher Education)

