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How Power and Control Drive Behaviour & Identity Modification Among Cruise Ship Workers: A Qualitative Study

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**How Power and Control Drive Behaviour & Identity Modification Among Cruise
Ship Workers: A Qualitative Study**

By

Richard Parkman

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth in partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Plymouth Business School

May 2020

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The purpose of this research was to explore the complex circumstances that impact the Lifeworld of those individuals working tirelessly in the hotel department onboard cruise ships. I would therefore, like to begin by expressing my gratitude to everyone who contributed to this study. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me and thank you for helping me understand your Lifeworlds working onboard cruise ships. I am also grateful to University of Plymouth, Plymouth Business School for supporting me, which made this study possible.

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I dedicate the thesis to my family. Thank you, Caroline, for your continual encouragement, strength and emotional support along the way. Having had to face your own challenges I know how hard it's been for you, and the sacrifices you have had to make. Thank you, also to my children Fay, Amy and Chloe, for their faith and moral support throughout. Finally, to my parents who always believed in me.

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At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Doctoral College Quality Sub-Committee.

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ABSTRACT

How Power & Control Drive Behaviour & Identity Modification Among Cruise Ship Hotel Officers: A Qualitative Study

Richard Parkman

This study explores the workplace experiences of maritime hospitality officers on cruise ships. The study aims to evaluate the complexities and common influences of both work and social experiences of cruise ship officers as they negotiate, create and modify their identities in the cruise ship workplace.

The qualitative approach adopted, used semi-structured interviews in a phenomenological paradigm of enquiry, dissecting the connections between power and control of the cruise ship setting as a panoptic environment by drawing on Irving Goffman's [1922-1982] 'total institution' control, where behavioural performances and emotion management modify identities as acts of compliance to the highly regulated environment. The study develops connections between concepts of emotional labour, organisational citizenship behaviours and social identity to explain how compliance is demanded both on and off duty leading to behavioural, emotional and identity modification.

The thematic analysis reveals how cruise ship officers create a cruise ship-based identity or Lifeworld, which is different from their perceptions of themselves in their Homeworld. Being an environment that is unique, cruise ship officers have to adapt and adopt new identities as they sacrifice previous identities, adjusting themselves to meet the exacting and continuous organisational demands of the cruise ship, its passengers and co-workers.

The study offers insights hitherto unconsidered by the limited research that exists on cruise ships. Using an exploratory, in-depth account of the working lives of hospitality workers on cruise ships, the study reflects on several important considerations for tackling work-based emotion and behavioural performance issues relating to the employment of cruise ship officers.

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Chapter 1: Thesis Introduction and Structure

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the background for the research by examining the context of the cruise ship industry through the eyes and experiences of individuals who live on-board cruise ships and work in the hotel department of this confined environment. It is important to note that this study is not focusing on those front line 'crew member' roles and positions (e.g. waiter, state room cleaners; chefs, bar tenders etc.), rather, all of the respondents who participated hold a rank of officer with at least one stripe or above. Nonetheless, despite all the participants being employed in officer positions, their roles and responsibilities differ dependent on job role and cruise ship organisation and participants are employed by a range of internationally renowned cruise ship organisations.

To begin, this first chapter will provide some context to the challenges of working in the hospitality arm of a cruise ship. Let me introduce you to some of the cruise ship workers with some excerpts taken from interviews conducted as part of the research. This will help locate some of the broad issues the thesis is concerned with. Beginning with the experiences of cruise ship life with accounts from Ian and Laura (note: all participants in this study have been given pseudonyms to protect identities and to retain anonymity):

Ian and Laura had been at sea for several years on different cruise ships before they met. Having worked together on-board the same cruise ship for

a couple of years, Ian and Laura got married. They continued working on-board cruise ships together, an accepted part of couples working in cruise ship organisations. Everything was going well as *"It is 'company policy', where possible to keep couples together, on the same ship"*, said Ian. *"However, one day in October the two of us are waiting to join the ship, we are queued at the crew office waiting to board and looking forward to our six-months working together sailing around exotic and sunny climes"*. Then, Ian is approached by a member of the head office resourcing team and pulled from the line. He is told he is no longer going to serve his contract on-board the original ship to which he was assigned, but to another ship, bound for another part of the globe as there is a staff shortage and they require a night manager.

Next is an account provided by Jane who highlights the impacts of observational control of living and working onboard:

Jane had just come out of a disciplinary meeting with her line manager. Jane had been having lunch in one of the passenger restaurant areas on-board and had taken her mobile phone out of her pocket, placed it on the table while eating her lunch. A fellow crew member had seen her with her phone and reported her to a senior manager. *"I knew it was against regulations to use my cell phone on board ship in public areas while in uniform,"* said Jane, *"but I wasn't using it, I simply took it out and put it on the table for comfort"*. *Because a crewmate 'grassed me up', I am now on report and am prevented from applying for cross-training for other roles on the ship"*.

Julie's extract outlines the surveillance and observation encountered by employees during both work-related periods and voluntary attendance in other activities:

Julie, an experienced travel agent, who has recently changed career to work on cruise ships, is heading to sea for her first contract as an on-board training manager. During one of the many cocktail evenings, where all officers are expected to attend and 'mingle' with passengers, Julie was called over to the captain - "*why are you talking to the other officers*" said the captain, "*you should be socialising with the passengers and not the other officers*". "*My jaw dropped,*" said Julie. "*Cocktail parties are there for officers to mingle and talk with the passengers*". Julie protested, "*I was talking with the passengers*". The captain replied, "*well you weren't when I was looking at you, you were talking to other officers*" said Julie.

Marian's account below illustrates the demands made of cruise workers to enact desirous behaviours at all times, and lapses in these desired behaviours may be subjected to observational control:

Marian a guest relations officer met a passenger who had just come on-board to begin his vacation. "*This guy came on and he lived a few doors down from me at home*" [on the same street] said Marian, "*I didn't know he was coming on-board and I said hello to him, and we spoke about being at home*". However, what Marian had not considered in her actions in speaking to the passenger was that her manager had been observing her behaviours

and actions towards the passenger. *“He pulled me into his office, and said, you can’t speak like that when you’re on ship”, “I was shocked at his reaction”* Marian protested, *“I said yeah but he is from home, and he recognised me and came up to speak to me, the passengers like the fact we could talk about whatever.”* Marian went on to say, *“my manager nearly ‘killed me’ for that, we were just having a bit of chit chat, but my manager objected as I was saying words like ‘hello and see you later’ rather than ‘good morning’ or ‘thank you sir’ we are not allowed to use their names as such”.*

These brief excerpts of working life for cruise ship workers illustrate the ways in which the complexities of living and working on-board cruise ships are experienced. Ian and Laura’s situation demonstrates the power and control of the employer over the employees. The decision to separate the couple was not taken by an individual alone, but a decision based on the needs of the organisation, thus demonstrating, lives can be turned upside down for cruise workers in the blink of an eye, leaving a couple unexpectedly apart for the next six months.

Julie, Jane and Marian’s accounts demonstrate the level of observational control to which workers are exposed on board with their accounts describing how employees encounter levels of regulation through surveillance beyond the scope experienced by workers in similar shore-based hospitality roles. Their explanations of their encounter’s present scenarios of employees continually under observation and surveillance from co-workers, managers. Such introductory accounts illustrate the total observational panoptic environment that Michel Foucault (1926-1984)

captured in his seminal work 'Discipline and Punish' (1977). Although Foucault was focused on prison life in France, the nature of the ship environment for cruise workers, where workers are exposed to constant and continual 360-degree observation, has some parallels. Unlike most land-based workplaces, the cruise ship is a combination of home, workplace and social environment for workers, where employees have to contend with the constant scrutiny of their actions and behaviours, including during off duty periods as well as on-duty working times. Despite the relative growth of the industry (30 million cruise passengers in 2019, up 6% from 28.2 million in 2018, with a further 18 new ships on order from cruise lines, (cruising.org, 2019)) and a growing research interest in the cruise ship industry, little is known about the factors that impact upon the willingness of workers to display Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (Bateman & Organ, 1983), or to understand the levels of emotion control (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983) demanded of those working on-board. With the exception of limited academic research regarding the work and life experiences of cruise workers provided by Matuszewski & Blenkinsopp, (2011), Papathanassis & Beckmann, (2011); Dennett, Cameron, Bamford, & Jenkins, (2014); Bolt & Lashley, (2015); Gibson & Perkins, (2015) and Dennett, (2018), there has been virtually no focus on a spectrum of organisational behaviour issues operating within the potential of cruise ship panopticism.

1.1 Why organisational behaviour and cruise ship work?

The reasons for selecting a topic often emerge from multifarious nuanced sources, including academic curiosities, professional experiences, and organisation

behavioural interest. My motivation for pursuing research into the understanding of cruise ship workplace experiences and the influences upon behavioural performance and emotion control is based on a combination of these factors. Having had an extensive career and experience of working in the hospitality industry, and having developed preconceptions of the behavioural and emotion challenges confronting individuals who work in customer-facing roles, whether in shore-based hospitality operations or those who work on board ships, provided the basis to develop an understanding of the factors that impact behavioural performances that allow cruise workers to live and work in such a unique work setting. However, it is my intention to achieve qualitatively rich and thick descriptions (Creswell and Miller, 2000) of the work and lived experiences of hospitality cruise workers, and to seek to go beyond these direct experiences and construct a more detailed understanding as described by Sokolowski (2000). By using the full range of phenomenological 'intentionality', that is, cruise worker attitudes, impressions, perceptions, and expectations (Sokolowski, 2000), it should be possible to talk with hospitality cruise workers to try and understand how they control their emotions and enact desired behaviours whilst living and working in this highly regulated, social, yet isolated setting.

In line with the phenomenological stance of this examination, I propose that any phenomenon, the lived world of a cruise worker included, can manifest itself to an observer in a variety of 'modes' (Sokolowski, 2000). In the case of this study, these include direct experiences, past and present, but also observations and expectations, as well as indirect means through which a worker can become consciously aware (Moran, 2008) of the influence of actions that impact their lived

experiences. Throughout this thesis, this conscious awareness of a phenomenon by an observer is described through the concept of phenomenological 'intentionality'. In turn, by 'intending' a phenomenon, the observed, or in the case of this thesis, the cruise workers experiences, can be examined for observational power and control over their lives, thus forming a 'conscious' relationship between work and lived experiences (Sokolowski, 2000). As such, this perspective presents cruise workers as conscious beings; able to subjectively make sense and construct their experiences, which in turn influences their ability cruise ship workers to enact behaviours and manage their emotions as part of their job role. In adopting this approach, the thesis places cruise workers at the centre of the investigation and seeks to understand the complexity of factors working on cruise ships through their narratives. The methodology and methods used to inform this investigation have been guided, and to some extent restricted, due to the lack of cooperation from cruise ship organisations in allowing complete access to hospitality cruise workers to carry out such research. This is a common hurdle experienced by those undertaking cruise ship research (see for example Larsen, Marnburg & Ogaard, 2012; Dennett, 2018). To overcome such access difficulties, as the programme lead for B.Sc. Cruise Management at the University of Plymouth, I was able to use my extensive contacts developed with cruise workers through engagement with the cruise ship industry. Therefore, these are my participants who have provided in-depth and rich-thick descriptions of their working lives on-board cruise ships.

Having set out the context of this study and outlined the paradigm from which the inquiry is undertaken, the chapter now introduces the limited existing research in framing an understanding of Organisation Citizenship Behaviours (OCB) and the

literature around a spectrum of emotions and emotion control associated with working in the cruise ship industry. This is ostensibly to address the inherent lack of prior organisational behaviour knowledge of the experiences of hospitality cruise workers. Next, the chapter discusses the development of the research questions to address gaps in the knowledge and, then present an overview of the sector. Finally, it introduces the thesis structure through an outline of the remaining chapters in the thesis.

1.2 Framing the Research

To date the cruise industry is acknowledged as being an under-researched industry (Dennett, 2018; Gibson & Papathanassis, 2010; Gibson, 2012) This is all the more relevant as research about the cruise industry, as a specific sector of the tourism industry, is frequently denoted as a small sector within a wider shipping industry with multiple sectors and sub-sectors, e.g., Merchant Marine, Navy, shipbuilding, cruise industry, river cruise industry, and other maritime sectors (Parsa, 2008). However, with the increased growth and economic importance of the global cruise industry, this has led to enhanced attention from business and management scholars (Gibson & Parkman, 2019; Dowling & Weeden, 2017; Brida & Zapata, 2010). In identifying the business activities of cruise ship vacations, cruise work is now being included in several academic disciplines including maritime leisure; cruise tourism; and even maritime tourism (Dowling & Weeden, 2017; Papathanassis & Beckman, 2011). However, little research has been undertaken to understand sociological and organisational behaviour factors influencing actions and emotion control of workers in the context of the cruise ship.

Hence, knowledge in this area will provide cruise ship organisations, and potential cruise ship workers with valuable insights into one of the fastest-growing areas of the tourism and maritime sectors (Clancy, 2017). Besides, working conditions are often discussed from a recruitment perspective and focus on the potential benefits for the employee, rather than providing a realistic comprehension of the work-life on-board cruise ships (De Grosbois, 2016; Dennett, 2018).

In the face of an absence of specific research tackling organisational behaviour and emotional work issues in the cruise ship environment, there is a clear need to begin to shed light on such issues. Constrained space and living conditions and the observational controls described earlier, make cruise work research an interesting, if challenging, proposition; challenging because of access and control issues within the industry and, challenging because of concerns about speaking up and being open about working experiences. By forcing cruise workers to constantly enact desirous behaviours and to display appropriate emotions, workers face the added challenge of identity construction. Such façades make for interesting research.

Despite the scarcity of knowledge in the broader organisational behaviour landscape of cruise ship work, there has been some interest in the cruise workforce and working conditions which have grown slowly with the growth of the cruise ship industry (De Grosbois, 2016). Some of the recent published research in this area includes a focus on 'crew work experience' (Bolt & Lashley, 2015), "employee behaviour" (Dennett. *et. al.*, 2014), "employee engagement" (Gibson & Perkins, 2015; Radic, 2018), "organisational commitment and job satisfaction" (Larsen,

Marnburg, & Ogaard, 2012), and “organisational socialisation” (Matuszewski & Blenkinsopp, 2011). Although much of this research has made partial contributions to this underrepresented area, little effort has been made to examine how factors of the cruise setting potentially influence an individual’s willingness to perform desirous behaviours, manage their emotions, and construct an identity to 'fit in' on-board.

1.2.1 The cruise ship industry context

Before this chapter focuses on the structure of the thesis it is worth focusing on the context scale and scope of the cruise industry and why an investigation into the influencing factors impacting the *Lifeworld* of the cruise ship worker is deemed important. The cruise ship industry is one that has experienced phenomenal growth rates. Within the global tourism industry, it is one of the fastest developing sectors with an average annual increase in the passenger numbers of more than 7% for the past 20 years (Terry, 2011; Schemmann, 2012). The demand for workers to run and operate the cruise ship, more importantly, the hotel and entertainment provision, serving passengers has grown steadily. The demand is not only caused by the increasing number of cruise ships around the globe, as cruise ship organisations seek to increase revenue, the size of cruise ships, the number of new entrants to the global cruise ship sector are forcing increased demand for hospitality workers.

Today, most cruise ships carry between 2000 and 3000 passengers, with some such as the Symphony of the Seas (Royal Caribbean Cruise Line) carrying 6680

passengers and 2280 cruise workers (CLIA, 2016). Therefore, there is a need to understand the work and sociocultural experiences of cruise workers as a way of understanding potential future impacts for recruitment and retention of human talent in cruise organisations as well as in understanding the influencing factors that encourage the enactment of desired behaviours and their deployment of emotional controls and identity management. A key issue recognised by the cruise industry is the challenge in acquiring and retaining quality employees that will benefit operations (Larsen, *et. al.*, 2012; Lukas, 2010; Raub & Streit, 2006).

The cruise ship industry is also facing global challenges in recruiting and retaining cruise hospitality staff, not only managers but those individuals with key technical skills, and those operational front-line staff (Wiscombe, *et. al.*, 2011). It is further recognised by Larsen, *et.al.*, (2012) that issues around recruitment and retention of these employees are a complex area. Where there is work still to be considered concerning the retention of employees, for reasons other than simply cost-cutting of recruitment, and training staff, but in upholding the level of service quality. Besides, the issue of recruitment and retention are amplified in this highly regulated, structured and competitive environment, because cruise operations function in a transient and rapidly changing environment, where workers have short term employment contracts with no guarantees of future job security. Therefore, due to the unique nature of employment practices and operational settings for cruise work, it can be argued that cruise ships are considered an unusual work environment, where existing theory and knowledge within the organisational and occupational behaviour literature may not be pertinent (Matuszewski & Blenkinsopp, 2011). Thus, previous research carried out in related fields of study,

although interesting and useful, may not always be able to comprehend fully the nature and experiences of working and living on board a cruise ship.

The cruise industry employs workers from all over the world, this is as a means to primarily reduce operating costs. However, the cruise industry, despite its continued growth, provides little job stability as far as personnel are concerned, particularly as many service occupations offer little or no job security and few benefits. Brownell (2008:140) notes, “staff are seldom guaranteed a position with the same ship from one contract to the next”, indicating that the temporary nature and insecurity of cruise work are a permanent feature of employment status. This can be highlighted through the nature of employment contract periods which are mostly of between four and six-month durations with no guarantees of future employment contracts once current contracts conclude. Thus, the transient nature of constantly changing ships and having to develop new workplace relationships, suggests individuals face the constant challenge of identity adaptation to 'fit in' to new teams.

1.2.2 Goffman's Institutional Control concept

The organisational context of the cruise ship is unique in many aspects compared to traditional tourism and hospitality organisational settings. A cruise ship is physically isolated, not only from other parts of the organisation to which it belongs but from the outside world (Brownell, 2008:139). The cruise ship can be described as a temporary and transient work and living environment (Sampson, 2003), where cruise workers have little exposure to the outside world; a form of hospitality

bubble. Cruise workers are confined and limited to interactions and encounters with those individuals who happen to be on board, meaning they have left their home life behind. As such, cruise workers onboard ships working and living in this bounded environment might be compared to the descriptions of Goffman's (1961) "total institution" in his work *Asylums: Essay on the condition of the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*, (discussed in chapter 2). If the cruise setting can be considered as a pseudo-military environment operating as a total institution, the thesis must understand the dynamics of power and control to which individuals must subscribe and comply. It is further necessary to understand the nature of power and control within the cruise ship setting to fully appreciate the work and lived experiences of cruise workers to uncover the factors that influence their behavioural choices and mechanisms to control personal emotions. The historic conceptualisation of Jeremy Bentham's prison model, The Panopticon, was proffered to provide a low-cost option to control prisoners in the Russian penal system (Schofield, 2009). However, despite never being developed beyond a concept, the panopticon concept has been argued to be a pragmatic explanation for 'disciplinary' institutions because of the nature and mechanisms of observational control (Foucault, 1977). In combining Goffman's total institution with Foucault's observational panopticism, it is likely there will be complex factors impacting the work and lives of cruise workers.

1.2.3 Organisation Citizenship Behaviours concept

It is widely accepted that satisfied employees create satisfied customers (Ocampo, Tan & Sia, 2018). This is no different for cruise ships as Sehkaran & Sevcikova,

(2011) demonstrated that the contact between cruise workers and passengers dictates the service quality experience. This is often achieved by empowering frontline staff to provide excellent service and the creation of memorable experiences for its guests, not only by meeting the expressed needs, but also serving the unexpressed ones. Empowering staff in their job role can often mean in return employees make an extra effort in providing excellent customer service. This view of employee empowerment which leads to the additional effort is one identified by Bateman & Organ (1983) within the concept of Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCB) which will be explored more deeply in Chapter 3.

The significance of OCB and employee performance, especially in the service industries, mean current discussions of OCB have been extensively directed to understanding the antecedents of OCB's and their overlap with similar constructs (i.e. Contextual Performance (Organ, 1987; Van Scotter, Motowidlo & Cross, 2000), Prosocial Organisational Behaviours (Bateman & Organ, 1983)) and Extra Role Behaviours (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). Whilst previous studies have shed light on the puzzling question of what makes an employee demonstrate OCB, such as "job satisfaction" (Koys, 2001) and "job commitment" (Yoon & Suh, 2003), earlier works frequently considered attitudinal variables, personality traits, task characteristics and workplace-related elements (George, 1991; Organ & Ryan, 1995; Pillai, *et. al.*, 1999; Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 1996, 2000; Williams & Anderson, 1991). More recent investigations into OCB contend that "job satisfaction" (Gonzalez & Garazo, 2006; Yee, Yeung, & Chueng, 2008); "Employee engagement and job embeddedness" (Ahmed, Rasheed & Jehanzeb, 2012); "self-serving motives" (Bolino & Klotz, 2015) and "organisational commitment" (Gautam,

van Dick, Wagner, Upadhyay, & Davis, 2015) all contribute to OCB effectiveness. However, it can be noted that none of this previous research has considered the role of emotions as a central component for individual cruise workers required to demonstrate OCB as part of their job role. Furthermore, a cruise worker's perception of their work environment and the 'relationship' factors which impact organisational commitment and job satisfaction are areas of fundamental importance for cruise ship organisations (Testa, 2002, 2004; Larsen *et. al.*, 2012).

1.2.4 Emotional Labour and Identity Change

The final theoretical concepts to be considered are those contained within the broad spectrum of emotions and work. It is necessary to return to the workers themselves, in line with the phenomenological paradigm of this inquiry, to understand how the factors of this highly regulated, unique and isolated environment influence the work and lived emotions of these individuals. Although much of the work focusing on emotions at work has predominantly considered the psychological effect of emotions (Fineman, 2003; Zapf, 1999; Briner, 1999; Pekrun & Frese, 1992), the focus for emotions in this thesis centres around the sociological viewpoint of personal emotions, thus taking into the consideration the work of sociological theories as an approach to understanding emotions (Kemper, 1990; Stets, 1993; Turner & Stets, 2005; Robinson, 2007). One such concept is the dramaturgical theory which is helpful in understanding how individuals define and redefine performances during the construction of encounters, fitting well with the phenomenological paradigm of the thesis. This suggests there is an emotional performance demanded of cruise workers. Hochschild's (1983) Emotion Labour

Theory outlined the need for customer-facing workers to manage their emotions as a way of displaying desired and sometimes prescribed displays of emotions that may not always be truly felt. This can lead cruise workers to have to juggle personally felt emotions in the pursuit of those desired by organisations and to meet expectations of cruise passengers.

Goffman (1961:14) proposed the notion that becoming an inmate in a 'total institution' involves a process of 'mortification of the self', where there is an institutionalised pressure to constitute a new kind of identity which subsequently gets 'normalised' to the environment – effectively removing the person from their 'Homeworld'. As such, it is likely that cruise ship workers may well experience a process of identity change, often stripped of their previous methods of support. This further suggests a process of self-monitoring; a dynamic process requiring individuals to adapt their professional and social identities based on the perceptions and expectations of others (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2010). This raises conceptions of a likely connection between the adjustment of social identity and the management of personal emotion for individuals working in this unique environment.

It is not the intention of this thesis to attempt to solve the issues of employee retention and recruitment for the cruise ship industry, as this may be a debatable and ever-present characteristic of the nature of this type of work in this setting. Rather, this thesis intends to understand the complex circumstances and experiences hospitality maritime workers encounter during their periods of employment and re-employment in an environment which is transient in its nature

and where workplace relationships are continually changing due to the comings and goings of crew commencing and concluding employment contracts.

1.3 Research aim and Research Questions

The overall aim of the research is to understand and comprehend the complex circumstances impacting the workplace experiences of maritime hospitality workers onboard cruise ships, and the drivers of behavioural performance and emotion management.

This research aim will be explored by addressing four research questions:

RQ1 How does the cruise ship setting affect individuals' reactions to situations relating to power and control?

RQ2 What are the principle drivers for deployment of discretionary effort for cruise workers?

RQ3 How are cruise workers' personal and social identities impacted by their work on cruise ships?

RQ4 How is a cruise worker's emotional regulation influenced by the work and social setting of a cruise ship?

With these questions in mind, I sought to identify a group of hotel cruise workers whose occupational positions allows me to understand the complex behavioural variability of the cruise setting. In doing so, I adopt the principles of evaluating a cruise worker's *Lifeworld* (from the German original - *Lebenswelt*). *Lifeworld* is a world view in terms of lived experiences rather those based on scientific laws, thus each cruise worker's life can be considered 'Lebenswelt' a '*Lifeworld*' (Miles and Huberman, 1994), where scenarios of cause and effect, and where relationships and their actions and their construction are made possible through human 'intentionality'. Thus, a *Lifeworld* of a cruise worker can be considered to be one that is not objectively demonstrable, but one that is personally experienced (Eagleton, 2003). Therefore, in understanding the '*Lifeworld*' of the individuals contributing to this thesis involves investigating the contributing factors underpinning the complex circumstances of cruise work-life as drivers for behavioural performance and resultant emotion management. Hence, working conditions on board a cruise ship have unique characteristics that have remained principally unexplored (Larsen, *et al.*, 2012; Dennett, 2018). As such, the purpose of this final section of Chapter 1 is to introduce the thesis structure and provide a summary of the forthcoming chapters so that readers may grasp the overall thesis shape.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

In Chapter 2, I set out to introduce the cruise industry and its expansion and growth. I then develop an explicit focus of what life on board a cruise ship is like for the typical hospitality worker who is subjected to organisational controls through the

strict rules and regulations of the cruise ship organisation. The chapter then outlines the environmental factors that influence life for a cruise worker onboard, mainly as an approach to understanding the complex circumstances impacting the work and lives of cruise workers. Chapter 2 builds on the work of Gibson and Parkman (2019), which provides an examination of the cruise industry as an industry in its own right by describing how the context and setting of cruise ship work differ as a setting compared to other tourism and hospitality operations. In addition to the context, chapter 2 also establishes how employment contracts of cruise workers reflect a 24/7/365 operational environment, and how this drives the communities of the cruise ship.

Chapter 2 further considers how power and control are enacted by the cruise environment by comparing the cruise ship setting to the 'Total Institution' demonstrated in Goffman's (1961) work on Asylums. The chapter begins to posit how the cruise ship deploys a significant level of control over the lives of cruise employees and presents as an all-encompassing panopticism. Once individuals accept to work onboard, cruise workers can become subjected to significantly higher levels of control, regulation and scrutiny, than experienced in a land-based hospitality operation. Therefore, the chapter attempts to explain the cruise ship setting as a total institution vehicle where the 360-degree observation environment allows for power and control which affects the behavioural enactments of its workers through discretionary effort and behavioural expectations as noted by Katz and Kahn's assessment of ORT.

In further understanding the cruise ship setting and its total institutional control, I trace the developments of Bentham's 'Panopticon' in discussing Foucault's Panopticism (outlined in his work 'Discipline and Punishment') which suggests Panopticism as a concept to be something more far-reaching than Bentham's Panopticon itself. This is mainly manifest through the proliferation and contributions to the studies of observations and surveillance as a mechanism for control (Haggerty & Ericson, 2006). The chapter also investigates the capacity of the organisation to control its workers beyond methods of rules and regulations by determining means of subtle observation and surveillance used as a moderator for behavioural enactment.

Chapter 3 considers the role of organisational behaviours and how the hotel department onboard cruise ships differs from the traditional forms of land-based hospitality operations. The chapter provides an outline of organisational characteristics and their structures using Weber's classic bureaucracy theory (1947), suggesting employees are under the control of the organisation, where there is an element of coercion and control to exact behavioural performance from its workers. The intention of chapter 3 is to illuminate and understand the complex circumstances that might influence organisational behaviours, whether discretionary or prescribed, by workers. The chapter then moves to focus on the work of Katz and Kahn (1978) and the allocation of job roles. It is important for the thesis to recognise that not all job role tasks, and behavioural expectations are prescribed in job role specifications but instead, often require workers to be spontaneous in their actions. Hence, the combination of work and social life contained in a single setting for cruise workers might suggest that role behaviours

and role expectations can be derived from, not only the organisation demands but also from social influences.

Therefore, the concept of OCB, is examined as a theory that could provide valuable insights to the discretionary and voluntary contextual performances towards fellow cruise workers potentially enhancing a worker's level of job satisfaction and organisational commitment. This construct provides explanations around the attitudes and behavioural actions that are argued to leave workers feeling valued (Podsakoff, Podsakoff, Whitting & Blume, 2009) further suggesting OCB provides some of the guiding principles of discretionary effort on the part of cruise workers. However, despite OCB providing a basis for outlining supportive behaviours towards fellow workers, there are still unanswered questions about why individuals perform discretionary actions.

As a way of understanding the willingness on the part of individuals to enact altruistic behaviours, the chapter considers a concept that is relevant for those individuals working and living on board a cruise ship, namely Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Blau, 1964). In the cruise ship environment, where workers are contained and controlled, and where adjustment to identity is required, the need to affiliate with work teams and social groups, provides the foundations for exploration of SET and Social Identity Theory (SIT) as critical links for workers to identify with the wider cruise ship population, as well as offering essential methods of support.

Drawing on the work of Hochschild's (1983) construct of Emotion Labour, chapter 4 examines the importance of emotions and resultant emotion management in the

enactment of one's job role. This is deemed particularly important for cruise hotel workers operating in a complex social and work backdrop faced with a requirement to adjust their identity, whilst at the same time conforming to, and complying with, the demands and behavioural display expectations of the organisation. Therefore, chapter 4 commences by explaining previous research focused on personal emotions and emotions at work being rooted in psychological studies, and the psychological effect of emotions as reactions and consequences of emotions (Fineman, 2003; Zapf, 1999). However, it is the intention of this thesis to apply a more sociological lens to emotions, such as the dramaturgical theories of emotion (Goffman, 1967). However, whilst the phenomenological paradigm of this thesis allows for a sociological approach in understanding an individual's emotion control, there is an inevitability that the thesis will stray into the psychological perspectives to support such sociological standpoints.

In explaining the sociological approach and understanding of emotion control of cruise workers, chapter 4 will explore the Dramaturgical theories (Goffman, 1967) as a way of understanding how individuals control their emotions through a process of impression management. Hence the appropriate emotion displays can be considered a characteristic of impression management which is often dictated by a 'cultural script' of an organisation (Turner and Stets, 2006). In furthering an understanding of emotion control in cruise workers, chapter 4 explores Symbolic Interactionist theories (Mead, 1938; Goffman, 1967), where self-identity is at the heart of emotion control (Turner & Stets, 2006; Robinson, 2007) and self-monitoring is part of a process of identity adjustment (Goffman, 1967).

Chapter 5 grounds the study in a phenomenological paradigm of inquiry (Sokolowski, 2000) and outlines the epistemologically interpretivist relationship between the researcher and the participants. In doing so, chapter 6 includes assumptions of the *Lifeworld* of participants as a reality of construction and these are reflected in the study's constructivist ontology. Habermas (1987) considered the theory of '*Lifeworld*' in his social theory, where the *Lifeworld* is the 'background' environment, practices and attitudes, where '*Lifeworld*' consists of socially and culturally sedimented meaning, the lived realm of informal and culturally grounded understanding. Hence, connecting the phenomenological foundations adopted with a qualitative methodology using a semi-structured interview method (Edwards & Holland, 2013) and a thematic approach to analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) underpins much of the principles of the thesis. This chapter also addresses issues of sampling, trustworthiness and authenticity, and matters of confidentiality and consent. The chapter restates the aim and research questions before entering the analysis phase.

The results of the findings of this thesis are organised into two chapters. The first, chapter 6, focuses on ship life, and the total institutional control to which cruise workers are subjected and the second, chapter 7, addresses the job role and behavioural enactments of cruise workers, as well as the emotion controls and emotion management requirements of cruise workers. In chapter 6 I outline the key findings from the interviews with serving cruise ship hotel officers who represent the mainstream cruise operators with headquarters in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK). The chapter presents the findings under the headings of the following themes and sub-themes: Ship life, Total

Institutional Control, Power and Control, Adjustment to Life Onboard, and Moving from Homeworld to Onboard *Lifeworld*.

As part of living and working on-board, cruise workers are subjected to the power and control of the organisation. Therefore, chapter 6 specifically explores levels of power and control which are comparable to the 'Total Institution' identified by Goffman (1967). Using Foucault's Panopticism concept (1977), the chapter examines the use of 'total observational control' as a mechanism to ensure conformity by cruise workers to rules and regulations, thus providing a basis for understanding the mechanisms for social control and discipline on board. Chapter 6 also explores the intense lives of cruise workers constantly in the public gaze and who have limited time to relax away from their job role leading to a blurring of the boundaries between private and work lives.

Chapter 7 continues the discussion of the cruise workers onboard experiences by considering the overarching themes of Organisational Behaviour and Emotions, and sub-themes of Job Roles, Social Identity, Enacted Behaviours, Emotion Control, Self-Management, Emotion Intelligence and Emotion Dissonance. Chapter 7 specifically examines how job roles and social identity impact the enactment of desirous behaviours. With the theoretical foundations of chapters, 2, 3 and 4 argued to be highly pertinent to the cruise workplace, the enactment of behaviours, and control of personal emotions suggests a clear need for the development of a cruise identity to fit the new *Lifeworld*.

Chapter 8 builds upon the findings chapters by connecting the main theoretical foundations of the thesis with the subsequent empirical evidence in the conventional format of a discussion. Chapter 8 restates the overall research aim, and research sub-questions, and evaluates and interprets them using the findings of the thesis. In doing so, chapter 8 establishes the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions of the thesis.

Chapter 9 is the final chapter of the thesis and draws the study to a conclusion. The conclusion provides the foundations for the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions expected of doctoral study which are to contribute knowledge. The chapter restates the key findings, outlines the study's limitations in terms of design and conceptual framework by adopting the principles of reflexivity expected of all researchers. The chapter closes by proposing directions for future research and reflects upon the implications of the study for individuals researching or working in cruise hospitality work.

I now return to the beginning and commence chapter 2 with an examination of the modern-day cruise industry by starting with an introduction to the development of the modern-day cruise industry. In outlining the growth and background to the cruise industry, chapter 2 begins to examine the life on-board for these hotel cruise ship workers and the demands made of them in terms of job role, behavioural enactment and emotion control.

Chapter 2: The Cruise Ship

2.1 Introduction – The Development of a Modern-Day Cruise Sector

The organisational setting of cruise ships is both specific and distinctive from any other organisational form of workplace operation ashore. Embedded in the specific economic sector of the tourism industry, the cruise ship sector, with its current growth and global development, provides a unique setting in which to explore theoretical concepts of power and control through institutional control. Institutional control, coupled with strict regulation, and their potential influence on the behaviours of hospitality cruise workers, are the central threads of this research, which is to examine the common elements and influencing factors of a cruise workers *Lifeworld* in the sphere of maritime hospitality operations.

This chapter aims to outline the detailed context of the cruise ship with an explicit focus of life on-board for its hospitality-based workers. To begin, the first sections will introduce the reader to the cruise industry from its early foundations to the modern-day 'mega-ships', before charting the recent growth and progress experienced in the cruise ship sector, both in passenger numbers and size of the global fleet. The operational life for a cruise worker in the hotel department of the cruise ship will be examined next before moving on to consider the ship environment itself, in examining the cruise ship setting as a potential apparatus of power and control over its workers, particularly in relation to their restricted life where free movement is limited as part of the cruise ship operation. Specifically, this section explores Foucault's Panopticism (1977) and Goffman's 'Total

institutions' (1961) for the signposts of power and control of cruise workers. The key question to be explored in the chapter is what influencing factors of institutional control are imposed by the industry, employer and even fellow workers. Once addressed, the chapter offers summary conclusions of life onboard in identifying factors that influence behaviours and one's ability to juggle personal and organisationally required emotion displays.

2.1.1 Background and Growth of the Cruise Industry

The cruise ship industry as we know it today has changed noticeably over the years. Its early roots can be traced back to the 1800s when the Cunard Company started transporting mail and cargo across the Atlantic. As these ships were faster crossing the Atlantic than previous vessels, paying passengers started to book travel, with only the wealthiest being able to afford this form of travel. In an attempt to satisfy passenger expectations of comfort, onboard amenities were added and increased, resulting in the evolution over the years from mail and cargo vessels into grand ocean-going liners (Delp, 2010). However, the modern-day cruise ship we know today emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the demise of the ocean liner, itself a victim of the regular transatlantic passenger jet service which commenced between London and New York in 1958 (Rodrigue, Comtois and Slack, 2017). This new method of air travel sealed the fate of the transatlantic ocean liners as they were no longer commercially viable, which subsequently allowed for the emergence of the modern-day cruise industry in the 1960s when Princess Cruise started to offer short cruises between California and Mexico. This was followed by Norwegian Cruise lines in 1966. The late 1960s and early 1970s

saw the emergence of two of today's biggest cruise ship organisations, Royal Caribbean Cruise Line in 1968 and Carnival Cruise Corporation in 1972 (Delp, 2010). These early visions for the cruise industry were to develop into a mass passenger market since cruise vacations up until then had been the preserve of the elite (Rodrigue, *et. al.*, 2017). A way to achieve this vision was through economies of scale, hence dedicated cruise ships first began to appear in the 1970s that carried around 1000 passengers, with ships that were able to carry around 2000 passengers were soon to follow. However, it was in the 1970s, and the airing of the television series 'Love Boat', that has been widely credited with the popularity and growth of the cruise holiday, and the dramatic growth of the industry, which continues to expand today (<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/princess-cruises-and-the-original-cast-of-the-love-boat-to-receive-hollywood-walk-of-fame-honorary-star-plaque-300640404.html>). Since those early periods, the cruise industry has grown and continues to grow enormously in scale (Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Parkman, 2019), with cruise ships now able to carry in excess of 6600 passengers.

Being regarded as a small, but significant sector in the tourism industry (Luck, Mahaer, & Stewart, 2010), recent Cruise Line International Association (CLIA) (2017, 2018 & 2019) reports highlight the cruise ship industry is gathering pace and popularity as a global tourism market, with cruise ship vacations being considered the fastest growing sector in the tourism industry, due to significant expansion over the past 20-40 years, with extensive investment being made in the cruise industry with new ships, larger ships and new lines adding to this growing sector (Dowling and Weeden, 2017). The CLIA states that 143 new ships had

been built and entered service between 2000 and 2012 (CLIA, 2015), with of a total 314 cruise ships in operation today (Cruise Market Watch, 2018). In 2017 global cruise ships could accommodate up to 26.7 million passengers, a 5.6 per cent increase from 2016, which itself was a previous high of 25.2 million passengers, with expected global passenger numbers to reach 30 million in 2019 (CLIA, 2019). The continued growth in this sector now provides over 1.1 million full-time jobs, generating a wage bill of over \$45.6 billion per year (approximately £32 billion) (CLIA, 2019). The sector is forecast to continue to outperform previous years with 2018 anticipated to reach new heights, with forecasted passenger numbers set to extend to 27.2 million passengers, a 10 per cent increase from 2017 (CLIA, 2017, 2018; Florida and Caribbean Cruise Association, 2018). Further increases in passenger capacity are planned, being driven by the introduction of nine new mega ocean-going vessels due into service in 2018, providing 32000 new passenger berths, at an investment of \$7.4 billion. This confirms the cruise industry is one which continues to grow and analysts predict future orders of ships will be needed to meet growth in global passenger numbers, which are expected to rise from 27.2 million passengers to 30 million by 2022, increasing to 40 million by 2030 (<https://ftnnews.com/cruise-travel/32580-the-bright-future-of-cruise-industry.html>).

Such significant growth in passenger numbers, alongside the increasing order book for new ships, portrays the cruise industry's rise and evolution from a very small and exclusive part of a maritime passenger industry, into a complete and complex global tourism business. With such levels of growth comes with it, its challenges, such as an intensively competitive commercial environment, and the ability of destinations to accommodate the larger ships, suggesting there are

concerns for the balance of economic, societal and environmental wellbeing (Dowling & Weeden, 2017). Whilst, Pallis, (2015) notes the demands of passenger for variety in the product offer, little has been noted in respect of the work environment and conditions of cruise workers as the demands for bigger and better passenger experiences increases year on year.

Against the backdrop of growth in demand for cruise vacations and increased passenger numbers, there is a commensurate need for cruise ship workers to operate these vessels and to provide services and activities passengers have grown to expect. As a consequence, sector-related roles onboard cruise ships such as Guest Services, Food and Beverage, Shore Excursions, and Accommodation Services etc., will need to be filled. The hotel department (the part of the ship that deals with hospitality services) depending on size and scale of operations, dominates in terms of numbers of employees onboard a cruise ship compared to the marine and technical division (Gibson, 2012). Consequently, continued growth in the cruise ship sector demands increased recruitment and retention of hospitality professionals to work onboard new and existing ships. However, with limited previous research and understanding of the cruise ship setting as a work environment, the chapter now turns to areas of previous cruise industry research to establish the extent and scope of prior knowledge.

2.1.2 Cruise Industry Research

The increased economic importance of the global cruise industry has led to enhanced attention from business and management researchers (Brida and

Zapata, 2010). Papathanassis and Beckman, (2011) identified the business activities of cruise vacations can be included in several academic disciplines including maritime leisure; cruise tourism; and even maritime tourism. However, little research has been undertaken to understand sociological and organisational behaviour factors influencing actions of workers in the context of the cruise ship (Gibson, 2008, 2012; Papathanassis and Beckman, 2011; Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp, 2011). In its place, most of the focus of cruise sector current research is on areas such as health and safety, therefore remaining free from detailed academic enquiry (Wood, 2004).

Previous studies are mostly descriptive and focused on scope and scale of the cruise industry, with few focusing on the daily lives of cruise ship employees (Lee-Ross, 2008, Gibson, 2008; Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). Studies around cruise personnel have mostly focused upon cultural origins and exchanges, and the diverse workforce who are often paid the least (Weaver, 2005; Klein, 2003 Testa, 2002; 2004), and in the main, studies have avoided considering positions such as managers and junior managers in the hotel departments. However, it can be recognised that research of sociological organisational behaviour aspects of cruise ship workers has been ignored in the main due to the difficult to access environment. In carrying out literature searches to understand previous studies few if any have been able to able access cruse workers in their daily lives. Most if not all have been based on access to those individuals who are either on vacation or who wish to expose the work and employment practices of the cruise ships sector, thus suggesting there is a lack of understanding of the *Lifeworld* of cruise workers.

Working life for cruise ship workers could be regarded as unique, being temporary and transient due to short employment contracts of six months, and in some cases where workers move between ships and even cruise ship organisations. Likewise, cruise ship work life can be somewhat elusive, raising practical and conceptual complexities surrounding the organisational management of their work and social existence (Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). Such important, and often under-examined issues exist on how cruise ship workers make sense of, interpret, and construct meaning from their work and social life.

When most people go to work, they do so in the knowledge that they can return home at the end of the day or shift. Insomuch, there is a life outside of work, including friends and family on which to base their identity (Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). However, the cruise industry is, in stark contrast, one that is radically different to normal hospitality work where the organisation can invade the work-life and social lives of its workers, removing any sense of privacy for these individuals. Ultimately, to be employed on cruise ships is to dedicate one's life, albeit temporarily, to an occupation and the people attached to cruise ship work, including fellow workers and passengers. In short, a lack of literature exists focusing exclusively on cruise ship workers and the common elements of on-board life that influence how they function and behave (Lee-Ross, 2008; Brownell, 2000). The distinctiveness of the cruise ship, as a unique environment for hospitality work, means caution should be exercised when assuming existing research and theoretical models focusing on organisational behaviours will be appropriate in such a setting (Matuszewski and Blenkinsopp, 2011). However, before this chapter focuses on the specifics of institutional conventions, it now examines life on-board for cruise workers,

observing the established regulatory setting of the ship environment and the implications of it, for this research study.

2.1.3 Passenger Growth Heightens Demands on Workers.

At first glance, working on-board a cruise ship might seem as straight forward as running a hotel at sea, as depicted through television programmes such as ITV's, '*The Cruise*', a documentary series following the crew who live and work on-board the 'Regal Princess'. Programmes such as these often give the impression that work-life on-board cruise ships are predicated on desirable global travel and fun-filled experiences. However, often the reality can be something very different with cruise workers contracted to work for long hours of long periods, often months on end with little time to escape (Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). All of which, shape how employees behave and act in the workplace - the cruise ship, being no different from any shore-based hospitality operation. The main difference between normal shore-based workers and being a cruise worker is the requirement to live and work for long periods away from home.

Unlike most 'normal' workplaces, cruise ship work is a lived experience, 24-hours a day, seven days a week over a period of several months, and as such, emotion regulation, the ability of individuals to control and or moderate their personal feelings and moods, can often be required as part of an individual's personal work 'toolkit (Gross, 1998a)'. While the cruise ship is an unusual work setting it is not unique in its requirement for its employees to be separated from their homes, friends and family for long periods. However, what varies with cruise work contracts

are for several months whereas, for example, oil rig workers are usually two weeks on and between one and three weeks off. As such, the cruise worker is required to function in an operational context for longer, requiring heightened levels of emotional awareness due to the customer service nature of their job roles, and a constant need for interactive modification and behavioural adjustment to meet the needs and expectations of passengers, and compliance to cruise ship organisation rules and regulations (Dennett, 2013). The unique nature of the cruise ship means workers are exposed to institution regulation for longer periods than a traditional place of work (Brida and Zapata, 2010). Where employees in a traditional shore-based organisation, are exposed to workplace rules for the duration of their shift. Those workers onboard ships are exposed to and expected to comply with rules and regulations 24 hours day seven days a week. However, it is worth noting that cruise ship rules and regulations that require cruise workers to comply with, may not always be compatible with those of the host nation of the organisation, but instead with those regulations associated with the nation the ship is registered to. Different nations have different regulations, although there is often a degree of commonality. Such registries are often referred to as 'open registries' or more commonly termed 'flags of convenience'. This is explained in more detail below.

2.1.4 Life Onboard Ship for Cruise Workers

The cruise ship industry, as part of the wider transoceanic maritime trade, has seen growth over the past five decades of more than twice the general world economic growth rate (Dicken, 2015; Stopford, 2009). During this period 'flags of convenience' shipping has increasingly dominated global trade (Stopford, 2009).

Flags of convenience are essentially open registries for ships. Their beginnings can be traced back to 1919, when Panama created such a registry, followed by Honduras in 1943, and Liberia in 1948 (DeSombre, 2006: 71). The practice of using flags of foreign nations began to increase in the 1950s and towards the late 1960s. Following the economic downturn in maritime trade during the early 1970's, ship owners turned 'en masse' to transfer registration of their vessels to open registries (Chin, 2008) including for example extending to other nations such as Cyprus (in 1964), Singapore (1966), Malta (1973), Bermuda (1974) and the Bahamas (1976).

These registries include 'second registries', which were established from around 1984 onwards as a response from developed countries to the developments of attractive flags of convenience for ships, not only because they removed tax and employment regulations constraints, but because they faced the decline of whole ship-related and maritime related businesses investing in the countries (Carlisle, 2009, p. 320). Secondly, registries provided an alternative to flags of convenience as they also granted not only fiscal advantages to ship owners, but also allowed for, within certain limits, the ability to contract foreign, and thus cheaper, crew.

The main advantages to the states that run open registries are that the fees charged for the registry contribute a large percentage to the national budget, and a source of otherwise-scarce foreign investment (van Fossen, 2016; DeSombre, 2006). However, it should be recognised that some ships may be found in an unacceptable state, with low-skilled crew earning lower wages under flags of convenience. Equally, ultra-modern ships with highly competent crews also sail

under these flags (Rodríguez-Martos Dauer, 2009) and thus it is unfair to label such registries as wholly positive or negative.

The drivers behind the flag of convenience principles are largely economic as ship owners seek to avoid the costs and restrictions experienced when they register in their countries of origin. Flags of convenience also provide ship owners with possibilities to reduce or eliminate certain taxes, to drastically reduce labour and environmental regulations, and to eliminate restrictions on crew and owner citizenships (Terry, 2011; Broeze, 2002). From a management perspective on human resources on board, open registries do not stipulate employment for their citizens, although they do not set conditions for the recruitment of international seafarers, and do not enforce or strengthen existing national regulations governing seafaring labour rights and benefits. Because of this, they allow ship owners access to highly globalised and flexible labour markets (Chin, 2008).

It can be concluded that global de-regulation in the maritime industry, notably as experienced since the 1980s through migration to open or international registries, has had major consequences for the seafaring labour market. Further consequences concern the life and conditions of work of seafarers on board vessels, particularly in regard to seafaring career paths, rates of pay, languages spoken on board, and other employment conditions (Parsa, 2008).

The International Transport Workers' Federation (ITWF) was founded in 1896 to represent the transport workers worldwide and promote their interests (Menelaou, 2011). One of the main roles of the federation is to represent the interests of

maritime transport workers at the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) bodies (Menelaou, 2011). The ITWF is one of the most active institutions in attempting to set and protect global standards of labour conditions for seafarers. It runs campaigns against flags of convenience and uses a worldwide network to inspect ships. At the same time, it cannot be ignored here that the effectiveness of its effort is limited, firstly, because of the scale of the shipping industry, and secondly, because of the individualised contractual and short-term nature of seafarer employment (Terry, 2011), which means that it might be challenging to gather momentum in the face of a temporary and transient workforce.

There are approximately a million people employed by the cruise industry on-board and in support of ship activities from the shore in other job-related dimensions. Included in this figure are over 200,000 based on vessels. These cruise workers are working harder, and for longer hours than ever before according to an ITF survey, (<http://www.itfseafarers.org/ITI-cruise.cfm>). An article titled 'Sweatships' 2002, highlights the working conditions for cruise workers on-board ship, with many cruise organisations providing impoverished working conditions (<https://waronwant.org/sites/default/files/sweatships.pdf>). Where cruise workers experience poor conditions, such as insecure jobs, extremely long working hours, poor management practices, including bullying, favoritism and discrimination based on both gender and nationality (ITF, 2002). Many of these problems exist, despite the International Maritime Labour Convention (MLC) agreeing in 2006 to create the 'Fundamental Rights and Principles' for seafarers and 'Seafarers Employment and Social Rights'. These include having a safe and secure

workplace, a right to fair terms of employment, decent working and living conditions on board ship, welfare measures and other forms of social protection (International Labour Conference, 2006) in an attempt to combat poor practices and mistreatment of staff. The Maritime Labour Convention, (2006) set out to address issues related to impoverished working conditions. As a result of the International Labour Organisation convention in 2004, a new convention to maritime labour standards was drafted and adopted at the Maritime Labour Convention 2006 by 86 maritime member states (Milde, 2011: 208), which came into force in 2013. Maritime labour standards are considered to be the fourth pillar of international maritime law. As of 2017, the convention has been ratified by 84 of the 86 states representing over 89 per cent of global shipping.

Previous commentators have criticised the MLC for not going far enough to protect seafarers, because the convention consists of a mandatory code which is simply, comprised to specify general provisions, such as minimum requirements for seafarers to work on a ship, relating to age, medical fitness and recruitment services. Conditions of employment, which should include clear contracts, an outline of payments, officially recorded rest hours, leave and repatriation to their county of residence free. Accommodation promoting seafarer's health and well-being, along with the provision and quality of food and catering. As well as health, medical care and welfare protection. However, the convention does not deal with the issues of visas for shore leave or protection of the right to strike. Nevertheless, the Maritime Labour Convention is a single overarching treaty which reduces possibilities to undermine the labour rights of seafarers (Cameron, 2013) including those in the cruise ship sector.

Larsen, Marnburg and Ogaard (2012) studied job perceptions and satisfaction of cruise workers and reported that poor management practices and impoverished living conditions still exist and contribute a significant part of a cruise worker's experience. Additional widespread factors concerning life on-board for cruise workers include lack of respect and the need for continued 'social support' – particularly being supported as valued members of a team. Often workers are not acknowledged or noticed until something goes wrong, with every day high performance going unnoticed (Larsen *et. al.*, 2012). Life on-board for cruise workers include frequent periods of physical separation from 'mainstream society', as cruise workers are often confined to the ship, entangled by psychological, social, political and economic constraints (Sampson, 2003; Larsen, *et. al.*, 2012; Dennett, 2013). Frequently spending up to six months working full-time and living together, separated from their usual networks and roles in society, often being forced to form short communal, and at times, hostile workplace relationships.

The cruise ship as a place of work is a temporary home that offers a base, where workers are "locked into patterns of interactions with whoever is on-board" (Sampson, 2003: 266) forming a contained floating society. In essence, cruise work is a floating social container, encroaching physical and symbolic boundaries, a controller of social action, and interaction. Cruise workers spend months at a time working and living together, often working seven days a week for up to 14 hours a day for months at a time. Such routines can severely drain employees both physically and emotionally through the constant encounters with both passengers and co-worker contact (Cameron *et. al.*, 1999; Thompson, 2002). Hence, during this time spent away from home cruise co-workers, who would

normally, simply be work colleagues in a shore-based employment setting, now replace the friends and family providing social support for one another as a mechanism to manage the physical and emotional demands of life on-board.

Cruise ship activities are constructed in an organisational rigid function, obsessed by rules and regulations, often stifling individuality through an operational hierarchy, where efficiencies and bureaucracy are prominent (Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). Authority on-board cruise ships can be compared to “paramilitary” (Nolan, 1973:88) or “quasi-military” (Wood, 2000:365) where social relations become more hierarchical than in most workplaces ashore. Of course, blue-light first responder organisations such as police and fire service, themselves are modelled on a military rank and order structure. However, unlike the cruise worker, these blue light responders are still able to leave their place of work at the end of their shift. Power structures are closely linked to the specific division of labour (McKay, 2007; Nolan, 1973). The labour structure is generally represented by three classes of the social structure of officers, staff, and crew (Lee-Ross, 2004). This social structure determines the levels of pay, the status of a cruise worker and the number of hours worked, furthermore, where one lives in the ship, where one eats and socialises (Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). Essentially, the specific occupation and job role level of a cruise worker can be at the forefront of determining how an individual comes to define themselves, and how others see them through the setting of the cruise ship setting, thus creating a ship-based identity. Where often seen as a pseudo-military environment where rank, and position based on stripes and emblems exists.

A cruise ship is a unique setting when observing the traditional models of hospitality and tourism operations, due to its confined yet transient ability to travel the globe. Cruise ships operate in different boundaries compared to hotels, unlike conventional hotels the levels of contact between cruise workers and passengers are often more prolonged and the opportunity for interaction considerably greater (Raub & Streit, 2006). In an attempt to highlight the distinct differences in Hospitality context the 4C's model underpinning why the cruise ship sector is an industry in its own right was developed by Gibson, (2008). The 4C's model is significant in explaining the differences between the understanding of traditional hospitality context and that of the cruise industry. The 4 key areas being, culture (at sea), community (at sea), context (maritime setting), and contracts (maritime employees), all of which contribute to the cruise industry being different from traditional hospitality related industries. In an attempt to appreciate what life can be like for the onboard cruise worker it is important to understand the context in which workers operate. The 4C's are presented as an archetype to highlight factors which categorise the cruise sector as an industry (see figure 1.0). As is the case with many industries, the boundaries between the cruise ship sector and others, such as the maritime industry and the tourism or leisure industries, are indistinct (Gibson, 2008). However, by examining the 4C's of the cruise industry, a sense of unique identity begins to emerge that is helpful in sense-making the unique issues that underpin the cruise ship and any organisational behavioural model (Gibson, 2009).

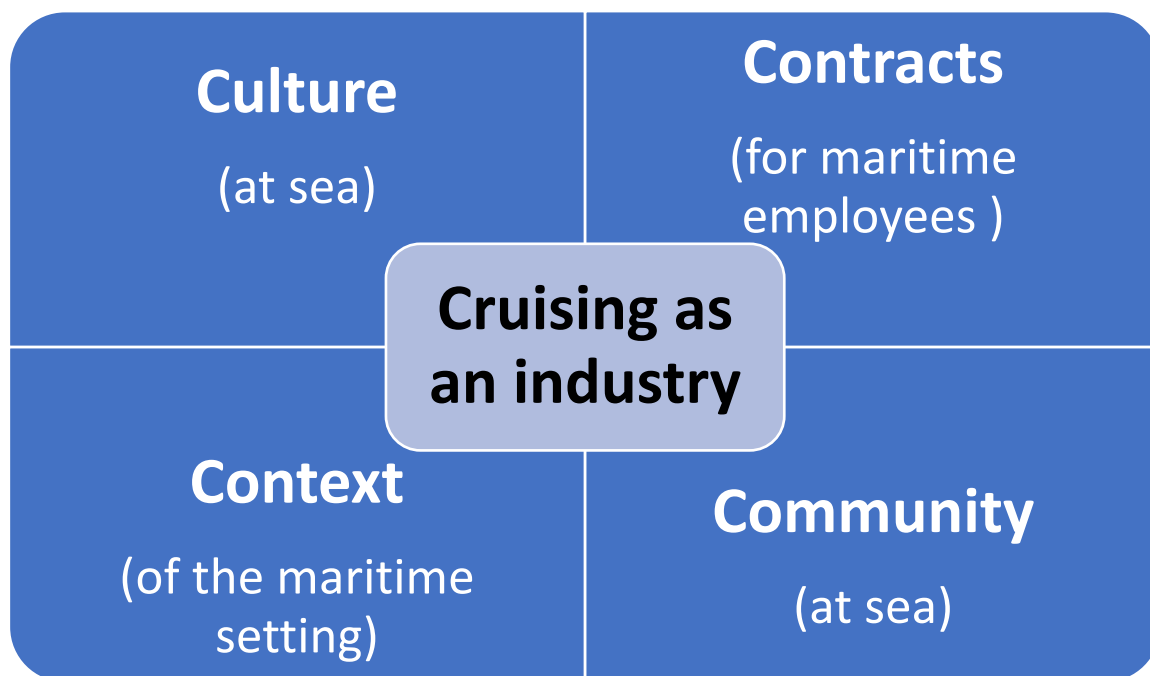


Figure 1.0 the four C's that underpin why cruising is an industry (Gibson & Parkman, 2019).

A cruise ship is a place of work and a worker's temporary home. This workplace also separates them from their usual social networks for long periods, forming short, yet reciprocal and at times, adversarial occupational relationships (Cameron, 1999) where, employees are locked into patterns of interactions with whoever is on-board (Sampson, 2003). Yet, the cruise industry is a blanket term that implies an amalgam of different types of activities, which taken together reflect the core business practices of managing a floating resort (Gibson and Walters, 2002). At the heart of these floating resorts is the business of hospitality, providing the customer with a combination of tangible and intangible elements, making up the hospitality 'product' that is bounded for the cruise worker by the 4C's of the cruise industry. Where a 'Culture', is formed via a blend of maritime and hospitality traditions and considered a manifestation of distinctive language, made more graphic through the use of uniforms, rank and emblems or positions.

Where 'Contracts' reflect the period of paid employment onboard and cruise contracts reflect the need to operate a vessel 24-hour a day, seven days a week, with workers living and working onboard. Cruise workers are subjected to international rather than national regulations. The 'context' of being on a cruise ship means that the 'landscape' and/or 'seascape' continually changes with each cruise. There are the changing undercurrents and dynamics with each cruise, with new passengers arriving onboard and the comings and goings of new and old work colleagues. As new work contracts begin replacing the workers whose contracts have come to an end. Finally, the 'community' of a cruise ship containing worker communities are frequently multi-national, working and living in close proximity with colleagues, subject to shipboard regulations and in a position where they must be seen to 'fit in' and be effective. Fitting-in to an already established and effective team is important, as a worker is likely to be on board for six months, whereas, in any other part of the tourism and hospitality sector a worker can simply step off and take another post or leave the employment.

The operation of cruise ship hotel departments, what is in many cases a large-scale mobile tourist resort at sea, is therefore unique and the complexities support the claim that this theatre of operations is best referred to as the International Cruise Industry (Gibson & Parkman, 2019). Thus, suggesting that while the cruise ship industry provides some similarities to the shore-based operations of hospitality and tourism functions. The 4Cs provides a breakdown and a start point whereby this study can start to understand some of the influencing factors that separate the cruise hotel worker from the shore-based hospitality worker, thus allowing an

exploration of the factors are that influence their emotion control and behavioural enactment in such a unique setting.

Aiming to shed light on how cruise ship workers respond and behave to common elements and influencing factors, there is merit in deconstructing the cruise setting and work-life function of those individuals who work onboard ships. As the predicted growth in the cruise sector gathers momentum, the need for more people to be recruited into cruise organisations will increase. Necessitating a clearer understanding of onboard life for those individuals who, work and live in this enclosed setting for months at a time, and the factors which influence individual behaviour. In general, onboard hotel workers are typically experienced in their occupation of hospitality work, though not necessarily experienced with living and working in the setting of a cruise ship and Gibson (2006) explains that this experience can be overwhelming if workers are not familiar with the ship setting. The cruise ship environment and its uniqueness as a place of work has some parallels with the concept of Michel Foucault's Panopticism embedded in his work 'Discipline and Punish' (1975) and Erving Goffman's Asylums (1961).

2.2 Panopticism – Who is Watching Who?

Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon was brought to the critical attention of sociologists and criminologists through Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975). Originally published in French in 1975 under the title '*Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (1975), Foucault introduced Bentham's prison 'architecture' as an exemplar in social control and discipline. The Panopticon is a

structure composed of a ring-shaped building circling a central tower. The peripheral building is divided into cells for inmates, with a window facing out of the building and another facing the tower such that a backlighting effect occurs, flooding the cells with light. Allowing occupants of these cells to become readily distinguishable to a guard invisibly positioned within the tower. Additionally, the inmates would also be invisible to each other as there are dividing walls between each cell. The bright lighting emitted from the 'watchtower' meant inmates would not be able to tell if and when they were being observed, making discipline a passive rather than an active action. The tower was designed in such a way that inmates could not tell whether it was occupied. The result of this design was 'to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects' (Foucault, 1975: 201). Simply put, the 'Panopticon' is an example of a type of regulatory institution, which allows the detailed inspection, and monitoring of individual bodily behaviour (Foucault, 1975), where invisible discipline reigns.

Much has been made of Foucault's Panopticism for its proliferation and contribution to surveillance studies. Panopticism has become the leading metaphor for analysing surveillance of workers by their employers (Haggerty & Ericson, 2006) who can observe and monitor workers performance in the workplace through the use of surveillance. The title of Foucault's chapter in his seminal work 'Discipline and Punishment' is 'panopticism' rather than panopticon itself, signifying something abstracted from Bentham's idea of the panopticon (Caluya, 2010). This implies, the panopticism of the workplace ranges much farther and has far-reaching implications for its workers than merely surveillance or monitoring of performance. Sewell (1998) suggests panopticism has the ability to influence the

behaviours and actions of workers, modifying and amend their behaviour to act as if they are under constant surveillance, resembling the prisoners in Bentham's Panopticon. This has some parallels with cruise work as when hotel workers join a ship, there can be a requirement to modify personal behaviours and actions to 'fit in' with the wider workgroup and to comply with cruise ship organisation standards of behaviours. Usually associated with the 'prison system', the 'panoptic style' or architecture can be used in other institutions, such as schools, factories as well as for cruise ships, but for hotel workers, they are observed and inspected without prior knowledge, by managers and passengers alike in any space outside of their cabin. Equally surveillance and observation of cruise workers can be extended beyond the place of work, to prying into the social and private lives of employees. As the cruise ship provides both the work and social setting, workers regularly socialise in the same environment, such as the 'crew bar' with other colleagues, including managers. This suggests workers can be subjected to a form of panopticism rather than simply that of the panopticon, as workers may find it difficult to escape observational control of work even in social environments. In his work, 'Discipline and Punish', Foucault (1975) builds on Bentham's conceptualisation of the panopticon as a function of discipline as an apparatus of power.

Observations and surveillance are what Bentham suggested when he laid down the principle that power should be visible and unverifiable. Foucault interprets this as: 'Visible - the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon' (Foucault, 1975:22). However, 'unverifiable' observations mean workers cannot be sure who is observing them,

other than to be sure they are being observed. Therefore, comparisons can be drawn from Bentham's visible power through the architectural apparatus of the panopticon, with the visible apparatus onboard a cruise ship. While there are visible artefacts related to observation and surveillance to maintain security such as CCTV, which are the unverifiable principles of the power of which the monitoring of employees is an example. The principles of Bentham's argument are, this implies an unverifiable aspect of power is one where the inmate must never know whether they are being observed at any one moment. Yet, must be always sure that this may be so. This creates a conscious sense of always being guarded/watched.

Foucault, (1975:202) suggests that "The 'Panopticism' is a machine for disconnecting the seen [and] being seen dyad" - an important mechanism, which automatises and disindividualises power. Foucault posits power is not to be held by any one individual but in an arrangement of an organisational setting. Therefore, any individual has the ability to exercise power, with any individual, able to hold a level of power in the panopticism setting. The setting of a cruise ship provides the setting for colleagues and managers being the anonymous and temporary observers, meaning the greater the number of perceived observers, the greater the risk for the employee of the anxiety of being observed (Foucault, 1975). Therefore, such observational acts prompt a state of conscious visibility that confirms the automatic functioning of power in workers (Foucault, 1975). The arrangement of artefacts, such as CCTV cameras throughout the ship, together with visible and invisible observations, propose, 360-degree 24-hour a day monitoring, that is permanent. Its effect, even if it is discontinuous in its action is

to signify life onboard for a cruise worker is one of constant observation and surveillance and that their every move is being scrutinised whether they can confirm or no. thus providing a sense of pressure in their everyday being from the constant threat of observational control.

The only time workers are out of the 'gaze' of the organisation is within the confines of their cabin, a place of sanctuary and privacy from constant observation and control. However, the cabin can become compromised, becoming part of the panopticism if the employee is required to share their private space with another crew member. Thus, the architectural apparatus of the cruise ship is similar to the prison system as a 'machine' for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person exercising it. In short, cruise workers are caught up in a 'disciplinary power' situation as a source of social control and conformity of which they are themselves the bearers (Foucault, 1977) with control of their behaviour achieved through self-surveillance as the fear of being caught breaking rules, keeping workers in line with organisational expectations.

Employees expect to have their performance reviewed, objectives set, and information gathered on their activities and whereabouts, this is understood to be good management practice (Ball, 2010). However, controversies arise when the monitoring goes beyond what is reasonable or necessary. When employers use intrusive monitoring mechanisms to delve into the lives of their employees beyond the scope of the workplace; demanding exacting and precise information as to how employees use their time (Ball, 2010). Whilst employees might expect to be managed and to deliver departmental and ultimately organisational objectives, they

would normally understand this process to be a visible exercise, transparent and clear. The inference of panopticism is that has an intrusive undercurrent that exists in a 360-degree way. Such controversies surrounding intrusive workplace monitoring are accepted as a 'normal' way of life for the cruise workers, being told what to do and when to do it, when and where they are needed to be on duty, the organisation having 'total control' of their lives while on-board. Inasmuch, the level of organisational control and actions draw parallels with those of 'total institution control', which is examined next.

2.3 Cruise Ship Life and Institutional Control

Factors affecting living conditions on board cruise ships can be linked to the characteristics of total institutions, described by the American sociologist Erving Goffman (1961), who listed five approximate types of total institution groupings, with the fourth group consisting of: Army barracks, boarding schools, work camps, mansion houses (from the point of view of the service quarters) and ships. This group was "established to better pursue some practical tasks and justify themselves only on these instrumental grounds" Goffman (1957: 313). The relative isolation and inaccessible working environment of a cruise ship render it similar to the type of institution described by Goffman (1961) in his work *'Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates'*. An environment that controls the time and space of all its members, having 'total institutional' control (Goffman, 1961). As such, affording a level of total control over its members, structured in a totalising manner (an institution encompassing in a totalising manner), considerably more than is possible in most occupations (Tracy 2000).

Weaver (2003) points out that a cruise ship could be regarded as a 'vehicular total institution' for exactly these sorts of reasons.

The enclosed environment of a cruise ship is presumed to have 'totalistic features,' prescribing power and control over its workers who work and socialize within the setting of a ship. Such 'total institutions' encompass in a totalizing way the lives of those who are its members (Goffman, 1969). "A place of residence and work containing a large number of similarly-situated individuals cut off from any wider society for an appreciable period of time, leading an enclosed and formally administered existence" (Goffman, 1961:6). Likened to the 'total institution,' cruise ships have acquired many of the characteristic's indicative of total institutions and although perhaps not truly 'cut-off' from wider society, is contained and managed in a totalizing way. Once joining a ship, a cruise worker becomes a member of the ship that becomes their place of work and residence. Their existence onboard ship from that point on is formally administered by the organisation, controlling when they are on duty and for how long, when and where they can eat and when they can leave for periods of relaxation.

For cruise workers to deliver the joint aim of profitability as well as transportation and entertainment of its passengers, spaces to accommodate the workers are arranged as cabins, galleys, messes, and space for leisure time activities. However, a cruise ship as a temporary home is incompatible with other fundamental elements of society, such as family arrangements, where social arrangements and normal behaviours of civilian life have been removed in favour of institutional standards (Goffman, 1957). The home setting can sometimes be

compared to independent or solitary living, but a more appropriate comparison to home life is that of group or community living, Goffman refers to this type of arrangement as 'batch living' (Goffman, 1961).

A central feature of a 'total institution', can be described as having removed the barriers separating the three spheres of normal life, sleep, eat and play in different places (Goffman, 1961). For cruise workers, their lives are played out in the same place and under a single authority, where daily activities are carried out in the constant and immediate company of others, and daily work and social activities are tightly scheduled, all enacted through a system of rules. As such, 'total institutions' provide contradictory patterns of activities to those which are unfamiliar in basic work structures of normal society. Therefore, total institutions are social hybrids, part residential community, and part formal organisation. For cruise workers, the work and living space are one, where all activities are nearly always conducted with the same people (Karjalainen, 2004) in the same environment. Consequently, cruise workers are unable to escape observation from colleagues or passengers. Knowing intimately what fellow cruise workers are doing, further supporting the notion of the cruise setting as panopticism, containing multiple levels of surveillance and observation over its members, subsequently, influencing adjustments and modifications (mortification) of behaviours and emotion control, requiring cruise workers to wear uniforms at all times in public areas even when off duty, and the continual compliance to strict rules and regulations. Aligning with Goffman's observations, which refer to 'total institutions' as forcing houses for changing persons in society. While this may be the case, it is worth focusing on approaches institutions adopt to develop changes in their members.

2.3.1 *Mortification Processes*

It is worth initially adding here that entrants to the cruise ship sector do so as a voluntary action, they are not patients or military conscripts but willing participants to this tourism sector. Goffman discussed the characteristics of 'inmates' joining an institution, who bring with them a '*Homeworld*', a way of life, a set of experiences and taken for granted activities. Interestingly, Goffman indicated an individual confirms a concept of self, an identity created by oneself that helps in the exercising of caution as a method of coping with difficult situations. As with 'total institutions' it is not the intention of the cruise ship organisation to substitute their own unique culture to something such as identity or concept of self that an individual has already formed. As Goffman posits, it is the intention of the institution to create a particular tension between the *Homeworld* and *the institutional world* as strategic leverage in the management of the workers. A worker joins the institution with attachments to support which have allowed them to survive. To become an inmate involves a total break with the past, symbolised by the acquisition of a uniform clothing and/or restriction of personal possessions. Similarly, upon entrance to the cruise ship setting, workers are immediately required to wear a uniform, identifying to their role or position in the hierarchy and status onboard, thus confirming Goffman's belief that during this process, a mortification occurs, stripping inmates of their usual appearance and support mechanisms provided by social arrangements of their homeworlds, thus, suffering a personal defacement" (Goffman, 1961:14). Whilst such actions may seem initially beyond the scope of acceptable actions of a modern-day cruise organisation, it is worth considering further what characterises the 'mortified self' has in the context of this thesis.

Characteristics of a cruise ship that mirror those of a 'total institution' including 'process of mortification' (a process of personal adjustment to the institutional membership), with the cruise ship as an organisation placing barriers, controlling the individual's engagement from the wider world. Life on board is restricted by the ship setting at sea, and lives are scripted by the routine of daily work and social living. This is in contrast to life on land where individuals have a level of control over their lives, what they choose to do and when to do it. However, since membership to the cruise ship demands workers separation from the wider world around the clock cruise workers are expected to adapt to onboard life and roles of life ashore are replaced by routines of the cruise ship society, Goffman (1961) refers to this as role dispossession. Occurring when individuals lose their roles played out in society, instead become part of the cruise ship 'product'. Re-establishment of roles for workers can deny access to normal life issues, such as children's development, educational attainments and familial anniversaries, creating a period of loss and mortification.

The idea of programming individuals, through an elaborate admissions procedure is referred to as 'the welcome' by Goffman (1961), duplicated in a cruise setting, taking the form of an 'induction meeting,' where 'new joiners' are welcomed on-board the ship, and rules and regulations are explained and reinforced, and an opportunity to meet the senior management such as HR manager, Staff captain, and Hotel General Manager. The term 'induction' is used to describe the whole process where new employees adjust and acclimatise to their jobs and working environment. An induction programme can be seen as important to bringing new employees into an organisation, 'programming' them to the organisational norms

and practices.

Cruise workers have limited possibilities to escape the ship for any meaningful length of time. Similar to inmates' in a total institution, cruise workers are locked into often short and intense relationships with fellow workers bound by the organisation's rules and regulations, unable to escape. A cruise worker cannot freely leave a ship even when it is in port. Even if a worker is not on duty and wants to leave the ship, they need to seek the permission of a manager, because cruise workers are regularly required to occupy standby duties in case of an emergency on-board, even in port. Consequently, if a cruise worker wants to leave the ship for a short duration or a longer period or even permanently, the worker is required to seek approval of the line manager and the ship's organisation.

What is clear from Goffman's work is that total institutions typically consist of two groups of people, the managers and the managed (Jones & Fowles, 1984). Goffman' (1957), suggested a basic split between the large group of institutional members (inmates) and a small group that supervises them (managers). The managers hold the power over the inmates, and wield social distance as their weapon, and who can exercise their power at will, such as, withholding information so that the managed exist in 'blind dependency', unable to control their destinies.

Goffman (1961) suggested that the positioning of inmates versus managers might lead to feelings of inferiority by the one side and dominance by the other and while Goffman's work may not have had cruise ships in mind when he constructed his theory, he did have ships and ship work as one of his core industries that were

subjected to total institutional control. The very nature of cruise contracts could reasonably be argued to result in dispossessing an individual of their own identity in favour of adapting immediately to a new one identity which is desirous to their job role, requiring immediate and unyielding adjustments. When coupled with total surveillance and compliance with strict rules and regulations, Goffman's concepts fit well with the cruise setting.

Goffman's analysis demonstrates that, essential to the core of an organisation is the practical concept of one of control, developing forms of power, that is intensified by spatial concentration, isolation and surveillance, and leaving little room in which agency could be exerted. The cruise ship provides a clear example of a total institution at sea, where the cruise ship organisation possess control and power over its workers through separation and isolation from the wider community and the removal of individual identity replacing with a collective organisational being, one that is willing and able to perform and enact desirous behaviours, compliant with the strict rules and regulations of working onboard ship.

2.4 Chapter summary

To understand the distinctive nature of the cruise ship as a place of work, the chapter commenced by considering the growth of the cruise sector as an economic subdivision of the tourism and hospitality industry. In outlining its annual growth, the sector has been recognised as one of the fastest developing economic sectors over the past decades. It is clear that growth is on an upward trajectory and this has significant recruitment, selection and training requirements. With much of the previously established research on the cruise industry focusing on the economic

and business areas of cruise tourism. There has been little focus on understanding the common behavioral elements influencing the lived experiences for the cruise worker.

This section sought to explore life on board for the cruise worker, the conditions of employment and the contractual practices provided by cruise organisations. It appears that whilst the routines for most cruise workers are not unique compared to traditional maritime roles, being away from home, working every day for up to six months at a time, the employment regimes tended to be unusual for the traditional shore-based hotel worker. Organisations such as the MLC and ILO do their best to protect the seafarer in requiring the ship's organisations to provide better conditions for its workers. However, it is reported that in some cases decent working and living conditions on board don't always exist.

A further aspect of life onboard cruise ships concerned its rigid form of bureaucracy. Outlining the organisational and hierarchical structures of the maritime industry adopted by the cruise ship and intended to identify the form in which activities and roles are allocated, and how responsibilities are determined. However, in direct contrast to both shore-based hospitality and traditional maritime operational structures, the customer-focused hotel department of a cruise ship incorporates hybrid characteristic types from both maritime and hospitality organisations, revealing the unique nature of a cruise ship as a maritime resort, governed by strict regulation and routinisation, bounded with the 4C's of context, culture, contract and community of the cruise ship environment. Thus, the 4C's determine expectations of a cruise worker in carrying out onboard job roles. A

prescriptive blueprint or system of organisational certainty to ensure continuous functionality.

This chapter has sought to identify the temporary and transient nature of cruise work along with the isolating nature of the job. Thus, underpinning a recognition of a need for a support network onboard, furthermore, the chapter has identified and established some of the challenges in managing worker expectations and providing critical support for those who work onboard and away from family and friends for prolonged periods.

This section further confronted the challenges of managing expectations of workers, from both a cruise organisation and individual workers perspective. Identifying components of a cruise ship hierarchical structure is based on a pseudo-military environment. With power and control typically characterised through hierarchical structures and the use of observations and surveillance techniques. In doing so it has recognised the cruise setting as a Panopticism, one that creates multiple levels of power and control, which are not immediately obvious or visible via entities, provided within ordered structures. Rather, the panopticism of the cruise environment means power and control over individuals is located in the organisational setting (ship environment), and not always held solely by an individual such as a line manager, but anyone who is prepared to report actions and behaviours and who chooses to enact the power and control of observation, albeit colleagues, or passengers. Such actions provide workers with a sense of total observation, often requiring workers to be constantly vigilant and cognizant of their behaviours. As such, the panopticism of the onboard setting provides a level of influence over a worker's actions.

The cruise ship and its features as a total institution impacting the life of a cruise worker in ways espoused in Goffman's 'total institution' was considered, the totalising manner whereby a worker's life is contained within a setting, cut off from the wider society. Where a worker's life is scripted and controlled by a single organisation, controlling and dictating freedom of movement. Additional features of this construct examined the level of adaptation or behaviour modification necessary for an individual to acclimatise to the ship environment. A strict process of compliance and adjustment is required when transforming from shore to sea life. Therefore, analysis confirms that the concept of total institutions can assist a more thorough examination of the common elements influencing the behaviours and actions of a cruise worker. The next chapter will explore the organisational behaviour enacted by cruise workers, providing an emphasis on the citizenship behaviours required when living in such a contained and controlled environment.

Chapter 3.0 Organisation Behaviours

3.1 Overview of Chapter

Chapter two considered the context of the cruise industry and how it differs from the traditional forms of the hospitality industry, or indeed other elements of the maritime industry, such as merchant marine, by outlining the 4C's as a mark of sector distinctiveness. This distinctiveness was examined through the work of Bentham's Panopticon and the later work of Foucault's Panopticism, suggesting that observations and surveillance are mechanisms adopted by organisations to enact power and control over their workers. This is achieved through observable or unverifiable means as forms of continual jurisdiction over workers lives, which as a consequence, indicates workers have to adapt themselves to comply with both employer and industry behavioural expectations. In addition to the total observational community of a cruise ship, chapter 2 further explored the notion of a cruise ship as an entirely controlled environment where the cruise worker is exposed to the rules and regulations of the organisation, every hour of every day, regardless of whether employees are on or off duty. The exploration of Goffman's 'total institution' revealed that having total control of a workforce means the organisation can dictate and determine the behavioural actions of workers that are not always specific or prescribed.

It is now important to understand how the environment of the cruise ship, both as a temporary home and place of work, impacts those cruise ship employees whose social and private lives are confined, regulated and restricted to the confines of the

ship. To do so, there are several appropriate theories that this chapter will explore. The chapter commences with Weber's Bureaucracy Theory which considers organisations to be based on structures of rule and order which fit with the cruise ship hierarchical structure. Exploring the links between Weber's Bureaucracy Theory and the panopticism and total control outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to understand their mutual connections as conditions by which behavioural compliance is enacted.

The cruise environment as a temporary home and place of work for cruise workers means it is necessary to explore how the job role for the cruise worker and the behavioural expectations made upon them are communicated and understood by the organisation. Particularly where there is a need for a worker to comply with, and meet, organisationally desired expectations. To do this it is necessary to explore job role allocations and expectations using Katz and Kahn's Organisational Role Theory (ORT). ORT will explore further the notion that not all job role tasks, and behavioural expectations are prescribed through job specifications, but instead, through organisationally required expectations that can require a worker to be 'spontaneous and innovative' in their actions. This fits with the needs and expectations of most hospitality operations where employees who are facing customers must act spontaneously to provide high-quality service interaction.

Having considered ORT, the chapter will next examine specific types of discretionary behaviours enacted by individuals faced with the panopticism (Foucault) and total institutional observational control (Goffman), through the behavioural adaptations and modifications brought about by the 24/7 work setting.

In particular, the chapter will explore how reciprocal behavioural actions that are formed in a workplace can spill over into a cruise worker's social space and time. This is best understood by investigating the theory of Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB) that allows for an understanding of the types of behaviours and motivations individuals deploy which are favourable, both to work colleagues, as well as the cruise ship organisation. In addition to examining the theoretical concept of OCBs, there is a relevance in addressing the negative perceptions of citizenship behaviours. The concept of Coercive Citizenship Behaviours (CCB) explores how a worker's discretionary behaviour can be requisitioned as an essential element to the job role behaviours of a cruise worker, and therefore the discretionary actions related to OCBs are no longer the subject of free choice of individuals. Therefore, theories and concepts of OCB and CCB build on and link back to, theories of power and control of the panopticism of the cruise ship, and where the total institutional control of the cruise ship setting dictates adaptations and modifications to a worker's behaviours.

For individuals employed in the cruise ship hotel department, where face-to-face exchanges are commonplace, it is helpful to understand exchanges and relationships between workers/passengers through an examination of Social Exchange Theory (SET). SET explores the various relationships between co-workers, managers and passengers, in understanding an individual's identity within the cruise ship setting to examine how and the cruise context influences an individual's willingness to perform job role and social actions beyond their prescribed role. In addition to SET, a final theoretical contribution of this chapter is to understand how a cruise worker sees themselves and their own and/or group

identity as part of the cruise ship. This is an important consideration in addressing the research question which reflects on how a cruise worker views their identity, either as an individual or as part of the wider cruise department team and their willingness to perform desirous behaviours. One such theory that helps understand both behaviour and identity of individuals is that of Social Identity Theory (SIT). SIT is commonly used to understand the membership of groups or links to wider communities. As such, further explanations of SIT for workers in the cruise context builds upon Goffman's theory of Institutional Control where a period of personal identity transformation occurs when an individual join an institution or becomes a member of a specific group. Such identity shifts require identity recalibration which could be considered part of a process towards institutional compliance. SIT can be viewed as a theoretical construct focused on self. The theoretical contributions are important precursors to answering research questions two and three by exploring the drivers for discretionary behaviours (RQ2) and how social identity is impacted by cruise work (RQ3). The starting point for this is Weber's 'Bureaucratic Structures'.

3.2 Weber's Bureaucracy

Max Weber (1947) developed his seminal theoretical framework of administrative characteristics that he termed 'bureaucratic structures' - organisation structures distinct from the feudal system where people were promoted based on personal relationships (Morrison, 2006). Weber outlined bureaucracy as a formal system in which impersonality and rationality dominate, to attain and maintain results. Thus, Weber suggests a bureaucracy consists of a set of rules that are clearly defined,

which in conjunction with an individual's technical competence, signifies seniority for individuals, one that is not simply based on a system based on personal favouritism (Merton, 1957). Weber's typology of 'bureaucratic structures' also discussed the "indispensability of the proletariat" (Gerth & Wright Mills, 1997:233) suggesting every individual job role within a bureaucratic organisation has a clear and relevant task based on technical knowledge. As such, a person's technical expertise should equate to their relative position of power. This concept implied that competent and expert workers could hold social and political power because the organisation is reliant upon its workers to provide efficient and effective performance to maximise utility. Thus, there are parallels between Weber's Bureaucratic structures and the occupations and positions of hotel cruise workers just like any other shore-based hospitality worker. However, where the cruise worker differs is the requirement to work every day in the same location where rest and recovery take place by contributing daily to organisational activities, potentially without a break or respite from the observations of fellow cruise workers or passengers.

Weber put forward the idea that power and control of the worker could be equally based on the indispensability of a (cruise) workers technical position, as much as the positional power of the "Political Master" (Gerth & Wright Mills, 1997: 232). This suggests power and influence could be derived from the notion of positional indispensability due to technical competence. However, the notion of the cruise worker holding complete power and control as a result of their technical expertise is in direct contrast to the perceptions set out in chapter two. As a reminder, there it was observed that the cruise setting provides control over cruise workers through

the panopticism of the ship setting and institutional control through the rules and regulations. This implies that a cruise worker is not wholly in control of their lives or job role, despite their technical expertise (e.g. Guest Services Manager, Hotel General Manager, Food and Beverage Manager) being an essential element to the successful operations of the organisation. Instead, they are rather more subject to the control of the institutional bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic authority is legitimate because it is rational and derived from formal positions filled based on technical competence (Gerth & Wright Mills, 1997). Weber (1947) argued that bureaucracy is the most efficient means of carrying a 'community action' (a collection of people who share something in common) into a 'societal action' (a systematic processes and organised hierarchy necessary to maintain and maximise efficiency), by which there is an elimination of favouritism, an ordered form of institutional governance and ultimately a rationalising driving force of society (Weber, 1947). However, Alder and Borys, (1996) questioned Weber's assessment of organisations by suggesting that organisations are coercive settings eliminating an individual's autonomy. The notion that job role requirements must be imposed on workers is further highlighted by Mintzberg (1979). Therefore, Mintzberg along with Alder & Borys conflict with Weber's view of organisations as rational and without favouritism. Both Alder & Borys, (1996) and Mintzberg (1979) ideas imply organisations are coercive settings where workplace behaviours are imposed on employees, rather than a worker voluntarily choosing to enact workplace behaviours, whether discretionary or prescribed.

In the panoptical environment of the cruise ship, it is clear that the bureaucratic systems outlined by Weberian theory are evident, for example in the rank and hierarchy of 'stripes' of rank and the technical roles typically found in the hospitality industry. Although critics of Weber's ideas, such as Mintzberg and Alder and Borys, suggest there is coercion at play, this still fits well with the workplace Panopticism of a cruise ship. Principally there is the suggestion that employees operating under total institutional observation (Goffman), through power and control (Foucault), are likely to experience such observational mechanisms as enforcing a need to comply with both bureaucratic structures and role behaviours, whether by coercion or simple acts of rank and status. Therefore, to further understand the drivers for discretionary and voluntary behaviours, it is important to examine Organisational Role Theory (Katz & Kahn, 1978) by determining how these opposing views of Weber and Mintzberg relate to the behavioural actions of the cruise worker.

3.3 Role Behaviours and Organisational Role Theory

It is generally accepted that organisations need employees who are willing to go beyond their formal job requirements, to be innovative and spontaneous in their actions (Katz, 1964; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Lester, Meglino, & Korsgaard, 2008) such that, discretionary and voluntary actions on the part of a worker are essential to the successful and efficient operation of any organisation (Katz, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1978; Morrison, 1994). It is therefore important to understand how and why workers perform discretionary acts in the workplace, and in doing so, ascertain how formal roles and behaviours are established for workers. A theory that addresses the formal allocation of job roles and expectations for both the

individual and organisation is Organisational Role Theory (ORT) (Katz and Kahn, 1978).

ORT, as a theoretical concept, builds on the seminal work of Weber's Bureaucratic structures, inasmuch that it suggests organisations are considered a set of social sub-systems with recurring activities aimed at the pursuit of outcomes (Katz and Kahn, 1978). Additionally, the roles employees play within these subsystems, along with their subsequent behaviours, can be derived from the workplace social environment and the ensuing cultural elements that comprise it (Katz and Kahn, 1978). As previously discussed in chapter 2, workers are generally restricted to the cruise ship, where their working lives are intertwined with their social lives. Therefore, management teams can 'encourage' a range of social activities between the crew and their managers, this can often mean attending a team meal in one of the public restaurants. Such activities allow the workplace managers (e.g. Guest Relations Managers) to socialise and interact with their team outside of work time and to influence a workgroup culture and behaviours. Therefore, such social activities instigated by managers can often 'assist' informing and promoting workplace behaviours through such activities in the social setting. However, despite such activities being labelled 'social' there is still a requirement for all individuals to be on their guard and to perform organizationally accepted behaviours, whether discretionary or prescribed, in an attempt to avert conflicting actions between workplace and social behaviours. Therefore, it is clear that the behaviours of a cruise worker can be derived from the cultural and social elements not only of the workplace but also the social setting.

For a cruise ship organisation to pursue and achieve its goals, like most organisations, the work of its employees must be connected within the context of role behaviours. Role behaviours are described as a set of coherent recurring patterns of actions, and associated relationships for a particular position occupied by an individual(s) that are considered important for the effective functioning of an organisation (Biddle, 1986; Madsen, 2002). Since Katz and Kahn (1978) refer to an organisation as a social system, the processes of role behaviours are a subsystem within it. Therefore, it is essential to recognise how role behaviours and role expectations are derived. To do so it is necessary to examine the subsystems of the role formation process.

3.3.1 Role formation process – ‘Role set’

ORT has served as an important theoretical framework for the allocation of work roles (Lopopolo, 2002; Madsen, 2002; Cardina & Wicks, 2004), connecting the interaction between job roles and the impact they contribute towards achieving organisational goals (Katz and Kahn, 1978). Therefore, the process of developing and managing the role behaviour, and the performance expectations of individuals, forms part of a social system or subsystem within any organisational setting (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Hence, for an individual worker to understand what is expected of them when performing a job role, they need to be aware of who is within their ‘role set’. A ‘role set’ consists of different people and can often be workplace teams, departments or stakeholders (group members, senior officers and subordinates) that help define an individual’s specific role, as well as the behaviours or who hold specific expectations of an individual’s performance (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Fondas

& Stewart, 2007; Mullins, 2016). In the cruise ship hotel department, likewise a shore-based hotel, departments such as the accommodation and food and beverage departments continually must interconnect to provide passengers with desired levels of service expectations. Within a 'role set,' several elements of subsystems are needed to anticipate the role expectations. These consist of the following: (i) Role-sending; (ii) Role receiving; (iii) Role expectation and; (iv) Role conflict (Katz and Kahn, 1978).

Role sending and role receiving imply two important factors: first a worker must confer and accept a 'role' that is reflective of the organisation's culture and behaviours; second, for an organisation to function effectively, the role must be effectively communicated, understood and accepted by its employees (Katz & Kahn, 1978). For a worker to understand their role, a process of communication and acceptance is undertaken (Katz & Kahn, 1978). However, such role agreement links to formally accepted role expectations, rather than those discretionary behaviours required for a job role that is not formally prescribed. Role behaviours expected of cruise ship workers in the hotel department are formally prescribed as with any other shored based organisation. However, those discretionary and voluntary behaviours which are not formally prescribed [such as, unpacking a guest's luggage in the cabin which is above and beyond the normal role of a hospitality worker but expected of cruise workers] needs to be communicated by the organisation. Likewise, the manner with which such role expectations are communicated and demanded results in a need to understand one of the key questions of this thesis - what are the principal drivers of discretionary behaviours

that cruise workers need to embrace that provides them with the willingness to perform such extra-role behaviours?

3.3.2 Role expectations

As previously mentioned, role expectations are formally prescribed and categorise what a worker is required to do as part of their duties and obligations (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Consequently, such formal job role expectations are commonly communicated through defined structures, policies, and regulations, such as contracts of employment, job descriptions and direction from managers. The cruise ship is no different in its requirements to a shore-based hospitality operation that requires its employees to provide high levels of service to its customers, often through innovative and spontaneous service-based behaviours that are not ordinarily formally prescribed. Such discretionary role expectations can be derived from the nature of the task and the expected cultural norms and values of the organisation/industry that can often mean a worker's compliance to an organisation's behavioural culture (Biddle, 1986). That is, roles are mostly pre-defined, prescribed and agreed upon and a consensus that has been reached between the employer and the worker (Bandura, 1997; Bray & Brawley, 2002). Therefore, such actions concur with Katz & Kahn's (1978) observations of 'role sending' and 'role receiving' through formal and prescribed processes. However, the interpretation of formal role expectations and anticipated behavioural actions does not always acknowledge the required discretionary or non-work behaviours enacted outside of a worker's prescribed role. For an individual cruise worker, non-work, or discretionary actions, can be an inevitable part of their life when living and

working in the same setting. This suggests there is the potential for role conflict when having to perform required behaviours whilst not on duty, but still functioning within the broader domain of the cruise ship arena.

3.3.3 Role conflict

Role conflict can arise when embedded role expectations or inappropriate role definitions conflict with the expectations associated with another role (Katz & Kahn, 1978). This suggests that role conflict arises when two or more role expectations and their compliance occur at the same time making it difficult for a worker to fulfil demanded role expectation (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Personal characteristics of individuals, such as an individual's needs or their personality type, can also create conflict in role acceptance (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964). For the cruise worker, whose social and workspace are contained in the same setting, there can be a conflict between their social lives and workplace actions. An example of such conflict can occur when a cruise worker in a supervisory role chooses to attend shared social spaces (crew bar) during their off-duty period. These places are also frequented by fellow cruise workers. This suggests there is a requirement for workers to be on their guard as any actions performed in the social and off duty periods can spill over and conflict with job roles in the on-duty workplace. This provides further insights into the panoptic and controlling environment of the cruise setting that goes beyond the workplace into the social setting. Such availability and inability to escape the workspace, combined with multiple job roles, (technical role and additional safety role are

requirements for all cruise workers) creates a sense of job role conflict in the pursuit of passenger satisfaction.

This blurring of boundaries creates quandaries of going beyond prescribed or specified job roles which are amplified by the 24/7 setting of the cruise ship. The decisions to enact or not to enact over and above organisationally desired behaviours could have far-reaching consequences. Such consequences might include the ability of a worker to be recognised as worthy of promotion to a higher status or transferred to another department for a more favourable job role. Conversely, a negative outcome created by the inability to enact required discretionary or non-work-based behaviours might mean workers are unable to meet the expectations of passengers or co-workers or not be re-employed and employment contracts unrenewed. The enactment of behaviours that exceed organisational expectations is thus some kind of 'nirvana' sold to employees as desirable, the absence of which could lead to diminished team satisfaction, individual recognition or even failure to be re-employed. These are best considered as Organisational Citizenship behaviours (Smith, Organ & Near, 1983) which are the next component in this chapter.

3.4 Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCB)

The origins of OCB research began with the belief that job satisfaction bears a functional relationship to performance, where job attitudes have little to do with objective measures of job outputs, and job satisfaction affects an individual's willingness to help their colleagues (Organ, 1997). Conceptually, OCB has long

been associated with the discretionary actions and behaviours of employees that promote the effective and efficient performance of an organisation (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Bateman & Organ, 1983; Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 2000). However, further studies have demonstrated the antecedents and consequences of extra-role behaviours (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998), prosocial behaviours (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Brief & Motowidlo, 1986; Organ & Konovsky, 1989; Smith), OCBs (Smith, *et. al.*, 1983; Organ & Ryan, 1995; Rioux & Penner, 2001 ;) and contextual performance (Organ, 1997; Van Scotter, Motowidlo, & Cross, 2000). In an attempt to identify how discretionary and voluntary contextual performances directed at fellow workers can enhance a worker's level of job satisfaction and organisational commitment. This part of the chapter builds upon the previous chapter in identifying types of incentives and discretionary drivers within OCB theory that impact upon cruise workers meeting the demands of passengers and co-workers in the cruise organisation.

The construct of OCBs has been broadly linked to positive influences on fellow employees' through attitudes and behaviours where 'good citizenship' implies an organisation incorporates and promotes behaviours so that individuals treat each other with kindness and consideration which leaves workers feeling valued (George & Bettenhausen, 1990; Podsakoff, Podsakoff, Whitting & Blume, 2009; Bergeron, Shipp, Rosen & Furst, 2013). This suggests that fundamental to the principles of OCB is the concept of 'discretionary effort' (Smith, Organ & Near, 1983; Organ, 1988). Discretionary effort occurs where workers voluntarily seek to operate in a manner that benefits an organisation and its co-workers, where their behaviours are not mandated by policy or result in additional remuneration (Organ,

1988; Williams & Anderson, 1991). However, these discretionary behaviours are a matter of personal choice, and as such, exclusion by an employee is not understood to be overtly punishable (Organ, 1988). Whilst much of the work on OCBs have recognised that OCBs can generate rewards during a performance appraisal, the concept still retains key features of discretionary actions and a lack of formal recompense (Dalal, 2005; Eatough, Chang, Miloslavic & Johnson, 2011; Carpenter, Berry & Houston, 2014). As such, discretionary effort on the part of workers and their associated behaviours can be considered a form of social function, (e.g. volunteering and altruism) towards co-workers and passengers (Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 1990; Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 2000). OCB and the helping behaviours on the part of a worker are sometimes referred to as the 'good soldier syndrome' (Organ, 1988; Smith, Organ & Near, 1983).

The construct of OCB aligns broadly with ORT, as both require workers to perform their job role tasks and enact certain behavioural acts, hence, for an organization to be successful, its employees are required to deploy discretionary behaviours, which are both characteristics of ORT and OCB. However, as a cruise worker operates within a setting of total institutional control and observation, discretionary behavioural acts may also be a product of compliance rather than personal choice, which is an area of interest in this research, in particular, research question two.

Given the conviction from Katz and Kahn (1978), along with Smith, Organ, and Near (1983) that OCBs simply contribute to the effective operation of an organisation and workers must be willing to do more than the minimal formal aspects of their job role, supports the principles of ORT. Apart from the inclusion

of the claim that workers efforts should be 'spontaneous' and 'innovative' (Katz & Kahn, 1978), these previous theories have broadly ignored the impact of discretionary behaviours towards fellow workers, in either ORT or Weberian Bureaucratic systems. Instead, both bureaucratic and organisational role theories have mainly limited their focus to the benefits of discretionary behaviours from an individual directed at an organisation. Tangentially, it has been recognised later by Podsakoff, *et. al.*, (2000) that OCBs are acknowledged as mechanisms that influence fellow workers' attitudes, enhancing role clarity and fostering a sense of stability in their job role. Therefore, it can be considered that OCBs are not exclusively for the benefit of an organisation's success, but can be socially-based behaviours that support fellow workers directly and/or indirectly. In identifying such discretionary and altruistic behaviours between workers addresses the research questions posed by this thesis in understanding the drivers for discretionary effort, as well as an understanding of how a worker's identity within a wider workgroup is impacted by the cruise ship environment

OCB's as a mechanism to manage a co-worker's expectations builds on the work of Katz and Kahn (1978) who outlined the need for an individual worker to receive and accept 'role expectation' as part of the ORT subsystem, which in turn increases job satisfaction and commitment with favourable experiences leading to positive attitudes towards work as well the organisation (Meyer & Allen, 1997). Broadly speaking, the ability of co-workers to support and influence a fellow workers' understanding of 'role expectations can generate a sense of job satisfaction and positive job attitudes, a key influencing element contributing to behavioural choices when choosing whether to perform OCB. In the confined and strictly controlled

environment of a cruise ship, support from fellow workers will likely benefit an individual cruise worker, not only to understand and meet their job role expectations but also their ability to adapt and integrate within the wider onboard community. This suggests that helpful behaviours towards fellow workers are beyond the in-role behaviours specified in an individual's formally prescribed job description and can be considered extra-role behaviours based purely upon discretionary actions and personal choices.

Much of the theoretical work surrounding OCBs has created the impression that a boundary exists between the in-role behaviours (specified within job description and agreed upon) and the extra-role behaviours (actions not formally agreed through a job description), that defines OCBs as being the same for all employees (Organ, 1989; Podsakff, Mackenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993). However, evidence exists that challenges this viewpoint, claiming roles in organisations are rarely fixed instead evolving as employees and supervisors negotiate the scope of work activities (Graen, 1976; Morrison, 1994). Broadly there is agreement that extra-role behaviours influence job attitudes (satisfaction, organisational commitment, positive affectivity), thus playing significant roles in job performance and an individual willingness to perform OCB. This subsequently adds to a broad belief that job satisfaction is positively linked to job performance (Van Dick, *et. al.*, 2006).

Organisational commitment and job satisfaction are key areas in the promotion of OCBs according to Koslowsky, Caspy, & Lazar, (1991) who listed the work of Morrow (1983) who suggested a worker's commitment to an organisation is based

on five areas (value; career; job; organisations and union focus). However, later research acknowledged a relationship between a worker's ability to identify with an organisation and their willingness to perform OCBs (Van Dick, *et. al.*, 2006; Van Knippenberg, 2000; Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This suggests loyalty, commitment and satisfaction towards an organisation are significant factors likely to enhance OCBs - the more satisfied workers are, the more likely they are to display OCBs (Zeinabadi & Salehi, 2011). Job satisfaction has been linked to OCBs since its earliest conception with studies demonstrating a moderate association between the bi-dimensional conception of OCBs and job satisfaction (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Smith, Organ & Near, 1983). Two large scale meta-analyses have been produced, both of which strongly support the existence of a link between the two, that an individual's job satisfaction, influences an individual's willingness to perform OCBs (Organ & Ryan, 1995; LePine, Erez & Johnson, 2002). As such, levels of job satisfaction are now held to be reliable predictors of the prevalence of OCBs (Organ & Podsakoff, 2006). Therefore, it can be accepted that the willingness to perform OCBs is strongly linked to the compliance and altruistic behaviours of individuals, both of which can be considered essential behavioural factors for a cruise worker who operates in a highly regulated environment with co-workers and passengers. It is now critical to understand the dimensions that make the construct of OCBs and how they might contribute as drivers to a cruise workers willingness to perform in the role or extra-role behaviours.

3.4.1 Dimensions and Common Variables of Organisational Citizenship Behaviours

The link between job satisfaction and decisions to perform OCB, may not be the only or main factor in the total institutional context, however, it is a key factor for a cruise worker and their decision as to whether to perform OCBs has been previously identified. However, having established the link between the two it is now necessary to shift the focus to understand further the dimensions and common variables of OCB that can further add to the job satisfaction of a cruise worker and their subsequent deployment of discretionary effort. OCB is generally considered to comprise two major dimensions: altruism/prosocial behaviours (helpful behaviour aimed at specific individuals) and generalised compliance (actions directed at the organisation) (Rioux & Penner, 2001). Earlier in the chapter, the focus on OCB was on the 'right and 'proper' actions (good soldier syndrome) taken for the sake of the system (Smith, *et. al.*, 1983) – ultimately actions focused and directed at the organisation. However, and by contrast, the concept of 'Prosocial Organisational Behaviours' (POB) is an interrelated set of behaviours within OCB - a performance with the intention of promoting the welfare and benefit of individuals such as helping, sharing, co-operating, and volunteering (Brief & Motowidlo, 1986). However, since their early foundations, the two conceptualised behaviours of altruism and compliance (Smith, *et. al.*, 1983) have been further deconstructed to include additional categories of OCBs (see table 1.0. Five behaviour factors of OCB).

Altruism	Discretionary behaviours, helping and effecting work colleagues with an organisationally relevant task
Conscientiousness	Behaviours that go beyond the minimum role required by the specific job description.
Civic virtue	Characterised by behaviours demonstrating deep concerns and interests in the life of the organisation (examples include, attending meetings and keeping up with what is going on in general in the organisation.)
Courtesy	Discretionary behaviour aimed at preventing work-related conflict with others that works to prevent problems from arising
Sportsmanship	a willingness on the part of the worker to tolerate less than ideal circumstances in the organisation, without complaining, Organ described this as an employee's ability to "roll with the punches" (Organ <i>et. al.</i> , 2006).

Table 1.0 Five behaviour factors of OCB (Organ, *et. al.*, 2006; Law, Wong & Chen, 2005).

The deconstruction of the dimensions of general compliance and altruism added an additional dimension resulting in a five-factor model which consists of: altruism, courtesy, conscientiousness, civic virtue and sportsmanship (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983; Organ, 1988; Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 1990, Organ, 1997; MacKenzie, *et. al.*, 1993; Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 2000). Of the five identifying behaviours, altruism still, remains as much as it was originally defined, while the addition of further behaviours of civic virtue, conscientiousness, and sportsmanship (Organ, *et. al.*, 2006) indicates a worker's acceptance and adherence to the rules, regulations and procedures of the organisation.

Adherence and compliance to job role expectations are essential for a cruise worker, as the cruise ship environment is one that is governed by strict rules and regulations (total institution control). As such, suggesting parallels with the bureaucratic system of Weberian theory brought about by the pseudo-military environment based on rank and position. However, the acceptance on the part of cruise worker of the behavioural expectations that are organisationally beneficial (compliance), further suggesting a level of power and control (Foucault), aligns closely with the panopticism of the cruise ship as a workplace. Such strict controls and high demands made upon the cruise worker to comply with behavioural expectations might suggest a level of coercion on the part of the organisation towards the cruise worker, to meet the formally prescribed and non-prescribed yet expected job role behaviours that might require a worker going beyond the formal requirements of their job role. This suggests that 'discretionary' acts of OCB, whilst considered voluntary, require a willingness on the part of the cruise worker to fully meet the job role expectations of the organisation, whether articulated or implicit. Therefore, are these non-prescribed (extra roles) truly voluntary or is there a level of obligation to perform expected role behaviours that are made easier through influencing variable of OCB that promote a cruise worker's willingness to enact discretionary effort in the pursuit of their job role?

3.4.2 The Consequences of Negative Citizenship Behaviours

There are clear benefits to be achieved from discretionary and voluntary behaviours from individual workers in the traditional workplace. However, little has been noted about what happens when the free will of individual workers to engage

in behaviours are deliberately hijacked by leaders or other powerful social activists increasing workloads (Vigoda-Gadot, 2006). For example, a cruise ship worker is essentially 'trapped' on-board and could find themselves in a position where they are unable to refuse or avoid discretionary behaviours, implying extra-role and discretionary behaviours are not always a matter of free choice but rather, imposed by exploitative management (Zellars, *et. al.*, 2002; Tepper, *et. al.*, 2004).

Abusive behaviours in institutions is one of major concern for Schein, Scheiner, and Barker (1961), and Ofshe & Singer (1986), who contend coercive persuasion is a social influence tactic capable of producing substantial behavioural and attitudinal changes through the use of pressure, persuasion, power, and interpersonal group-based influence manipulations. Likewise, coercive citizenship behaviours have been viewed as a means by which those in authority can take advantage of those less powerful individuals. This is potentially highly problematic when a workplace also doubles as a temporary home where it can be difficult for a worker to resist the coercion of citizenship behaviours. Beyond the theoretical implications for OCBs and its effect on work outcomes, there is a prevalence in many organisations for coercive citizenship behaviours to exist (Vigoda-Gadot, 2006). Such comments underline the suggestions of Alder & Borys (1996) and Mintzberg (1979) that organisations impose required actions and that actions of workers are not always freely expressed or given.

In the confined environment of the cruise ship, it is clear that there is a requirement for workers to perform behaviours that are either altruistic or compliant by their nature. As the construct of OCB suggests these behaviours are to the benefit of

fellow workers or the organisation such discretionary and voluntary acts directed towards fellow workers can leave a co-worker feeling valued and provide an understanding of their job role expectation, as well as allowing the recipient to feel valued and ultimately satisfied in their role. This suggests OCB fits well with ORT (Katz & Kahn) outlining that for an organisation to be successful, it requires its workers to go beyond their formal job roles through the compliant and altruistic nature of OCBs. However, the total institutional observations of the cruise ship imply that not all behaviours are voluntary, primarily through the use of power and control (Panopticon) where the cruise worker can feel obligated to behave in a way that meets the desired actions of the organisation. This further supports the criticisms of Weberian bureaucratic structures by Alder & Borys, and Mintzberg that not all behaviours are voluntary in an organisation but are imposed upon employees and can coerce citizenship behaviours (Vigoda-Gadot). Having considered the implications for workers to perform discretionary behavioural acts whether voluntarily or coerced, it is now necessary to examine the role of intrapersonal relationships, such as Social Exchange Theory and Social Identity Theory as influencing drivers for individuals to perform such discretionary acts that are directed towards and for the benefit of individuals or the organisation.

3.5 Intrapersonal Relationships

3.5.1 Social Exchange Theory

Social exchanges can be complex for a cruise worker. Often their job roles are intertwined with their social life exchanges and not simply professional exchanges

which characterise conventional hospitality work. Social exchanges for cruise workers can often go beyond the worker's contractual agreement with cruise ship workers being thrust together living and working for long periods, (seven days a week) in the containment of the ship environment. Such intense living and working conditions can suggest a blurring of the lines between economic (work) and social exchanges with both fellow workers and passengers. Furthermore, the nature and duration of cruise ship work can produce strong and intense relationships between both, due to the prolonged and intense nature of the setting. Therefore, it is relevant for this thesis to examine the willingness and ability of cruise workers to engage in socially based exchange relationships and how such relationships can impact their discretionary effort towards other on-board the cruise ship.

Social Exchange Theory (SET) has been a key lens through which many researchers (Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 2002; and Zeinabadi & Salehi, 2011) have examined influencing actions of OCBs and have conceptualised these arrangements as a type of exchange relationship, suggesting a worker's behaviour is the result of a situational or social exchange (Organ, 1998). In its simplest form, human relationships are formed by the use of a subjective 'cost-benefit' evaluation and the appraisal of alternatives (Blau, 1964). SET is simply explained as a model which assumes rewards and costs drive relationship decisions where both parties in a social exchange take responsibility for one another and depend on each other (West & Turner, 2010; Stafford, 2008). Furthermore, a perspective of social exchange is based on individuals calculating the overall worth of a relationship by subtracting the 'costs' from the reward it provides in either economic or social outcomes (Blau, 1964). Social exchanges are an essential part of any cruise

worker job role where there is a need to interact continually with both workgroup team members and co-workers from other departments and passengers suggesting a clear fit with the 'Role set' of ORT (Katz & Kahn). However, for the cruise worker, such social exchanges can spill over from their work role and into their social relationships. Such relational exchanges can become both beneficial to the work environment but can have negative consequences for a cruise worker who is unable to escape their working world blurring the boundaries of work and social lives.

In an attempt to differentiate the two forms of exchange, economic exchanges are relationships between an organisation and a worker, defined by the employment contract and based on transactions (Blau, 1964; Holmes, 1981; Deluga, 1994), whereas, social exchange relationships are created through fair obligations on the part of the worker, often providing reciprocation in the form of OCB (Zeinabadi & Salehi, 2011). Social exchanges often involve a connection with another person requiring trust and fairness between the two that are not legal obligations but are more flexible and seldom involve a bargaining process (Stafford, 2008). Therefore, social exchanges can be considered part of cruise workers life, both work-based and socially constructed, where relationships can be intense for short periods due to constant and frequent interactions, especially as the nature of the workforce is transient and temporary.

For the cruise worker who is contracted to employment for long periods without any days off combined with few opportunities to leave the ship, life on board creates a social setting where work is their life and the people, they share their

lives with are their social network as well as their workplace colleagues. Therefore, the cruise worker needs to create and maintain positive exchange relationships, both with co-workers and supervisors. The benefits of creating such positive exchanges are likely to mean job satisfaction and feelings of mutual trust and respect, all of which help preserve the high level of social exchanges. Due to the temporary nature of the cruise workforce, there is an importance to preserving social and economic exchanges in the work and social setting to maintain mutual respect and belonging. This can be achieved through identification with a ship in an organisational fleet [akin to a sports team for example] or simply an individual feeling part of a workgroup team. As discussed in chapter two, in the process of entering such a total institution power and control suggests individuals need to modify their identity to 'fit in' as they are often joining pre-existing work teams who have established norms, customs and values. The next section will consider the importance of social identity as a driver to individuals' willingness to perform discretionary behaviours and the importance identity assumes for individuals to perform their job role tasks. In an environment where individuals are thrust into workgroups and living conditions that suspend normal life and where an individual's social group and identity are directly influenced by their job role and position.

3.5.2 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Most workplace organisations have contractual arrangements and formal reward systems in place for their workers. Such systems are designed to ensure workers engage in desired workplace behaviours to promote the effective functioning of the organisation (Becton, Giles & Schraeder, 2008). Organisational systems that

define the role of the employee are an important element of organisational design. However, they are insufficient to guarantee the success of an organisation (Steffen, 2008), thus stated by Katz and Kahn (1978), there is a need for workers to be creative and innovative in their job roles. Hence, as a reminder, earlier in the chapter it was identified that organisation success is based on a worker's willingness to go beyond those prescribed behaviours (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Often, such behaviours rely on work colleagues being supportive and courteous to one another, repeatedly demanding effective intrapersonal relationships. One such concept that predicts certain intergroup behaviour is that of Social Identity Theory (SIT).

The construct of SIT initially formulated by Tajfel found membership of social groups is associated with a wide variety of phenomena. An example is, in a cruise ship environment, social and workgroups form through the mutual understanding of job role requirements and demands, where workers can form 'self-preferencing' in-groups formed in outlined by Tajfel as often on arbitrary and invented characteristics (Tajfel, 1970), thus suggesting, in groups are social groups to which a person(s) fit as being a member. By contrast, an outgroup is a social group with which an individual does not or is unable/unwilling to identify

(Tajfel, 1974). SIT predicts intergroup behaviours based on perceived group status and the legitimacy and stability of those status differences (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the cruise ship environment that is based upon bureaucratic systems (Weber, 1947) including hierarchies of rank and status which help individuals form their own identity within the organisation. However, identity can go beyond the position of

rank and status to individuals identifying with workgroup teams who can be seen as their 'workplace family' during their time onboard.

Social identities have been defined in many ways, the common element in such definitions being the inclusion of group memberships as part of one's self-concept (Riketta & Van Dick, 2005). Thus, having a social identity involves seeing oneself as part of a wider desirable whole (Rousseau, 1998; Tajfel, 1978). Social identities are comprised of cognitive, evaluative and emotional components (Van Dick, 2001), often having behavioural implications, such as favouritism, stereotyping, and openness to social influence, all of which have implications for group dynamics (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Blanton, Christie & Dye, 2002; Smith & Louis, 2009). Social identities can be situation-specific, characterised by a sense of oneness, suggesting a worker's identity can arise through a collective group, or 'situated identity' that arises when an individual share an interest with a mutual group (Rousseau, 1998), e.g. being part of the Guest Relations department. The idea of situated identity fits with the notion of the total institution (Goffman) that encompasses the lives of those who are members of the group.

Cruise workers can often identify with their wider group and work teams through their employment contracts, with cruise workers all being subjected to the same conditions of isolation and contained to the cruise ship for employment periods of between four and nine months, depending on position and job role, with no days of and time off being measured in hours. Additionally, uniforms worn by cruise workers can signify an individual's work identity, with departments and job roles being denoted by the uniform worn. Furthermore, the bureaucratic structure of the

cruise environment suggests that identity with certain groups is identifiable through both ranks (stripes) and workgroup teams. This suggests that being part of a work team group and identifying with colleagues within these workgroup promotes job satisfaction (Van Knippenberg, 2000; Van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004; Ellemers, De Gilder & Haslam, 2004), and the encouragement of prosocial behaviours towards work colleagues as outlined by the OCB construct.

It is commonly understood that the nature of cruise work is one that is temporary and transient and the need to develop effective social relationships is of critical importance. The need to develop social and economic relations with both co-workers and passengers alike is key to meeting organisational goals. However, the development of relationships via social exchanges and identification with the wider group is an important contributor to cruise workers willing to perform positive OCBs. The ability to maintain a sense of one's identity and the need to balance the requirements of social exchange relationships remains a constant challenge for the cruise worker. In the constrained panoptical environment of a cruise ship where workers are expected to display OCB the organisation and industry demands of them, there is nonetheless the added complexity of workers own social exchanges processes and their social identity as they juggle the juxtaposition of colleague/host and self.

3.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter two concluded with the claim that, there is a strict process of compliance and adjustment required for individuals when transforming from shore to sea life.

Such behaviour transformations fit well with the concept of 'total institutional observation' (Goffman), where power and control of the panopticon (Foucault) held over cruise workers can influence behavioural enactments. In furthering an understanding of the influence and control over a cruise hotel workers behavioural actions, chapter three commenced by outlining the Weberian bureaucratic structure, where hierarchical structures are present in the form of rank and technical roles typically found in the hospitality industry, (e.g. Hotel General Manager and Food & Beverage Manager). Although Weberian bureaucracy outlined structures based on rationality and impersonality, an organisation that is based on the rule of order which connects well with the cruise ship as a workplace. However, critics to Weber's view of the bureaucratic system suggested coercion on the part of the organisation enacted through the panopticon of total institutional observations (Goffman) and employing power and control (Foucault) influence job role behaviours of cruise workers.

The section examining ORT sought to establish how job roles and their expectations are communicated to hotel cruise workers within a cruise ship organisation. Key facets revealed that ORT is focused on social systems where a process of 'role sending' and 'role acceptance' is undertaken between the organisation and the worker, and an understanding of role expectation is assumed. ORT as a system constructed on the bureaucratic structures presented by Weber, is a formal process relying on formal rules and technical competence in the pursuit of organisational goals. However, the nature of ORT presumes job role actions to be spontaneous and innovative and require workers to go beyond their prescribed role if an organisation is to be successful. Such a theory fits well with the role of

the hotel cruise worker who is expected to go 'the extra mile' in meeting the expectations of passengers. Yet, there may be no formal prescription of what such a role might require, or the actions required to be innovative or spontaneous in their behaviours. However, the total observational control of the cruise ship means that a cruise worker needs to be constantly on their guard.

In furthering the understanding ORT is role conflict, with cruise workers living and working in the same confined situation, might find their role coming into conflict with interactions outside of normal working hours meaning an individual would have to call on their role expectations and have the willingness to act desirous behaviours, particularly as they are likely to feel such observational control being omnipresent. For the cruise worker, on-duty and off-duty exchanges between passengers (or co-workers) can amplify the blurring of the lines between work and one's social life. This suggests a cruise worker, whilst accepting the role and its expectations still require a level of discretionary and voluntary enactment on their part to meet such desirous behaviours.

Having considered the links between ORT and the role of the cruise worker, this section of the chapter sought to outline the importance of discretionary and voluntary behaviours for cruise workers. Whilst Weberian systems and ORT helps cruise workers to understand role expectations and the panoptic setting of the cruise ship governs continued compliance with rules and regulations. There is still an expectation for workers to deploy innovative and spontaneous behaviours and the enactment of desired and discretionary behaviours directed at passengers and co-workers. The construct of OCB (Smith, Organ & Near) outlined behavioural

types that explained behaviours directed and benefitted either an individual directly or the organisation. However, what the construct failed to highlight for the cruise worker are the influencing elements that contribute to the willingness to adopt such voluntary actions. However, variables and common influences that have been suggested such as job satisfaction and commitment to an organisation as influencing discretionary behaviours, although in the cruise ship environment the constant levels of observation and high regulatory control mean less is understood about how such variables influence a cruise workers willingness to adapt. Furthermore, it can be considered that the total institutional control afforded to the cruise setting confirms what Smith *et.al.*, (1983), offered as 'good soldier' behaviours, which might be the bi-product of coercive actions by the organisation in demanding desirous behaviours from its workers.

The final sections of this chapter considered the influence of social and economic exchanges that a cruise worker is expected to undertake, and the influences of individual and group identity on their willingness to perform optional acts. Much of this chapter and that of chapter 2 have examined the structure and systems (e.g. hierarchical structures, rules and regulations) deployed through organisation roles in the pursuit of organisational goals. However, notable achievements of the hospitality sector workers are often based on an individual's willingness to 'go the extra mile'. In defining factors of OCB and variables that contribute to an individual's willingness to enact, it was illuminated through previous studies (Podsakoff, *et. al.*, 2002; and Zeinabadi & Salehi, 2011) that there is a direct link between social exchange and enactments of OCBs. As such, exchanges and interactions between a cruise worker and passengers (co-workers) are dependent

on the benefit of the exchanges which can often directly influence the quality of the discretionary behaviour. This suggests that despite the controlling and oppressive environment of a cruise ship, it is likely that a worker could still weigh up the cost-benefit of deploying discretionary benefits versus likely rewards. For a cruise worker who is exposed to 'batch living', a term coined by Goffman, for those individuals living where there is a likelihood that an individual will need to modify their personality not only to meet the needs of the organisation (Goffman) but also to 'fit in' to part of the wider work or social community on board ship. This can often mean that for cruise ship worker, to be accepted as part of a group, they should be prepared to go the extra mile to achieve such socially accepted identities.

Chapter three has sought to build upon the foundations set down in chapter two by outlining the nature of organisational structures (Weber) and processes of job role acceptance (Katz and Kahn), both of which underpin the understanding of OCB's (Smith, Near and Organ) and the common variables which contribute to a cruise workers willingness to deploy voluntary and desirous acts. All of these contribute to our general understanding of the drivers which influence discretionary effort, a key research question for this thesis. Furthermore, in identifying the constant demands of a cruise worker in weighing up the social exchange interactions of working on-board, and the willingness to modify and constantly adapt their social and professional disposition in pursuit of individual and group identity, there must be an emotional cost to be paid. Having to juggle the combination of professional and social identity in the isolation and detached location from normal life is a daily task. Therefore, the next chapter will examine in address the research question of

how a cruise worker's emotion regulation is influenced by the work and social setting of the cruise ship.

Chapter 4 Emotions

4.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

The two previous chapters of this thesis have illustrated how the uniqueness of a cruise ship, as a temporary home and place of work, is central to an individual's willingness to adapt their identity and performance in the pursuit of organisational goals. Thus, a significant feature of the cruise setting has been shown to be its 'total institutional' setting where power and control over workers is derived from the panopticism of the ship environment, often requiring individuals to modify and adapt their identities to comply with strict regulations and expectations, as well as the demands of living and working onboard. This raises fundamental questions about emotion control and emotion regulation of workers living under such highly regulated and controlled conditions where there are both emotional highs and lows in juxtaposition and where workers constantly need to juggle personal emotions to meet workplace and social exchanges.

Having established in the two previous chapters that living and working in a cruise setting requires cruise workers to manage and adapt their behaviours on a daily basis, there is a need for individuals to juggle personal and workplace emotions in order to enact job role behaviours prescribed by the organisation, often at the cost of genuine and personal feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000; Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Wharton, 2009). However, for a cruise worker, disentangling the two sets of workplace emotions from professional and social lives can often be difficult, as both can often collide in the contained environment of the ship. Therefore, it is essential to understand how a cruise worker regulates their emotions, particularly having to manipulate personal feelings that might contrast personal emotional

states (emotion dissonance) with constantly observable job role demands. To begin to understand the emotional impacts of cruise work upon cruise workers, it is critical to understand the numerous perspectives of human emotions before the chapter turns to consider emotion control as an important factor to the work and social life of a cruise worker.

Although much of the focus around emotions at work has been based around the psychological effect of emotions such as reactions and consequences of emotions (Fineman, 2003; Zapf, 1999) and exhaustion and burnout (Briner, 1999; Pekrun & Frese, 1992), the focus on emotions for this thesis will take a primarily sociological viewpoint. However, over the past three decades the study of emotions has accelerated, it is now possible to identify approaches to understanding emotions through sociological theories (Kemper, 1990; Smith-Lovin, 1995; Stets, 2003; Turner & Stets, 2005) consequently the sociological approach to understanding emotion fits well with the phenomenological paradigm that will be explained in chapter five. However, as the chapter develops to explain these explicit sociological approaches it will venture into psychological perspectives in support of the sociological viewpoints as both approaches are inevitably linked. So far in this thesis, the cruise ship environment has been demonstrated to be one that is immersive, resulting in 'total control', where workers are required to perform daily, displaying desired behaviours. It is, therefore, appropriate to draw upon the work of Goffman (1959) and dramaturgy, who argued that people tend to play roles and create certain impressions in their social encounters, such impressions during social encounters include appropriate emotion cues that follow accepted display rules. For the cruise worker, who lives and works in the same environment, the

idea of role-playing applies to both their social exchanges as well as their job role interactions.

4.2 Dramaturgical Theories

Individuals who operate within the hotel division of a cruise ship, as with any shore-based service operation, have a requirement placed upon them to perform and display desirable behaviours on a daily basis. The dramaturgical theory helps understand how individuals are required to constantly redefine their performances to create specific impressions (Goffman, 1967). Goffman described an individual's performance as the presentation of self, or effort on the part of individuals to perform and create an impression on others. Furthermore, Goffman (1967) makes the distinction between "front stage" and "backstage" behaviours of individual performances like actors in a theatre. As these terms imply, individuals are required to perform when they are on stage and visible to their audience (passengers, managers and co-worker), and engage in back-stage actions when they are no longer visible to the audience. For example, a cruise worker will behave in a way that is appropriate when in the view of the passenger, yet when they return to the crew only areas, they may behave in ways that are unseemly in front of passengers.

For cruise workers to enact organisationally desired behaviours as part of their job roles, the expression of appropriate emotions is a required part of the exchange process. Therefore, in the pursuit of appropriate emotion displays, where individuals are considered actors on stage playing a role, the roles are dictated to

them by the 'cultural script' of the organisation (Turner & Stets, 2006). Here, the cultural script includes requirements such as organisational principles, norms and rules, vocabularies, and knowledge of which emotions should be expressed and in what circumstances certain exchange situations demand certain actions. Much like actors on stage, cruise workers are permitted to improvise how they play their emotional role, as long as they do not digress too far from the prescribed behavioural performances demanded of that role. To avoid such deviations Goffman suggested that individuals can deploy emotional actions to convince themselves that they are complying with the requisite appropriate behavioural and emotional displays.

In the pursuit of organisational goals, the cruise ship product is one based on hospitality and service. Therefore, passengers often have an established view of behavioural norms and expectations of cruise workers during any interactions and exchanges which suggests a cruise worker is required to perform desired behaviours and constantly interact with passengers and co-workers. In order to do so, there is a prospect that individuals will engage in a certain amount of personal emotion manipulation (Turner & Stets, 2006). As a consequence, the dramaturgical theory suggests that individuals will use their emotion displays to influence situations where an individual may need to manipulate others to gain desired results (Clark, 1997). An example of the use of emotion manipulation might be for a Guest Services Officer, who deals with an angry and abusive passenger, to display positive and sympathetic emotions to help establish control and a sense of authority over the person receiving their emotional display of understanding and empathy. Furthermore, use of personal emotions can be deployed strategically as

all individuals have the ability to control their emotions, which suggests the use of emotion displays acts as a resource to provide advantages over others (Turner & Stets, 2006; Härtel Gough & Härtel, 2008). Furthermore, Goffman (1959) highlighted that where individuals are unable to maintain emotion control and detract from the 'cultural script', it reduces their power in the emotion exchange. Dramaturgical theories are helpful in outlining the emotional actions and displays of individuals and the norms of social structural exchanges. In the panoptic environment of a cruise ship, it can be considered vitally important that cruise workers create and maintain positive and desirous impressions, primarily because they are subjected to total control and 360-degree observations during their work and off duty periods. However, previous commentators (Hochschild, 1983; Thoits, 1990; Bono & Vey, 2005) have all noted that where there are discrepancy and conflict between the expected displays of emotion and the individual's actual emotion, such situations can generate a negative emotional reaction. Therefore, it is likely that a cruise hotel worker is required to re-define their presentation of self, and their subsequent self-identity, in the quest of emotionally laden desirous behaviours which are acceptable to passengers and organisational expectations. These performances are best considered as acts of Symbolic Interactions.

4.3 Symbolic Interactionist Theories

In broad terms, dramaturgical theories have tended to focus mainly on the need for impression management. Symbolic Interactionist theories view self and identity to be at the heart of emotion control (Turner & Stets, 2006) where self-identity can be considered more than simply a 'dramatic presentation of self', but a central

influence as to how individuals are to behave in ways appropriate to meeting the expectations of others (Turner & Stets, 2006). Mead (1938) maintained a rational view that social actors modify their behaviours “to make things work in situations”, (Turner & Stets, 2006: 29), and behaviours are subsequently often self-directed. Mead’s (1938) work is further supported by Goffman’s (1967) ‘mortification process’, discussed in chapter two, where individuals exercise caution as a process for coping with difficult situations, suggesting that individuals will adjust their perceptions of self and self-identity to meet the expectations of others. The notion that an individual adjusts their perception of self is further outlined by Cooley (1983), Hochschild (1983) and Grandey (2000) who proposed, individuals continually monitor their self-perceptions from the viewpoint of others. Examples of self-adjustment for a cruise worker can be demonstrated by the requirement to smile and display positive emotions to guests, even when their true inner feelings may not reflect their outer self. Such actions can be seen as self-monitoring (Cooley, 1983).

Self-monitoring is a dynamic social process whereby individuals adapt their own social identity based on the perceptions and expectations of others and the social setting. The view of self-monitoring (Cooley) and the concept of self (Goffman), raises questions of social identity for a cruise worker, and the significance of identity adjustment in the control of a cruise workers personal emotion control. Throughout this thesis, it has been noted that there is a likely need for a cruise worker to adjust their performance of their personal identity to behavioural acts in compliance with organisational rules and passenger expectations. Burke’s (1996) Identity Control Theory alludes to the need for multiple identities, where the

adjustment of self-identity is needed in response to any given situation and where an individual possesses a standard self-identity, there is often a recognised frame of regulated behaviours (Burke, 1996). However, where the perceptions of identity and behavioural acts differ from one's own standard identity, negative emotions might occur for the individual.

To avoid the existence of negative emotions, an individual would be required to adapt their identity in an attempt to seek confirmation of self-identity that is congruent with the situation and expectations of others. However, if one's self-identity is contradictory to required behaviours (e.g. a cruise worker not smiling during a service encounter with a passenger) the response from others will generate negative emotions, such as anxiety and anger. Therefore, symbolic interactionist theories suggest that individuals adapt and use their identities of self to 'fit' each situation - where there is confirmation of their identity, positive emotions exist and conversely, where perceptions of self and self-directed behaviours are incongruent with the situations or social interactions, negative emotions might emerge. Thus, where individuals cannot confirm or verify an identity, they will either choose to leave the situation or where they cannot leave, they change their behaviours, change self-perceptions or even change identity to conform and comply to cultural expectations (Turner & Stets, 2006; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Therefore, Symbolic Interactionist Theory suggests the more congruent an individual's identity and behavioural outputs meet normative expectations in a given situation, the greater the likelihood of positive emotional experiences being revealed in individuals. As such, the combination of Dramaturgical and Symbolic

Interactionist Theories dovetail neatly to Interaction Ritual Theories which are discussed next.

4.4 Interaction Ritual Theories

The basic operation of a cruise ship at sea is fundamentally one of a 'floating resort', where face-to-face encounters are frequent and varied in their intensity for cruise workers meeting the demands and expectations of passengers. Goffman, (1959) recognised similar elements in the face-to-face encounters of individuals, where he explained the process of arousal of positive and negative energies based on the quality of such individual encounters. Collins (2004) breaks down these rituals into two categories: firstly, suggesting encounters can be transient and polite rituals, such as greetings which can arouse low intensity and positive emotions in individuals; and secondly, more enduring emotions that can develop from a common or shared focus or a sense of moral righteousness. This suggests that in Interaction Ritual Theory a cruise worker will need to manage their emotional state as well as recognising their power and status in any interactional exchanges. Turner & Stets (2006), propose that individuals maximise 'emotional energy' in exchanges to achieve 'cultural capital' that is accepted within a society. Where emotional energy in itself is mostly neutral, it is the feeling and physiological reaction to a given situation by an individual that makes a situation positive or negative (Ekman & Davidson, 1994). Similarly, cultural capital is the accumulation of knowledge, behaviours and skills that an individual deploys in demonstrating their ability to understand their status or standing in the society or environment that surrounds them (Bourdieu, 1990). Therefore, for a cruise worker, they must

manage their emotions to demonstrate culturally expected behaviours, even if this action requires them to suppress true felt emotions, as a way of gaining cultural capital.

Summers-Effler, (2002) explains that individuals who are trapped in interaction rituals, and who have little power status, often experience negative emotions. Therefore, emotional energy and the ability of a cruise worker to experience high positive emotions may be linked to their position, power and status. For example, a junior officer (e.g. one stripe), who is low in power and rank may experience low emotion status, whereas a Guest Services manager (e.g. three stripes) is high in status and power terms and are subsequently more likely to experience positive emotions. However, with more stripes comes more pressure and responsibility, hence the likelihood of experiencing positive emotions. When individuals experience negative emotions this can lower self-esteem, which in turn lowers commitment to the group (George & Jones, 1997; McColl-Kennedy & Anderson, 2005; Turner & Stets, 2006). Whereas, the opposite occurs when individuals experience high levels of positive energy indicating a greater likelihood to commit to the society or group to which they belong at that moment. This suggests power and status can provide a positive influence on one's emotional state, in turn promoting commitment and loyalty to the organisation and its goal achievement.

4.5 Power and Status Theories.

It has previously been established that power and control are fundamental features of cruise work, primarily through the possession and execution of stripes of

command. It, therefore, follows that Interaction Rituals will ensue as one-stripe officers engage with two, three and four-stripe officers in a chain of command. Those individuals who hold greater level of rank and power may experience greater levels of emotional satisfaction and self-confidence compared to those individuals with lesser degrees of position power (Kemper's (1984) theory of the dynamics of power and status, which is defined as prestige, and later developed by Kemper & Collins (1990) includes the relative power and prestige of individuals and the expectation states for power and status on emotional arousal). However, what this analysis does not appreciate is the level of power and status a passenger can have in the exchange dynamic. The passenger can be part of the control process, where there are degrees and levels of behavioural exchanges and subsequent expectations linked to emotional displays and enactments.

In accepting the role of power and status as key influencers in the emotion arousal process for cruise ship workers, Thamm (2004), extended the work of Kemper and Collins (1990), to include a further dynamic of expectation. Here, individuals base their emotional responses on expectations and their appraisal of a given situation. Thus, emotions can be aroused when an individual meet or fails to meet expectations, receives or fails to receive an appropriate reward (Thamm, 2004).

Within the cruise ship hotel department, and more broadly the hospitality sector, there are preconceived behavioural expectations, rituals and accepted norms of wider society that can arouse positive and negative emotions in both self and others. Therefore, the cruise worker is expected to smile and be polite at all times to the passenger in an attempt to generate positive emotions. However, where the

receiving of expected emotions and behaviours are not met, negative emotions can arise in either passenger, cruise worker or both. Berger and Bell (1988) contend that 'expectation states' are central to an individual's capacity and ability to perform with those individuals able to perform given power and prestige and those less able to perform receiving emotional expectations of a lower status. This implies that those individuals in a higher rank and authority have already achieved greater levels of emotion competence due to their willingness and ability to lead others as to what to do. This is often reflected in cruise ship work by a passenger with a complaint not willing to interact with a lower ranking worker because the expectations of a passenger are often to meet with the manager or higher ranked officer. Thus, the depiction of power and status as a dynamic in the role of emotion expectation states can be considered akin to social exchange theory. Where individuals undertake a cost-benefit assessment in response to interactions and exchange situations, where appraisals and responses to emotional exchanges are based on expectations of a given situation.

4.6 Exchange Theories

In chapter three, social exchange, as a theoretical perspective, was presented as an explanation of the common influences cruise workers face in adapting their behaviours to meet organisational demands. As such, basic models of exchange theories suggested a cost-benefit assessment is assumed by an individual in pursuit of profit or payoff for personal investment (Blau, 1964). Having already recognised in chapters two and three that a cruise worker can adapt their behaviours as part of compliance with the requirements of their job role and

expectations of cruise ship life, the same individuals can undertake similar adjustments during an exchange process when appraising exchange responses to manage their emotional states. As with the process of social exchange, individuals expect to receive perceived benefits from an exchange relationship with positive emotions occurring when the emotion 'payoff' exceeds the emotional costs invested and vice versa when expected benefits fall below what is considered fair and just (Turner & Stets, 2006). Furthermore, the nature and intensity of emotions experienced in exchange relations can be associated with several conditions with theorists such as Homans (1958), Emerson (1976), Lawlor and Yoon (1998) and Lawlor (2001) all developing generalisations which focus on the arousal of emotions through exchange theories.

In a broad summary, Lawlor (2001) proposed that there are four basic types of exchange which can influence emotion arousal; (a) productive, (b) negotiated, (c) reciprocal, and (d) generalised. In productive exchange relations, an individual coordinate their behaviours to receive payoffs in exchange, whereas negotiated exchanges occur as a process of bargaining to establish a receipt of benefits. Reciprocal exchanges result from individuals providing a resource to others with an understanding of expectation that any benefits given will be reciprocated at a later stage. Yet, generalised reciprocation occurs when the individual is not directly connected to the exchange but passes the resource along a chain, resulting in the individual receiving the benefit. These reciprocation exchanges can produce intense emotion exchanges with positive emotions being generated when actions are reciprocated and negative emotions emerging when expected reciprocated actions are not provided (Lawlor, 2001). The process of exchange reciprocation

builds on factors of OCBs (see chapter 3) where pro-social and altruistic behaviours are often enacted in the hope that actions will be reciprocated and are considered core to good citizenship. However, generalised exchanges provide the least emotion arousal as exchange relations are not direct with others thus, individuals are not always aware of emotion impacts.

These four types of exchange relations highlighted by Lawlor (2001) are likely to enhance and influence the emotional experiences of a cruise worker during exchange relations. The daily lives of cruise workers involve frequent encounters and continual relational exchanges with both passengers and co-workers, dependant on the type of interaction, increases the likelihood of a cruise worker needing to adapt behaviours and emotional responses to meet others' expectations. Thus, the constant need for exchange appraisal and behaviour coordination on the part of a cruise worker suggests there is not only a need for individuals to adapt their behaviours to meet expectations of others, but there is also a requirement to monitor and control personal emotions in the hope of receiving a positive emotional payoff.

Emotions in person-related jobs are managed and displayed to influence other people's attitudes and behaviours (Grandey, 2000; Zapf, 2002). However, what has been highlighted, is that sociological theory of human emotions; dramaturgical theories, symbolic interactionist theories and exchange theories help provide a theoretical understanding of the influencing conditions and actions facing a cruise worker. The chapter has further identified that an individual, when required, can manufacture a performance in an attempt to influence an exchange situation.

However, as well as simply being able to manipulate and act out desired emotions in response to exchange situations, individuals must engage in symbolic interactions, deploying multiple identities in dealing with a multitude of situations. Hence, the process of creating and managing multiple identities requires multiple emotional states that are dependent upon each situation. In doing so, they will need to consider the power and status of passengers as well as other crew members in each interaction with each exchange enacting power and status interactions. Each exchange interaction can have a significant bearing on an individual's emotional state, either positively or negatively. It is therefore clear that there is a need for cruise workers to possess high levels of emotion controls as well as heightened abilities of emotional intelligence, which is where the chapter now focuses.

4.7 Emotion Work and Emotion Control

The concept of emotion work refers to the quality of interactions between workers and their client (passengers) (Zapf, 2002) and where interactions take the form of face-to-face or vocal exchanges, with workers required to express appropriate emotions as part of their job role demands. Emotions can also be used to influence others' emotions, attitudes and behaviours (Hochschild, 1983; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Zapf, 2002). During these interactions, individuals tend to play roles to create certain impressions (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983). The chapter has already explored the sociological theories that underpin the creation of impression management such as, the use of Symbolic Interactions, Ritual Interaction Theories and Exchange Theory. However, in creating an appropriate

impression, individuals can expend significant levels of mental and physical effort in meeting emotion expectations as part of a job role (Zapf, 2002). Therefore, in addition to job-related tasks, individuals are required to manage their emotions as part of the social interactions within the organisational environment (Briner, 1999; Pekrun & Frese, 1992). Given a cruise worker's life is interwoven between their social and work life, there is a likely multidimensional construct to the management of their emotional state, often being required to perform emotion work and emotional work by controlling their emotional state (Strauss, *et. al.*, 1980). For the cruise worker who is unable to leave their place of work, who is subjected to strict control and observational power of the organisation, self-regulation of workplace emotion can spill over into their social existence. Therefore, the chapter will focus on the dimensions of emotion work for individuals, where emotion self-management is an intrinsic aspect of their job role and part of their private life and social exchanges.

In every interaction, people follow a set of socially accepted rules that are appropriate to emotion expression (Goffman, 1959; Ekman, 1973). These rules of emotion expression are considered the norms and standards of behaviours which indicate appropriate emotions to any given situation. For the cruise worker, behaviours and emotions are generally prescribed to them in the form of the 'cultural script' (Turner & Stets, 2006), where they are expected to perform and display the correct behaviours and emotions in given situations, both on duty and off duty. However, given the need for a cruise worker to perform 'on stage' in a dramaturgical fashion on a daily basis, requires them to possess a level of emotion control, which suggests links between behavioural acts as well as modification of

their identity and interactional exchanges, impression management and adjustment to personal identity. This signifies that the work of a cruise worker can be considered both emotional and emotion work (Hochschild, 1983, Zapf, 2002; Härtel Gough & Härtel, 2008).

The cruise industry, as with all hospitality and tourism sectors generally, are person-related sectors where the worker's emotion displays are used to influence other people's attitudes and behaviours (Mattila & Enz, 2005; Hartline, Maxham & Mckee, 2000). The two concepts of emotion work and emotional work have been differentiated with one being linked to the impression and influencers on the moods or emotions of a client, which is considered 'emotion work' and which includes interactions between the worker and the passenger (Hochschild, 1983; Zapf, 2002). By contrast, 'emotional work' concerns a worker's ability to regulate their own emotions (Strauss, *et. al*, 1980). Thus, the multidimensional construct of 'emotional' and 'emotion work' for a cruise hotel worker implies a likelihood that, through their job roles and onboard experiences, there will be aspects of both 'emotion work' and elements of 'emotional work', requiring them to influence the emotions, attitudes and behaviours of a clients and colleagues. In addition, they will need to juggle their emotional states.

The consequences of frequent and intense emotion work have been suggested as human exploitation, which can affect workers personalities (Hochschild, 1983) with a constant requirement to express emotions that are not naturally felt, leading to the distancing of one's true feelings. Whilst Hochschild proposed the separation of an individual's emotions can lead to physical ill-health, Zapf (2002) found little

evidence to support the existence of psychological strain on individuals. However, Morris and Feldman (1996), through their seminal work on emotion control, focused on aspects of emotion work which explains that the consequences of emotion work can be dependent on a variety of aspects, referring to the frequency and intensity of emotion displays and the variety of emotions and emotional conflict which workers are expected to display as part of their role which they don't genuinely feel (Zapf, 2002). Unlike most shore-based hospitality roles, where workers are able to leave their place of work at the end of their shift, the cruise worker is unable to leave and is frequently exposed to emotion interactions, with colleagues and passengers during on and off duty periods. According to Hochschild (1983), these frequent emotion encounters, which demand emotion displays, can overtax workers leading to alienation and exhaustion.

The frequency of interactions related to emotion work and emotion displays provides a clear influence on an individual's emotional state. However, Morris & Feldman (1996) suggest the more attentiveness required to emotion displays, the more effort is required to carry out emotion work. Hence, the duration and intensity of emotion displays are related to the 'scripted' nature of interactions (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). Where interactions are for a short duration, it is likely to be highly scripted, e.g. polite rituals, such as greeting a passenger, with the effort involved in such short interactions lower in emotional intensity. By contrast, longer duration exchanges are less likely to conform to a precise script and suggest more intense emotions having to be displayed (Zapf, 2002). The intensity of emotion displays signifies how strong an emotion has to be expressed (Morris & Feldman, 1996), it can also refer to which emotion is required to be displayed. Zapf (2002) indicates

satisfaction is a less intense emotion than happiness, anger or frustration, which are emotions more likely to incur greater levels of effort on the part of an individual. However, frequent and intense exchanges varying in duration and levels of emotional demands, are all indicators of cruise workers daily job and social lives. Morris and Feldman (1996) note that the higher the variety of emotions to be displayed, the higher the emotion work and emotion regulation demanded of such workers.

4.8 Emotion Labour

To carry out 'emotion work' is the act of attempting to change one's own emotion or feeling for it to be appropriate for a given situation (Grandey, 2000). To be able to assess the situation and produce the correct expected feelings, social guidelines are used – these are a set of commonly accepted shared rules (Hochschild, 1983) that help individuals to fit together the desired emotions for a given situation. Emotion work is said to occur when a worker introduces and engages personal emotions (rather than an organisational script) into an interaction or exchange for reward or recognition. Consequently, much of what cruise workers do in their routine interactions and rituals entails the management of personal emotion (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Such exchanges require individuals to provide positive displays of emotion (smile), combined with the use of personal feelings (moods) to accomplish routine tasks central to their job role.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to the advancement of understanding emotion work is the seminal work of Hochschild's 'Managed Heart' (1979, 1983).

Hochschild's empirical study of air stewardesses working for Delta airlines highlighted how a worker's emotion management skills have become a saleable commodity (e.g. flight attendants, restaurant waiting staff, and hotel workers), commonly referred to as 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild distinguishes between emotional labour as a value exchange of work, where an individual's emotions are sold for a wage, rather than where emotional work or emotion management refers to an individual's personal context where emotions have use. Hochschild (1983:7) considers emotion work to be the management of inner feelings. Whereas, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993:90) define emotional labour as "the act of displaying appropriate emotion" an outer expressive behaviour deemed desirable and relevant to the organisation. However, both Hochschild (1983) and Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) agree that the modification of emotions, whether through the management of inner feelings, or the requirement to display emotions required as part of a job role, demands a level of emotion management on the part of the worker.

4.8.1 Surface acting and deep acting

The need for cruise workers to present specific impressions to others can be facilitated through actions such as 'surface acting' and 'deep acting', both of which require the ability of individuals to fake outward expressions (Hochschild 1983). However, surface acting means that workers try to manage the visible aspects of their emotions which appear on the 'surface' and can be observed in an interaction or exchange between to objects, to meet the expected organisational and emotion display rules, while leaving their inner feelings unchanged. This suggests that

emotional dissonance exists between a worker's inner feelings and their outer expression (Zapf, 2002). The downside to relying on surface acting as a strategy for creating an impression is that emotion expectations on the part of others in the exchange may require more than superficial emotions. For example, in the case of a passenger who is unhappy with their cabin (e.g. too noisy and unable to sleep), when they report it to a member of staff, they would expect to receive an authentic emotional response and not simply a superficial one. Therefore, for cruise worker to enact emotion displays that give the impression of authenticity, requires they deploy deep acting as an emotion strategy if the worker is unable to genuinely feel the appropriate emotion for the encounter.

Deep acting is the method of concealing emotions beyond a superficial level through an effortless enactment by which workers change their feelings to align with organisational expectations, producing a more natural and genuine display (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, 2013). Deep acting allows workers to portray the parts of their job role by genuinely altering what they feel, becoming the role they are asked to display (Hochschild, 1983). Additionally, Hochschild speaks of 'active deep acting', where a worker acts spontaneously and has to expend effort to regulate their emotions due to the need for them to actively invoke images and thoughts to induce certain emotions. Cruise examples might be when dealing with a difficult passenger who is angry and aggressive, requiring a cruise worker to manage the vented anger. Unlike surface acting, deep acting has the ability to satisfy passengers' expectations of genuine interpersonal relationships. However, the constant enactment by workers to colonise and adapt their inner feelings to meet the expectations of passengers and behavioural

demands of the organisations provides potentially high levels of emotion dissonance in workers.

4.8.2 Emotion Dissonance

Most emotion work studies discuss the concept of emotion dissonance and this study is no different. Emotional dissonance occurs when a worker is required to express emotions that are not genuinely felt in an exchange or situation (Zapf, 2002). Moreover, emotional dissonance can be considered a form of role conflict, where a worker's emotion response conflicts with role expectation in providing the appropriate display of emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). With emotion expectations linked to job role performance, and with cruise workers having to live and work in the same environment for long periods, there is a likely chance that individuals will experience emotion dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1997; Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Mann, 1999; Zapf, 1999; Grandey, 2000). Furthermore, emotional dissonance is high when the worker does not feel the appropriate emotion, likewise, if a worker spontaneously feels the appropriate emotions, emotion dissonance is low (Grandey, 2000). This suggests that emotion dissonance is linked or similar to the concept of surface acting and deep acting outlined by Hochschild. However, emotion dissonance in individuals and the alienation of one's own genuinely felt emotions can lead to poor self-esteem and issues of depression (Zapf, 2002). Brotheridge & Lee (1998) proposed that emotion dissonance is related to psychological strain, but that other variables of emotion work (frequency, duration and intensity) were not linked to emotional strain, except where they were related to emotional dissonance. Therefore, if we

consider the life of a cruise hotel worker, who is expected to join a ship and adapt their lifestyle and identity to comply with the total institution control of the ship, and whose working and social life is under constant observation, as well as being expected to enact desirous behaviours on a daily basis, there is an inevitability for emotion dissonance to occur.

Emotional dissonance has been described as job demand, an emotion regulation issue, with the divergence of felt emotions by a worker operating alongside/against those expected emotional expressions desired by an organisation (Zapf, *et. al.*, 1999). Whilst most studies consider emotional dissonance to be linked to the reactions of emotion displays or behavioural strategies, Zapf, (2002: 245), contends that emotional dissonance is an external constraint, "qualitative differences in social situations" that fail to outline further influences on emotion work, such as the frequency and duration of exchanges. Display rules set by organisations outline the desired emotion and behavioural states yet, omit any consideration which reflects how often individuals are exposed to situations where they have to show the required emotions. Moreover, they do not reflect how positive or negative social interaction is which may influence a worker's feelings and whether it fits with the required emotion display. For example, the cruise worker who operates behind the front desk on-board can have differing levels of frequency and intensity in their emotion exchanges. On an 'embarkation day' (the first day of a new cruise), the guest services officers will have passengers queuing most of the day to have queries and complaints addressed. Whereas 'port days' (the ship is in port) the majority of passengers are ashore, and workers have infrequent, low duration/intensity exchanges. However, the ability to manipulate

personal emotions in the attempt to reduce the distance between emotions felt, and the desired and expected emotion displays in a situation can help to fulfil the overall task.

So far, this chapter has explained that the use of emotions by workers to create an overall impression, to display certain emotions in a deliberate attempt to foster perceptions of oneself and to display desirous emotions required by the organisation. Therefore, it can be accepted that emotion work is part of the wider job role of a cruise hotel worker and is undertaken to influence and meet the expectations of passengers. Moreover, the service sector is based on the premise that passengers are more likely to purchase and repeat purchase when they experience positive service interactions. Thus, an emotion performance by cruise workers may help in developing trust in the organisation, and develop customer relationships (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). The development of customer relationships and building trust through the use of impression management and emotion work, as the assessment of service quality, is often difficult to gauge. Emotion work should influence the passenger's emotions, thereby influencing their behaviours and emotions (Zapf, 2002). For example, it can be assumed that passengers in a good mood are more likely to have a better time during their vacation and provide positive feedback. Many cruise companies use mechanisms of feedback to measure passenger satisfaction, with passengers encouraged to name individuals cruise workers who have exceeded expectations. This suggests that cruise workers who display positive emotions towards passengers in an attempt to exceed expectations will receive further reward and recognition, including re-employment or potentially leading to promotion.

4.8.3 *Emotion Contagion*

Emotional contagion is a phenomenon where one person's emotion and behaviours directly trigger similar emotions and behaviours in other people (Hatfield, Rapson & Le, 2009). Where one person's emotions are transmitted between people during social interactions, in effect one person 'catches' another person's emotions, as such influencing the dynamic of the interaction (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006). The process of emotional contagion has been attributed to people's tendency to impersonate and synchronise the emotion displays with those of the other parties in an exchange, to "converge emotionally" (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994:5). Therefore, the transfer of emotions from one person to another is the result of a person's unconscious emotive processes, instinctively imitating another's facial expressions and non-verbal cues (Hennig-Thurau, *et. al.*, 2006; Bono & Ilies, 2006). Although a person will feel the emotions resulting from the mimicry of another's emotion, the process that leads to such emotions is often "subconscious and automatic" (Barsade, 2002: 648). Automatic and subconscious emotional responses which lead to mimicry of other's emotion expressions are likely to be part of a cruise workers job role, for example, during such exchange's workers will often smile and laugh with passengers, providing a positive emotion. Therefore, emotional contagion theories are linked to the extent a person displays emotions with the greater the extent of an emotional display, the higher the chance of positive emotional contagion. However, it is worth noting that whilst positive emotion contagion exists the opposite is also true, where negative emotion contagion can exist if the greater emotion display is one of negativity.

In contrast to subconscious emotional contagion, which is based on an automatic response, conscious emotional contagion is based on a social comparison process, where people will actively seek emotions as a type of social information (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). This is considered central to human behaviours, particularly in situations of perceived ambiguity (Gump & Kulik, 1997). Conscious emotional contagion suggests that people will compare their moods with others and adapt their emotions to appropriately fit the situation (Barsade, 2002). For example, in the absence of social information, cruise workers joining a ship for the first time and meeting their new work colleagues will observe emotion displays in an attempt to adopt similar display rules. This helps them avoid perceived ambiguity in situations and assists in their adaptation of their identity to the setting. However, unlike subconscious emotional contagion, conscious emotional contagion is determined by the extent and authenticity of the act. For example, the frequency and genuineness of a smile with which emotions are displayed, and less about the concentration of emotion displayed. Therefore, emotional contagion whether undertaken subconsciously or consciously can help in understanding how and why cruise workers are required to constantly display positive emotions while on public view. This is likely to enhance the emotional moods and emotions of passengers while performing desirous behaviours demanded by the organisation.

Whilst emotion contagion provides an explanation of how emotions can be transmitted amongst groups and individuals within dynamic interactions, it does not address how individual cruise workers are able to identify and manage their own emotions or the emotions of others. Previously in this chapter, particular attention has been given to the creation of impression management through an

individual's emotion control, their ability to enact behaviours to fake [or be genuine] and to display or conceal their true emotions in compliance with organisationally desired behavioural displays, despite the strain placed on them through emotion dissonance. Such complexity of actions ultimately demands a degree of emotional intelligence.

4.9 Emotion Intelligence

Emotional Intelligence and Emotional Quotient considers the internal and private feelings that influence how individuals' function. These feelings may not necessarily be linked to social skills or social intelligence but focused exclusively on emotional skills (Mayer, Roberts, & Barsade, 2008). Emotional intelligence can help workers to use emotions in the decision-making process and to recognise the emotional states of others, all of which helps to manage relationships (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; George, 2000). Emotional Intelligence is the ability of individuals to recognise their own emotions and the emotions of others and to use this information to inform their thinking and behaviours in adapting to environments and forming emotional responses (Coleman, 2008). Studies have shown that people with high levels emotional intelligence are more likely to have higher levels of job performance, better mental health and enhanced leadership skills (Goleman, 1998; Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Bar-On, 2006; and Fiori & Antonakis, 2011).

The basic model of emotional intelligence focuses on an array of competencies and skills that drive performance. Goleman (1998) outlines five main constructs within emotional Intelligence which consists of Self-awareness; Self-regulation;

Social skill; Empathy and Motivation. Self-awareness is the ability to know one's emotions, strengths, weaknesses, drives, values and goals and recognise the impact on others. The capacity of a cruise worker to have high levels of self-awareness suggest they would be able to manage their own emotions and recognise the emotions of others, adapting their behaviours to manage the emotional state of others. Therefore, suggesting self-awareness as a construct is an intrinsic factor of dramaturgic sociological interaction. In addition to self-awareness, 'self-regulation' involves the ability to control one's emotions and impulses combined with the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. For a cruise worker who is continually exposed to a variety of emotion arousal scenarios, it can be considered a critical ability to suppresses inappropriate emotions in selecting appropriate responses to situations, thus suggesting emotion regulation is a highly significant function of a cruise hotel worker. It can be considered that both 'self-awareness' and 'self-regulation' are internal factors of an individual's EI state because people are generally born with a general emotional intelligence that determines their potential for developing emotional competencies (Boyatzis, Goleman, & Rhee, 2000). Of course, this is not the case for some individuals, such as severe autistic spectrum disorders and those with certain types of learning difficulties.

Social skills and empathy are emotional competencies that help individuals to manage and regulate emotions in others. Social skills are concerned with the management of relationships to move people in the desired direction. Throughout all three of the literature, chapters focus on the ability of a cruise worker to manage relationships, whether those relationships are between colleagues and managers,

or with passengers on-board for a short period of time. Nevertheless, the development of social skills can be viewed as an essential competency for the cruise worker who habitually encounters interactions with others, where management of emotional exchanges is an essential part of the interaction. Earlier in this chapter, it discussed the dramaturgic, symbolic interactionism and the expected rituals of exchanges where the management of one's own emotions and those of others is key. A further construct in emotional exchanges for the cruise worker is the ability to be empathetic, the willingness to consider the feelings of others, especially when making decisions. Empathy is the capacity to understand or feel what others are experiencing (Bar-On & Parker, 2000), whilst empathy is distinct from emotional contagion (Batson, 2009) it allows individuals to experience and match the emotions of another person.

The final construct within Goleman's model is motivation, the reason for people's actions, willingness and need for goal achievement. An individual's direction to perform certain behaviours, as the ability for a person to be motivated, can be inspired by other (extrinsic) or it may come from within an individual (intrinsic) (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Motivation can be considered as a cycle in which influencing behaviours drive performance, comprised of factors such as attitudes, beliefs, intentions, and effort which all impact a person motivation (Rueda & Moll, 1994). Therefore, the emotional intelligence model presents a construct for a hotel cruise worker who is constrained by their setting and who is required to work long hours for prolonged periods of time.

4.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has built upon the two previous chapters by connecting sociological theories of emotion with theories of emotion work, emotional labour, emotional dissonance and emotional intelligence. Throughout the chapter, the connecting threads of the numerous theories of emotion have illustrated how the cruise environment, with its panoptical and institutional control cultures, set the foundations for the management of identity and the drive for organisational citizenship behaviours. These should be thought of as cornerstones that underpin why emotion, in all its forms, is so critical in understanding cruise work.

The dramaturgy and the social constructivist nature of emotions onboard cruise ships outlined how the performance, in front of 'others', reflects Goffman's notions of stage-managed acts which are constructed to fit colleague and client expectations of behaviour. This enables a better understanding of why a cruise worker adapts their identity when in the public gaze, and an alternative identity when they are 'back of house'. However, a 'backstage' identity does not suggest they are 'totally' free to demonstrate true emotions because the 'cultural script' to which they must conform is subject to total institutional control as discussed in chapter two.

The exploration of symbolic interactionist theory (SIT) helped provide valuable insights into understanding how self and identity lie at the heart of emotion control. This also built upon the theories in chapter three that showed self-identity to be an important factor on the part of a worker's willingness to perform desirous

behaviours. SIT also illustrated how individuals are likely to adapt and monitor their perceptions of themselves and their self-identity to meet the expectations of others, thus aligning with Goffman's 'process of mortification' (discussed in chapter two) as to compliance and coping mechanism for difficult situations. Additionally, Interaction Ritual theory (IRT) unites theories of dramaturgy and symbolic interactionism being based on the quality of emotion arousal during face-to-face or vocal encounters. IRT's helps shed light on how individuals manage adjustments to self through self-monitoring.

In furthering the understanding of emotional exchanges for cruise workers, the chapter sought to explore the influence of power and status on the process of emotion arousal. Developing further the theories in chapter two of total institution control and panopticism, and particularly aspects of power and control, the chapter raises the important spectre of the passenger, and not just rank by stripes, as a major source of power dynamics in the life of a cruise worker. This helps to explain the dynamic of emotion responses that cruise workers have to make is dependent upon the status of co-workers and the interactions with passengers. These exchanges are important features of both the act of dramaturgy but also too, the critical nature of emotion work, emotional work and emotional labour. These place enormous pressures across a spectrum of scenarios which demand cruise workers enact multiple identities. These aptly demonstrate Hochschild's emotional labour principles of deep and surface acting as part of the dramaturgy. However, workers who mask their emotions can experience levels of emotional dissonance. The divergence of inner moods from those desirous emotion displays can lead to negative consequences, particularly role conflict as part of ORT. All of this

combines to place a significant burden upon the cruise worker to have in their possession a complex set of emotional intelligence skills, or put another way, a high emotional quotient. This is primarily to enable them to have heightened levels of self-awareness, self-regulation and being able to control emotions and adapt to changing circumstances. All of this has to combine with the skills to assess social situations and to display appropriate expressions such as empathy.

This complex melange of emotion, citizen behaviour, identity management and dramaturgy, all in the face of big-brother type controls by organisational agents was perfectly captured in a recent television episode of 'The Cruise', an ITV documentary of life on-board the cruise ship (see <https://www.itv.com/hub/the-cruise/2a4037a0025>.) In this particular extract, two assistant cruise directors were vying for a promotion. During the episode, both were filmed entertaining passengers and, both were required to generate positive feedback. All of this took place whilst also being spot-checked by the Hotel General Manager who was observing their respective performances. The episode perfectly illustrated the emotion control and emotional intelligence required from both assistant cruise directors through their dramaturgy performances as well as the symbolic interactions that took place intending to ensure passenger satisfaction and being noticed by senior managers to underpin promotion aspirations.

This now draws to a close the theoretical foundations of the thesis which aims to provide the requisite foundations to help address the research aim and the research questions posed at the end of chapter one. The thesis now moves to the

methodological foundations and research methods used to provide the answers to these questions.

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.0 Overview of Chapter

This chapter describes the philosophical and methodological framework of the study. However, before outlining these, it is worth restating the aim of the study which is:

To comprehend the complex circumstances impacting the workplace experiences of maritime hospitality workers on cruise ships and the drivers of behavioural performance and emotion management.

To undertake a critical analysis, it is necessary to explore how cruise ship workers juggle their emotions and manage their behavioural interactions in a process of social construction as this is essential in answering the four research questions.

These are:

RQ1 How does the cruise setting affect how individuals react to situations relating to Power and control?

RQ2 What are the principle drivers for deployment of discretionary effort for cruise workers?

RQ3 How are cruise workers personal and social identities impacted by their work on cruise ships

RQ4 How is a cruise worker's emotional regulation influenced by the work and social setting of a cruise ship?

This chapter commences with an overview of phenomenology (Heidegger, 1962; Husserl, 1969), which has been selected as the philosophical paradigm for this thesis. Thereafter, a consideration of the practical implications of the phenomenological foundation is linked to the qualitative methodology deployed in the study, partly through a critique of the ontological and interpretivist relationship. This is a process of inquiry traditionally associated through human discourse, largely because human emotional actions cannot be examined through natural and physical science, but instead investigated through textual analyses drawn from narratives deployed in traditional qualitative enquiry (Husserl, 1970; Diltthey, 1977; Tracy, 2013). The epistemological approach adopts a social constructivist standpoint, whereby a cruise ship worker's *Lifeworld* is shaped by their environment and their interactions with others. Thus, suggesting that ontology and epistemology are intrinsically linked. Additionally, a semi-structured interview method and a phenomenological 'Data reduction' analysis approach (Miles and Huberman, 1994) will be outlined as methods of analysis for identifying themes to be addressed using participant data. The chapter then moves to outline the phenomenological 'data reduction' method used to generate the findings from participant interviews, before closing with details of the ethical processes associated with research of this kind.

5.1 Philosophical Perspective – Phenomenology

Previous chapters have outlined the nature of the confinement and isolation of the cruise ship as a place of work, as well as the role of identity, emotion control, and factors behind drivers of discretionary behaviour for those individuals living and

working on board cruise ships. There are considerable implications in understanding how cruise ship workers react to the process of emotion management in the cruise ship environment, and in making extrapolations of how conditions of their work and living conditions impact upon them. As such, it was important to adopt a methodological approach which did not make assumptions about the context of the work environment, instead to carefully consider the role of the worker and the common influencing factors upon their behaviours. Phenomenology fulfils this remit because it is concerned with understanding how the everyday world is established regarding the distinctions between the internal and external world, thus, suggesting a general relationship between the mind and world (Hegel, 1977). A suitable starting point to explore this relationship is the works of Husserl (1969), Hegel (1977) and Heidegger (2004). In preparation for a discussion of the methodological approach adopted for this study, the following sections explain the principles of phenomenology and the different approaches distinguished between the principle theorists, Husserl and Heidegger. A further elucidation is offered as to why phenomenology was selected as the most appropriate approach for the study and deconstructing the *Lifeworld* of those living and working onboard cruise ships.

Phenomenology is derived from the Greek *phainomenon*, 'that which appears' (Zahavi, 2003). In its root meaning Phenomenology is the study of phenomena, literally, appearances as opposed to reality (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2013). Classical Phenomenologists Husserl (1969) and Merleau-Ponty (1999) spoke of the pure description of lived experiences, whereas Heidegger (2004) spoke of historical hermeneutics interpreting a type of experience by relating to

relevant features of the context. Although subjective consciousness has a central role in this thesis, phenomenology moves beyond the consciousness of the researcher and seeks to understand phenomena better than the person describing their experiences (Dilthey, 1976). Moreover, the understanding of experiences is obtained, not through regarding individual narratives in isolation, but by comparing and contextualising them against the 'whole' of the experience, as presented by all participants. Therefore, phenomenology has "to let that, which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself" (Heidegger, 1962:58). Hence, Phenomenology can be defined as an approach to research that seeks to describe the essence of a phenomenon by exploring it from the perspective of those who have experienced it (Teherani, Martimianakis, Stenfors-Hayes, Wadhwa & Varpio, 2015). Thus, the goal of phenomenology is to describe the meaning of the experience, both in terms of what was experienced and how it was experienced (Teherani, *et. al.*, 2015; Neubauer, Witkop, & Varpio, 2019). There are different types of phenomenology, each rooted in different ways of conceiving the '*what*' and '*how*' of human experiences. Hence when deciding upon the phenomenological paradigm required, requires a reflection on the researchers chosen philosophy, both in addressing the research questions and, the overall aim, which is to understand and comprehend the experiences encountered by cruise ship officers operating in the cruise ship hotel department.

The Encyclopedia of Phenomenology, published in 1997, features articles of seven different types of phenomenology. However more contemporaneous traditions have been developed that bridge the transcendental/hermeneutic divide such as *Lifeworld* research (Ashworth, 2003); Post-Intentional phenomenology (Vagle,

2018), and Interpretive Phenomenological analysis (Tuffour, 2017). In understanding the approach to phenomenology, the researcher must remember that most approaches hold a similar definition of phenomenology's object of study (Moustakas, 1994; Moran, 2008; Neubauer, *et. al.*, 2019). Phenomenology is commonly described as the study of phenomena, and of the meaning phenomena have in the subjective experience (Smith, 2018). Phenomenology is consequently the study of an individual's lived experience as it is subjectively lived by them (Manen, 1997). By examining an experience as it is subjectively lived, new meanings and appreciations can be developed to inform, or even re-orient, how we understand that experience (Laverty, 2003).

This thesis aims to comprehend the complex circumstances of cruise ship work which impact upon the behaviours and emotion control of cruise ship workers. Therefore, reconstructing the inseparability of 'self and world' and the meaning of actions taken by individuals in their social world (Outhwaite 1975; Moran, 2008). Phenomenology provides interpretations regarding distinctions between the internal and external world, as well as levels of objectivity and subjectivity. Furthermore, phenomenology deals with the way things 'seem' within forms of consciousness, and the way things 'seem' for structures of consciousness as experienced, or as things 'appear' in one's own experience (Husserl, 1969; Hegel, 1977). As such, subjective awareness of self is not enough to enable self-consciousness, as it cannot tell us what we are like in the world (Howell, 2013). Only another person can do this, as individuals are unable to be objective about their actions, values, and norms. Therefore, a complementary objective stance is required by providing a sense of how one's own external being can be understood;

hence, an understanding of consciousness must acknowledge the objective (community or world) as well as the subjective (self); as an intrinsic part of the analysis.

A subjectivist paradigm is compatible with the examination of emotion control and behavioural enactment as dynamics between the subjectivity of an experience and the objectivity of context, rather than a one-way process of cause and effect. As the participants in the study, cruise ship worker (officers), are communalised by the industry they are employed in, it is likely these participants are unable to be objective about their actions, values and norms, because their work/social communities can often define the self as well as self-defining the community (Howell, 2013). In the case of this study, the panopticism of the ship environment (object) as well as the subjective (self), are intrinsic elements for interpretation and examination.

As phenomenology is the study of social actors' engagement with objects in the world, each viewed in terms of their lived experiences rather than scientific laws (Husserl, 1970), this means subjective and objective knowledge are intimately intertwined. To understand the reality of a phenomenon is to understand the phenomenon as it is lived by a person. Husserl contends that a lived experience of a phenomenon possesses features that are commonly perceived by the individual who had experienced it. These commonly perceived features can be identified to develop a generalisable description. The essences of a phenomenon representing its true nature. However, the challenge faced in engaging Husserl's phenomenology is to engage the study of a person's lived experience of a

phenomenon (Barua, 2007; Lopez & Willis, 2004). This requires a suspension of the researcher's own attitudes, beliefs, and suppositions in order to focus on those of the participant. Husserl's contributions to philosophy and science developed an enabling of researchers to suspend the natural attitude as well as naïve understanding of what we call the human mind so as to disclose the realm of transcendental subjectivity as a new field of inquiry (Mckenna, 1982; Staiti, 2012).

Transcendental phenomenology seeks to overcome any relation to the 'natural world', such that objects have an existence independent of their observers (Husserl, 1969). Instead, the observer should trust the way objects appear to their consciousness, regardless of whether the resulting experiences are real or illusionary. Thus, objects cannot be regarded as 'things-in-themselves' but exist as forms of our consciousness. Consciousness 'intends' the world and is directed at objects. In this sense, consciousness is not a passive reflection of the world, but a process of actively structuring and constructing the world.

Consciousness connects those in the *Lifeworld* with the *Lifeworld* itself and helps distil the meanings of phenomena. This requires a conscious removal of the researcher's preconceptions, an *epoche*, or 'suspension of judgement' (Husserl, 1969) that moves the investigation beyond naïve experiences, through to reflection and understanding of the experiences as they appear. Thus, in order to be able to consciously regard phenomena, the researcher needs to bracket attitudes to the world to see things as they 'really' are, contained in consciousness (Eagleton, 2003). Therefore, in line with Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology, personal views and judgements are required to be suspended, temporarily put on hold to

facilitate the inquiry by focusing on only its most significant components (Moran, 2008). Further suggesting, that phenomenological research is done 'with', and not 'to' others (Moustakas, 1994), which somewhat contradicts earlier accusations of taking things at face value.

Phenomenological investigations can be described as the conscious engagement of the researcher with an object, or phenomenon, as long as the object or phenomenon is in a priori existence, the gaining of knowledge through 'intentionality'. The concept of 'intentionality' refers to the notion that consciousness is always a consciousness of something, which signifies a move away from seeing and thinking about phenomena in the 'every day', 'natural attitude', to the 'intentional', or, 'transcendental attitude' (Sokolowski, 2000: 42). Therefore, 'intending' in a phenomenological paradigm requires conscious (cognitive) engagement, a 'relationship' with an object (Sokolowski, 2000:8). The presence of 'intersubjectivity' highlights the existence of phenomena in a shared world of shared experiences, rather than a world of isolation. Phenomenology does not reject the external reality of the context (Heidegger, 1962). The reality of work for the cruise worker is its unique work setting and living environment, in its quasi-ranked organisational hierarchical structures, in its strict rules and regulations, its worker confinement, and lack of freedoms and through the inability of workers to leave the ship at will. Working onboard can, therefore, be considered an experience of complex phenomena, which does not fully appear in the conscience at a single point, instead of becoming a constrained and constantly observable '*Lifeworld*'. Thus, the world each of us lives in can be considered 'Lebenswelt', a '*Lifeworld*' (Miles and Huberman, 1994). A phenomenological '*Lifeworld*' is not a

world of objectively verifiable and positivistic projects and idealised scenarios of cause and effect, but where relationships and actions, and their construction, are made possible through human 'intentionality'. Therefore, '*Lifeworld*' includes the external reality of structure and work, which is not objectively demonstrable, but one that is personally experienced by individual subjects (Eagleton, 2003).

A foundational break from Husserl's focus of phenomenological inquiry was that of Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology, while Husserl's focus is interested in nature of knowledge, Heidegger's attention focused in the nature of being and temporality (Reiner, 2012). As the aim of this study is concerned with the human experiences of cruise ship officers and how it is lived for those individuals, living and working in the constrained environment of the cruise ship, the notion of Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology moves away from Husserl's focus on acts of perceiving, recalling and thinking about the world (Lavery, 2003), and instead focuses on human beings as knowers of the phenomenon. In contrast, Heidegger focuses on human beings as actors in the world and the relationship between an individual and their '*Lifeworld*' (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Heidegger's term '*Lifeworld*' refers to the notion that an individual's realities are invariably influenced by the world in which they live. Thus, suggesting an appropriate methodological approach to explore and unpick the '*Lifeworld*' of the cruise ship officers whose lives are influenced by the 24/7 nature of living and working onboard a cruise ship. Given this orientation that individuals are influenced by the world in which they live, individuals are understood as 'already' having an understanding of themselves within the world, even if they are not constantly, explicitly and/or consciously aware of that understanding (Staiti, 2012). An individual's conscious experience of a

phenomenon is not separate from the world, nor from the individual's personal history. Consciousness is, instead, a formation of historically lived experiences including an individual's personal history and the culture in which they are raised (Lopez & Willis, 2004). As such, an individual cannot step out of their *Lifeworld*, and likewise individuals cannot experience a phenomenon without referring back to their background understanding. Hence, Hermeneutic Phenomenology seeks 'to understand the deep layers of human experience that lay obscured beneath surface awareness and how the individuals *Lifeworld*, or the world as they pre-reflectively experience it, influences this experience (Bynum & Varpio, 2018).

The hermeneutic tradition pushes beyond a descriptive understanding of a phenomenon by rooting itself in interpretation and interpreting experiences and phenomena via an individual's *Lifeworld* (Neubauer, et.al., 2019). However, if all human experience is informed by the individual's *Lifeworld*, and if all experiences must be interpreted through that background, hermeneutic phenomenology must go beyond description of the phenomenon, to the interpretation of the phenomena. The researcher must be aware of the influence of the individual's background and account for the influences they exert on the individual's experience of being. This is not to say that the individual's subjective experiences, which is inextricably linked with social, cultural and political contexts is pre-determined. Heidegger argued that individuals have 'situated freedom', a concept that asserts that individuals are free to make choices, but their freedom is not absolute, it is circumscribed by the specific conditions of their daily lives (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology provides the philosophical perspective to study the meaning of an individual's being in the world (Cruise ship), as their experience is

interpreted through their *Lifeworld*, and how these meanings and interpretations influence the choices that the individuals makes (Lavery, 2013). Thus, the hermeneutic phenomenology requires interpretation of the narratives provided by participants in relation to their individual contexts in order to illuminate the fundamental structures of a participants understanding of being and how that has shaped the decisions made by the individual (Heidegger, 1970).

A further aspect worth highlighting at this point is the role of the researcher in the inquiry. Instead of 'bracketing off' as identified by Husserl's Transcendental Phenomenology, Hermeneutic Phenomenology recognises the researcher, as with the participant, cannot rid themselves of their '*Lifeworld*'. Instead, the researchers past experiences and knowledge are valuable guides to the inquiry (Neubauer, *et. al.*, 2019). Subsequently, it is the researcher's experience and previous knowledge of working in the hospitality industry, and the challenges faced by these workers in supervisory roles that lead me to consider the '*Lifeworld*' experiences of cruise ship worker as a phenomenon worthy of investigation. Moran (2016) posits, to ask the researcher to take an unbiased approach to the data is inconsistent with hermeneutic phenomenology's philosophical roots. Instead, it is important the researcher is able to openly acknowledge any preconceptions and reflect on how their subjectivity is part of the analysis process.

5.2 Ontology to Epistemology

The interpretive framework or paradigm of any researcher will contain the researchers' epistemological, ontological and methodological premise, a basic set

of beliefs which informs and guides their actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). All research is interpretive; it is “guided by a set of beliefs about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (Denzin & Lincoln; 2003: 33). At the most general level, four major interpretive paradigms ultimately structure qualitative research: positivist/post-positivist; constructivist; critical (Marxist, emancipatory); and feminist-post-structural' (2003:33). Constructivist paradigms of inquiry involve interpretive perspectives of a theory which emphasise understanding and the relationship between interpretation and the phenomenon under investigation' (Howell, 2013), with emphasis placed on the interconnection between patterns, rather than the identification between cause and effect. Given the topic and aim of the research, the constructivist paradigm was selected as the most appropriate paradigm. Constructivism adopts relativist ontology, a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent to create an understanding), and a hermeneutic, dialectical methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Researchers of the constructivist paradigm are often concerned with the understanding of the social world where human activity is not regarded as a tangible material reality to be discovered and measured; but rather it is considered to be a 'text' that can be, interpreted, deconstructed, and analysed (Dilthy, 1977; Tracy, 2013).

Epistemology is regarded as a 'theory of knowledge' (Bryman, 2008; Bryman & Bell, 2011)) defining what makes for acceptable knowledge. Epistemology is presented on a continuum, with positivism and interpretivism being the opposing points. The difference between positivism and interpretivism rests in positivism's aim being to explain reality through the natural sciences, whereas interpretivism seeks to understand the phenomena (Dilthy, 1977; Holloway, 1997).

Ontology is a consideration of that which exists. Bryman's (2008: 18-19) taxonomy places ontological considerations between two extremes, objectivism and constructivism/constructionism. Meaning constructivism is based on the assumption of a socially constructed reality, in direct contrast to positivism/objectivism (Holloway, 1997; Burr, 2003). A further distinction between constructivism and constructionism differs in conceptualising how meaning construction occurs. Constructivism is regarded as the creation of epistemological knowledge as an individual process, carried out by actors as they engage with their surrounding environments. It is, therefore, apposite to adopt a constructivist ontological and epistemological stance for its fit to the aim of the thesis of comprehending the complex circumstances of the cruise ship that influence the socially constructed '*Lifeworld*' of maritime hospitality workers.

Conversely, constructionism, regards epistemological formation as a social process, implying that, meaning formation is shared and occurs jointly, through social agreement (Howell, 2013). Fundamentally, the formation of action by the individual through self-indication always takes place in a social context (Mead, 1962). This suggests, community and self are intrinsically linked and the distinction between self and community are difficult to ascertain. Hence the initial assumptions of this thesis are that a cruise worker's identity of self is intrinsically linked to the community of the cruise ship that the community shapes and influences an individual's behaviour and emotion control. These assumptions can be supported by Guba and Lincoln (1989) who posit, that the core assumptions of constructivist ontology are that realities are not objectively out there; but are constructed by individuals often under the influence of a variety of social and cultural factors that lead to a shared construction.

Constructivism is developed through the recognition that language is part of the social existence and that evaluation of beliefs depending on the language games from which the language games emanate (Howell 2013). When this is linked with the idea of many changing realities we are led to epistemological relativism; where all knowledge is produced through social structures and truths, where realities are formed by the different communities of interpreters that inhabit them (Gergen, 1997). Epistemologically in the constructivist paradigm the researcher and researched continually interact and influence one another, and the research project involves limited possibilities regarding generalisations (Howell, 2013: 90). Therefore, the epistemological standpoint of relativism supports the position of this thesis as the socially constructed exchanges between the cruise ship workers, managers and passengers can be interpreted by the observer/researcher through actively engaging in understanding the language, social structures and communities of interpreters in the *Lifeworld* of the cruise ship.

Key axioms are structurally configured into the constructivist paradigm, with axioms defined as a set of un-demonstrated basic beliefs accepted by convention and established by practice as the building blocks of some conceptual or theoretical structure or system (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). This is true of this thesis, which considers the social constructions and interactions between the cruise worker, manager and passengers, based on the theoretical work of scholars such as Goffman, Hochschild and Foucault as described in the literature chapters. However, Howell (2013) advocates constructivist axioms involve holistic, multiple realities and the fact that multiple realities raise more questions than answers means prediction and causality are unlikely outcomes of constructivist research,

although levels of understanding can be achieved (Guba & Lincoln 1989). However, in rejecting epistemological relativism, Denzin (2000) argued that through experience the world can be accurately depicted.

The phenomenological paradigm, interpretivist ontological and constructivist epistemological framework embedded within this study are particularly relevant to the qualitative approach adopted herein. Additionally, the suitability of the qualitative approach offers clear value for researching and exploring the experiences of cruise workers and their behavioural and emotional controls, particularly with behaviours impacted by the panopticism of the cruise ship environment. Therefore, allowing for a focus on how workers 'actually' work and their social life experiences, the thesis aims to document how cruise ship workers construct and sustain positive emotions and positive behavioural displays of self within social groups (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

5.3 Study Sample - Cruising the World to Meet the Sample

Social science researchers make observations of people interacting in social and work situations to develop informed analysis (Howell, 2013). Phenomenological philosophy, especially constructivist paradigms, encourage interactions with respondents in their natural settings. The pilot study for this thesis took place throughout 2016, where the researcher tested the interview questions to gain an early understanding of the issues faced by cruise workers. Following the pilot interviews, it was intended that interviews would take place in an informal environment where participants could relax and feel they were able to speak freely.

However, due to the nature of the cruise ship industry, and the inability to gain free and open access to workers, achieving a consistent setting to conduct interviews was almost impossible. As such, many of the interviews were conducted on-board ships, in easily accessible areas, such as public venues, however, these areas were also accessible to other individuals onboard (both fellow cruise workers and passengers).

The need to undertake interviews on-board ship during 'turnaround day' [a period where cruise passengers leave and new one's board] demonstrated the nature of the 24-hour work environment of a cruise ship, that not only restricts the free time of cruise workers, but how much the company [ship] takes from an individual's time. This was clear during the interviews as participants were frequently interrupted, required to return to their job role to 'deal' with operational demands, despite the pre-arrangement of time for the interview to take place. However, as a backdrop for undertaking interviews, operational cruise ships in port was not the ideal setting. It had been hoped that an interview setting would allow participants the time and space to speak freely and not feel pressured into responses or would feel the need to censor responses in line with organisational policy, thus reducing the prevalence of social desirability bias from participants.

Social desirability bias refers to the tendency of research subjects to choose responses they believe are more socially desirable or acceptable than choosing responses that are reflective of their true thoughts or feelings (Naher & Krumpal, 2012; Grimm, 2010; Paulhus, 2002). Often the problem related to social desirability bias is likely to occur when respondents are "unwilling or unable to report

accurately sensitive topics for ego defensive or impression management reasons” (Fisher, 1993: 303). This results in data that are systematically biased toward respondents’ perceptions of what is ‘correct’ in terms of social acceptability (Uziel, 2014; Paulhus, 2002; Fisher, 1993; Maccoby & Maccoby 1954). It is argued that social desirability is not only bias pervasive but can lead to spurious or misleading research findings.

As such, the tendency of social desirability can result in the over reporting of responses that are socially desirable and conversely under reporting responses that are deemed socially undesirable (Larsen, 2018; Uziel, 2014; Peltier & Walsh, 1990; Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987). The issue of social desirability bias occurring, is most likely to arise in situations in which questions are related to widely accepted social attitudes, or behavioural or social norms e.g. illicit drug use, alcohol consumption criminal behaviour and energy consumption (Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). Social desirability is more likely to occur when collecting data through personal interviews, specifically because of the presence of the researcher (Grimm, 2010). Therefore, to reduce risks of social desirability bias in the study the researcher followed the approach of establishing and building rapport with participants (Scott, 1968; Nederhof, 1985) which helps to create subject motivation as well as act as a source of generating free and frank responses (Goudy & Potter, 1975). Therefore, during the interviews the researcher developed a rapport with participants, remaining friendly but task orientated throughout, only acknowledging participant responses to check for clarity and understanding of responses to avoid confusion. As such, the role of the researcher was to listen and encourage the recalling of events, it is the perceptions of the *Lifeworlds* of the participants as the

knowers of the phenomena and it's those perceptions that matter, and not those of the researcher (Laverty, 2003).

However, due to the inaccessible nature of the cruise ship setting, and the difficulties in finding suitable participating sample outside of cruise ship setting, a pragmatic approach to interviewing people in their workplace was adopted. Interviewing participants in their workplace is considered appropriate if the participants are to be interviewed in their professional capacity. In understanding the cruise workers *Lifeworld*, it is also necessary to embed oneself in the operating environment to see at first hand the constructional processes at play. It is also important to note that sometimes there will be no choice over the venue, because many of the participants were unable to leave the ship and therefore the only option was for the researcher to board ship to undertake the interviews (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls & Ormston, 2014).

Following many official approaches to cruise ship organisations to participate in the study, all were broadly supportive of the study but were unable to offer access to their employees. Some of the reasons provided were the global nature of the industry, that it would be impossible to guarantee locations of crew members whilst at sea, plus, cruise companies could not guarantee participants would be willing to participate once onboard. This was an initial setback meaning early plans for data collection were now in jeopardy. As a result, alternative avenues of access were sought. Through the researcher's links to BSc. (Hons) Cruise Management programme at the University of Plymouth, many cruise ship workers across various cruise companies were in the researcher's networks. This enabled the

establishment of links with participants from the UK, Uruguay, United States of America, Finland, Germany, South Africa, India and China all agreeing to participate. However, concerns about the researcher's privileged access and concerns about bias could be overcome by the researcher remaining focused and objective at all times throughout the data collection process. It is impossible to avoid bias completely but being in an established cruise network provided the researcher not only the access that has previously been denied to others, but also provided the nuanced insight to look beyond the obvious and into the *Lifeworld* of those participants the researcher engaged with.

5.3.1 Study Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Through the above approach of interviewing participants with whom I had previous connections, or participants who I had come to be connected with through a wider network of cruise ship workers, I sought to uphold the principles of 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' required of qualitative researchers. Broadly conceptualised, 'trustworthiness' is comparable to quantitative uses of 'validity', or, the ability of an inquiry to actually measure that which it intends to measure (Butler-Kisber, 2010:14; Field, 2013). Since qualitative research seeks to understand the whole, rather than measure and test relationships between constituent parts, Lincoln and Guba's (1985 in Bryman 2008; Holloway, 1997) use of 'trustworthiness' is as a means of assessing qualitative findings of the phenomenon. In relation to this, four categories are considered.

'Credibility' is comparable to 'internal validity' in quantitative research and is aimed at demonstrating findings are meaningful and represent the participants with integrity. As part of the interview process I sought to engage participants for their interpretations of emotion control and the requirements of OCB as a result of working in a relatively unique hospitality setting. I did so by asking them to comment, clarify, and add their experiences past and present. I also sought clarification on themes as they emerged and became clearer so that I might establish with participants common behavioural experiences.

Contrastingly, 'transferability' is comparable to external quantitative validity, or in other words, a measure of the significance a piece of qualitative research provides, given its potentially small sample size. In this sense, the use of semi-structured interviews avoids constraints and rigidity of structured interviews by allowing participants the ability to steer the direction of the interview, thus, avoiding omission of critical elements that influence emotion regulation and behaviour performances. This however, required a greater degree of planning and preparation, as befitting a process of two-way interaction and interview control shared by both parties. At the same time, a degree of flexibility had to be accepted and built upon, allowing me to refine the process and approach as I went along and as I gained a clearer understanding of the cruise setting – particularly as themes waxed or waned and became clearer or less important. As such, 'getting wiser' (Kvale, 1996: 100) through reflecting on the interview experience and approach became easier with more data and more experience of interviewing in the context.

The third trustworthiness factor is that of 'dependability' where the researcher ensures the research process is logical and traceable, and clearly documented (Tobin and Begley, 2004). As with ensuing credibility, this refers to the inferences made from the participants statements. Hycner, (1985) suggests that the researcher returns to the co-researcher (participants) with a summary of the script, but this proved problematic as participants were either unwilling or, in a majority of cases, unable to set time aside when I contacted them. Most, if not all, participants were either working onboard ship, or on vacation where they did not wish to be disturbed. Therefore, in line with their wishes, I amended my approach to set time aside with each participant to check my understanding against theirs by asking them to comment on aspects of commonality gleaned from their and other participant responses.

Lastly, the final aspect of 'confirmability' is concerned with establishing the researcher's interpretations and findings are clearly derived from the data, requiring a demonstration of how conclusions and interpretations have been reached (Tobin & Begley, 2004). Hence the aim is to demonstrate the original voices are not overtly replaced by researcher bias, while recognising that the latter is nevertheless present and to be acknowledged, rather than covered up. This is particularly central to the purpose of phenomenology which advocates the return to 'the things themselves' that is, phenomena as they manifest themselves, rather than framed or reductively described. Hence, my use of semi structured interviews and the conscious attempt to allow participants to expand their narratives and not keep rigidly to the suggested questions allowed the participants' voice to emerge.

This approach reflected my anticipated potential for rich and detailed participant narratives, despite the potential not always being realised.

5.3.2 Developing Rapport

The decision to use semi-structured interviews provided the best opportunity to gain in-depth knowledge of distinct beliefs, opinions and experience of cruise ship officers and at the same time allow me to develop and build rapport with participants in understanding their *Lifeworld's*. In being able to allow participants to express their opinions freely it was important to develop a rapport. The importance of developing rapport as part of qualitative research has been highlighted throughout literature relating to qualitative interviewing techniques (Cassell, 2015; King & Horrocks, 2010). The development of rapport doesn't mean ingratiating oneself with the participant, but rather more is concerned with matters of trust (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Rapport is crucial during the interview in allowing the participants to provide rich and detailed accounts of their experiences at the heart of the study. Key to building rapport is a sense of proximity. Even though participants may have received written information about the study, this may have been misread or misinterpreted, so an important part of developing rapport was to restate the purpose of the research and to check the participants understanding and answering any emergent further questions (King & Horrocks, 2010; Bell, 2014).

However, not all interviews were able to take the form of face to face classical interviewing with some being undertaken by telephone or Skype. This was due to

the geographical proximity of participants with the significant majority being distributed globally on cruise ships at sea. As a consequence, building rapport online is different from building a relationship face to face, meaning, rapport building can be problematic due to a lack of visual cues (Chen & Hinton, 1999; Hay-Gibson, 2009; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). Whilst Deakin & Wakefield (2014), suggest the possibilities of time 'lag' can disadvantage the researcher in building up rapport with the participant, this was not evident when conducting interviews via Skype in this study. There were some instances where differences in rapport were identified between interviews conducted face-to-face and those that were conducted via Skype. As such, the inability of the researcher to always be able to pick up on visual cues and pauses during responses was due to time 'lag' of technology due to inconsistent quality of global network connections not always being fully reliable. Nonetheless, these were not deemed sufficiently different to affect the quality of the conversation, and in some cases the interviews were conducted without the disruption of co-workers interrupting participants with general questions about their daily job roles. This supports the broad principles that the quality of responses gained through online interviews is much the same as responses produced by more traditional methods (Denscombe, 2003).

5.4 Interview procedure

To interview participants, a range of techniques were deployed, from face-to-face interviews, where the researcher travelled throughout the UK and Europe to cruise ports meeting participants ashore and on-board cruise ships, through to Skype interviews with participants further afield, in locations such as Uruguay, Canada

and those on-board ships in Asia. All of the participants were happy to participate and contribute to the interviews. Many of the interviewees had allocated time and space for the interview to take place. However, for those participants interviewed on-board in their place of work, there was often the constant interruptions, for example; pagers going off, cell phones ringing, deck phone calls and co-workers interrupting. This meant individuals were required to deal with work-related issues constantly. However, these actions demonstrated the value of understanding the constant demands placed upon cruise workers and the persistent strain on workplace emotions.

Despite the constant interruptions from co-workers, there was no requirement to interview participants more than once. The main concern was that participants would often be disturbed during the interview at a point where they would be providing an answer. Therefore, it was important to retrace the interview conversation to ensure that the point participants were trying to make as part of the interview was not lost due to interruptions. An example of such constant interruptions occurred during a Skype interview with a Hotel manager who was onboard a cruise ship in Singapore and the researcher was in the UK. The connection was made as the ship was in port and time had been allocated for the interview by the participant. However, midway through the interview it became apparent that a situation had arisen where a passenger had not returned to the ship, yet their passport was on-board, and their travel companion was also on board. Therefore, the hotel manager had to decide whether to land the passport and leave port or to carry out a further search of the ship and wait, despite pressure from the captain on the bridge to leave port. Despite all of this going on the

participant was able to provide full and frank responses to the interview questions. The researcher did offer to reschedule the interview several times, however, the participant declined the offer to reschedule as they would not have a time slot available in the near future.

The duration of interviews ranged from forty-five minutes as the shortest interview time, with up to two hours fifteen minutes duration for face-to-face interviews. There was a total of 27 face-to-face interviews undertaken in a range of venues from, venues in and around ports in the UK, on board ships in UK Port along the south coast of the UK, to interviews onboard ships (two cruise ships) in the Mediterranean. The average duration of a face to face interview was one hour and fifteen minutes. The remaining participants were interviewed through Skype video and audio communions. The time durations ranged from one hour and forty-five minutes for the skype audio call to the hotel manager in Singapore to a one hour and thirty-minute interview with a Hotel Manager in Uruguay. Therefore, there was no significant difference in duration whether face-to-face or via Skype interviews. This suggests the contribution from participants was of equal value.

5.4.1 Overview of participants – Meeting the Cruise Ship Workers

This section briefly discusses each of the participants in terms of their occupation, gender, nationality, length of service in the cruise industry and their employment status (see Table 2.0. page 148) and was collected during the interview process. All the participants in this study held officer positions on board cruise ships at the time interviews took place. As such, it is worth noting how participants' potential

status impacted upon their own personal reflections of power and control within the total institutional setting of the cruise ship.

Officer positions means each participant had a level of supervisory and management responsibility and control and with employment contract lengths ranging between four-six months, depending on role and positional rank. Therefore, it was important for the researcher to consider and address how participant status impacted on their reflections of personal power and control given the supervisory nature of roles and positions of power. The aim of the study is to understand the complex circumstances that impact behavioural performances and emotion controls within the cruise setting and how this is subjected to total observational control (Goffman). It is therefore highly relevant for the researcher to understand how a participant's status may have impacted their personal reflections of power and control.

A Foucauldian approach to understanding power suggests that "people will criticise instances of power and control closest to them, those which exercise actions on individuals, as they do not look for the 'chief enemy' but, for the immediate enemy" (Foucault, 1982:780). Therefore, those participants who are employed in lower ranking officer positions might view issues of power and control to be directly linked to those who have direct control and who exercise power over them. In contrast, participants who possess positions of greater power and control, such as the Captain or Hotel Director (four stripe officers), may see the organisation itself as possessing greater levels of power and control over their *Lifeworlds*.

Foucault (1982) suggests there are power struggles which question the status of an individual, and their right to be different, or against that which separates them, splits up community life and thus, tying them to an identity in a constraining way. Equally, Foucault (1982) discusses power and control in a way that is not always about negative and dominant control, but possessing the ability to be benevolent and compassionate, referring to “Pastoral Power” (Foucault, 1982: 783) in a whole community context (Foucault, 1982). In accepting that participants view power and control through different lenses based on their own position, I remained impartial during the interview process and observed responses and behaviours for signs and signals of power and control that would not have been displayed in obvious ways by participants, yet may form part of the complex circumstance that impact individual actions. Examples might include, a dismissive wave of an arm to a junior officer during an interview or stopping mid-flow in an interview to issue an order or to receive one.

Name	Onboard position	Average contract length	Length of service	Gender M/F	Country of origin
Sharon	Guest Relations Manager	4 months	17 years	F	Slovenia
Gary	Assistant Guest Relations Manager	6 months	5 years	M	United Kingdom
Michelle	Revenue Manager	4 months	11 years	F	South Africa
Julie	On-board Trainer	4 months	1 year	F	United Kingdom
Tony	Customer Services Manager	4 months	16 years	M	India
Sudeep	Assistant crew Manager	4 months	4 years	M	India

Kelly	Assistant crew Manager	6 months	2 years	F	United Kingdom
Marian	Guest Relations officer	6 months	2 years	F	USA
Mary	Assistant Chief Housekeeper	6 months	5 years	F	South Africa
Emily	Concierge	6 months	3 years	F	United Kingdom
Stacey	Shore Excursions Manager	4 months	16 years	F	Slovenia
Vladimir	Restaurant Manager	4 months	12 years	M	Lithuania
Rose	Hotel Director	3 months	15 years	F	Uruguay
John	Hotel Director	3 months	12 years	M	United Kingdom
Andrea	Bars Manager	4 months	15 years	F	United Kingdom
Ian	Night Manger	6 months	4 years	M	United Kingdom
Paul	Front Desk Manager	6 months	3 years	M	United Kingdom
Sarah	On board Trainer	6 months	5 years	F	United Kingdom
Verity	Crew Manager	4 months	6 years	F	United Kingdom
Gail	Assistant Crew Manager	4 months	4 years	F	United Kingdom
Jennifer	Adventure Manager	6 months	7 years	F	United Kingdom
Samantha	Port Presenter	4 months	10 years	F	United Kingdom
Simon	Administration Manager	4 months	7 years	F	United Kingdom
Robyn	Cruise Director	4 months	7 years	F	USA
Jane	Guest Relations Officer	6 months	1 year	F	United Kingdom
Lucy	Guest Relations Officer	6 months	1 year	F	
Mandi	Guest Relations Officer	6 months	2 years	F	Poland
Craig	Food & Beverage Manager	4 months	2 years	M	United Kingdom
Tommy	Staff Captain	3 months	26 years	M	Finland

Grace	Spa Manager	4 months	3 years	F	United Kingdom
Ben	Customer Services Manager	4 Months	2 years	M	United Kingdom
Tom	Hotel Auditor	4 months	9 years	M	Germany

Table 2.0. List of interview participants

5.4.2 The Interview Process - Pilot Interviews

A traditional procedure for testing the quality of an interview and for identifying researcher bias is the pilot study (Chenail, 2011). Through the development of a pilot study, I was able to try out the schedule and procedures to see if it performed as I envisaged. The term *pilot study* can be used in two different ways in social science research (Chenail, 2011). First it can be used as a “small scale trial run” (Polit, *et. al.*, 2001:467), or secondly, as a “pre-testing or trying out of a particular research instrument” (Baker, 1994: 182-3). As the cruise ship industry is an industry that is notoriously under researched to date, it was worth using the pilot study as a small-scale approach, not only to check for researcher bias, but moreover to undertake a feasibility study in preparation for the major study. At the outset of this study the intention was to focus on the leadership characteristics of onboard managers as means for influencing emotion control and behavioural performance, of themselves and others. Hence the pilot study provided a method to establish whether the study topic was appropriate and suitable.

Prior to interviewing, the schedule was first piloted on five participants whom the researcher had known personally for many years. These participants had worked

for several years in the sector and were still employed there working onboard several different cruise ships over lengthy periods of time which enabled them to provide insights from the perspective of several different cruise ship organisations. The participants were all British and had been employed in hotel departments in numerous management positions. The five pilot interviews comprised three males and two females. The interviews took place face-to-face at a venue in close proximity to a cruise port within the UK or onboard cruise ships. Prior to each interview, the participants were provided with a participant information sheet (see appendix C), which outlined the aim and purpose of the interview and the participants role and the responsibility of the researcher. In addition, the participant was asked to read and sign a participant consent form (see appendix B) which the researcher also signed.

The interviews were able to provide confidence in the area of questioning, and through the discourse of the interview it appeared appropriate for the researcher to engage with the participant by acknowledging their responses and asking confirmatory questions when clarification was needed based upon the responses and experiences being articulated. The five initial pilot interviews allowed for testing and adjusting questions in line with the aim of the study. All pilot participants had held positions of supervisory or managerial level roles on-board. This was a significant aspect of their experiences, and particularly important given the thesis aimed to examine the impact of the work environment and the influence and identifying drivers of behavioural performance. The initial line of questioning aimed to explore the leadership characteristics of individuals as an influencing aspect of behavioural performance. However, following the pilot interviews, it was apparent

that leadership characteristics did not emerge as a clear theme, with participants often referring the to the ship environment as being 'pseudo-military' where individuals rank, and position provided levels of authority as part of their status. Therefore, I felt it was important to focus on the status of onboard managers to view how power and control manifests itself given that individuals can often use rank and position. Hence, through narratives and language of participants I was able to unearth signs and signals of power and control, noting that power and control wasn't always used in a negative or controlling way but also in a benevolent and pejorative way, where managers might use their positions of power and control to 'look out' for the well-being of their followers as well as using their position to influence behavioural performances. Consequently, what emerged from the data was the environment of the cruise ship and the uniqueness of onboard work, being unable to leave the place of work that mattered when influencing behavioural performance. Hence, the pilot interviews allowed for an initial exploration of leadership characteristics which subsequently showed little worth and instead a sharper focus on the resultant areas of the study.

There was a degree of anxiety about the interviews and whether through the questioning I would be able to solicit the participant's responses related to emotions and behavioural performances, particularly those behaviours and emotions that were genuinely felt and how these impacted the behaviours of self and others generated by the cruise ship environment. By making connections with previous contacts working in the cruise industry that I have held over many years, I could be assured that the main study would be both appropriate and suitable in a topic by checking and seeking assurances that the question themes and approach

to be taken were both suitable and yet robust. The researcher met participants each on a separate occasion over several weeks and recorded interviews using a digital recording device whilst at the same time taking handwritten notes. The lessons learned from the pilot interviews demonstrated the value of taking handwritten notes for the amendment of questions for future interviews.

With the researcher confident that the pilot study helped shape the interview questions for the study, the process of completing the main study interviews was undertaken. Interviews were held in the same location (a port city south of England) as with previous participants, however, some participants interviewed were located onboard a cruise ship. This meant there were logistical issues to overcome, having to seek an invitation from the participant to get on board ship meant supplying security information before the visit and clearing security checks at the port. Once onboard, challenges were finding a suitable environment that was conducive to hold the interview, whereby the respondent felt comfortable enough to offer clear accounts of their experiences. Furthermore, due to the ship being in operation there was the added concern that passengers were boarding the ship, therefore the participant was always at 'risk' of being interrupted as part of their job role demands. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, with small amendments being made to the questions to fine-tune which allowed the best opportunity to capture participant's experiences.

5.5 Study Sample

Any phenomenological study raises issues of researcher access, primarily associated with the need to find individuals who have experienced the phenomenon/phenomena in question and gain their written permission to be studied. Due to the nature of gaining extensive access for multiple interviews with participants, it was convenient for the research to retain easily accessible people (Creswell, 1998). The preference of the study was to speak to and examine the experiences of as many cruise ship officers working in cruise ship hotel departments as possible. A further consideration was the language to be used to capture experiences of cruise hotel workers, due to the wide range of nationalities working onboard it was important to make sure that participants were able to understand and interpret accurately the questions asked by the interviewer. However, for the majority of international cruise ships, the principal language used on-board is English. Therefore, many of the participants were deemed to be convenient to study because of their availability (Plummer, 1983). This approach, however, did not detract from the important key points under investigation.

5.5.1 Data Collection Methods

The methods of data collection that were initially proposed for the study were to hold focus groups before instigating and carrying out semi-structured interviews, to examine the lived experiences of the cruise worker. However, as previously noted, the restrictions and inability to secure consistent access to participants by the cruise management organisations made this impossible. It was therefore

deemed more prudent to take a conservative approach to data collection; hence the inclusion of semi-structured interviews was deemed the most effective method. It was felt that semi-structured interviews would still enable participants to voice and articulate their complex experiences of living and working onboard cruise ships.

Interviews are described as 'structured' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) or 'purposeful' (Frey & Oishi, 1995) conversations with a focus on actual experiences' (King & Horrocks, 2010), and viewed as tools for collecting high-quality 'rich' data. The interview is a conversation with a sense of rationale and purpose, which seeks to acquire the individual's perspective of the descriptions, experiences, and events of their world. Kvale and Brinkman (2009: 2) argue that an "interview it's 'literally' an *inter view*", an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, an exchange of views between individuals regarding a common theme of interest. Informed by the research philosophy of phenomenology, interpretivist ontology and epistemology, the methodological process of interviewing offered a method to provide insights into the structure of working and living on board cruise ships and how it impacts on the behavioural and emotion controls of individuals.

The adoption of semi-structured interviews thus facilitated the exploration of work-based and social life experiences, how individuals construct their identity, emotion control and behavioural enactment. This coupled with flexibility and expressiveness for the interviewee and interviewer, along with the structure and relevance, ensured the dialogue of experiences and events were given the fullest chance of openness within the parameters of the study. The purpose of the

interview was not to generate 'correct' answers or elicit a body of facts, but rather to enable participants to actively construct their social world (Silverman, 2011) which in return provided an attempt to understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subject's perspectives (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). It is relevant to note that it was important that the interview approach remained consistent throughout with follow up questions being posed when points emerged to some particular experiences that necessitated further exploration.

Generally, the interactions between the researcher and the participants were open and friendly. However, on several occasions, there was evidence of participants being emotionally expressive, such as anger and frustration, which was observable from physical expression and the use of strong language. The use of such language was not aimed at the researcher and was not seen as problematic, moreover was viewed as an indication of participants being relaxed during the interview and their willingness to talk freely about certain aspects and situations of their work and social environment with the researcher. Each participant was given as much time as was required to address and answer the questions to their fullest potential. The interviewer was not always able to be aware of visual cues due to some of the interviews taking place via skype, so the interviewer had to focus upon verbal cues.

Before moving to the following section of analysis of the data, it is worth acknowledging data saturation as an impact on the quality of the research and content validity (Bowen, 2008; Kerr, Nixon, & Wild, 2010). A frequent source for addressing the issue of data saturation is Mason (2010). However, O'Reilly &

Parker, (2012); and Walker, (2012), claim that data saturation is reached when there is enough information to replicate the study, when the ability to obtain additional new information has been realised (Guest, *et. al.*, 2006). However, there is no *one size fits all* approach to reaching data saturation, other than some general principles being no new data, no new themes, and no new coding (Guest, *et. al.*, 2006). Furthermore, Guest *et. al.*, (2006), proposes, data saturation can occur with as little as six interviews, depending on sample size of the population. However, Dibley (2011), suggests thinking of data in terms of thick (as quantity) and rich (as quality) rather than size.

The sample size for this study presented rich and thick data through the narrative of the interview transcripts. It is not possible to identify the exact point that data saturation was reached. This was due to the nature of gaining access to cruise ship officers, which was on an ad-hoc basis as and when cruise ships were in dock or when participants were able to Skype or meet. Thus, it was not always possible to transcribe and identify new codes from each transcript before the next scheduled interview as there was a need to act swiftly and to accommodate the wishes of participants. Data saturation was deemed to have been reached when the final round of interviews was not generating any new themes and the content of interviews was broadly replicable in content.

On completion of the interviews, the process of transcription was undertaken. However, it was discovered during the transcription process that the researcher was placing an over-emphasis on the points discussed in the interviews that felt important to the researcher, and not necessarily what was being said, thus failing

in the notion of the phenomenological *epoche*. As a result, all transcriptions were professionally transcribed. Doing so allowed the researcher to achieve distance between the actual experiences of an individual rather than adding their personal bias and viewpoint. Adopting professional services for transcription was also considered more time-efficient, as one hour of interview time could take up to five hours of transcription time for a non-professional transcriber (Kvale, 2013). In an attempt to maintain accurate accounts of the spoken word in transcriptions against the original recordings I randomly checked every fifth interview transcript for accuracy.

5.6 Analysis of Data

5.6.1 Thematic Analysis

Qualitative data can be examined from a variety of different perspectives (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). Similar to quantitative analysis, the basic goals of qualitative analysis are to make sense of the data, reduce the data set, and construct meaning to the findings. This involves a process of segmenting the data into coherent parts, identifying relationships and patterns that explain what was observed. However, there is no consensus in an approach that exists for the analysis of qualitative data; it is more tailor-made to the research, although carried out by philosophical underpinning (Creswell, 1998). Thus, this study is concerned with understanding lived experiences and the scripted lives of cruise ship workers. Therefore, the analysis method is one that supports an examination of how cruise ship workers construct and talk about their workplace experiences concerning the environment

and self-regulation. The use of a thematic route to identify consistent and related topics was appropriate to analyse the data themes.

Thematic analysis is flexible when communicating qualitative findings, defined as a “method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). It is largely an inductive and descriptive method of analysis for making sense of data. Simply put, it seeks to reduce data into manageable and representative rich detail, which is relevant to the research questions. Thematic analysis can be a method of analysis to unpick or unravel the surface of reality (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As such, its usefulness lies within the broadness of its approach, offering a ‘thick description’ of data, particularly useful in areas that are under-researched such as the cruise ship sector.

The analysis adopted for this study follows the structure of Braun and Clarke (2006) for carrying out a thematic approach. This step-by-step guide consists of six phases of a description of the thematic analysis required:

1. Familiarization with the data
2. Generation of initial codes
3. Search for themes
4. Reviewing of themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report

5.6.2 Familiarization

Following the completion of the interviews, the process of analysis was undertaken, in line with Ritchie and Spence's (1994) Thematic Frame Approach which is a process of familiarisation involving the immersion of the researcher in the data reading and re-reading transcripts to gain full, and complete familiarization. Becoming familiar with the data was a process that required time and concentration and came through the repeated reading of the transcripts conducted on a 'line-by-line' basis. This informed the coding and interpretation of the data in discovering the main themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). During this process, the researcher printed off each of the transcribed interviews and read and re-read each one line-by-line as a process of reviewing the data. While reviewing the material, it was important to make notes recording the range of responses to the questions posed by the researcher and identifying and noting down recurrent themes and issues that emerged as important to respondents. The constant moving back and forth was inevitable throughout the whole analysis process. This allowed the researcher to gain an overall 'feel' for the patterns inherent in the interviews and to become comfortable and immersed in the data.

5.6.3 Generating Initial Themes

Once the transcripts had been reviewed and initial themes identified, the next step was to identify the key issues and sub-themes according to the data. At this point, the thematic framework was constructed by drawing from the *Priori* and emergent issues raised by the participants themselves, along with the recurring themes and

patterns of particular views experienced by the participants. These are captured in Table 3.0, which represents the central themes produced by the data and examples of questions which helped inform them. The interviews took the form of a semi-structured interview approach that allowed participants to expand beyond the initial questions and explore their *Lifeworld*.

Question	Theme	Theory
<p>Living and working onboard can present its own set of issues.</p> <p>Could you explain some of the influences that impact life onboard</p>	<p>Ship Life</p> <p>Power and Control</p> <p>Social Identity</p> <p>Observations</p> <p>Hierarchies</p> <p>Identity Adaptation</p> <p>Community at Sea</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total institution control (Goffman, 1961) • Panopticism, (Foucault, 1975) • Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1979)
<p>What impact does the length of your working day, contract length have on your willingness to perform your job role?</p> <p>Customer-facing roles are notoriously stressful due to the requirement to display the right emotions at all times. Could you explain your experiences related to your job role</p>	<p>Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCB)</p> <p>Job Role – acceptance of rule and regulations</p> <p>Social Exchange</p> <p>Social Identity</p> <p>Leadership</p> <p>Job Satisfaction</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OCB (Smith, Organ and Near, 1983) • Organisation role theory (Katz & Kahn, 1978) • Social Exchange Theory (Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976) • Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1979) • Organisational Structure (Weber, 1947)
<p>Living and working away from home can have emotional advantages and</p>	<p>Emotions</p> <p>Emotion Control</p> <p>Emotion Labour</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotion Labour (Hochschild, 1983) • Emotion Regulation (Gross, 2002)

disadvantages, could you explain how you cope with job role demands and long periods of separation from family and friends.	Social Exchange Emotion Intelligence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Exchange Theory (Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976) • Dramaturgy (Goffman, 1967) • Emotion Intelligence (Savoley & Mayer 1994)
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Table 3.0. Initial themes and sub-themes linked to theory.

During the initiation of analysis, it was clear that the themes, or meanings of themes, were not always distinct or exclusive. Themes often overlapped or were strongly related; an example of overlapping themes is in the identification of the identity of individuals. Where one's identity and the management of identity provided an impact as part of how individuals see themselves in the structure of the ship hierarchy, in addition, identity was a contributor to an individual's ability to control emotions. Organising the data into themes often leads to information loss (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) as the process of analysis aimed to reduce the data to manageable themes, inevitably leading to a certain amount of information lost. However, this naturally means there is an inevitable onus on the researcher to discern the value or otherwise of the data itself. To offset the loss of valuable information it was important that the researcher listened to the views of the participant's experiences, rather than just identifying the data, based on subjectivity. Furthermore, it was important that the researcher remained open to new information and to allow the themes to evolve beyond initial questions. This process involves an attempt at being reflective of the wider picture, maintaining a holistic view of the study in mind throughout the analysis.

After the exploratory stage of analysis was completed, the process began discovering and negotiating consistent themes. Before moving on to explain the themes, it is worth pointing out that for this study the researcher regards the terms 'themes' and 'codes' to be interchangeable. Researchers often refer to codes during analysis as they use NVivo as an analysis software package. However, due to time frames and the need to develop a proficiency in the use of this analysis package, it was felt more appropriate to spend time wisely getting close to the data using a manual process of reading and re-reading transcripts line-by-line.

At this stage three major themes emerged from the analysis:

- Ship Life: where cruise workers adapt to their surroundings and manage their lives, this includes power and control. A facet of institutional authority over workers, through strict regulation and observational control, the impacts of which, are felt through the emotion control and behavioural enactment also emerged in the Ship Life theme.
- Emotion control; where cruise workers recognise, they are constantly adapting and regulating personal emotions and feelings to perform their job role and social identity to meet expectations.
- Finally, behavioural enactments for cruise workers, where workers are required to demonstrate behavioural displays.

Each of the themes was separate, yet interrelated, and all had an impact on identity and community formations.

The first version of searching for themes is largely rooted in the priori issues; in the case of this study, how the cruise ship work environment creates individual identity adaptation, emotional control based on job role performance, and behaviours linked to the role. This was then applied to a few initial transcripts which, once refined, became more responsive to emergent and analytical themes. For these refinements, the researcher looked for conceptualisations which encapsulated the experience, attitude, circumstance and environment; revising and refining the thematic themes was not an automatic or mechanical process but involved a logical approach to thinking, involving making judgements about meaning. The relevance and importance of the issues and about implicit connections between the ideas that the environment, emotions, behaviour, power and control are linked, providing influencing factors shaping the identity and actions of cruise ship workers.

5.6.4 An introduction to analysis: the discovery of themes

The initial themes had been drawn from the literature chapters for the onboard environment, which were ship life, emotions linked to job roles and responsibilities, power and control and organisational behaviours. All are factors interwoven within the social and working lives of cruise workers and are directly and indirectly coupled with the formation of identity. The questions asked had a particular focus on these areas. However, it was important that participants, although guided by interview questions, were allowed to explain, discuss and evaluate other areas of ship life and their work that were most relevant and striking for them. Although the interview had a structure in which to gather relevant data, the participants were able to discuss their Lifeworld and their life on-board, helping to build rapport and

openness. Therefore, a range of topics was discussed outside of the original interview schedule guidelines.

5.6.5 Reviewing the themes

Having identified the initial themes from the 189,000 words of data gathered, it was prudent to produce a more coherent set of data groupings for the data analysis process. The initial pass [through the data], and subsequent initial interpretation of the data provided themes and groups which included sub-themes for each area related to the research questions. This phase required the researcher to search for data that supports or refutes the proposed theory. This phase allowed for further revisions of the themes, allowing for their reworking. Following the identification of the initial themes, subsequent passes through the data identified several sub-themes to each initial theme. Reviewing data extracts allowed the researcher to identify coherent patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006), considering the validity of individual themes and how they connected to the data set. It was at this point that the researcher identified overlaps and where themes did not work as part of the thematic map. Therefore, where each initial theme consisted of more than thirty sub-themes, the researcher made a logical decision to distil the high number of unmanageable themes and sub-themes to three main themes and six sub-themes (see table 3.0). This process of 'distilling' the data into the themes and subthemes allowed the researcher to process and define the themes more coherently.

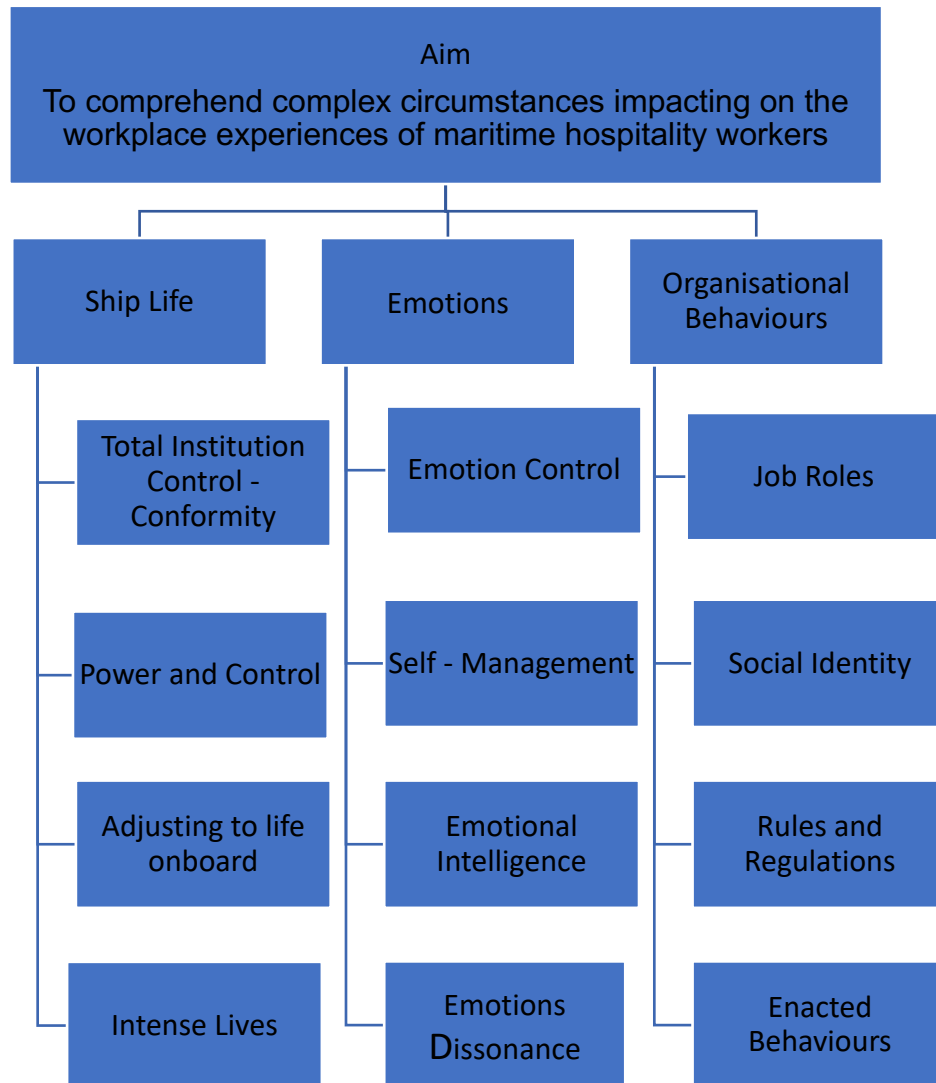


Figure 2.0 Thesis Aim, themes and sub-themes

5.7 Ethics and Confidentiality

This section explains the processes and procedures of how the researcher managed ethical considerations and confidentiality of the participants' data and their consent to participate in the study, in line with the policies and procedures of the University of Plymouth.

In social research, ethical considerations need to be considered from the outset of the study, starting with the planning of the research, seeking access to individuals and organisations, collecting data and analysing the data, and finally reporting the research findings. Ethics are defined as the moral principles, and where ethical rules and principles are broken, it is morally wrong (Erikson, 1967; Dingwall, 1980). Brinkman and Kvale (2107) outlined ethical theory as the duty of ethics. The general ethical principles that apply in all circumstances. Hence, ethical behaviour comes from the adherence to these principles (King, Horrocks, & Brooks, 2019). Therefore, in this study the researcher sought to avoid any harm to the participants which can be seen as reflecting a duty of ethics position. In doing so, a framework and code of ethical principles were applied and upheld to this study where no deviation was accepted. To ensure that the research design was methodologically sound and morally defensible, the development of the research followed the Research Ethics Policy of the University of Plymouth.

The participants who agreed to be interviewed for this study have the right to expect that the data as a whole is handled with due respect and discretion (King *et. al.*, 2019). Therefore, in line with the University of Plymouth code of practice and ethical protocols, all participants were provided with verbatim instructions (Appendix C). The Participant Information Sheet (PIS), outlined the purpose of the study and implications for participants who agreed to be interviewed. Also included, was a section about the confidentiality of the study, outlining that all data will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. In line with confidentiality protocol for storing data. All completed audio transcripts (MP3) were stored on the University of Plymouth central network server, which is password protected, with only the

researcher being able to access these files (King, *et. al.*, 2019). Similarly, the transcribed files were also saved to the University of Plymouth network servers that are password protected. The printed versions of the transcription were stored in a securely locked filing cabinet within a locked office on the University estate, only occupied and used by the researcher. In addition to the PIS, each participant was provided with a consent form (Appendix B). Where interviews were face-to-face, participants were able to read and sign and the researcher and participant both retained a dually signed copy. Where participants were interviewed via Skype, an electronic copy was emailed before the interviews and consent were given via email response through the verbal agreement before the interviews commenced. Following the interviews, and the process of transcription, all participants were given the option to read the final transcriptions and to make any amendments. All declined this opportunity. Thus, an ethical approach to the research was conducted and ensured through informed consent of research participants and that steps were present to avoid any potential ethical deviation and the avoidance of harm to participants.

5.8 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to connect the theoretical framework that builds connections between the research aim and research questions with the philosophical paradigm of enquiry and the methods for executing and analysing the research. The chapter has sought to provide links between the theoretical models of the earlier chapters and the philosophical, methodological, and analytical approaches through which those theoretical models are to be applied.

In chapter two the thesis set out the cruise ship as an environment driven by power and control through total institutional and observational control, where worker adherence is essential for the strict rules and regulations of working onboard a cruise ship. This suggested that workers are required to adapt and modify their identity to meet the socially located and work-related demands of the on-board environment. Chapter three progressed further the theoretical notion that, through the complex setting of the cruise ship, workers are required to amend their behaviours to enact desirous performances to meet the needs of co-workers and passengers within the contained space of the ship. This complex setting extended the ambiguity and understanding of the complex circumstances impacting the workplace experiences for these workers.

The phenomenological paradigm of inquiry, which is the foundation of this chapter, offers a suitable approach to explore life in these work circumstances. Phenomenology, as a paradigm, allows for the investigation of the way things 'seem', thus removing the need for any pre-conceived limitations and structures of the lived experiences of cruise workers. Furthermore, Phenomenology offers a flexible philosophical worldview which can incorporate the lived experiences of cruise workers to a phenomenological richness, not simply as an experience of the immediate and present lived experience but one which includes past and future expectations. This approach allows for an understanding of how the everyday world is established and provides a model for examination between the internal and external worlds of the cruise worker and the general relationships between them and the communities they operate within.

As the participant sample is communalised by the industry they are employed within, this suggests the appropriateness of a social constructivist ontology and epistemology, thus, the sampling strategy adopted is not to generalise but to understand the lifeworld of participants. Therefore, a qualitative methodology and semi-structured method of interviewing are adopted as a suitable fit with the phenomenological paradigm. This allows the researcher to research and understand the lived experiences based on influencing factors that construct the world for the participants. In seeking to understand the connections and themes which link the theoretical constructions, paradigms and methodology of the study, a thematic method of analysis is preferred, using a phenomenological approach to the interview analysis, with one of distilling and reducing the data.

Having outlined the paradigm of inquiry, the following chapters will now explore the key findings in the next two chapters; chapters six and seven.

Chapter 6 Overview of Findings: Part 1

6.0 Overview – Ship Life

Chapter 6 presents the first key findings of the study. The results all emanate from semi-structured interviews with a 'typical' cruise ship worker operating at officer position, and as described in the previous chapter. The chapter sets out to understand the experiences, behaviours and emotions associated with working onboard cruise ships, and how these influence an individual's 'lifeworld' experiences.

The overview and structure of the themes to be explored are identified in figure 3.0 (page 160). The analysis commences with an understanding of the 'Lifeworld' of cruise workers and the things they encounter daily. The chapter then progresses to explore how the dimensions of 'power' and 'control' are exercised in the pseudo-military environment of the cruise ship. Although emotions are dealt with distinctly in the next chapter (7), there is an inevitable drift into recognising how emotions are enacted as a consequence of both power and control dynamics. As such, emotions are best thought of as a central strand of DNA running throughout the data. The first theme in the data is labelled 'Ship Life' as shown in figure 3.0 (thesis aim, themes and sub-themes), and as one of three central themes, it has several sub-themes which are explored in turn.

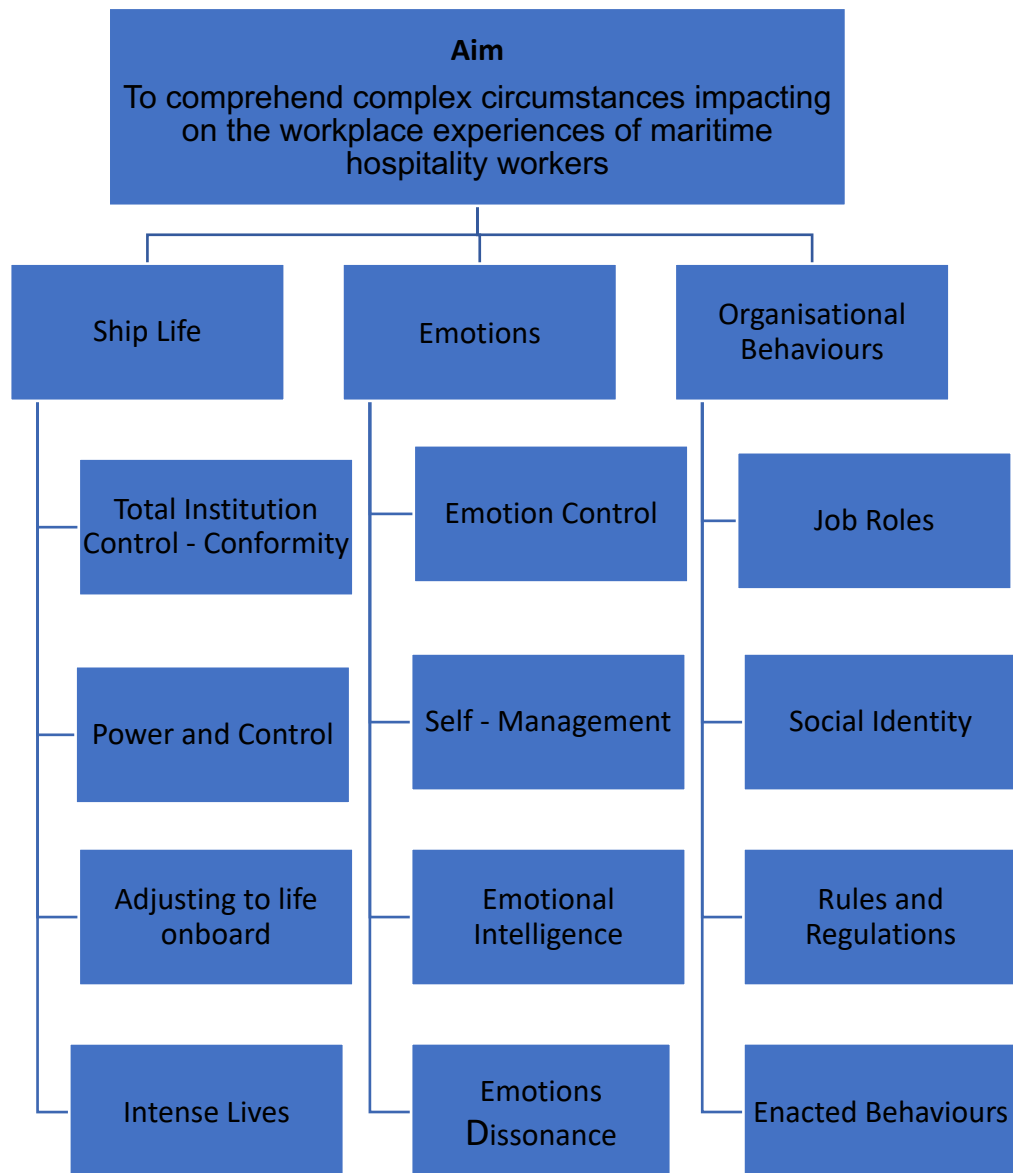


Figure 3.0 Thesis aim, themes and sub-themes

6.1 Total Institution Control – Conformity

Cruise ship environments fit well with the notions of ‘total institutions’ characterised by divisions between different realms of life, e.g. work and social time (Goffman’s, 1961). Here, Jess, Craig, Rose and Ruth explain that the cruise worker’s lifeworld is one of being ‘stuck’, ‘segregated’ or even ‘institutionalised’ in an environment

that is physically and socially compressed, and where individuals lack control over their own lives:

"I have no way of escaping from the ship. I have to adhere to the rules of the ship and to be here 24/7 and abide by the rules. If I want to get drunk, if I want to go out with a girl, if I want to do whatever, I am not able to do that. This is a limitation. This is why the regular salary of those who go to sea are higher than those on land, and it is something that [it] is very coercive. It is a full experience. There is no "midway" I mean if you decide to come on board for five or six months – you need to commit yourself! You need to say, "OK – this is going to be my life for a certain period of time, and there is a good and a bad side to it" (Andrew, Cruise Director).

This extract from Andrew clearly outlines the limitations of the lifeworld's of both a cruise ship workers professional and social life when working onboard a cruise ship at sea; the whole deprivation of freedoms replaced with controls over one's own life. The notion of total institution control and loss of freedom is further supported by Jess, Craig and Rose:

"You're in a confined environment, you're in a unique place, with people from many different countries. It has a strict hierarchy, with rules and regulations 24/7, and it's for at least six months. You get no days off – you work all the time. It's a pretty intense life" (Jess, Cruise Director).

"You are not free to do anything you want on board, it's like a prison; there are rules and regulations to which we have to comply, and you cannot escape" [Craig, Food & Beverage Manager].

Furthermore,

"We are all in the 'same boat' we are stuck on here, so we just have to get on with it. We can't escape, and it's the same thing day after day 24/7, no days off" [Rose, Hotel Director].

With Ruth noting the institutionalisation of ships:

"It's like a prison in a way, we don't get any free time. Even when you're in your cabin, you still don't get that sense of downtime. We have safety drills all the time. So even if you've been up all night doing a night shift, you still

have to go to the drill. You still have to go and do your training – you never get the time or the space to be able just to forget everything and just remove yourself from work because you're always there. We're institutionalised here on ships that is our life" [Ruth, Junior Guest Relations Officer].

And from Thomas,

"it's like completing a prison sentence, the closer you get towards the end of your contract the more like prison it feels, you can't escape. When you get on board you get into the mindset of, I've got one hundred and eighty-eight days – I'll just get stuck into it 'Away you go'" [Thomas, Food and Beverage Manager].

These extracts from Rose and Craig express an awareness of not having the same levels of freedom of movement as their shore-based counterparts. However, Ruth and Thomas went further, by comparing the cruise ship to prison, although unlike prisoners who are confined and have a loss of liberty and freedom, cruise workers can leave the ship, as long as is in the dock and the worker has leave entitlements. Nonetheless, the cruise ship is represented in these extracts as a constant workspace, often restricting personal freedom, and where a worker's duties require them to be constantly 'on the job'.

"as soon as you step outside of your cabin you are on duty" [Joe, Food and Beverage, Manager].

Interviewees suggested there are relatively few instances when they can disembark the ship and escape the work environment, and even when able to do so, being ashore can mean their workplace follows them:

"Even then [when ashore] passengers recognise us and want to come up and talk to us, you cannot escape even when off the ship" [Jess, Cruise Director].

Jess's use of the word 'escape' once again reflects the institutionalisation of the cruise worker's working life being akin to confinement and the opportunity to 'escape' being dependant on the operational needs of the ship, even when in port, such as 'in port manning'. While at sea, all crew members are on board, and everyone is assigned a safety role. When in port, the majority of the crew are normally free to go ashore. However, to ensure the safety of those remaining on

board, there is an 'in port manning' plan in place, meaning not all crew can leave to go ashore in case of an emergency. Hence, occupational demands dictate when the crew can leave the ship for periods of rest and relaxation.

Working onboard was presented as the epitome of a blurring of the lines between work-and-social life where the distinctions between public and private, work and social life are indistinct. Cruise ship work, in many ways, appears to offer a temporary life, a life determined by work, where off duty time is measured in hours rather than days:

"Everyone is aware that we are in the environment 24/7. Unlike someone [such] as yourself [researcher], where you work until five or six o'clock and then go home and have a whole separate life outside of work. Or you have the weekend where you can go and see the wife, take the dog for a walk, do whatever you want – we don't have that 'release valve, we are here at work all the time, seven days a week" [John, Hotel Director].

Like John, Andrea described her living environment on board ship:

"We're in a confined environment, a unique place to work, with people from many different countries. We have a very strict hierarchy, with rules and regulations 24/7, and it's for six months. We get no days off – we work all the time. It is an intense environment to live and work" [Andrea, Bar Manager].

The realisation of cruise ship working life can come as something of a shock, as Ruth explained when she joined her first cruise ship:

"I didn't realise that I was getting on a "treadmill". It is like Groundhog Day every day. You have to work solidly for six months with only hours off, not a single day off the whole time, you work every day" [Ruth, Junior Guest Relations Officer].

This was echoed by Jane....

"The day would go - a sea day, you would just sit and answer the phone, and answer any questions. Guests would be calling you all the time, ten hours a day every day" [Jane, Guest Relations Officer].

Work regimes for many interviewees varied and were dependant on whether the ship was at sea, or in port, as most passengers would go ashore. This allowed workers time to relax without the demands of the passengers on-board and provided time to go ashore if they were not needed for onboard duties. However, as this extract from Michelle explained despite passengers being ashore the majority of workers are still required to complete ten-hour days every day, which is the minimum required hours:

"We're always working, we have little or no time off. The schedules are officially ten hours long. Unofficially, the job demands of working on ships mean that the crew members work more than ten hours in many cases" [Michelle, Guest Relations officer].

This was further supported by Stacey who outlined:

"The 'slogs' are the sea days when you have to deal with people all day long. When you think that you just can't deal with these people anymore you then have to think it's ok, I am going on a helicopter ride over a volcano, or swim with stingrays; you know that sort of breaks it up and keeps you going" [Stacey, Shore-Ex Manager].

Stacey's explanations echo the notions of 'escape' or escapism that her colleagues described earlier. Her use of metaphors such as "swim with stingrays" or "a helicopter ride over a volcano" provide illustrations of the release valves needed to cope with the total institutional controls exercised via the cruise ship environment.

6.2 Power and control

The cruise industry is arguably one of the few industries where an occupation has an obvious imprisoning and constricting effect for employees, who are brought

together and compressed into a confined work and social environment, unable to leave at any time. As such, cruise work has a range of structural mechanisms to control workers behaviour, with workers constantly reminded of their occupational status within hierarchy structures:

"The environment onboard is very different from a shore-based environment. There is a very 'military-style' approach concerning rules and regulations, we have stripes to identify positions and roles. The rules and regulations are very strict. There is no misunderstanding in terms of an assessment of the rules on board" [Paul, Front desk Manager]

This extract from Paul highlights the strict level of regulation, the power and control afforded through the rank and hierarchical structure for management onboard. However, below Verity suggests that 'stripes' are simply a method of achieving a greater level of privileges.

"Generally, stripes don't mean much - it just affects your privileges as far as access to guest areas, the type and size of the cabin and whether you get your 'own' cabin. Having stripes and having a position usually means people will give you a little bit more respect, but little else" [Verity, Crew manager].

The views of Paul and Verity differ in their interpretation, with Paul considering his position of authority as a mechanism to uphold rules and regulations as part of the organisational power, and Verity viewing her position as simply a role that attracts greater levels of privilege. For example, A two and a half stripe officer can typically expect a cabin with a window, whereas a one and a half stripe officer will be expected to share a cabin without a window plus share facilities. This suggests a level of control representative of Goffman's 'total institution' which is governed by policies and regulations, confining and segregating workers to certain areas of the ship, based on position and rank.

Further privileges extend for those with rank and position allowing them into public areas during their social downtime. However, a further indication of control means individuals must wear their uniform and name badges and be identifiable at all-times, including off-duty periods. However, those crew members who do not hold officer status are not permitted into public areas unless on duty. These workers are only permitted to use designated and segregated areas set away from the public:

“There are areas designated for the crew only, as the crew bar, so people can be together when they finish work. It’s probably not the best place for a senior officer to be though” [Andrew, Cruise Director].

These ideas of having a respite from management possibly might stem from the notions of total observational control. However, this could also be viewed as senior managers exercising caution as being in the 'crew bar' may prevent workers 'letting off' steam, as this is one of the few areas on board ship where cruise workers can escape from the demands of the job role and the scrutiny of passengers and managers, where they are able to enjoy a downtime drink with 'friends and work colleagues'.

6.2.1 Observation Control - Who is watching who?

Jane had just come out of a disciplinary meeting with her line manager. Jane had been having lunch in one of the passenger restaurant areas onboard and had taken her mobile (cell) phone out of her pocket, placed it on the table while eating her lunch. A fellow crew member had seen her with her phone and reported her to a senior manager. *“I knew it was against regulations to use my cell phone on board*

ship in public areas while in uniform," said Jane, "but I wasn't using it, I simply took it out and put it on the table for comfort". Because a crewmate 'reported me', I am now 'on report' and prevented from applying for cross-training for other roles on board ship".

Meanwhile, Julie, an experienced travel agent, who has recently changed career to work on cruise ships, is heading to sea for her first contract as an on-board training manager. During one of the many cocktail evenings, which all officers are expected to attend and 'mingle' with passengers, Julie was called over by the Captain, 'why are you talking to the other officers' said the captain, 'you should be socialising with the passengers and not the other officers'. "*My jaw dropped,*" said Julie. "*Cocktail parties are there for officers to mingle and talk with the passengers*". Julie protested, "*I was talking with the passengers*". The captain replied, "well you weren't when I was looking at you, you were talking to other officers" said Julie.

These accounts from Jane and Julie illustrate perfectly the controlling environment of the ship. Their accounts demonstrate the observational control discussed in chapter two which described how cruise ship workers encounter levels of regulation through surveillance, beyond the scope experienced by workers in similar shore-based roles. On cruise ships, employees are continually under observation and surveillance from co-workers, managers, as well as the additional scrutiny of passengers.

Through the accounts of participants sharing their lifeworld experiences, an acknowledgement can be drawn that the level of power and control the cruise ship

organisation holds over cruise ship employees is an all-embracing one. Once individuals accept to work onboard, they become subjected to high levels of control, regulation and scrutiny that ultimately influences their emotion and behavioural enactments.

Participants in the study acknowledged being observed continually, hence employees', such as those in front-line services, affective displays are constantly carefully managed, and the immersion of the cruise environment magnifies this facet of life:

"I am always aware that everything I do; I am being constantly observed, by the fellow crew, managers and passengers – definitely passengers. Except in my cabin with my partner. I never feel 'switched off' from work. If I am out in public areas, maybe people aren't watching me, but I do feel there are certain times when I am being watched" [Emily, Assistant Crew Manager].

Furthermore,

"You're in the public eye, so you have to smile and cheerful. You've got to be like that all day, every day. It is all down to the individual how you cope or manage yourself... I have had an emotional breakup in past onboard, (ship) and all you want to do is hide in your cabin and cry all day. I have to make myself go out and face the public and put my happy face on. Actually, it does make you feel better being with your team, but it is difficult, but you have to make yourself do it, otherwise, you will draw attention to yourself from your manager" [Stacey, Shore-ex Manager].

Both Emily and Samantha explain that the pressure of being in the 'public gaze' continually puts pressure on individuals to enact desirous displays when they are beyond the privacy of their 'own' cabins, thus supporting Hochschild's (1983) assertions regarding emotion labour, and the need to fake or manipulate personal performances. The impacts of managing and modifying personal sentiments, summoning the need from workers to be aware of their actions and emotions

displays, coupled with a constant observational setting, induces workers to be vigilant and alert to their surroundings continually. This suggests the cruise ship is a true panopticism, where observations spread beyond individual human monitoring and extend to the widespread use of technology. For example, Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) - a 'vigilant eye' observing the actions of workers at all times.

6.2.2 *The vigilant eye*

The use of observation and surveillance techniques, as methods of control outside of work, was highlighted by several participants. Many see this level of observation by managers as intrusive and controlling:

"Observed! It was more extreme than that, you have your "Pass-card", an onboard payment method used by the crew. My manager would go through the bills to identify what I had been drinking at the crew bar and what I've been spending my money on. I had to give money to my friends, and they would buy me drinks so they [management] wouldn't know what I was spending my money on" [Mandy, Guest Relations Officer].

This extract illustrates the level of control onboard leaders can deploy regarding workers lives and off-duty time. The level of scrutiny facing Mandy's free time is not common practice in shore-based operations but appears a more frequent level of scrutiny accepted by cruise workers into their lives. In much the same way, workers have their off-duty time monitored and scrutinised even when going ashore for some downtime:

"Even when going ashore we would still be observed". When you went to get off [ship] to go ashore, one of the managers would always be on the gangway checking what you were wearing before leaving the ship. There

was no dress code for going ashore, but they didn't like us wearing skirts that were too short or open toe sandals" [Jane, Guest Relations Officer].

So, an example such as this is considered overbearing or even authoritarian by cruise workers. However, such actions can be considered paternalistic/maternalistic in their approach. Managers interviewed in the study mentioned the importance of observing staff protecting them from harm. This type of paternalistic/maternalistic supposes that managers make wiser decisions for those they represent, making sure they remain safe at all times.

"it is important to look after your team, both on duty and when they are off duty. I have to look after their reputation, I don't want them to be in the disco with guests and drinking the night away. I will drink socially in a public area, but nothing excessive because there is always somebody watching on the ship, you can never put your guard down" [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

Similarly,

"You don't want to be hanging around the 'Crew Bar' with people knowing who you are. Even if you go out in public places or the crew bar, you can't relax completely 100%. There is always somebody watching. At the end of the day, you want to watch what other people are doing. Because if you see a team member standing at a desk (reception desk) for their job, and then you see them in the 'Crew Bar' you think wow. You feel very protective of your team, and you always try to protect them, when you have to" [Marian, Manager].

Constant observations by managers can assist with avoiding the risks to an individual's reputation if they act to excess. As a manager, many see their role as one of protecting staff and preventing personal and organisational reputational damage. The proposition that cruise workers cannot 'drop their guard', indicates workers must be vigilant at all times.

Closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras are located everywhere on modern cruise ships, maintaining an observant eye. Although the purpose of CCTV is largely for the security of the ship, public and crew areas are monitored every hour of every day. However, with cameras located in crew areas, it gives rise to the impression, for some crew at least, that workers actions and behaviours are being monitored as soon as they leave their cabins.

"There are security cameras everywhere on-board ships these days. You are aware that there are cameras all around. It is not just security that uses those, they will be used by the bridge to monitor the ship. Because there is nothing better to do on ship but gossip, you will know that those two over there [a couple sat together in the wardroom] went down to their cabin together last night, because you saw it on a camera" [Paul, Front Desk Manager].

A point further echoed by Joe....

"As soon as you step outside of your cabin door you are on duty. You have to remain professional at all times and consider your actions and behaviours. There are cameras in the corridors watching us, and signs just before leaving crew areas to remind us we are entering public areas. These signs say 'Smile, you are entering public areas.' We are constantly monitored whether we like it or not" [Joe, Food & Beverage Manager].

The ship environment offers little privacy for its workers suggesting there is a need for workers to be aware of continuous monitoring which implies the need for workers to constantly modify behaviours accordingly. The only time a worker can truly feel they have privacy is when they close their cabin door. However, these times are not always private with many workers often finding they have to share cabins with colleagues who might not always be from the same department. Thus, workers can still be exposed to the observations of their co-workers. Consequently, the 'close' proximity of an employee's living and working space means they are never far from the work environment. Surveillance and observation by the

organisation and its agents go far beyond anything a shore-based hospitality worker would expect to withstand and the constant observations can have far-reaching consequences, such as increased pressures of work that can lead to episodes of mental health issues for some.

“So, you do get observed wherever you are, and you hear little whispers. You can see people telling people what is going on, and when you go to socialise in the ‘Crew Bar’ you have to be so careful in terms of what you say around people, and it does depend on who you’re friends with. It really does. Because the people who aren’t friends with those in higher management – you see those people get in trouble a lot more than the people who tend to be closer to their managers” (Jane, Guest Relations).

“When you are wearing stripes, you are a huge target! They will observe everything about you, because you represent that company, and you are part of the management. So, they expect a lot from you, and if you do anything sort of... Even if it is in your free time, because you have to wear that uniform in guest areas, you are there to be judged. They will notice you. Because they love a story!” (Gary, Guest Relations).

“A lot of people from other departments want to join the Guest Relations team. I always read their actions and body language. People (employees) come on board and will train in ‘stateroom’ services with a view to becoming Junior Guest Relations officers in the future. I would see them around the ship, and they would always smile at me. But, then sometimes they don’t see me and they’re not smiling. Or they may be doing something, and I end up thinking, “Do I really want someone like this in my team?” Because you are thinking of the bigger picture all the time, will these people will fit into the team” [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

This section commenced with a focus on the on-board observational power and control of the cruise ship to understand who is watching who. Participant extracts have provided evidence that workers must be vigilant of their actions and their body language at all times. This suggests there is a burden of pressure on workers to maintain positive affective displays throughout their working day. However, the surveillance extends well beyond the job roles for individuals, percolating into the social time of the cruise worker, meaning they are unable to escape the control of the ship. In addition to the observational control, the next section will explore the

extracts which explain the impact of observational power by passengers, who unwittingly pass comment about a cruise ship workers actions and behaviours. Further suggesting evidence of the 'smile - you are on duty' mantra set out by cruise ship.

6.2.3 *The crew as mini-celebrities – the intense Lifeworld of a cruise worker*

The well-meaning, but sometimes unwanted attention from passengers is a constant demand upon cruise workers emotion control. The expectation of wearing of a uniform (including a name badge), whenever in public areas presents cruise workers with the sense of always being on duty and constantly being observed. This suggests cruise workers have limited periods where they feel they can relax away from the gaze of passengers and managers. Therefore, when the ship is in port cruise workers often try to go ashore to escape constant encounters with the passenger to achieve momentary relaxation. However, this isn't always the case for cruise workers who are recognised by passengers:

"As soon as you get off [ship] or leave your cabin, you're automatically 'on', I mean, when guests see you in port [ashore] they almost treat you like a mini-celebrity. They think 'I know you'. You're always on duty, and of course, especially with being a manager, the crew do perceive you as 'the big boss' whether you are on or off the job. Therefore, whether you are on duty or off duty, you are always on duty" [Robyn, Cruise Director].

Similarly, Joe discussed the constant attention workers attract from passengers on a daily basis:

"There are times when you think, 'oh just leave me alone' then you have to hide in your cabin when you need that moment away from everyone. Yet, anytime that you leave your cabin you are surrounded by crew members and passengers" [Joe, Food and Beverage manager].

Marian adds a further example of the level of observation from passengers:

"you are observed by passengers all the time when you are out and about on the ship. If I am out with colleagues in a restaurant, I have even heard, when I have spoken to other people. They might say, 'oh, you have been out in that restaurant, you cannot do anything without someone seeing you and commenting on what you are doing?" (Marian, Guest Relations).

The constant attention from passengers described by Robyn, Joe and Marian, both on and off the ship, outlines the need to be constantly aware of their behaviours and emotion control, regardless of whether they are 'on duty' or 'off duty'. This results in a self-regulatory level of constant control and adjustment of emotional responses and behavioural actions to meet passenger expectations.

This 100% commitment on the part of cruise workers to manage their emotions and display desirous behaviours is highlighted in the following extracts. Interviews explained how passengers often unintentionally and without realising, act as agents of the organisation, suggesting they possess a level of power and control over cruise workers and as part of the organisation's jurisdiction:

"A passenger came up to speak to me, she was really upset and worked up. She said that she had been ashore in a restaurant, near a group of onboard musicians from the ship who were part of the band. She said that they had been talking about drug use etc. She was very upset. She then threatened to go to the press if nothing was done about it. I went straight to the Hotel Director [senior on-board officer], and the next morning all were tested for drugs and disembarked at the next port. That situation made me very aware of who is around and what we should [and shouldn't] talk about" [Grace, Spa Manager].

Grace's account reveals that not only do workers need to contend with being observed during periods on duty, but they also need to be acutely vigilant of their actions, conversations and behaviours during off-duty periods. Therefore,

accounts from Grace and Robyn suggest cruise workers are viewed as 'mini celebrities' by the passengers, yet this could be considered as workers at the beck and call of passengers, whenever, wherever.

6.3 Adjusting to life on-board

Chapter 2 examined Goffman's concept of total institutions and the process of mortification (adjustment) for individuals when joining a cruise ship. A 'total institutional' world, which an ordinary worker joins with the attachments of support from their 'Homeworld' enabling them to survive, is different from a cruise ship where there is a total break from the normal support networks a worker can expect to rely upon. However, symbolised by the requirement of workers to wear a uniform, and restriction to personal possessions and contact to the outside world, the 'stripping' of individual identity and the usual support of artefacts provided by 'home life', requires a significant adjustment to new surroundings. The following section examines interview extracts to understand the nature and process of adjustment to life onboard.

Charlotte began her onboard contract for the first time as a Guest Relations Officer, who had been looking forward to joining her ship for many weeks.

"I was very excited at the prospect of working and travelling on a cruise ship for six months. I boarded the ship in Palma, dropped my case to the cabin. Then, introduced myself to my work colleagues. That's when the shock hit, that same afternoon I was on-duty, working the evening shift. The long ten-hour days on my feet, missing my family back at home. I had made my mind up there and then. Sea life was not for me."

Similarly, Kelly's comment explains that life onboard is a very different proposition to what individuals have been used to, requiring a period of adjustment:

"When you first start on board, it is a very different lifestyle. It is not something where you can just say, yes, I am good at this, because you don't know. You have to adjust [and] this can take up to two or three weeks to adjust to life onboard. Your cabin, the work routine and the people you work with...it can be very intense and lonely" [Kelly, Assistant Crew Manager].

Both Charlotte and Kelly referred to words such as 'shock' (culture), 'loneliness' and 'intense lives', which can be interpreted as a reference to a culture shock of working onboard. Therefore, the ability to adjust to the demands of the job and life in a ship environment is an essential element of an individual's character, which needs to manifest during initial periods of disorientation, isolation and long, intense days of work. The feelings of disorientation and loneliness are not simply restricted to those who are new to 'life at sea' as Marian explains:

"When you join a ship, there is one person within your department who will help you with your job but will also help you to get orientated with the ship. Even if you have previously worked for the company, you might not have necessarily worked on this ship, it is still completely different. It's like starting all over again" [Marian, Guest Relations Officer].

Further explaining that it is not simply the work that influences a worker but the ability to adjust to the environment of being at sea, thus supporting the notion of the total institution as part of an individual lifeworld.

"The work is easy, but if you are not able to get the idea of being alone in your cabin and going straight to work and then back to your cabin, then you're not going to adapt. Ninety-nine per cent of the time, that's it. Within a month they're [new employees to sea] done. It is that part, that is the hardest part to deal with for many" [Marian, Guest Relations Officer].

Marian explained that the job role is easy, but it is the living environment that is the 'hardest part' of life onboard to come to terms with. Several participants discussed the 'intense life' onboard from both a job role perspective and coming to terms with working in such a panoptic and controlling environment. Robyn explained that cruise life can be intense, especially for those new to cruise ship life:

"The first few cruises are so intense; they are much worse for people who are newly hired. They have to learn the job role and have to 'learn' life onboard, and you have to learn how things are. You have to learn how the ship functions and who your colleagues are, they call them your 'family'" (Robyn, Cruise Director).

In indicating that many individuals arrive onboard yet fail to adjust to the intense life of work and cabin life, a period of adjustment to a life at sea is indispensable. This period of adjustment links neatly to the process of mortification noted by Goffman where 'inmates' on entering an environment of total institution control are required to adjust and conform to the environment where artefacts of 'home life' and individual identity are removed.

In furthering an understanding of the need for adjustment, Sharon mentions a point that life onboard has a lot to do with the type of person you are, what you bring to the job. That said, there is still a period of adjustment required, and being able to 'fit in' with the team, along with finding a routine to onboard life is important:

"It has to do with what you bring to the job. The way you work and the way you are. That counts for a lot, which is a big part of the formula. The other part of the formula is that once you come on board, there is an adaption period, regardless of how experienced you are. You have to find a routine that works for you to survive" [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

This is further supported by Rose who explained:

“those who stay adapt and those who cannot adapt will leave. However, adapting to the environment means hard work and survival” [Rose, Hotel Director].

Both Sharon and Rose referred to the need for 'survival' when explaining the need for individuals to adjust to the environment of the cruise ship and their job role. As such, suggesting that parallels can be drawn with the total institution and the need for individuals to develop a coping mechanism to adapt to the new environment

Samantha explains below the difficulty in being able to get away from the job role, to find a place to relax, to be by themselves, away from passengers and people, suggesting that the close proximity to others adds to the sense of intense lifeworld:

“One of the hardest aspects of my job is not being able to switch off.... your cabin is your ‘bolthole’. You need to have somewhere where you can go and be on our own, and not have to deal with people. We are dealing with people all day every day, seven days a week, we get little time to ourselves” [Samantha, Shore-ex manager].

Yet,

"At work, you have to have to put on a ‘face’ where everything is fine and hunky-dory. Then you go to your cabin, you can't get away from the isolation and loneliness. So, you think about being away from your friends and family. That is the problem part to adjust to when you come to sea. Over the years, you meet people and know straight away this person isn't going to make it. They can be fantastic at their job, but socially they will not be able to adapt or conform to our lifestyle" [Michelle, Hotel Department Manager].

Therefore, a period of adjustment to the surroundings and work regimes requires individuals to acquire a routine to life onboard. Marian discussed the monotony of the routine of work, then back to the cabin. However, Samantha considered the privacy of the cabin as a method of escapism from the work routines, a separation from the intensity of the work setting. A point further raised by Michelle, was that during the period of adjustment, there are feelings of isolation and loneliness,

compounded by the 'not knowing' what to expect - a sense of disorientation - all of which contributes to the notion of total institutional control where life no longer resembles what individuals have left behind but now have to adjust to a new life on board. Julie explains how she joined her ship and was given a 'passenger cabin', but also notes the feelings of loneliness being separated from family and friends:

"When I got on board, I was given a passenger cabin for the first couple of weeks, as there were no crew cabins available. This was very nice, but the internet was very expensive being a passenger area. Having left my husband back in England, I would ring him every night. I was so lonely, I cried myself to sleep every night for the first couple of weeks. My internet charges were enormous, but I had to speak to him, I felt so lonely, I went to work then back to cabin" [Julie, Manager].

Even though Julie was provided with the luxury of a passenger cabin for the first couple of weeks, she was still unable to escape the feelings of loneliness and isolation having recently left her family and friends at home in England. These negative feelings seemed to be compounded by the high cost of 'internet' charges being so much higher than for crew in passenger areas where Julie was accommodated. Thus, suggesting being away from home can be difficult enough, yet without the affordable means of communication, life can become unbearable when they only have work and back to their cabin to occupy their time.

6.4 Moving from Homeworld to the Onboard Lifeworld

The relationship between work and non-work lives for cruise workers has a blurriness which means individuals can find it difficult to adjust to life or even escape life onboard. Interviewees discussed the social environment of the ship and its importance as a place to relax away from the intensity of the public gaze.

The 'crew bar' was stated by many as the sole refuge to relax and unwind away from the public gaze. Furthermore, Gail was one of the numerous participants who mentioned drinking alcohol and the 'party lifestyle' as a source relaxation and a distraction from their intense life:

"a lot of the time, 'behind the scenes' tours are run, so we couldn't even use our crew area. Often our private space would be taken up with the passengers coming to see where the crew live and eat, things like that. You would be disturbed again and again – that used to drive me insane. I'd end up thinking, "This is our time – and you just take it away from us anyway" [Gail, Guest Relations Officer].

Relaxation was identified as an important feature of a cruise ship workers life. However, often their downtime would be disturbed or interrupted. Meaning, workers did not have the free time to fully disengage from the workplace pressures. While places for relaxation could either be in their cabins, often workers would go to the 'crew bar' where they could relax in the company of co-workers. The crew bar is the communal area where workers meet and often enjoy social time with colleagues. However, not all cruise workers mentioned the 'crew bar' as a place of escapism. Noticeably, its use was reflected in the role and rank of the individual, and the length of time served at sea. Many of the senior officers interviewed, chose not to attend the 'crew bar' for unorganised social events to avoid having their behaviour observed or the feeling of their subordinates not being able to relax because they were under managerial observation.

With little or no separation between work and social life on-board, all facets of ship life are set within the boundaries of the limited ship setting. Consequently, there is a crossover between the defined lines of work and a cruise worker's private life. The porous and unclear divisions of work and social life leak through the formation

of relationships with colleagues and managers beyond the workplace. Irrespective of rank or role, there is continual observation as noted in Foucault's Panopticism, contributing to the adjustment of an individual's behaviours towards one and other, requiring workers to be vigilant of their actions, even when off duty.

With no single solution for an individual cruise worker to cope with the pressure of the total institution environment of the cruise ship. There is a need for individuals to escape the intense work environment. All participants were in agreement that escapism is an essential part of cruise ship work life.

This section of the data has been established that there is a period of adjustment required for onboard workers. The sooner a cruise worker can adjust their behaviour and level of emotional control and establish a routine of work and rest, the sooner a coping mechanism for 'survival' is identified, linking the work and living environment of a cruise ship with that of a panoptic total institution. Cruise workers experience long periods of work punctuated with feelings isolation and loneliness. This can mean individuals find it difficult to adjust or to change their behaviours to succeed in the cruise ship environment. To understand further the period of adjustment, the focus shifts to support mechanisms available to workers on board, and whether these are formal or informal by design:

“Ok, the HR Manager was very good when you were going into work, but when you left work, and you went back to your cabin, and you shut your door, it is a very lonely life! There is no support” (Julie, Onboard trainer).

Julie highlighted the point that life is 'lonely' when individuals leave their job role to return to their cabin and that the organisation provides help and support during

work, however, during social downtime, there is little support provided and requires individuals to seek support from co-workers or contact with family:

"When I first joined my ship, I called home every opportunity. I missed my family so much. However, you could be on the phone for twenty minutes and not be able to have a clear conversation. But the cost is really expensive, I spent most of my money on internet and phone calls. I was away six months and had no money to show for it" [Jane, Guest Relations].

Communicating back home to family and friends can help ease workers feelings of isolation. However, despite the advancement in technology and social media, it is not always possible to communicate at the time or for the duration a worker may want due to the limitations of technology, meaning feelings of loneliness and isolation might still exist or even be exacerbated:

"With the 'Facebook' generation it is much easier, I recall a time when we had to go ashore and buy phone cards, now it's all about the internet. However, the cost of the internet at sea can be very expensive" [Vladimir, Restaurant Manager].

Jane's experience of loneliness and isolation is a major factor and can be linked back to the total institution control where individuals are removed from familiar society to environments that are unfamiliar and require a period of adjustment. Therefore, an inability or difficulty to remain in contact with friends or family outlines the requirement for a support system to help workers cope. Sharon illustrates the support practice she provides for her staff:

"Whether it is personal, or business-related, team members can come into my office and have a chat. They can 'vent' their feelings about certain guests or just to talk about personal stuff. Sometimes they will cry because of something to do with their boyfriend or girlfriend, or they are missing home. Sometimes somebody has died, you have to be there for them and support

them all the time, I like to be friends with them all, we have to support each other" [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

Additionally, Stacey explains how she considers her team to be like a family, and provide each other with the support expected from family members:

"I have six staff in my team and we're like a family because we work such long hours, day in day out, every day we are together. It is a really nice family atmosphere. We know everyone's problems and we always look after and support each other" [Stacey, Shore-Ex Manager].

Conversely, Julie's experiences of feeling lonely and isolated onboard are compounded by her perceptions of a lack of support, suggesting support is locally based and may not always be formally administered:

"It was difficult to adapt at first, I'd say after two weeks I was ok, but I could have easily got off the ship. Everyone said you would get used to it, I felt very lonely, and I had nobody to talk [to]. I think the support is awful. Nobody checks you are okay" [Julie, Manager].

Without such support, Julie's feelings of isolation and loneliness were compounded and contributed indirectly to a lack of job satisfaction.

From these extracts, it can be understood that workplace support is an important contributor to an individual's adjustment to sea life through combating isolation and separation from family life, and by substituting real family with onboard team members labelled as 'family' by managers. In many ways, these are simplistic mechanisms adopted by individuals to cope with the changes in their lives. The strong bonds and relationships formed onboard, are often due to the close proximity and prolonged periods teams and individuals spend together, meaning the relationships formed mirror 'family' like bonds of support.

The term surrogate comes from the Latin word, surrogate, which means, 'to put in another place', or 'to substitute' (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Cruise workers view colleagues as their second family, even considering them as a 'surrogate family', where onboard team members replace those family members or friends left behind at home:

"We are one big family onboard this ship; we take care of the crew as well as the passengers. As managers, we make sure the crew feel comfortable. It is all about the crew; the crew are the ones who are delivering the premium experience to our guests" [Vladimir, Food and Beverage Manager].

"You do become a 'pseudo-family', you've got your little brothers and sisters, and you are sometimes closer to people on board than you would normally want. Ultimately, the people that you want to be with are miles away, so you have to decide in your head then, what are you going to do" [Andrea, Cruise Director].

"Having a friendship and support onboard is huge. It massively changes how you are able to cope with situations. You need to have someone you can trust as well" [Grace, Spa Manager].

"On ships, everyone is amicable, so, it's not as if you finish work and you don't know whom to call. After your shift is over, there is always someone or something to do, there are normally crew socials, crew bingo in the crew bar" [Grace, Spa Manager].

These extracts illuminate how workers develop intimate relationships, even to the extent that work colleagues view team-mates as 'quasi-family' members developing informal support networks, constructing harmonious relationships. Efforts are often made to build relationships, ensuring everyone gets along in the team in an attempt to avoid a sense of loneliness that is otherwise difficult to overcome and can be isolating.

The proximity of cruise co-workers for absent family appears to provide emotional stability and support for many cruise workers. This extra form of support differs from other forms described earlier because they are deployed in the informal off-duty locus. It is this off-duty surrogacy of family-ness that counteracts the loneliness and isolation of the work being done. Many of the participants use this support mechanism because of the pressure of the work, with some workers addressing the issue of loneliness and the feelings of isolation, through the use of work team social activities:

“The people you work with day after day, do become your family – they’re the only people that can get you through it [employment contract]. So, if I was having a ‘down day’ I would just try and be around people by going to the Crew Bar, and try and chill out” [Jane, Guest Relations Officer].

The previous extracts have outlined how cruise ship workers rely on work team co-workers as well as social relationships as mechanisms for 'survival' in this environment. It was also noted that in some cases a department manager would make efforts to develop relationships with both passenger and co-workers as a way of creating a 'family' environment:

“I want to build strong relationships with guests and also between us. I mean, this is our home. I consider this is our ‘house’, so you try to get along with everybody. We are one big family” [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

The 'on-board family' concept is viewed as an indispensable ingredient for participants, principally as a method of survival to working onboard. Similarly, relationships with colleagues extended beyond that of a platonic or supportive relationship. Several participants suggested they found comfort and support from physical connections, where they live as couples onboard, sharing a cabin for the duration of the contract, in the hope of achieving a sense of normality to the intensity of their work lives:

"Life on board is intense; you can meet someone on-board and be living with them in a cabin by the end of the week. Whereas, on land, this process can take up to six months. A week onboard feels like a month on land as our lives are so intense. We are around each other all the time" [Jennifer, Adventure Manager].

It is noticeable that Jennifer referred to life on board as being 'intense'. The intensity of life can be considered a by-product of the work-life regime where workers are expected to work up to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week for the duration of their contract, constantly having to meet the demands of the passengers.

6.5 Chapter summary

The chapter initially outlined the lack of freedom, and the need for cruise workers to find an 'escape' or escapism from the environment to find respite from their job role. This reflected the institutionalisation nature of the environment, linking closely with the notion of total institutional control described in chapter 2. It was further noted how a lack of personal control and freedom, where the levels of control and regulation of the cruise ship community are promoted through a form of captivity, resulting in continual observational control that subjects cruise workers to high levels of scrutiny both during on-duty and off duty periods. This subsequently influences their ability to perform job role tasks and dictates direct impacts on their levels of emotion control (chapter 7). This level of observational control fits well with Foucault's Panopticism in describing the unique setting and levels of scrutiny to which cruise workers are continually subjected. Therefore, the nature of the cruise ship environment is one where individuals are subjected to high levels of regulation and observational control and the constant need to smile and be cheerful results in adjustments to personal freedoms. Because controls are absolute this

can result in periods of adjustment for individuals to adapt their behaviours and emotional self-control.

In addition to the levels of observational control and the lack of personal freedom for individuals to come and go as they please on board, participants provided explanations as to how there is a need to adjust their behaviours and emotion control when joining and working in the cruise ship setting. Interviewees emphasised the culture shock experienced when they experienced levels of loneliness and isolation compared to previous homeworlds. As such, a period of adjustment was noted as a way of survival and hard work is used as part of the formula to achieve success in job roles.

Such adjustment requires individuals to accept the regime to work and lifeworld of the cruise ship. As part of this lifeworld, there is the need for total self-immersion to integrate into onboard work teams, and where 'fitting in' provides an informal support network. This creates a concept of the 'pseudo-family' which is one that is not formally controlled but is locally designed. This seems to provide workers with an informal support network to replace the temporary loss of family and friends left behind in their homeworlds.

All of the above suggests that workers adjust their behaviours and juggle levels of emotional controls as mechanisms to survive the cruise environment. This is now developed and explored in chapter 7 whilst also exploring organisational behaviours required as survival techniques.

Chapter 7: Findings Part 2

7.0 Chapter Overview - Organisation Behaviours

In chapter 6 it was clear that adjustment to cruise ship life requires both the support and realisation that cruise ship work has elements that share similarities to the controlling domains of prison life that Michel Foucault captured so well in his text 'Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison' in 1975. In more recent times, discourses of service management, innovation and knowledge work have promoted an interest in passion, soul, and charisma (Alvesson & Wilmott, 2002) which have been interpreted by some (Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Tracy, 2000; Ashkanasy & Daus, 2002; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Karreman & Alvesson, 2004; Fineman; 2008) as an increased interest in managerial regulation and control of employee's behavioural actions, their self-image, feelings and emotions. As such, the attention in this chapter focusses on analysing the responses from cruise workers to the desirous organisational behaviours demanded of them as part of their job role. What is more, the need for workers to adjust their behaviours to manage their identity to 'fit in' and comply both within work teams and the social setting of their Lifeworld?

Thus, suggesting identity has replaced culture as 'the thing' that is potentially the most popular signifier in determining non-formal aspects of organisational behaviour as part of work team integration (Alvesson, 2013). As such, the need for cruise workers to comply with the demands of cruise ship organisation behaviours and to adjust their identity, leads the chapter to consider the

requirements of cruise workers having to juggle and control their emotions in meeting compliance for total institutional control of the work environment and, in meeting organisational expectations whilst in pursuit of desirous performance and behaviours. Therefore, the chapter examines the data specifically for evidence of the ability and demands of workers to modify/fake personal emotions as part of their job role and Lifeworld.

7.1 Job Roles – Cruise Workers Lifeworld

As discussed in chapter 2, cruise ship work is accepted as being 'hard work' by those who undertake it, generating super-intense lives, where workers sacrifice and compromise much of what is considered to be normality. However, the total freedom and control most people experience in their lives when off duty is removed as soon as cruise workers board a cruise ship. Participants discussed in the previous chapter how the length of employment contracts acts as a significant impact to their behavioural state, in part due to fatigue, homesickness, sustained isolation and scarcity of interaction with friends and family, referring to the duration of their employment contracts as similar to a prison sentence. In addition, cruise workers described being unable to plan or take control of their personal lives, and in making decisions, such as, when they might see their family or friends again. Chapter 6 discussed the institutionalised environment of a cruise ship, where individuals have limited control, having to comply with the strict regime of rules, regulations and work demands. Hence, It emerged as commonplace for workers to have their contracts extended/changed with little or no notice, this suggests there is a pressure placed on individuals to manage their job role performances and

control their emotions in an attempt to manage themselves in the face of the powers and controls the organisation holds over them:

“Most contracts for managers are four months on, many of mine end up being about five to six months. It’s because of the ship I’m on – doing transitions [where the ship repositions between geographical locations]. Quite often, I can end up with shorter than planned vacations. So theoretically I’ll be working five months on and six and a half weeks off” [John, Hotel Director].

Whilst long-standing senior officers are content and familiar with the demands of the cruise ship organisation to 'cut short' or extend employment contracts, this is not always the same for junior officers and those who do not have the same length of service as noted here by Lucy:

“A typical contract length is for six months. I wasn’t told before joining the ship that my leaving date was in the ‘blackout period’ – which is a period no one is allowed to get off. They [the company] automatically added another month and a half onto my contract. By the end, I just couldn’t be on the ship. I was just so tired and drained. I was not prepared to undertake a seven-and-a-half-month contract at sea. I just felt like I was never going home. The first few months of a contract are fine, but the last two or three months, I felt like I’d never see my parents again. It felt like I was on this ship now, and it felt like I was never going to go home. I could have pushed a customer overboard; I had had enough” [Lucy, Guest Relations Officer].

The examples from John and Lucy identified the levels of jurisdiction and control over workers, concerning when they can or cannot leave a ship for their vacation, or even when they have to return, cutting short possible long-planned vacation periods. Whilst similar levels of control can be necessary for land-based hospitality organisations, cruise workers are only remunerated during periods of work and not during vacations. This further suggests a level of power and control on the part of the organisation extending beyond the boundaries of the ship, reaching into the personal lives of workers and dictating patterns of life during vacation time as well

as onboard work periods. This level of control and influence, and a willingness of workers to comply links to the notion of civic virtue within the concept of organisational citizenship behaviours outlined in chapter 3. Here, the willingness of individuals to perform roles beyond their specified or agreed roles was argued by Katz and Kahn's ORT to outline the need for workers to demonstrate the ability to go the extra mile and beyond their formal job role demands.

As part of their job and lifeworld, cruise workers have to contend with total institutional observational control as well as adjust their behaviours in an attempt to integrate socially and culturally into the 'shrouded environment' of the cruise ship workplace. Here Lucy discusses the pressure of the job role demands and despite the tiredness, she and her co-workers are still required to demonstrate and enact desirous displays of emotions and behaviours:

"by the fourth month of my contract I was so tired, I was emotionally drained from having to listen to everything, and you don't get the support really. Because of our manager onboard – we kept having to have meetings because our ratings were going down, but all of us were tired, and yet he put extra hours on as he thought we weren't working hard enough! So, his motivational speech was based around the idea that you had to smile more, so obviously, we felt put down. To me, that is not actually managing people at all, that is just putting us all down. So, for me, after four months... We had a "holy" cruise which was even more intense because of the type of guests that we had on board, but we didn't get the support for that month, and then that was it for me! I was thinking to myself, "I need to get off!" (Lucy, Guest Relations).

Vladimir expounds the behaviours and distinctiveness of organisational identity that is transfigured through the identity and behaviours of the crew:

"The crew who are in front of the passengers, they have to have that 'happy face, whether it's genuine or not, it's part of their position. You can't have a

'sour face' and affect the passengers. If we see you with a sour face or bad manners or being impolite to somebody, that person will come to our attention, and it will turn to a disciplinary matter" [Vladimir, Restaurant Manager].

Vladimir's outlines the need for compliance and clear displays of desirous behaviours to meet the expectations of passengers. Noting the demands of the organisation that requires individuals to *'have that happy face'*, whether genuinely felt or not, suggests the display and behavioural demands provide no consideration of the needs of the individual worker and an expectation of worker compliance, going beyond the 'extra mile' in meeting passenger expectations. Such controls are further demonstrated by Thomas who explains how workers hold conversations in their native language as a mechanism of self-control of emotions and non-compliance with organisational policies:

"I was walking along the corridor and saw some of the crew who were speaking Hindi or another language, you just have to remind them where they are" [Thomas, Food and Beverage Manager].

The need for worker compliance was further mentioned by Andrew:

I have to make sure I carry out regular rounds because otherwise if you don't observe the crew – they will "take the Mick" sometimes! Similarly, in terms of the (front) desk, they do "skive" and I do have to tell them that if a rota is made, there is a reason behind that. If I want three people on the desk there is a reason behind that! It shouldn't be like this, but they're 'petrified' of me when I come to the desk. They do all try and call whoever is missing, and they have made a habit of not going anywhere without informing someone. I am human and I can understand. Being a receptionist myself a few years ago, I can understand that a little break and a little time off – a chance to relieve the pressure is required. So, I do let them have rest breaks – as long as they don't take advantage of that and go off for twenty to twenty-five minutes (Andrew, Guest Services manager).

Andrew goes beyond simply suggesting there is a level of compliance, but, that his team are petrified of him when he does his rounds. This suggests that the level of control in the cruise hierarchy, and the demands of job roles for cruise workers, is more than simply meeting job specifications but extends to a level of job insecurity based on job performance and the failure of non-compliance. This further supports the concepts of panopticism and total observation control.

The comments from Thomas, Vladimir and Andrew demonstrate that cruise ship workers must comply with organisational behavioural demands that require individuals to adapt and modify their behavioural and emotional actions. This can include identity modification based on the desired traits, characteristics, and behaviours that the organisation expects them to deploy. Failure to do so can lead to a level of disciplinary action.

7.2 Social Identity

Generic theories of Total Institution Control (Goffman), Organisation Role Theory, (Katz & Kahn), Organisation Citizenship Behaviour (Smith, et, al,) and Emotion Labour (Hochschild) can be shown to be highly applicable to the cruise context because there is a need for cruise workers to adjust their behaviours, control their emotions and develop an identity as an outlet to fitting into their new surroundings and their new lifeworld onboard ship. As well as adjusting to the work and living environment constricted by rules and regulations, workers need to bond and form relationships as components of work teams and to enable them socially to 'survive' and adapt to the new environment which is their home for the length of their

employment contract. Adapting one's identity can, therefore, be part of the process of adjustment in seeking acceptance into cruise work and meeting the job role demands and organisational expectations:

“When you're dealing with the guests you need to give a very sincere, humble, genuine, and have a “fresh” side. You need to be more creative, dynamic, energetic and come across as the good guy whom they can rely upon and trust. Ah, and that you can see in their face that he is the person you want to hang out with because it gives the person trust. Here is the person who is guiding us, and he is the guy that will tell people what to do. On the other hand, when you're talking about the officers, you need to be very precise and reliable. You have to be schematic” (Sharon, Guest Services Manager).

In Sharon's extract, she explains how cruise ship workers need to adapt their identity and emotion displays to meet differing situations. Encounters with passengers need to feel trust, whereas encounters with colleagues present a focus on a need for reliability. However, Michelle takes the view that individuals form an identity that isn't always genuine and is simply part of the adjustment process for survival:

“it took a bit of getting used to in the beginning, but you know, I suppose it is just one of those things! Because of the environment that we work in or whatever. But yeah, I always did think it was great – everyone is such a team and good friends, but the minute you step off that gangway that is it! It is just literally, a way of getting yourself through the six months. Because the first thing I do, like when I knew that I was coming to the XXXX (ship name removed to maintain anonymity), the first thing I did was check who the Crew Manager was, who was on there that I knew. It was then a case of, “OK – I'll be fine”! There are all those people that I know or whatever! Everyone pretends to be social, they pretend to be your buddies, but you don't know anyone at all” (Michelle, Revenue Manager).

This interview extract explained that the relationships formed onboard between co-workers are of a temporary, yet intense nature, and are often used as a way of getting workers through their employment contract. Michelle notes that

relationships formed are sometimes based on a pretence, thus suggesting there is a level of 'faking', not only in the pursuit of meeting passenger expectations but also for the development of social relationships. Here, the social identity of individuals can often form the basis of relationships.

"Because when you go to a cruise ship not knowing anyone, I mean for me that is pretty difficult because I know everyone onboard the ships at this stage! But that is the mentality, it is a case of I'll be fine because I know X, Y, or Z. I end up thinking, oh me and him always go to the gym together. That type of thing! It's all about whether socially you're going to be OK. Because in terms of work I know my job – you know that you're going to do it! But it's whether you're going to have any people to share the social time and keep you sane" (Sharon, Guest relations manager).

Sharon explains that adjustment is a lot to do with managing one's own 'mental state', forming a social identity in the hope they will 'be okay' during their time onboard. Rest time is when loneliness and isolation can become significant influencers on how workers manage themselves and particularly their emotion control.

"Socially you try and bond with people, and you go out and that type of thing, but it is almost like it's not real. the minute you step off the ship that's it. You go home, and you don't bother with them again. However, when you come back to ship it is like you have never left. I mean during my first two contracts I thought to myself –'Jesus man' - if somebody else leaves, but within two minutes of them going I had forgotten they even existed" [Michelle, Revenue Manager].

Michelle further clarifies the temporary nature of cruise work relationships in suggesting that social bonds are simply part of life onboard and a scheme to manage personal emotion regulation. This signifies the intensity of cruise work lives and the unceasing demands placed upon workers to not only master their job role but also their ability to understand and appreciate the cultural nuances and

safety issues of life on board. These challenges are expressed within a disoriented and isolated life, somewhat separated from normality where workers are required to develop an identity to 'fit in' and which allows them to enact the behaviours and regulation expected of personal emotions to survive their work employment contracts.

7.3 Enacted Behaviours

Chapter 6 demonstrated how cruise ship workers needed to adjust, seek out support and attempt to manage their behaviour and emotion control within the total institutional observation control of the cruise ship. To further understand the complex circumstances that influence a cruise workers emotion regulation and surface and deep acting displays, workers need to embrace those aspects of citizenship behaviours that Organ et. al, (1994) captured so effectively. The first of these is how collective fellowship provides the tolerance necessary for surviving the work environment. Here Marian encapsulates the spectrum of behaviour modifications expected of cruise workers:

"I have to deal with anything and everything, from dealing with complaints, to taking payments, to being, a 'therapist', to making someone's vacation memorable. I want everyone to have a fantastic vacation. Of course, like everyone I have bad days, and you have to deal with stupid people. You just do what you have to, to get through the day" [Marian, Guest Relations Officer].

Marian demonstrates the necessity for workers to develop a tolerance in response to actions and behaviours of passengers. Even though examples such as Marian's are not unique to the cruise setting, negative responses and actions from passengers are symptomatic of the consumer-driven environment. However, as

cruise workers have a little downtime to 'escape' their workplace, seeking a release from such pressurised encounters and experiences is critical, particularly in the face of developing an embedded capacity for tolerance

There is a need for cruise workers to be tolerant, to develop an ability or willingness to endure behaviours and beliefs that are different from their own, which are often organisationally imposed or expected by customers who come from all countries of the world. The lifeworld of a cruise worker restricted to a confined setting, complying with strict rules and regulations, implies workers require a significant level of tolerance. In addition to their job role demands they have mostly to share cabins, their meal times and social downtime with others on a daily basis, implying a tolerance and ability to modify and display desirous behaviours:

"If you are going to be mean, or you are not willing to be understanding of others, a job on ship is not for you; you have to have an open mind regarding who you are working with and the sort of people you are working with"
[Vladimir, Food & Beverage Manager].

Vladimir noted the need for workers to be understanding and open-minded of others, where workers need to be sympathetic and understanding of those they work with as team workers and colleagues. In Chapter 6 several participants alluded to the 'surrogate family' as a method of support and team integration. This is a further suggestion of strong workplace bonds, which can be considered a critical camaraderie necessary in helping colleagues develop levels of tolerance and acceptance of the cruise ship setting and job role demands. Additionally, here Grace mentions the need to care about people, and the need to put on a 'happy face' suggesting the enactment of behavioural displays:

"A big part of you has to care about people. The other part you can fake – where you can pretend that you are happy and smiling. It is human nature to have problems and to have moments where you don't want to go out and face people, but you have to put your 'happy face on, and off you go" [Grace, Spa Manager].

In addition to caring about the passengers, Jess mentioned the issue of cruise workers becoming ill during their employment contract. For some, there is no natural light, plus being confined to their cabins they will require the help and support from colleagues to bring the basics such as food:

"The hardest thing I know in terms of my guys is not to be sick! Because you're in the same room for twenty-four hours, and you may not have a window! You will have a television where you can see "daylight" from the camera, but it is really hard. After twenty-four hours, you will be ready to go back to work because you're so bored. Because you're here to work basically. The first thing is that you have to work, and if you're sick it is not easy. It is hard, especially when you start to feel better and you're lying in your bed and you're not doing anything. You're here and you want to do something" (Jess Cruise director).

Throughout the interviews, there was an overriding sense of camaraderie. The appreciation of colleagues and the dependency of colleagues to help and support each other. Not only for work demands but, for social support when the burden of the job role becomes overwhelming. The definition of camaraderie as noted in the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2017) as 'a spirit of friendly good-fellowship.' Gary explains that you need others on board to help "fix things", we have to rely on other departments too.

"The food and beverage manager, he is amazing. If we call him, he will be there right away. Likewise, if other departments need our help, I will send one of our guys right away. We are a family, and we always help each other out where we can" (Gary, Guest relations).

The term 'family' as a mechanism for support and 'camaraderie' amongst cruise workers was repeatedly used as a way of reinforcing the supportive environment. However, such support is based on an individual's willingness to integrate with no obvious deployment of formal organisationally based support policy, but relying on individuals to develop informal approaches:

"I can let five of the team go out for a day, somewhere like Russia, all the passengers are on tours, so I can let some of the team go and join the excursion on a crew tour. They come back for their normal working hours at five o'clock, but they are back on 'full power' in the evenings and for the next couple of days" [Sharon, Guest Relations Manager].

Sharon discussed the importance of providing cruise workers with time to leave the ship and join shore excursions. Whilst this can still be considered 'work time' it allows individuals time away from their normal work surroundings, where they escort passengers on excursions, thus cruise workers can experience the sights of shore destinations away from their role for a short period. In turn, such opportunities of escapism, allow workers to take advantage of time ashore, to meet other cruise workers, and to take time to relieve the stress and pressure of the job, demonstrating that the decisions of managers can receive reciprocal and newly energised cruise workers where such goodwill gets repaid with a 'full power' effort from staff. This is further supported by Jane who stated that getting away from the job role is a way of relieving stress and the pressure of the job:

"Getting off the ship when you want a break is not always possible, you don't always have any company get off the ship. Calling home is a big thing, speaking to friends back home helps relieve the stress and pressure of the job" [Jane, Guest Relations Officer].

Both Jane and Sharon allude to time away from the job role, or time to call home and speak to friends as mechanisms of escapism as a way of forgetting about the stress and pressures of the job role, plus the isolation of the cruise setting at sea, this can be provided by self or in the case of Sharon as a manager providing time and space for workers to relax and away from the ship.

Companionship can be considered a significant part of life onboard, extending beyond the demands of daily work and helping individuals to de-stress and relieve the pressures of work. The notion of companionship with work colleagues fits with the notion of OCB that was explored in Chapter 3. Thus, suggesting factors of OCB that benefit individuals, where the burden of a physically and emotionally demanding job role means workers may have 'bad days', and the ability to speak with friends or family, can help ease the pressure and provide a valve to let off steam. Additionally, workers seek the support of work colleagues as an outlet manage their workplace pressure. Such camaraderie is explained by Sharon who talks about seeking the support to colleagues, not as professional co-workers, but as a vehicle to relieve stress and pressure of the job role:

“you will see me upset in my boss’s office screaming about a passenger. I have learnt that if I say it out loud, I can find a solution. If I hear myself talking about the problem I will go to my boss, not to get feedback but just for him to listen and know what’s going on” [Stacey, Shore–Ex Manager].

The ability to perform to the required level of performance can be diminished due to negative emotions. Therefore, cruise workers rely on each other for professional support and fellowship and the ability to approach colleagues in the hope to 'offload' problems is part of a solution to juggling job role and emotional demands.

Likewise, gathering with colleagues in the 'crew bar' or going ashore for a 'couple of hours' when in port, can help make life seem less stressful.

For those cruise workers whose job roles are customer-facing, or largely based on providing levels of customer service, it is not unusual to find individuals who are prepared to go the extra mile, providing a level of service over and above that which is formally prescribed in their job description:

"If I can help somebody to have an amazing vacation, I love it. I find this job very rewarding in that way" [Marian, Guest Relations Officer].

Personal achievement and genuine satisfaction as part of a job role were noted by Marian, which echoes the work of Katz and Kahn (1968) outlined the need for employees to go the extra mile and to be innovative in their approach to their job role. The notion of helping others and selflessness is not only restricted to assisting and supporting passengers but can be extended to helping colleagues as a way of professional support:

"I mean again, sometimes you just see the receptionists and you say, "Right – I've got a job for you. Come with me and focus on this for a bit". Let them get stuck into that job, and then half an hour later, go and sit down and have a quiet word! I'll say, "Are you down today – what is up?" It could just be that they have rolled out of bed on the wrong side – we all have it! The problem with the work environment is that we've got nowhere to go. You work seven days a week – you can't have a day off to recuperate and go and cheer yourself up. I mean part of the solution is to get ashore and actually get away from work" (Ian, Night Manager).

Whilst Ian discussed being prepared to support and help co-workers, Michelle explained that although she is content to help, there is an expectation from the organisation that 'senior' workers are expected to support others without any level of recognition in doing so, further adding to the burden of their job role:

“These two guys were there, and they didn’t know what to do! But it is like the company thinks, ‘Oh that person’ is there, and that person has done six around the world cruises, so ask that person. I ended up helping them, I don’t mind helping them because I love being at sea and the whole working at sea thing! But you just end up thinking that the company is taking the piss now! They’re managing to make money off of us, they’re managing to use us to do all this additional training, and you’re not getting anything out of it! You’re not getting the recognition for it! And yet they’re laughing all the way to the bank because they’re putting these people in at cheaper rates and thinking that is it! We end up doing the training and everything else!” (Michelle, Manager).

In addition to workers having to carry out their job role, the previous extract explained there is an expectation on the part of workers to provide additional support to co-workers suggesting there is an aspect of personal sacrifice due to the time and effort required to support and help others. Whereas Marian discusses some of the self-sacrifices cruise workers make for careers onboard, such as being away from family and children at home:

“I find that in terms of the people who have children – half the time you won’t even know they have children! It is not something that they openly speak about. Of course, if you’re friends with them, they will say things like, ‘I talked with my daughter or my son’ – but that would be kind of be the extent of it. I don’t have any children, so I can’t put myself in their shoes, but I find that they do kind of separate it all. Because if they don’t, they can’t really focus on what they are doing on the ship. I mean, that is kind of what I’ve done. The only time I feel that I miss my family is when I’m on the ship at Christmas, and for New Year, and you’re behind the desk, and you see all the families dancing together and singing. I end up thinking that that is what I would be doing with my family right now. But then, I thought when I was here last Christmas that the people whom you work with are your “family” on board the ship” (Grace, Guest Relations).

These examples of acts of selflessness noted by Marian, Ian, Michelle and Grace can be directed internally [employees] or externally [passengers]. The three previous examples demonstrate the willingness to support both passengers and privately help colleagues towards achieving specific goals.

General compliance behaviours serve to benefit the ship in several ways.

"We have very strict regulations in terms of how much we're allowed to work on board, so the most you can work is fourteen hours. And you do have to have ten hours' rest. So, we have to be very strict – we have these conventions that we have to follow, and we make sure the teams work to schedules. We make sure that the teams get enough breaks, and even on the sea days, my staff will get a couple of hours off." (Stacey, Shore-ex Manager).

Compliance behaviours serve to benefit the ship and the organisation. Compliance from the workers, following rules helps keep the cruise ship at sea running efficiently. Consequently, a compliant worker does not engage in negative behaviours that harm the organisation:

"I have always taken pride in everything I do. However, now I just sit in my office and do what I need to do. Whereas, before there was always a team spirit and everyone helped everyone else there is now a mentality of saying 'oh...it's not in my job description – I am not doing it" [Michelle, Revenue Manager].

Onboard careers are more than just 'nine to five' jobs, they are the lifeworld, where work is a constant punctuated by periods of rest before returning to their job role daily. As with any organisation, employees are encouraged to be loyal to an organisation with civic virtues highlighted in behaviours such as daily affairs, the attendance to organisational activities over and above a job role. This level of commitment to the organisation was noted by Andrea:

"during your time onboard, you can never think about your personal life for more than a couple of hours in a row. There is always something to take care of – general business, meetings, coordination with other departments, meeting the passengers and managing the team" [Andrea, Hotel Director].

"I really gave it my all, I work from half-past seven in the morning until ten o'clock at night. I took no breaks! Well, it was my choice because if I wasn't

there and there was a big line (queue) of people, and the job wasn't done, then people would think I couldn't handle that position. Anyone who was on that ship would tell you that they had no life! You didn't sleep. On the (front) desk because you don't have relief as a manager... And there are only an extra two hundred or three hundred people on board, but it makes such a difference with that line (queue). And we're not allowed to have lines (queues) on XXXX (Cruise company removed for anonymity), because when it is a luxury brand you don't have a line [queues] And if there is a line the Hotel Director's office is right next to you, and s/he will see it, and then you will be in the 'shit' because you're not there. So yeah – you just didn't leave (to take a break)" (Mandy, Guest Relations).

The interview extracts from Andrea and Mandy outlined the need for workers to be committed to their job role, hence having little time for their personal life. This suggests that there is a continued need for individuals to juggle their emotions and possess a level of emotional control that allows them to complete their job role and to survive their employment contract.

7.4 Emotions

In chapter 4 it was noted that individuals needed to possess the ability to manage personal and job-related emotions as part of the social interactions providing an impression as part of the cultural script (Turner & Stets, 2006) that are deemed desirable in meeting passenger expectations. Whilst a cruise workers' emotion control and display are used to influence the attitude and behaviours of others, it can be seen that the behavioural actions of passengers, amongst others, can have an influence on the emotions of cruise workers because cruise workers can, and often do, face constant complaints and even threats against them from passengers. Rose and Stacey provided examples of times when passengers influenced their emotion state:

"It gets to you! Ah, and your fuse is very, very short, and you have to watch out because you can just explode because of anything! You have to..... In my case, I constantly had to say to myself, "Rose you're tired, you're tired! This is not personal; this person is not yelling at you because it is about you. This person has a problem with whatever is happening, and you're there as a mediator to help". You're like a sponge taking in all this "bad energy" from angry people, or because there are situations that are happening, and you have to find a way to clean all that up, so you can start the next day without all that burden" (Rose, Hotel Director).

Interestingly Rose considered her role as being one of a 'mediator', choosing to block out the 'yelling' and took the view that the passenger was simply angry with the problem and not with her. This supports the notion of emotion labour where Hochschild suggested flight attendants developed techniques to help deal with angry passengers. Similarly, Stacey explained her experiences of 'frustrated' passengers:

"For instance, I will be outside, and I will be as wet as a mouse. And of course, guests... The British guests will never complain about the weather because you're used to it right? But in terms of the American guests, forget it! So, they will come and scream at me because they will want the front seat (on the coach). And there are eight or even twenty people that want the front seat! So, I always joke around with the tour operators and ask them to bring me a bus with twenty front seats right! And at that kind of moment, it is hard to keep on smiling, but you try your best. And then when you come back you can be upset for half an hour and then you just let it go and you go on. It is not like it stays with me. I don't keep grudges – I think it is bad anyway. Something will happen that will make you smile – someone will come and hug you and make you feel better" (Stacey, Shore-ex manager).

These extracts highlight the emotional frustrations and anger aimed at cruise workers, whom all the while is still required to perform using organisationally acceptable displays of emotions and suppress internal feelings that are completely dissimilar. However, the challenges faced by cruise workers can be expected when organisationally prescribed emotions are not aligned with personally felt emotions. Thus, requiring individuals to fake and manipulate their displays. When there is a

lack of connection between felt and enacted emotional displays, this produces a dissonance in emotional states (Mann, 1999; Zapf, 1999). It is notable from the extracts of both Stacey and Rose that there is a need for individuals to possess the ability to manage their own emotion where the regulation of personal emotions is part and parcel of their job role, but not always prescribed as such. However, it is worth mentioning that these emotional demands are not dissimilar from hospitality workers in shore-based operations. Other than, those shore-based hospitality workers can leave their work environment at any time they choose, whereas, cruise ship workers are unable to escape unless the ship is in the dock. Thus, meaning a cruise ship worker can be faced with the same 'difficult' passengers for a significant period unable to get away or avoid them for the duration of their vacation.

7.5 Emotion Control

The ability to regulate one's emotions was mentioned broadly as an essential part of working in the cruise ship environment, requiring customer-facing workers to regulate and modify their emotions to meet organisationally desirable displays of emotion. Cruise workers talked about adjusting and controlling personal feelings to express positive displays whilst being expected to suppress negative feelings:

"I mean working at night it is a bit easier to hide your emotions. Everyone does have a bad day. Absolutely everybody – there are some days when you just don't want to go out into the public areas and smile and fake it and all the rest of it. However, working at night it is easier because you're not going to see many people, and you can crack on! Like I say, recognising not only people's strengths but also when somebody is a bit 'off' that day! You can then tailor the day around getting them through it, but if they're not

displaying the characteristics you need them to, you find things for them to do basically” (Ian, Night manager)

In addition,

“I am a people person – I enjoy talking to people – I enjoy being around people. So.... It is hard when someone is being rude to you, or when someone is very angry. You kind of feel a little silly smiling at them. I need to separate from my onboard life sometimes, but when I’m on the ship I feel like it comes naturally” [Megan, Assistant Chief Housekeeper].

These two extracts illustrate the demands on individuals for desirous behavioural enactment, and the need for fake emotion displays, even when faced with negative actions from passengers. However, Megan recognised the need and ability to compartmentalise emotions, so that personal emotions need to be detached from those needed for the workplace. Yet, here Grace recognises that there are times where the pressure and intensity of the job role mean she isn't able to manage her emotions and let the situation affect her emotion state:

“one of the reasons I work well in this department is I can handle the pressure. I am very good at segregating my emotions. If they're [passengers] attacking me personally and they know me, it is different, but I know it's not personal, they don't know me” (Grace, Spa manager).

Grace's extract supports the earlier comments from Rose, with both suggesting that verbal attacks from passengers can be compartmentalised. However, Grace further mentions that she has let situations affect her where she has cried, not simply due to passengers, but how management treats the workforce:

“They don't normally say personal things. It's the situation that's making them angry. I am excellent at not letting situations affect me. I never get stressed. Although, I have cried a few times. I am not normally a crier, but I

have cried because of 'management' and how they treat us, and our colleagues" [Grace, Spa Manager].

Grace's interview noted that whilst passengers contribute to the emotional being of cruise workers, the onboard management and their treatment of workers can equally be an influencing factor. Earlier Andrew mentioned how his team workers were "petrified" of him when he observes them in their job role, and when combined with Grace's comments, provide indicative evidence of the levels of power and control some managers hold over cruise workers and how these may have contributing influences on an individual's ability to control their emotions.

Mandy provides an extract when she experienced managers actively mistreating a cruise worker simply because they didn't like that person. What is worth noting is the culture of fear to speak up against such action, in case that person would lose their job, thus suggesting the total power and control some individuals possess which allows them to act in negative ways:

"Because if they don't like you... There have been instances on our ship where one of the guys got fired because they didn't like him, and I knew they didn't like him because I'd seen the way he was being treated compared to everybody else. I overheard them, and it was like being in school. They were bitching to each other and doing all sorts, and I thought that was really bad. Yet if I had gone to the Hotel director and said, 'This what they've been doing'. And if I'd said that to him while we were in the meeting, I would have been fired myself! It is very much the case that you have to watch your own back when it comes to the management because you're always just a number so they can just take you straight off and have someone to replace you the next day" (Mandy, Guest Relations).

These interview extracts from Grace, Stacey and Rose have illustrated the negative emotions that cruise ship workers can become exposed to, that feel like part of their job roles. Grace further suggested that in the treatment by some

'management', this contributed to a negative emotional state for some cruise workers. Several participants noted levels of expectations and treatment by managers adds to the stress and pressure of their job role. Here Jane adds that the work becomes easier once individuals have settled into their surroundings and understand their job. Yet, the continual demands both physically and emotionally do take their toll, meaning workers feel a sense of vulnerability:

"I was when I first started because it is really exciting and the social life is brilliant, and you're still fairly fresh! So I was, and I wanted to learn and get the most out of it. And once I had started to understand the job, it did become so much easier to work there in that sense, but then obviously, it got more emotionally draining as I worked there for longer. It is emotionally draining. Yeah – you're vulnerable on a ship" (Jane, Guest Relations).

The ability to be emotionally intelligent is considered a critical factor for 'on job' performance in cruise work with the suggestion that workers who are high on emotion intelligence perform substantially better than employees low in emotional intelligence, As Rose a hotel Director explains:

"you have to realise your limitations. The work demands and long hours we do takes a lot out of you; we are here with each other for six months. Lots of things happen, it is a small town with things happening. It is important that we consider others and how our actions affect them" [Rose, Hotel Manager].

This extract explains that workers need to watch what they say or do, as people will soon know about each other's business. This requires emotional vigilance in the face of the panoptical space. In itself, the need to be constantly vigilant to the personal actions and behaviours of self and those of others provides a level of pressure and stress, as the time to switch off from job roles can also be difficult to manage:

"I forgot to add one part, although your resting time is respected and there is an unwritten rule that you don't call a person in their cabin unless it is an emergency. You have Walkie-Talkies and cell phones and things are constantly ringing, and you can't switch them off! So, you're never resting totally – you're always alert. Ah, and when you do catch sleep in the middle of the night, some alarm will ring, because there are tons of alarms going off all the time. So that in itself is also very stressful" (Rose, Hotel director).

The capacity to regulate and manage personal emotions, to influence relationships and emotions of others, was also identified as key to achieving a positive environment. To understand how the actions of one person can impact those of others, suggests notions of behavioural and emotion enactment are an essential tool for workers in the cruise setting. Here we see that even the Captain recognises the importance of emotions and management:

"when walking around the ship, I often stop and make a point to chat with crew members, all ranks and levels. Onboard ship, a crucial aspect of control in the hierarchy. It is important to make sure the whole place functions. Those in lower ranks can feel intimidated by officers who would tell them what to do. They feel intimidated because they are not treated well, and some officers were horrible in the way they treat the regular crew" [Tommy, Captain].

It was interesting to learn that not all managers treat their followers well. What was striking in this quote from the Captain is his use of the term 'intimidated'. Many participants frequently referred to the onboard teams being one family and having to rely on each other for support. However, the data points to terms such as workers being 'petrified' and 'intimidated' by their managers (officers). Throughout this study, the emphasis has focused on the cruise workers ability to manage their own emotions and behaviours in the pursuit of meeting passenger expectations in a 'luxury' setting, and the notion of work teams onboard being supportive and 'pseudo families'. Yet within these onboard communities, there is still the role of

'pseudo militaristic'-hierarchical environment driven by rules and regulation, suggesting some workers who hold supervisory and management roles negatively use their positions.

This most recent part of the data has shown how the interaction of emotions and emotional regulation at work from the senior managers onboard requires a degree of adjustment and adaptation and regulation. Whilst previously the chapter has shown how some workers deploy the use of the crew bar and other use personal relationships and colleagues support to enable them to cope with work demands, there has been no clear evidence of emotion displays and how these are controlled in the panopticism of the cruise ship setting, the following section explores the participants experiences of faking and managing their emotional displays as part of their job role demands.

7.6 Emotion – Self Management

When Arlie Hochschild famously studied the Delta airline cabin crew it is unlikely even, she imagined the extent of emotional labour that would have to be deployed in a cruise ship environment. The prolonged nature of interaction with cruise passengers who, as we have seen, can even stray into crew areas, creates the panoptic environment of total and continuous observation discussed in Chapter 6. As shown in the following interview extract, this can result in the sort of acting Hochschild's seminal work first brought to our attention:

"when dealing with guests, you need to give an impression of being very sincere, humble, genuine and have a fresh side. You need to be dynamic,

energetic and come across as the guy they can rely on and trust" (Andrea, Cruise Director).

"You have signed up as a receptionist. Your job is to smile, and your job is to serve. And it has to come from within! I can't hold your hand. I can't stand there and make you smile. It has to come from within here. You're in a passenger facing role and you have to smile and be happy! That is what people expect from you and that is what the company expects from you. If we wanted a service without a smile, then we could put a kiosk there! 'People could put their cruise cards in and pick up their money. You're there so you can talk, and you can smile'. We want a lot of interaction!" (Sharon, Guest Relations Manager).

And....

"It is all about people, we have this ship, the hardware, but we need the software, that's the people. The people [crew] will make all the difference. For example, I have been on ships where I walk around, and the crew don't even greet each other. On this ship, everybody says hi to everybody" [Gary, Assistant Guest Relations Manager].

The critical attributes and contributions to the passenger's experience come from the cruise ship workers' influences and actions demanded by the cruise organisation. As such, this directly suggests cruise workers are required to manipulate and demonstrate displays which are not always genuinely felt, but, are false representations of their own emotions in the pursuit of client expectations:

"I have had guests come to the desk and say, 'the other crew members don't smile - they don't greet us' the smallest things are the most annoying to us. To have to walk past a guest and 'fake' a smile is annoying to have to do so every day" [Maria, Guest Relations Officer].

The need to present positive emotional displays is considered a challenge for workers, particularly where the ability to remain emotionally upbeat can be exasperating:

"it's a thankless job because people get annoyed, and they shout at you. It's not just the passenger's, other departments too. I try not to stress about it or get myself worked up as I still have lots of tasks to do, you can't stress out on one issue" [Toby, Food and Beverage Manager].

Furthermore....

"We know the usual complaints from the passengers, and we know the answers to give them. However, constantly having to be nice to passengers and colleagues means I am exhausted by four months into my contract. I have six-month contracts, but my brain is tired, and my body is even more tired, it's just so exhausting have to be nice all the time to passengers and crew" [Andrew, Customer Services Manager].

Plus....

"they (organisation) have created these 'monsters', the passengers, we always refer to them as monsters. Passengers are always complaining, making the crew unhappy having to deal with complaints every day" [Jane, Guest Relations Officer].

The labelling of passengers as 'monsters' indicates the pressure of having highly demanding clients in a controlled space. As this section of the data has shown, this leads to a spectrum of emotions, all the while requiring performance of organisationally acceptable displays of emotions, while, suppressing internal feelings that may be completely dissimilar. However, the challenge faced by individuals should not be a surprise, particularly when organisationally prescribed emotions are not aligned with personally felt emotions leading to faked and manipulated emotion displays. This lack of association between felt and enacted emotional displays produces a dissonance in emotional states.

7.7 Emotion dissonance

Emotional behaviours enacted by workers can be considered as deep or surface acting requiring the faking of emotions, the wearing of an organisationally

prescribed mask. Such instances where workers feel threatened and uncomfortable have indicated the need to wear a mask, concealing and suppressing genuinely felt emotions as a defence to protect oneself and well-being:

"Working on board ship is not for everyone, you can't just put a smile on your face. It has to come naturally. We have a good training process here, but you cannot train people on board to smile, I mean people are not robots. Of course, not everyone has a great day, but at the end of the day the job has to get done, and our guest shouldn't feel that you are having a bad day" [Vladimir, Food and Beverage Manager].

A further example....

"a guest complained they were not able to sit at the front of the theatre for the show as his wife was in a wheelchair. Having previously been informed to arrive earlier at the performance. They arrived fifteen minutes late and would now have to sit at the back. He rang up and started swearing at me down the phone. He then appeared at guest relations desk, where he threatened 'to show me what it would be like not to be able to sit down' I still had to smile and think that, that kind of behaviour was acceptable" [Jane, Guest Relations Officer.]

For frontline cruise workers, smiling, being nice, pleasant and happy and in control requires acting, either surface or deep (Hochschild, 1983). It is acceptable to expect positive displays from frontline workers however, for cruise workers there is no 'end of the day' where they can 'drop' the act as Grace explains:

"one occasion when a passenger called me fat, while I was dealing with his complaint. I try not to take things personally but, I brought that into my 'off-time'. I can now laugh about it, but things like that do affect you, especially when you have to face them every day on the ship" [Grace, Spa Manager].

In the extract from Jane and Grace it can be seen that even when the situations dictated their feelings should be anything other than positive, workers were

required to mask negative emotions, not only to deliver prescribed displays but to protect their dignity. Invariably workers have to deploy a variety of strategies to express themselves and protect their dignity to prevent the negative consequences of emotional labour.

“you have to switch off emotionally, people do lose their temper. I think, that is only natural and is going to happen. I do think the teams we work with are aware of each other’s mental state. We do look out for each other and can say, why don’t you go and do a bit of work out the back, just to give them a break” [Emma, Concierge].

With no place to escape and little time to rest and recover, the fusion of self and work increases the risk of burnout, stress and anxiety. Whilst, negative feelings and emotions generated by prescribed emotions expected by the organisation are not restricted to ship environments, Rose confirms the impracticality of workers escaping the workplace:

“You give what you have to give, then just stay in your cabin as much as possible. You don’t want to see anybody. However, we all have phones and are constantly contactable even when we are in our cabins, we are never completely away from the job” [Rose, Hotel Manager].

In addition to the emotional demands, there are the physical demands of the job roles where fatigue can mean cruise workers lack the ability to regulate the psychological and emotional demands of the job, where there is total contact pressure, and where cruise workers never have a moment where they can be themselves - never being able to let the mask of their identity or job role slip:

“Our work is physical as well as mental work. You absorb a lot of information. I remember when I was a bar waitress when I first started on ship. I did six or seven-month contracts. That was very physical labour –

you know you were carrying trays and you were carrying drinks. Walking around a lot. I wasn't as tired then as I am now after four months. Because now I'm observing all these things – all the mental stuff. But I've learned by experience, for example in this position when this cruise is over, I would press "delete" on my computer – I would delete all the old stuff, but I would also delete it from my memory as well" [Sharon, Guest Relations Officer].

Participants also discussed the arduous nature of the role, the fatigue felt during periods of the work that required them to disguise true feelings and present a constantly positive outlook.

"A big part of you has to care about people. The other part you can fake – where you can pretend that you are happy and smiling. It is human nature to have problems and to have moments where you don't want to go out and face people, but you have to put your 'happy face on, and off you go" [Grace, Spa Manager].

Grace's account demonstrates how she protects herself from the hazards of personality control, recognising they are social actors. The act of monitoring their projected personality, manipulating feelings and emotions in the course of social interactions in a knowing way and protection of one's self-interest supports the work of Paules (1991). As such, keeping a healthy distance between self and work role to protect oneself is essential for many interviewees.

7.8 Chapter summary

Whereas chapter 6 discussed the realisation on the part of the worker that there is a need for personal adjustment and that cruise work is akin to the domains of prison life, this chapter has focused on the organisational behaviours and job role requirements for cruise workers as described in chapter 3, where their lifeworld consists of compliance to a regime set out by the organisation and where non-

compliance can result in disciplinary action or unemployment. As part of their performance, cruise workers are expected to modify their identity to enact behaviours that are expected of them by passengers and co-workers as part of their job role. In addition to modifying personal identity to meet organisation requirements, workers would often modify their social being as a mechanism to 'fit in' to a work team, a mechanism of acceptance to feel part of the 'family', an informal network of support which was explored in chapter 6. Furthermore, the formation of an individual's social identity was considered a means for survival, and not always a genuine form of identity, but one created as a 'front' to maintain relationships in the temporary community of the cruise ship. This lifeworld is one where passengers and workers 'come and go' with frequency, meaning relationships are temporary, yet are intense because of the proximity of working and living together for intense periods.

As well as cruise workers needing to develop and modify personal identity, the chapter has focused on the need for cruise workers to develop and enact accepted behaviours. Behaviours such as tolerance, good-fellowship and camaraderie are all behavioural actions explained in chapter 3 through the concept of organisational citizenship behaviours. Such behaviours are based on the willingness of workers to enact such behaviours, often not prescribed as part of their job role, but instead are implied actions that are innovative and supportive in nature, thus supporting the notion of role theory espoused by Katz and Kahn.

In chapter 6 it was considered that emotions are best thought of as a central strand of DNA running throughout the data. Therefore, this chapter has subsequently

explored the emotions of cruise ship workers to understand how they manage and control personal emotions and manipulate those emotion displays in the face of a total and controlling institution. High levels of emotion control were evident from the interview extracts, where it was noted clearly that cruise ship workers have to manage and modify their emotion state depending on the situations, they find themselves in. As a consequence, workers are expected to present certain emotional displays that are commensurate with the desired behavioural acts expected of cruise ship hotel workers. This supports the notion of emotion labour as mentioned in chapter 4. However, what conventional emotion labour theory does not include is the need for a worker to manage their emotion around the clock. The two results chapters have combined to demonstrate that cruise workers adjust and adapt behaviours whilst juggling a spectrum of emotional controls, all operating as mechanisms for surviving the cruise environment. The constancy of observational control contributes to the stress and pressure of a job role that individuals are unable to escape from. Instead, workers need to develop a resilience to long employment contracts consisting of prolonged periods of emotion and behavioural enactments, punctuated with short periods of rest that even then can often be disturbed by the constant demands of their job roles. The final section of the thesis now considers this evidence in light of existing theories and aims to provide answers to the research questions posed at the commencement of the study.

Chapter 8 Discussion

8.0 Introduction

Chapter 8 is structured to bring together the results of the findings chapters and consider the empirical evidence that addresses the aim and the research questions of the study. Discussing the overall implications of the study's results in developing models that illustrate the relationships between key themes and sub themes, and the potential implications for the cruise industry and its onboard workers.

These are:

Aim: to comprehend the complex circumstances impacting the workplace experiences of maritime hospitality workers on cruise ships and the drivers of behavioural performance and emotion management.

Research Questions:

1. How does the cruise ship setting effect how individuals react to situations relating to power and control?
2. What are the principle drivers for deployment of discretionary effort for cruise ship workers?
3. How are cruise workers personal and social identities impacted by their work on cruise ships?
4. How is a cruise worker's emotional management influenced by the work and social setting of a cruise ship?

Whilst the cruise industry shares many similarities with shore-based hospitality operations, the ship design, setting and context, the intense *Lifeworld* experiences for cruise ship hospitality workers. This thesis has set out to explain how the cruise ship hospitality operations for those working onboard is unlike mainstream hospitality work, due to the total institutional and observational control cruise ship workers are subjected to 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for the duration of their contracts of employment. As a consequence, it is important to consider the characteristics of OCB, individual identity and emotion control, and how they are interconnected in the context of cruise ship work, specifically within hospitality studies. Therefore, with the rapid growth of the cruise ship industry, combined with the attractive career opportunities offered. It is vital the cruise ship industry, as well as education and training programmes (e.g. BSc. Cruise Management) must be able to be honest and open with cruise ship workers and those considering careers in the cruise ship industry. So, individuals are able to make informed choices about life onboard. Providing an honest and informed insight into a cruise workers *Lifeworld*. Thus, avoiding the continual high cost related to investing in recruiting and training new starters, only for them to return home as they are unable to adjust to a life at sea.

While there are implications from the findings for the industry, there are also implications for theorists. In particular, there is a need to consider how cruise ship work contains elements of Foucault's Panopticism, and when combined with Goffman's mortification, should encourage researchers to view cruise ship work as less of the tourism and hospitality 'poster boy', but, to be considered more realistically as demanding and challenging work that requires constant self-identity

monitoring; something I have referred to as 'the vigilant eye'. Furthermore, whilst Hochschild's seminal work was outstanding in explaining how emotions are colonised by the employer and modified by the employee as part of their job role, her work also focused on workers operating shifts on aircraft, of between one to thirteen hours. In this study, cruise ship workers typically spend months at work, mostly at sea, unable to simply return to their *Homeworlds* once their shift has ended. Cruise workers are continually constrained by the cruise ship space and to a *Lifeworld* of behavioural performance and relentless demands for emotion regulation. These are discussed further below

8.1 The Principal Findings of the Study

In addressing the aim of the thesis, research question 1 sought to examine how the cruise ship setting affects how individuals react to situations relating to power and control. In addressing research question 1, there was a recognition that power and control would exist in an occupational environment that is routinely governed by strict rules and regulations, and where managers are expected to carry out the authority and rule on behalf of the organisation. However, what was unexpected and only achieved through the emergence of the data, was the level of importance and influence that power and control exerts over cruise ship workers. This was an emergent finding grounded in Foucault's Panopticism and Goffman's Total Institutional Control. Whilst the cruise industry is one of the few industries where occupations have to contend with the obvious constricting effect of living and working onboard, the unique characteristics of a hospitality-based ship environment provides mechanisms to control workers behaviour through

numerous layers and levers of power and control that most conventional workplaces cannot. One of the earliest and most profound sociological definitions of the term power and control is that "A has power over B to the extent that A gets B to do something B would otherwise not do" (Dahl, 1957: 202-203). This suggests the exercise of power and control induces compliance, such as behavioural performance and emotion displays. However, a contrasting view adopts a more Foucauldian analysis of power, which seeks to view, "how does power manifest itself, by what means is it exercised, and what happens in the form of daily practices and routines through which people engage, (Foucault, 1982: 786). However, a Foucauldian approach might argue that all individuals are able to exercise power and are affected by power, as this is not simply a relationship between partners, individuals or the collective, but a way in which certain actions modify others such as, through the process of 'self-surveillance' and 'self-discipline' and thereby subjugate themselves (Foucault, 1982). Therefore, reflecting on the participant narratives, the emergence of power and control relationships manifest themselves through actions that do not act directly or immediately on others, instead, acting upon their actions: an action upon an action (Foucault: 1982: 789). With Foucault explaining power and control as not a 'function of consent' or a 'renunciation of freedom', but more simply put a relationship containing two elements where the very end person in the relationship acts and a whole field of responses, reactions and results open up (Foucault, 1982: 789). This suggests that the power and control of a cruise ship environment overarches the *Lifeworld* for cruise workers that exerts action for adjustment in identity and emotion regulation.

Figure 4.0 below illustrates the key themes that emerged from this study and how they interrelate with each other to affect an individual's *Lifeworld*. The model demonstrates the connections between the power and control of the cruise ship environment and the demands of job roles. The model represents the demands which occur through expected representations of behavioural performances alongside the desired emotional displays expected of a cruise worker when executing their role. This in turn induces a demand for identity modification to significant levels which the research suggests can be much greater than would be expected in a shore-based hospitality operation. As such, adding to the initially identified key themes of 'ship life', 'behaviours' and 'emotions', on-board identity and the constant requirement to modify identity for both work and social settings onboard. This emerged as an unexpected and somewhat surprising key theme throughout the analysis of the data. Such was the importance attached to identity modification that this is now represented as an overarching theme that embraces all remaining key themes. The constant emotional encounters of interactions with passengers and fellow crew workers, often of different senior and junior ranks, illustrates the embedded requirement for individuals to modify personal and work-based emotions and subjugate themselves to a spectrum of behavioural performances. Following a period of reflection, the model in fig. 4.0 was further developed to fig 4.1 which illustrates the emergent findings through understanding the Panopticism (Foucault) and Total Institutional Control (Goffman) of the cruise ship setting, along with the importance of power and control and the impact on individuals' *Lifeworlds*. These collide to force changes to identities and subsequent behavioural performances.

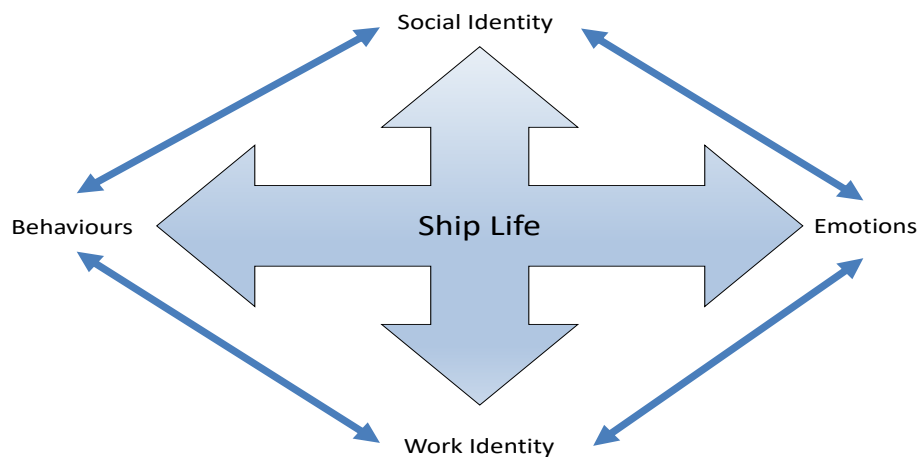


Figure 4.0 Key themes of the study's findings

In addressing research question 1 which predominantly deals with theme 1, 'Ship Life', figure 4.1 provides a diagrammatic representation of how ship life and the environment influence daily *Lifeworlds* for cruise workers. The core themes that emerged from the participant interview data (see fig. 3.0, page 169 themes and sub-themes) clarified that ship life impacts an individual's work and social life on board, which coupled with job role requirements (ORT) and behavioural performance (OCB), are the fundamentals underpinning cruise work at sea. However, the need for identity modification can further be understood as the need for individuals to display desirous emotions as part of their job role interactions, both with fellow workers and with cruise passengers. As Grandey and Mellor (2017) indicated, some researchers now suggest EL is a central part of internal workplace relationships, thus supporting a key principle of the study's findings, that cruise workers must manage their emotions and identity, not only during periods of work, but also during interactions in off-duty periods. Consequently, emotions

extend beyond the workplace and into the social and off-duty periods of cruise workers, triggering levels of identity construction not usually demanded outside of conventional hospitality work because cruise ship work and off duty boundaries are significantly blurred. This results in personal and workplace emotions, as well as workplace and social identities being interwoven, thus presenting cruise workers with greater challenges emotionally. This lack of emotion-free space other than one's cabin, which often individuals are required to share, forces a constancy of checking and re-checking identity performance under ever-watchful scrutiny of co-workers and passengers. Consequentially, identity and emotions are interlocked with diminished opportunity for individuals to separate work identity from personal emotion and workplace emotion from personal social identity. As Sveningsson & Alvesson, (2003) and Winkler (2016) noted, any disruption or emotional experience in a social workplace relationship can heighten the construction of an individual's identity. Given the comings and goings of cruise work with changes in crew and passengers, the constancy of observation and the threats of covert and overt surveillance, identity performance and management are constantly to the fore.

This study has demonstrated how theories of Total Institution Control (Goffman), Organisational Role Theory (Katz & Kahn), OCB (Smith, *et. al.*) and Emotion labour (Hochschild), are compatible with those individuals operating in the cruise context. Yet, whilst RQ3 anticipated some impact on the social identity of individuals, mostly through behavioural performances, emotion labour and total observational control of the ship environment, the study has also shown how cruise workers develop intensely but often temporary relationships, sometimes formed on pretence. The requirement for workers to hide behind a façade of pretence to develop and

maintain intense relationships, is twofold. Firstly, there is the need to display desirous emotions as part of the job role and secondly, the emergence within the data of the importance of identity construction/management for individuals to form and maintain relationships with co-workers is seen as central to personal 'survival of employment contracts and the maintenance of professional relationships.

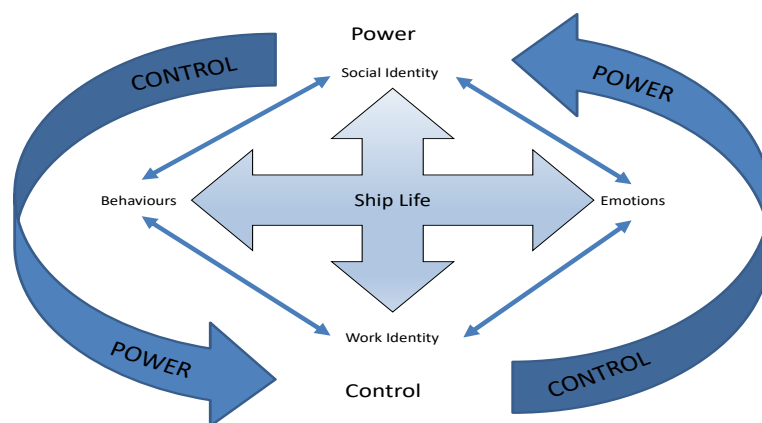


Figure 4.1 Key themes of the study's findings that are influenced by power and control of the cruise ship setting

As such, social identity and emotion control are often the foundational elements [or essential characteristics] that form and maintain relationships. Moreover, emotion control is an internal structure that is part of an individual's salient social identity's meaning in which individuals are intrinsically motivated to conform (Coleman & Williams, 2013). Interestingly, whilst the data suggests there is an interconnection for workers managing workplace and social emotion control and social identity, Forehand & Deshpande, (2001) and Oyserman, (2009) suggest such emotions have not been considered within identity knowledge structure. As such, Coleman

and Williams, (2016) outlined how social identities are based on an individual's attitude, values and/or belief system, whereas emotion expressions become part of a person's job description and execution (Hochschild, 1983). Therefore, the adaptation of the original model to figure 4.1 illustrates power and control of ship life subsequently influences behavioural performance (ORT), emotion control and expression (EL) as part of job role expectations, all operating within a constant need to adjust and modify social and work identities in a continual cycle.

8.1.1 Total Institution Control

8.1.1.1 Conformity to Ship Life

The interviews with cruise ship hotel workers, all of whom held positional ranks of one stripe or above, presented explanations of a complex blend of relationships between the cruise ship environment as a place of work, and the job role and its behavioural requirements, with both workplace and work roles bounded by emotions and emotion control. The findings highlighted how the cruise ship setting provides numerous impacts on an individual's behavioural performances and emotional self-management. The findings similarly illustrated the totalising and controlling setting of the cruise ship, which aligns with Goffman's theory of the 'total institution'; where control and conformity are key influencing factors of behavioural performance, and which, ultimately contribute to the broader and central theme of 'ship life'. The controlling influences of the cruise ship also help to provide valuable underpinnings to research questions two and four which cover the impact of the environment on social identity. The deployment of worker discretionary effort, and

how all-encompassing institutional control ultimately influences emotion management.

Goffman (1961) characterised total institutions by high levels of regulation and totalising control where institutions use a spectrum of holds over its members (Tracy, 2000; Weaver, 2003). In terms of the aim of this thesis, the obvious starting point was to consider the setting where individuals are required to work and live, and where rules and regulations are constant and enforced through organisational power and control mechanisms.

Evidence garnered in the study confirmed that a cruise workers Lifeworld is one where they are 'stuck' in an environment, one that is physically and socially compressed, and where workers have little control over their own lives. Andrew a Cruise Director highlighted the control of a cruise ship in explaining how a cruise workers Lifeworld was ordered by the compliance to rules and regulations set out by the organisation: "*I have no way of escaping from the ship, I have to adhere to all the rules of the ship and to be here 24/7 and abide by the rules*". Andrew's quote exemplified the total control many cruise workers were subjected to day-after-day for the duration of their employment contracts. The need for cruise workers to comply with organisational rules and regulations 24/7, suggested a level of control that would not be expected by shore-based hospitality workers, where the continual compliance and a need for behavioural modification are essential to an individual survival of their cruise ship *Lifeworld*.

There is, nonetheless, an acute awareness on the part of cruise workers about their limited ability to 'come and go' as they pleased, which some likened to a 'prison' governed by rules and regulations. The high levels of control, coupled with the worker's inability to escape, - *"it's like a prison in a way, we don't get any free time"* (Ruth, Guest Relations Officer) - helps to illustrate the cruise ships' 'total institutional control' mechanisms. Although this thesis has extended knowledge of the cruise ship and its inherent parallels of Goffmanesque control and confinement, cruise workers also helped emphasise the constant observations from co-workers, managers and passengers to which they are subjected daily. The findings of this thesis showed how cruise ship workers were exposed to constant observational controls during work periods, where their actions and behaviours were continually monitored both by managers and passengers. While such levels of observations are not uncommon for workers in hospitality roles, the disparities occurring between ship and shore workplaces are that workers on cruise ships are also monitored during off-duty periods. Where their behavioural actions are subjected to incessant scrutiny. Mandy illustrated this point well when she said: *"observed, it's more extreme than that, you have your 'pass-card', an onboard payment system used by the crew. My manager would go through my bills to identify what I had been drinking at the crew bar and what I have been spending my money on"*. Mandy's comment demonstrated just some of the methods of control and surveillance encountered by cruise workers on and off duty.

These types of insights draw significant parallels to Bentham's Panopticon and laterally Foucault's Panopticism, where the control of the cruise ship goes beyond simply monitoring performance, and extends to influencing a worker's actions, thus

resembling the prisoners in Bentham's Panopticon. For example, Mandy, now acutely aware that her bar bill was being monitored, was indirectly encouraged to self-monitor her behaviour even when off duty, to bring her behavioural actions into line with expected norms, to lead to her compliance.

The levels of on-board control demonstrated towards Mandy by her line manager lead to a compelling pressure for workers to modify their behavioural actions in order to ensure compliance with organisational rules and regulations (Katz & Kahn, 1978). The act of compliance results in modifications which ultimately influence a cruise worker's behaviours. As Andrea, a Bar Manager said: *"We're in a confined environment, a unique place of work, with people from many different countries. We have a very strict hierarchy, with rules and regulations 24/7, and it's for six months. We get no days off – we work all the time. It is an intense environment to live and work"*. Andrea's Lifeworld was modified and adapted and coerced into a behavioural pattern set by others. Excerpts from the findings continually emphasised that behavioural actions and the need to adjust to them are an essential element to 'surviving' the cruise ship work environment. Katz, (1964); Organ & Near, (1983); and Lester, Meglino & Korgaard, (2008) explained that workers should display discretionary and voluntary actions as acts of spontaneity and innovativeness. Yet, such levels of strict control observed on board ship and managed through exacting rules and regulations, combined with formally enforced job roles, effectively crushes any acts of spontaneity or innovation because of the need to perform to set standards. This raises very important questions about how much flexibility a cruise worker possesses to function in their role.

Elevating levels of compliance such as the data shows, raises further questions about where innovative behaviours towards customers are to actually come from, with Ritzer (1998) suggesting, institutions and societal structures are so standardised and routinised as to view workers as automatons. Weaver (2003) indicated, the consumerism of service delivery is not unique to the cruise ship industry, although several tourism-orientated environments such as cruise ships exhibit traits of control mechanisms to ensure service employees abide by certain scripts and perform tasks in a prescribed order (Leidner, 1993). Whilst this approach to control and ensures compliance provides a consistent product for the cruise passenger, it does not directly consider the impact upon the cruise workers themselves. As the data has illustrated, there is no escape from the continual monitoring of the cruise ship.

The cruise ship environment also modifies the individual's anchors to their home lives by controlling on and off-duty spaces. On duty, the constancy of a name badge and uniform, the relentless gaze of passengers and senior officers to perform to the narrative script of the organisation, indicates continual checks and balances on oneself. This extends to dress codes, even off duty, where Jane, a Guest Relations Officer, explained: *"one of the managers would always be on the gangway checking what you are wearing before leaving the ship"*. These checks are part of the mortification process that Goffman identified with the attachments to one's home lives, namely their attire, being regulated by the organisation. This subsequently leads to behavioural actions and identity, as well as self-identity, management. What this demonstrated is that the controls exercised in subtle, and not so subtle ways, presents the cruise employee with a *fait-accompli*, in that there

are no choices in such matters. The uniform and badge, dress code checks and observational controls surrounding one's behaviour, combine to form a type of cultural managerialism, where the customer is king, and the employee is bereft of individuality. This absence of individualism extends from what they wear to how they interact and what they allowed to say.

8.1.1.2 *Power and control of the cruise ship setting*

Authority on-board exposes cruise workers to social relations that are much more hierarchical than most workplaces with structures of power and control manifested through varying forms of control and influence. The data establishes a clear hierarchical management structure with pseudo-military overtones as Paul, a Front Desk Manager explained: *"there is a very military-style approach concerning rules and regulations, we have stripes to identify positions and roles. There is no misunderstanding in terms of the rules"*. As a natural consequence, positions of power onboard are considered as dominant control mechanisms, visible through stripes and emblems of rank, reminding workers of their relative occupational status adding to their Lifeworld experience. The data clearly evidences cruise ships as 'paramilitary' (Nolan, 1973) or as *"quasi-military authority"* in a style that was discussed by Wood (2000: 365), with occupational positions and job roles being hierarchical. As such, roles of power and control can be explained as having legitimated power as identified by French and Raven's (1959) bases of power, who proposed that individuals who possess legitimate power over others have the formal right to expect them to demonstrate compliance and obedience to any given demands. Thus, the pseudo-military structure of a cruise ship elevates or reduces

an individual's occupational status and is thus central to an expression of their Lifeworld identity.

Supplementary forms of power and control performed by managers, which are considered beyond the realms of legitimate power, was also evident in the data, thus raising questions about how cruise ship workers react to situations of power and control. As part of a manager's job role, individuals would carry out regular observational rounds and discern the crew at work. We saw from the interview with Andrew, a Guest Services Manager, how observational management was key to the everyday managerialism being deployed. His statement: *"if you don't observe the crew – they will 'take the mick' sometimes! They do skive and I do have to tell them that if a rota is made there is a reason behind that. If I want three people on the desk there is a reason behind that! It shouldn't be like this, but they're 'petrified of when I come to the desk"* demonstrates Andrew's capacity and status to manage, his power to influence and control work rotas and the effect his observational power and control can have on the workforce.

Observational control through continual checks can subsequently lead to cruise workers maintaining satisfactory behavioural norms or, changing to desirous behavioural performances, similar to those of a prisoner's behavioural compliance described in Bentham's Panopticon and further included in Foucault's far-reaching panopticism. However, what was unforeseen at the outset, but captured in the data, was the perception that workers could be 'petrified' of their manager. Such levels of control and exercising of power that renders an individual 'petrified', clearly indicate power and control potentially contributing to heightened perceptions of job

insecurity in the face of failure to comply. With such levels of coercive control being adopted, indicated that onboard hierarchical structures and occupational status can trigger levels of fear and negative emotions for cruise ship workers. Scholars have previously claimed the cruise ship environment is one predicated on traditional maritime or even 'pseudo-military' authority (Wood, 2004; Gibson, 2012; Dennett, 2018), yet, few have examined the impacts of power manifested through total observation control.

The panopticism of cruise ship work; forces workers to recognise their dutiful compliance the moment they leave their cabin, and to 'wear' their smile as a badge of service. Hence such expectations can be considered an intrusive undercurrent of observation and surveillance. These levels of observational controls go beyond anything that would be expected of shore-based hospitality employees who are simply subjected to organisation control during periods of on-duty work. The constant surveillance cruise workers encounter, both on and off duty suggests the need for subtle and more direct adjustments are required to cruise ship workers personal and behavioural performance. Furthermore, identity and self-monitoring has significant implications as a direct bi-product of the constancy of surveillance (Sewell, 1998). Ultimately, there is a compelling case for cruise workers to endlessly be on their guard as they face the vigilant eye of those monitoring their actions. As the data has demonstrated, there is no escape from the power and control of the cruise ship, which inevitably necessitates the need for individuals to adjust identity and modify their emotions as coping mechanisms of their cruise ship *Lifeworld*.

8.1.1.3 *Adjusting to Life Onboard*

The unceasing exposure to authority and the constant observational control of the employer and its agents ensures strict work regimes and compliance from cruise workers. In part, this is due to the 24/7 Lifeworld of a cruise worker with constant operational workplace demands meaning workers, especially those new to a Lifeworld at sea, can experience periods of disorientation, isolation and loneliness. The evidence presented in the data illustrates that hotel cruise ship work was not always the most challenging part of being onboard. Instead, the onboard social environment was often trickier to come to terms with, largely because daily work life was so intense in the interactions with fellow crew and passengers in a work-cabin and cabin-work regime. What the data demonstrates further is that workers are in a perpetual work-life routine that requires them to be 'on duty' and constantly dealing with the intensity of their job role, all the while being exposed to the expectations and observational control of the organisation before returning to the isolation of their cabin. In many cases, there is even an absence of private space as lower ranks share cabins with colleagues. These long periods of intense work followed by short periods of downtime, including loneliness, can be significant impactors for cruise workers in their adjustment from their Homeworld to an onboard *Lifeworld*.

For most, the inability to get away from the job and to relax or wind-down adds to the intensity of the work-rest world, subsequently leading workers to experience shocks of culture change where their experiences and usual supports or artefacts in their Homeworld are denied to them, only to be replaced by a Lifeworld that

involves compliance to strict rules and an unforgiving work regime. As a consequence, cruise workers have to make inevitable adjustments to their self-identities. In an effort to fit in, an individual will undergo identity transformations thus fulfilling Goffman's predictions of identity change being enacted to meet organisational goals. These such changes in identity further confirm Alvesson and Wilmott's (2002) observations, that individuals self-regulate their 'insides' so that their self-image, feelings and identifications also shift. As a consequence, identity replaces culture as 'the' key signifier, such that subtle non-formal mechanisms of integration become 'the thing' (Alvesson, 2013).

In addressing research question one and the broader 'ship life' theme, I have demonstrated that life onboard for cruise workers can be one that is heavily influenced by the cruise ship setting, where total organisational control exists over an individual's *Lifeworld*, and where the total institution control of the cruise ship compels its workers to comply with authoritarian demands. The cruise ship ensures these strict rules and regulations are complied with, through a series of power and control mechanisms. Therefore, in understanding how individuals react to situations of power and control in an onboard setting, it is reasonable to postulate that cruise workers modify and adjust their self-identities accepting the militaristic regime facing them. Ultimately, they bow down to a life of compliance in the face of powers instigated and controls exercised. In doing so, there is an acceptance that they have little freedom to do what they want, when they want, for the duration of their employment contract, all the while showing a degree of passive contentment to the need for adjustment of their self-identities. But what effect does this have on emotions and the controls needed for a successful *Lifeworld*?

8.1.1.4 *Emotions*

The limited physical nature of a cruise ship promotes a form of captivity for both crew and passengers alike, largely by providing a level of immersion and continuous encounters with one another. In many ways, cruise workers have to act commensurate with organisational requirements that expect positive affective displays of emotions. Displaying positive emotions when in the public gaze at all times forms part of the 'customer experience' and these continued extensive encounters with passengers and colleagues brings with them an expectation that cruise workers will at some point act out the types of emotions so effectively characterised by Hochschild in her seminal case study on Delta Airline cabin crew. The parallels between Hochschild's observations and the evidence garnered in this study are very similar to surface and deep-acting emotional displays on show and openly talked about by the study's participants. The work-life experiences of the cruise workers here have revealed clear links between emotion control and supportive behaviours that interconnect to notions of job satisfaction (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011).

The evidence in this study has demonstrated how emotion control and the ability to self-manage workplace emotions are an essential competency for cruise workers, who as part of their daily job role, are required to demonstrate organisationally desired emotion displays and positive behavioural performances. Very noticeable in the data is the emphasis that cruise workers place on managing workplace emotions in order to give the impression of being sincere and genuine as part of their job. In doing so, they have to constantly redefine their performances

as well as their identity to meet the expectations of passengers and work colleagues. Consistently interviewees talked about having to constantly smile and display happiness symbols supporting Hochschild's (1983) text the 'Managed Heart' and Goffman's (1967) 'Front Stage' and 'Back Stage' behavioural displays. What these expectations of displays of emotion outline are that cruise ship workers are under constant pressure to perform their job roles to display desirous emotions, despite these not always being genuinely felt emotions.

In accepting that cruise workers are required to take on a job role identity as part of their behavioural performance, as well as managing their emotions to meet those expected displays, the data demonstrated how there are contributing factors which influence a worker's ability to constantly enact the behavioural displays, with examples including negative behaviours from passengers and managers alike, where actions aimed at cruise workers suggest they are petrified. The inclusion of a reference by one interviewee to passengers as 'monsters', provides an indication of the emotionally charged environment of cruise ship work with workers constantly dealing with demanding clients. This requires many cruise workers to fake or mask emotions as explained by Hochschild (1983). However, whereas Hochschild's work showed the intensity of customer interactions faced by air crew, such interactions rarely exceeded 10 - 11hrs – the maximum flight time of aircraft in the 1980s. By contrast, some cruise workers will encounter passengers for weeks or even months at a time. The nature of around-the-world cruise voyages can mean some cruise workers have constant interaction with their clients akin to those of a prison warder on duty. Whilst a casual observer may see the glitz and glamour of the ship and the destinations it visits as exciting, the cruise worker's encounters can be

intense and unforgiving. As such, whilst Hochschild's airline cabin crew had hours of faked and suppressed emotions, cruise workers have weeks and potentially months of enacting emotions whether fake or suppressed.

Organisational behavioural performances, coupled with required emotion displays, are an expected part of a cruise workers job role and thus their Lifeworld. However, the data also exposed the effect of managerial behavioural actions towards cruise workers which also impacted upon their emotion control. Some of the management practices spoken about by participants and their subsequent treatment onboard contributed to enhanced emotional states. These often added to the pressure and stress of job roles because non-compliance could lead to disciplinary actions. Furthermore, in some instances, a culture of fear existed about speaking up because of job losses or contracts not being renewed. As a consequence, cruise ship workers often spoke of faking and masking truly felt emotions as a mechanism to pursue organisational goals or retain their employment. Ultimately what this means is that workers cannot escape the power and control of the cruise ship and are forced to adjust self-identities as a way of compliance for economic means. Consequently, the continuous pressure made of individuals to exert positive emotion displays, necessitates a heightened state of personal awareness, of self-control and self-regulation (Baumeister, Vohs, and Tice, 2007). These exist both on and off duty indicating a constant vigilance or feeling of being 'on guard'.

In addressing research question 4, how is a cruise worker's emotional management influenced by the work and social setting of a cruise ship? I have demonstrated that a cruise worker's emotion management is linked to their ability

to manage their self-identity, to adjust and redefine their emotions, and adjustment of their self-identity to meet the behavioural norms and expectations of those they encounter. This requirement to continually self-adjust and redefine oneself to meet behavioural expectations links to Burke's (1996) Identity Control Theory, where workers develop multiple identities as a response to any given situation. Such emotional and self-identity management responses are essential for workers adapting to new surroundings and are a prerequisite to understanding their job role and the emotional demands on and off duty.

8.1.1.5 *Social Identity*

In explaining the behaviours and distinctiveness of organisational identity that are transformed as a result of undertaking cruise ship work, the data has demonstrated how cruise ship workers must present continuous positive behaviours by repetitively smiling and presenting feelings and emotions associated with an outwards portrayal of happiness, whether genuine or not. In doing so, participants were required to adjust and comply to a set of behavioural norms and actions that changes and influences personal behaviours in themselves and others, so much so that they perfectly embody the dramaturgical theories associated with the presentation of self, including symbolic interactionist theories explained by Turner and Stets (2006). Cruise workers actions, such as being restricted to speaking English rather than their native language, and having to smile at all times, are the everyday encounters of organisationally required behaviours that generate a distinct culture. Goffman (1961) referred to this as the process of mortification; the

systematic stripping of an individual's identity as a way of providing organisationally desired behaviours.

Organisationally required behaviours are a way of generating an identity or a distinct culture for a cruise ship company and the data has unmistakably shown how identity plays a significant part in the execution of a cruise workers job role, as well as their social existence onboard, which has ultimately provided an answer to research question 3 - 'How are cruise workers personal and social identities are impacted by their work on cruise ships?' What has been apparent throughout the exploration of the data is just how much an individual's identity in cruise ship work is not fixed and how cruise ship workers are required to adapt and adjust their personal and work-based identities to comply with the expectations and demands of their employing organisation. Cruise workers have also shown that they must manipulate their social identities to fit in with work teams in a process of social construction as they come to terms with their '*Cruise Lifeworld*'.

8.1.1.6 *Organisation Behaviours*

Managing a cruise worker's behavioural performances and emotional expectations is an impossible task due to the constant adjustment needed to an individual's work and social Lifeworld. However, what the data has also illustrated is that there are common influences that provide power and control over many cruise workers. As such, an individual's behavioural performance and emotional reactions to incidents onboard can be magnified as a result of living super-intense lives in a setting of proximity to others and where heightened emotional states exist in the pressure

cooker of the constancy of colleague and passenger interactions. A cruise worker's life is restricted to an environment where work and social life are inseparable. Faced with continual observation, workers have their freedoms removed and are confronted with operating in a 'total institutional' setting where the dominance of authority exists riven through a hierarchical structure dictated by stripes and rank. Even so, individuals are still able to find the ability to be selfless in their actions towards others, whether passengers or work colleagues. This suggests that an individual's agency is the structure of organisational life demonstrated through 'Civic Virtue' (Organ, 1994), indicating that agency is the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. Subsequently, this suggests that even faced with constant monitoring, cruise workers are motivated to behave in ways and make choices in a free and independent manner. Nonetheless, their structure is governed by the function of the ship, dictating the norms and routines for workers even when they are off duty. If we consider the earlier example from Jane, who attended a cocktail party of her own free will, she was subsequently spoken to by the Captain for not complying with the conventions of a 'Captain's cocktail party', which was to talk with passengers, and not socialise solely with colleagues. The structure of the cruise ship that provides the norms, customs and routine values are such, that not all workers are required to attend. Therefore, whilst the structure dictates norms, and an individual's agency allows some freedom in performance and behavioural enactment, what are the key drivers for the individuals to enact desirous performances?

The confirmation from the data illustrates that cruise workers considered companionship a significant part of life on-board. The lengthy employment

contract, coupled with the long periods of emotionally and physically demanding work, and when combined with the constant inability to escape the environment for any notable duration, makes companionship with work colleagues critical. The camaraderie with work colleagues fits well with Smith, *et. al's.*, (1994) OCB construct, where behaviours are indicative of a deep concern for others and where workers can take an active interest in the operation of an organisation. Further evidence within the data demonstrated the essentialness of 'good fellowship' between the cruise ship workers, where, supporting each other was seen as an essential component of a cruise workers Lifeworld as a mechanism of 'succeeding' and 'surviving' both the employment contract and the physical and emotional job demands. The reliance on others for support and empathy during periods of emotional or professional lows can be considered a valve to let 'off steam'. Ultimately, tolerance and camaraderie are behaviours directed towards colleagues and passengers. Organisational practices of good citizenship towards fellow workers can be conclusively noted as an essential element of employee support but this is also a two-way street because there is a tacit as well as an explicit acknowledgement of behaviours that promote loyalty to the organisation and each other as a means of upholding the health and reputation of both. However, this is more often localised to the performance and success of the individual ship on which the cruise worker is serving. These types of citizenship behaviours demonstrate clear evidence of the 'civic virtues' so accurately described by Podsakoff, *et. al.*, (2000).

Personal achievements and genuine satisfaction as part of an individual's job role were very evident in the data. Despite the heavily regulated environment based on

controlled and often scripted behavioural enactment, cruise workers were prepared to go the extra mile in enacting behaviours of spontaneity and innovation towards passengers and co-worker's expectations. These examples resonate with Katz and Kahn's (1968) theories of ORT, such that workers should possess spontaneous and creative individualities as part of their job role and that these are not always prescribed elements in a job specification. Acts of spontaneity and selflessness in the enactment of behavioural performance by cruise ship workers are considered a behavioural expectation on the part of co-workers, thus echoing the work of Blau's (1964) Exchange Theory and further developed by Lawlor's (2001) ideas on 'exchange relationships' and the reciprocation of behavioural acts.

Overall, the data has outlined the intense lives to which cruise workers are exposed, through the strict controls they operate under and by the continual need for identity and behavioural adjustment as well as emotion management. Onboard careers are more than a simple nine-to-five job role, they are an all-consuming Lifeworld which requires a significant adjustment from an individual's Homeworld. Hence, the new Lifeworld for a cruise ship worker is a world of work punctuated with short periods of rest, that rarely provides solitude. In meeting the organisational demands for total loyalty and constant daily attendance to organisational activities, a cruise worker can be considered to have surrendered themselves to a life of controlled servitude. This might seem a dramatic claim, but throughout the data, there was a constant recognition that work is the singularly most predominant factor in the cruise worker's Lifeworld, such that personal matters are a secondary consideration. Hence, for cruise workers to achieve a successful employment contract they need to modify their behavioural

performance and personal emotion management daily. In the address of Research Question two, the thesis has explained that discretionary behaviour is an expected part of a cruise workers job role and Lifeworld and is an essential element to surviving their employment contract. Where tolerance and camaraderie are indispensable characteristics in allowing them to juggle personal emotions to meet the behavioural expectations of the organisation, its co-workers, and passengers.

Chapter 8 has built upon the two findings chapters by connecting the main theoretical foundations of the thesis with the empirical evidence. Chapter 8 has made connections between the key themes identified in the literature chapters and the emergent themes from within the data. This has allowed the researcher to understand the links and relationships of key themes and how these influence the Lifeworlds of individual cruise workers. Chapter 9 now draws the thesis to a conclusion by providing the foundations for theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions garnered in the study and commences with the study contribution.

Chapter 9.0 Conclusion and Reflections

9.1 Study Contribution

In this section I outline the ways in which the study's findings and the subsequent discussion contribute to the relative theoretical domains. This section is divided into three parts: firstly, it explains the empirical contribution in addressing the four research questions. Secondly, it describes the study's relative contribution to the theoretical domains and its contribution to the organisation behaviour debate on power and control impacting the enactment of desirous behaviours and emotion displays. Thirdly, this section addresses the methodological understanding and approaches when researching the cruise ship industry, particularly in revealing *Lifeworld* experiences and work-based influences upon cruise workers (Papathanassis & Beckman, 2011; Weeden, *et. al.*, 2011; and Denet, 2010).

I believe the central contribution of my work is the detailed examination of cruise workers *Lifeworld* experiences. This approach provides a hitherto under-explored and under-reported explanation of the complex circumstance's individuals have to contend with when managing their work and social lives on cruise ships. A particularly important element of the contribution of this study is a recognition of the constraints imposed by the boundaries, rules and regulations of cruise ship life. My interpretation of *Lifeworld* experiences is grounded in the deployment of Goffman's Total Institution Control which scripts a cruise worker's working life by strictly enforcing, in work as well as social settings, rules and regulations of the cruise ship. These in turn operate in a Foucauldian Panoptical space where

workers develop a sense of continual observation, a consequence of which is a modification of identity and strictly managed emotion displays in order to demonstrate the compliance of a *modus operandi*. The following section outlines how the four-research questions have been addressed in meeting the aim.

9.1.1 *The extent to which the aim has been met.*

This thesis aimed to 'comprehend the complex circumstances impacting the workplace experiences of maritime hospitality workers on cruise ships and the drivers of behavioural performance and emotion management'. Addressing the aim is best encapsulated through figure 5.0 below. This model demonstrates the complex circumstances which can influence the *Lifeworld* of a maritime hospitality worker. Adapted from The Culture Web, by Johnson, Scholes, & Whittington, (2008: 202), the model is a representation of the key elements outlined in the data with key themes shown in the outer circles and the resultant combination of them referred to as 'the paradigm' at the core of the model.

The data has shown how the environment of a cruise ship can influence behavioural performance and emotion management of cruise workers through the constant observation from passengers, peers and managers. As a consequence, cruise workers are constantly monitoring and adjusting their personal behavioural performances dependent upon whom their interactions are with. Behavioural, emotion, and identity adaptations are a direct byproduct of power and control being exerted via the Panopticism of the workplace. This subsequently results in everyday Ship Life driving desired organisational behaviours and personal emotion

management. The paradigm at the heart of the model further explains the common elements of the *Lifeworld* of a cruise worker including; the super intensity of cruise lives triggered by the claustrophobic atmosphere of proximity, isolation and loneliness via readjustments from *Homeworld* to ship *Lifeworld*, the conformity pressures driven by fellow crew members and the strict performance expectations of the organisation underpinned by pseudo-militaristic deployment of the authority of stripes and rank. All of these elements combine to result in modification of behaviours and in some cases, identities.

The Culture Web model (Fig, 5.0) ultimately addresses the aim of the thesis, but what are the answers to the four research questions?

Research question 1 asked 'How does the cruise ship setting effect how individuals react to situations relating to power and control?' The findings indicate that life onboard cruise ships for workers are one that is subjected to a strict regime of power and control. Where hierarchal communities exist, supported by the hierarchy of stripes and a Panoptical sphere of operation with compliance to rules viewed as an essential part of cruise ship life. The participants' grudging acceptance that total observational control and surveillance is a daily occurrence for them to contend with, meant individuals many are continually on their guard and faced constant self-regulation and monitoring of their behavioural acts. In their reaction to power and control, the participants in the study also have to adjust and monitor their self-identity through mechanisms of emotion management which they do as a way of coping with their onboard Lifeworld.

Research question 2 considered 'What are the principle drivers for deployment of discretionary effort for cruise workers? The evidence garnered from participants explains that the principal drivers for discretionary effort are the need for camaraderie, where workers rely on the support from co-workers in fulfilling their job roles and the technical aspects related to job demands. Additionally, cruise workers look to co-workers for emotional support as a way of juggling their emotions resulting from the loss of Homeworld and the constancy of interactions with other crew and passengers. To achieve job satisfaction and meet the expectations for promotion and re-employment with a new contract, cruise ship workers are in a constant juxtaposition of enacting desirous and discretionary behaviours through Organisational Citizenship Behaviours and combinations of Surface and Deep Acting.

Research question 3 asked 'How are cruise workers' personal and social identities impacted by the work on cruise ships? The thesis has shown how a cruise worker's social identity is a direct product of adjustment and modification as a result of the elements of the model shown in Fig 5.0 above. The findings unmistakably show the need for cruise workers to modify self-identities as part of compliance to the cruise ship setting that is predicated upon notions of power and control. As such, identity awareness and modification were indicated as a crucial factor in surviving the cruise ship *Lifeworld*.

Research question 4 considered 'How is a cruise ship worker's emotional regulation influenced by the work and social setting of a cruise ship? Emotion control emerged as a result of the identity changes a cruise worker is subjected to

and the constancy of interactions with significant 'others' in their Lifeworld's. Regardless of whether the interactions are with passengers, co-workers of similar ranks, or with senior officers up to Captain, there is a constant adjustment and re-adjustment taking place which consequently requires changes to identity and behaviours and thus places a heavy burden on the management of emotions.

9.1.2 The study's relative contributions to appropriate theory domains.

The strategy to analyse the interview data with a broader approach to identify wider themes has benefitted this research in terms of its richness and depth. The thematic analytic approach provided a 'thick description' of what it is like to work and live on a cruise ship for participants, while the interpretation of participant narratives allowed for an exploration and deeper understanding of their everyday experiences. A researcher unskilled in hospitality work, and particularly a researcher lacking in front line managerial experience, may miss the subtle signs and signals relating to influencing factors that impact behavioural performance and emotion controls. It is also distinctly possible that such behavioural enactments are not always immediately acknowledged by the participants themselves, particularly if their own behaviours have become normalised to such controlling environs. My analysis revealed how the structural and situational community of a cruise ship impacts directly on perceptions of power and control. The deployment of surveillance as a mechanism of total observational control, being both discreet (passengers, CCTV) and/or explicit (Co-workers, Managers), demonstrates the extent to which cruise workers must enact appropriate behavioural performances and exhibit acceptable [to the company employing them] emotional displays at all

times during work hours. However, notions of power and control also spill over into a cruise workers periods of downtime and rest, whereupon an individual is also subjected to the enactment of strict ship rules and regulations. This suggests individuals are required to perform compliant behaviours and display desirous emotion displays as part of their visible social identity in order to maintain relationships both socially and professionally. The data analysis revealed contextual and situational conditions (the outer circles in Figure 5.0 below) as a consequence of working on a cruise ship and the six central themes [paradigm] subsequently influence the *Lifeworld* actions of cruise ship workers.

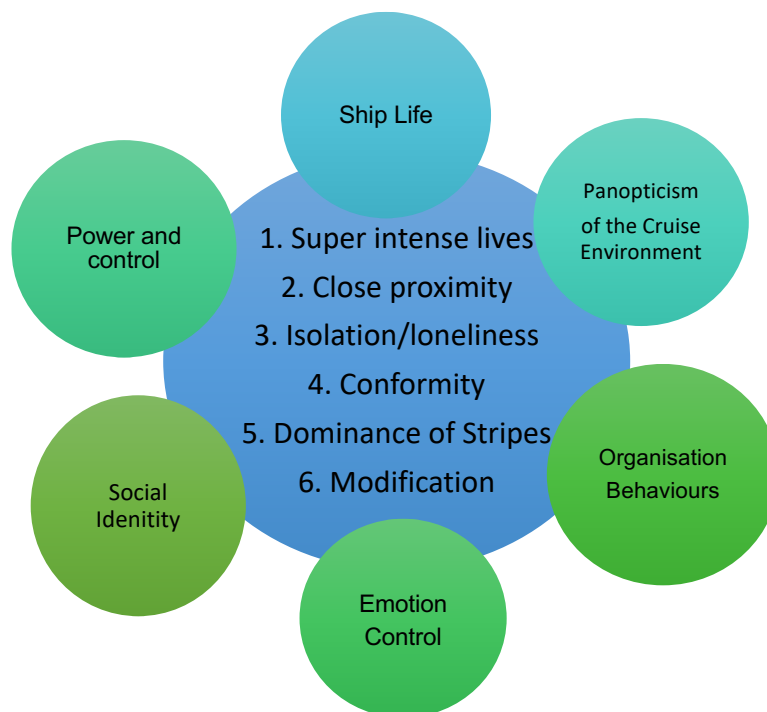


Figure 5.0 Common elements of cruise ship work – influencing factors (Adapted from Johnson, Scholes, & Whittington, 2008: 202)

Independent of the model and discussion, the study’s findings make a contribution to knowledge about the influences and working practices of cruise ship workers.

Cruise ship workers are generally a hard-to-reach population, and empirical research focusing on *Lifeworlds* and organisational behaviour influences, as the main subjects in focus, are relatively rare in the cruise ship industry. Under the traditional organisation behaviour, psychology and sociology paradigms, where research has been undertaken at the level of individuals, the emphasis has tended to focus on those whose employment and job roles allow them to leave their place of work at the end of their shift, and who are not constantly subjected to the compliance of regulatory, behavioural and emotion display demanded of the cruise ship activities. This study has endeavoured to examine and understand how traditional theoretical concepts of organisational behaviour combines to influence the *Lifeworld* experiences of cruise workers.

This study is, to my knowledge, the first investigation into the complex circumstances surrounding key elements of a cruise worker's *Lifeworld*, particularly the behavioural performance and emotion enactments associated with incessant scrutiny via total observational control mechanisms. Consequently, this study adds to a rich but narrow band of research centering on organisational behaviours and experiences of cruise ship workers. The study is the first to execute, through the lens of emotion control and behaviour performance, an exploration of cruise worker experiences using Goffman's theory of Total Institution Control and Foucault's observation control via the Panopticism. Applying Goffman's and Foucault's theories to the context cannot be considered new theoretical knowledge, but rather more, viewing how these theories interact in the cruise ship context is arguably important. Cruise work, and the influence of considerable levels of power and control, leads to individuals continually managing emotion and behavioural

enactments which, when combined with the need for identity modification, contributes to a deeper theoretical knowledge of cruise ship work.

While the cruise ship industry is subjected to increasing theorisation as a place of work, with researchers having previously examined motivation (Gibson & Perkins, 2015), labour practices (Dennet, 2010; Weaver, 2005; Klein & Roberts, 2003), emotion labour (Tracy, 2000), and the emerging issues and implications for a maturing industry, Weeden, Lester & Thyne, (2011). Thus, Weeden *et. al.*, (2011) and Papathanassis & Beckmann (2011) acknowledge the issues with access issues in developing an understanding of the “lived experience of cruise ship society” (p.28). Papathanassis & Beckman (2011) further advised “the study of social life and human behaviour on board is a rarity in cruise literature” (2011: 164). Therefore, few if any, of the previous studies have been able to take account of the specific and complex circumstances that directly impact the *Lifeworlds* of the cruise ship hospitality worker. The demands placed on individuals to juggle their personal and workplace emotions must now be recognised for what they are; overt and covert mechanisms to perform desirous and expected behaviours in a 24/7 environment. Habitually requiring individuals to modify and adapt their identity as part of compliance to controlling norms has clear consequences for employment in the sector. As such, this thesis makes a significant contribution to a gap in knowledge by the development of a model that illustrates several common elements of cruise ship work using theoretical concepts to provide a framework understanding of the cruise work paradigm for junior ranked officers.

In the course of developing the model, several new or enhanced concepts with theoretical and practical implications for a cruise worker emerged. These are all discussed in Chapter 8 and are only listed here. I explain the concepts of 'power and control', expanding the notion that power and control can have both positive and negative impacts, but as a concept percolates through the concept of 'ship life', which I have positioned in the literature with a direct link to that of total institution control (Goffman). In accepting that a cruise ship is based on a pseudo-military hierarchical system, where rank and emblems denote position and seniority onboard, it is reasonable to accept such an environment is governed by strict rules and regulation. However, by introducing the concept of Foucault's panopticism into cruise work I illustrate the controlling nature of the ship life concept, in which cruise workers are continually subjected to observation and scrutiny from the organisation and its agents, including passengers. Further theoretical concepts emerged where organisational behaviours associated with emotion control and social identity directly impacted upon Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCB) causing subsequent changes for some workers to their social identities. These theoretical concepts intertwine to explain the cruise ship *Lifeworld*. This sense of forced adaptation emerged as an important factor, with some individuals abdicating control of their identity as their emotions become colonised to fit the demands of the organisation. It is worth restating that in constructing the model I drew upon valuable existing theoretical concepts, such as Total Institution Control (Goffman), Panopticism (Foucault), Social Identity (Tajfel), Organisation Citizenship Behaviour (Smith *et. al.*) and Emotion Labour (Hochschild). Without these theoretical foundations it would be impossible to navigate the complexity of working lives of cruise workers.

Overall, I suggest the study's relative contribution to theories and the context of cruise work is an effort to explain how working onboard a cruise ship, which is often compared to a hotel or tourism resort on shore, may be uniquely different and should be understood as such. In revealing how cruise workers have a range of complex circumstances to contend with, I articulate the concepts of 'super intense lives' where workers have a sense of always being on duty and constantly observed even during downtime. This creates a sense of being unable to escape job roles for weeks and even months at a time. A direct consequence of 'close proximity' inherent in cruise life is that workers have limited time and space for themselves resulting in emotion and behaviour modifications which in turn changes identities. These conflate to create emotional states of loneliness and isolation.

Finally, the 'dominance of stripes' is a direct link to the power and control of the ship life environment, with supplementary forms of power and control often performed by managers. Such observational controls compound the sense of super intense lives where individuals are required to retain a vigilant eye. Whereas, to date at least, studies have focused on cruise ship workers and have considered motivation and emotions and the roles of individuals working onboard, this corpus of work can now be embellished by a deeper understanding of such concepts.

9.1.3 Management Contributions

It was clear from the interviews that management processes played a fundamental part in the formation of a cruise workers *Lifeworld* experiences. Management on board cruise ships is rather different to the expectations on land, primarily because

workers live onboard cruise ships and so management responsibilities do not operate along conventional lines with clear demarcation boundaries. Comprehending why the cruise ship industry relies upon a particular bureaucratic, regulatory, and controlling structure is thus important. The focus on structure and regulatory processes is brought about by the complex nature of the cruise ship operation; operating in global markets and employing an international workforce under 'open registries' which in turn allows for cruise ship organisations to manipulate laws and working practices that would be unacceptable on land. These subsequently, become accepted practices including workers working seven days a week, up to ten hours a day, four to six months or more in some cases. Therefore, such practices are foremost an approach to control costs, in maximising the amount of effort the ship can get from its employees. It is arguable that cruise ship organisations possess a fixation with costs, and therefore power and control develop to a general behavioural style with expectations and restrictions that require modification, conformity and compliance to rules and regulations.

From this viewpoint, new knowledge has been produced as the study has gleaned deeper and richer understanding of the *Lifeworld's* of cruise workers through the paradigm (Figure 5.0). Numerous studies such as Tracy (2000); Testa (2004), Weaver, (2005) Lee-Ross (2008) and Dennett (2018), have attempted to address the *Lifeworld* of cruise ship workers, producing many assumptions about the lives and the influencing factors. What differentiates their work from this study is the ways in which the study has unearthed the changes to self-identity and subsequent identity management, as well as the centrality of work team affiliation as an element of coping mechanisms to deal with the exercising of power and controls. As such,

these findings, whilst a snapshot in time, are the mainstay contributions to knowledge. In doing so, the study has provided clarity of understanding of the behavioural influences impacting performance, identity and emotions management associated with cruise ship hospitality work.

9.1.4 Methodological Contribution to the Study

It was the intention of this study to generate data and provide an interpretive insight into the *Lifeworld* of cruise ship workers, their job roles, relationships and their experiences, and how these impact upon each other. The findings and results are important and relevant as they contribute to a field of study in which there is a paucity of research. However, the early choices on the concepts of this research, likewise the methodological approaches adopted for data collection and how the data was analysed, form the frame and thereby set out the contribution and limits inherent therein, especially when it comes to the generalisation of the results.

A perception of what constitutes acceptable knowledge within a particular ontological stance determines strategies and methods for generating and analysing information (King & Horrocks, 2019). For this thesis, a Hermeneutic Phenomenology was considered most appropriate, given Heidegger's view that participants and researchers alike cannot rid themselves of their personal *Lifeworlds* suggests subjective experiences are relevant and should inform the direction of an inquiry.

Thus, subjectivist and constructivist approaches were deemed most appropriate in determining views and perceptions and consequent *Lifeworld* influences of social actors in determining social phenomena. A significant strength of this thesis is that it adds to contemporary data to a little-known research area that has been well-documented as an under-researched (Dennet, 2018; Gibson, 2012; Gibson & Papathanassis, 2010). In focusing on the Total Institutional Observational Control of ship life, this thesis has addressed a substantial gap in knowledge about life as a cruise worker onboard a cruise ship hotel department. The study links the role of emotion control and behavioural performance to total institution and panopticism control of the cruise ship setting. In adopting a phenomenological approach, the study has been able to allow the researcher to become immersed in the pure description of lived experiences (Merleau-Ponty, 1999; Husserl, 1969). This was deemed an essential methodological approach to understand the complex circumstances impacting *Lifeworld* experiences. Heidegger's (2004) Hermeneutic Phenomenology explained how the phenomenological approach was embraced as a method to interpret the experiences and relating those lived experiences to the features of the cruise ship context. Husserl (1970), spoke of suspension of the researchers own judgement and attitudes in order to focus on the view and interpretations of the participants narratives. However, this view is challenged by Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology that explains human beings as actors in the world and *their* own *Lifeworld*. Thus, the adoption of Heidegger's Hermeneutic Phenomenology allowed for the interpretation of *Lifeworld* experiences of cruise ship workers (Neubauer, *et. al.*, 2019) and such a phenomenological approach gives rise to the constructivist inquiry. It is thus important to restate that the thesis has been solely concerned with understanding

the social world of officer ranked cruise workers because human activity is not regarded as material to be measured but to be interpreted and analysed (Dilthy, 1977).

The distinguishing perspectives of social constructionalism and social constructivism have been discussed in Chapter 5 whereby social constructivism considers individuals give meaning to the world, whereas “social constructionists have argued meaning is developed through social enrichment and agreement” (Howell, 2013: 89). An epistemological formation based on a social constructionist perspective provides the ontological and epistemological stance that has allowed for the interpretation of participant narratives. Here, the self (cruise worker) is intrinsically linked to the community (cruise ship environment) in order to objectify the *Lifeworld* experiences of cruise workers. Such social realities are frequently constructed by individuals under the influence of a variety of social and cultural factors and these contribute to a shared construction of a reality.

9.2 A reflexive view of the study

9.2.1 Industry implications

The cruise ship industry is witnessing considerable growth since its emergence over fifty years ago. Such growth has brought with it, substantial changes, mostly evident in the structural and technological advancements in ship size and design, which has transformed the industry in recent times from a niche market for the elite to a market appealing to mass tourism. Although there have been dynamic

changes to the industry, it could be argued that working conditions and working practices as described in the *Lifeworld* of the participants in this study have remained largely unchanged, in that cruise workers are required to work onboard for long periods of their employment contracts and are required to meet the expected behavioural performances and emotion displays demanded of hospitality workers day in and day out with no day off. This type of work regime is mostly unfamiliar to shore-based organisations. However, while the job role and associated job demands have remained unchanged, the cruise ship industry and the design of the modern cruise ships are vastly different. Technological observation and surveillance of cruise workers via CCTV around the ship, 'deck phones' and other technological advances mean that cruise workers are continually monitored and contactable around the clock, subsequently suggesting the 24/7 aspect of the cruise ship workers life is vastly different of any shore-based hospitality operation, as cruise ship workers Lifeworlds both on and off duty periods are experienced through their work environment, unable to escape the behavioural expectations and job demands even during their off duty time. These *Lifeworld* experiences are very different from those individuals who work in land-based operations who can walk away from the demands of their job role at the end of their shift.

The lack of prior research undertaken in this area reflects the lack of understanding of the *Lifeworlds* for these individuals, coupled with the most inaccessible nature of the cruise ship industry to researchers. The cruise industry, as an area of research, is becoming more important as cruise ship organisations build bigger ships employing more individuals, thus creating the potential for future concerns

about workplace operations and the behavioural underpinnings of a cruise workers' *Lifeworld*. Therefore, the cruise ship industry needs to reflect on the need for recruitment and training processes in managing the expectations of future employees' expectations which focus on the need for high levels of emotional control and potential identity change/modification to facilitate behavioural expectations. It is important that training and preparation for working in this industry avoid and reduces the significant potential of culture shock for individuals. This is particularly important when we consider the demands placed upon workers by the cruise ship organisation and their paying guests. As demand for cruise travel appears to show limited signs of diminution, the assumption follows that expectations for performance and compliance by cruise workers are unlikely to change significantly and could become even more challenging

9.2.2 Methodological reflexivity

Although reflexivity of methodology has courted disquiet amongst some commentators (e.g. Johnson & Duberley, 2003), others such as Hardy and Clegg (1997:14) contend that reflexivity helps to unpick 'diversity and ambiguity of meaning, not through the recitation of a presumed uniformity, consensus and unity given in a way that requires unquestioning acceptance'. In following Giddens (1992) suggestions, that reflexivity helps undermine conventions, thus providing transformative opportunities for research and praxis, supported by Hardy and Clegg (1997) who argue that a failure to be reflexive, fails to bode well for knowledge of the organizational world, while at the same time avoiding

'confessional monologues' and thus failing to be truly reflexive, this section aims to provide a degree of reflexive insight.

This study has presented an exploratory and innovative contribution to the field of hospitality cruise work. This study provides value in being a medium that allows cruise ship workers to have a voice and an opportunity to provide accounts of their *Lifeworld*; a life experience that is impenetrable to most researchers. With a general paucity of cruise ship industry research, this study has provided insight into the most common elements that impact the daily lives of these individuals – their social and working lives that are subjected to total institutional controls. In doing so, the research has delivered the epistemological awareness and philosophical rigor that Alvesson (2003) considered essential in providing a range of paradigms of inquiry, which in this case was to widen and vary our horizons in understanding the *Lifeworld* of cruise workers. In conducting research such as this it is important not to lose sight of Alvesson's (2010) warning against the adoption of procedural interview dogma, and instead advocating a flexible approach that may lead to a deeper understanding of the matters in question. Instead, by accepting Alvesson's (2003) 'perspective shifting' framework to interviews, which he labelled "*reflexive pragmatism*", it is possible to deploy a reflexive interplay between research design and research questions, to arrive at a written product that should be challenged on the relationship between epistemology and method.

The reflexive approach to interviewing adopted in this study has provided a means of working with a framework which involved a set of potential lines of thinking and theoretical ideas of how to understand the subject matter rather than a definitive

theoretical formulation and privileged vocabulary. As someone who has an extensive background in the hospitality industry, and who possesses multiple connections to the cruise industry, these proved critical in gaining access to, and understanding of, the language of the field of research. Yet, the researcher must be aware of the potential for researcher bias by blurring the participants' stories with their own experiences and by being potentially clouded by personal viewpoints and prior experiences. This research has acknowledged and adopted the conscious removal of personal preconceptions and 'suspension of judgement' that Husserl (1969) warned against. However, Heidegger's (1970) Hermeneutic Phenomenology recognised the role of the researcher who is unable to free themselves of their own *Lifeworld* experiences but argues these experiences are valuable guides to the inquiry. This has subsequently allowed the study to move beyond naïve experiences, to reflect and understand the experiences as they appeared in the data. This has required containment of my personal biases towards the world of cruise work and to see things as they really are (Eagleton, 2003).

Researcher biases through subjectivity have the potential to influence all aspects of the research process and its outcomes. Whilst there was a perceived advantage in having knowledge and experience of both the hospitality context and the cruise ship industry, including for example insider reciprocity status (Robbins, 1989), it was important to ensure the avoidance of bias based on the researchers' previous knowledge, perceptions and experiences of the cruise industry. Alvesson (2003) suggests that a neo positivist approach is one that adopts an approach to interviews that mimics quantitative ideals for data production, analysis, and writing.

Subsequently developing rules, procedure, avoidance of bias, detailed coding of large quantities of material (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Eisenhardt, 1989) in the pursuit of research transparency and neutrality is critical. However, Alvesson (2003) further outlines that problems can exist with participants producing only superficial and cautious responses. This was something encountered during the interview process with several participants. Whilst participants were happy to talk freely when not being recorded, they were less comfortable to discuss their true experiences when being recorded. This is something many researchers are aware of, relating to problems of trust and limited control over interviewee responses. This reflects the social situation of the cruise ship industry where employees are aware of the sensitivity and nature of the work setting and the power and control to which they are exposed.

Due to the nature and reputational sensitivity connected to working onboard cruise ships, and the awareness of cruise ship workers about what they were willing to say in interviews, Alvesson (2003) suggested opportunities for repeat interviews as a method of ensuring consistency in responses. However, in this study, there was not the opportunity for repeat interviews as access was restricted and engagement with workers limited by space, time and geography. There is little doubt that as a technique to check for consistency over time and for participants and interviewer to reflect on what has been said previously, repeat interviews are valuable (e.g., Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1991; Collinson, 1992) further interviews as well as the opportunity and resources to do so. As part of the interview process was meant to overcome issues of trust between interviewer and participant, it was important to establish 'genuine' interactions. Alvesson (2003) believes that

establishing rapport, trust and commitment between the interviewer and participant is an essential pre-requisite to explore the 'inner-world' the lifeworld and social realities of the cruise worker. Due to the researchers' strong cruise ship industry contacts, and has historical links to the hospitality industry, the researcher was able to develop a rapport with participants that allowed for an understanding of the language and centrality of participants Lifeworlds.

At this point, it is worth noting comments from Fontana and Frey (1994) who argued that the researcher can reject what is now considered 'outdated' interviewing techniques to avoid getting involved with the subject matter. They suggest that providing a personal opinion in a 'real' conversation with 'give and take' can provide an empathetic understanding of the subject under investigation. Adopting this approach was essential in earning the trust of the cruise ship participants and providing a level of credibility as a researcher. Being able to explore with some depth the lifeworld experiences of those employed in the hotel department onboard cruise ships required the 'give and take' that Fontana and Frey recommend.

9.3 Limitations of the research

The limitations of this research have mainly centred around the challenges faced with accessing and collecting data which stemmed from two areas: first the choice of the research context, namely the cruise ship industry; and second, the sensitivity of the research subject – particularly the behavioural issues associated with emotion control and identity. These have been identified in previous research as

warranting further study through the revelations of the researchers (see for example Klein, 2002; Gibson, 2008; Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014). Accessing the cruise ship industry to collect data is notoriously difficult (see for example Larsen, *et. al.*, 2012; Dennett, *et. al.*, 2014) and the experiences encountered in this research were no exception. As the programme leader for the B.Sc. Cruise Management programme at University of Plymouth, and the Programme Director for the 'High Performance Leadership Programme' - a leadership development programme delivered in collaboration with the Marine Hospitality Association (MHA) – (a charitable organisation set up in the USA to support and provide industry-relevant training programmes for both crew and officers alike), the researcher was acutely aware of the challenges of gaining trust and ultimately access to conduct the research.

Through these, and many personal industry contacts, there was a nucleus of emerging interest for such research to take place. Grasping this opportunity and based on assumptions built from conversations with industry contacts, it was deemed possible that the research was likely to gain access to pertinent cruise ship organisations that could support participation with the study. Unfortunately, after discussing the research topic in more detail, and forwarding numerous copies of the research proposal to cruise ship organisations, significant barriers began to emerge. Whilst there was clear support in the research topic from the cruise organisations, trying to obtain co-operation was a frustrating, tedious and lengthy process. The original plan for data collection was to conduct several focus groups or to use surveys to establish an understanding of life onboard for hotel cruise workers and follow these up with semi-structured interviews. However, this

approach had to be abandoned following the reluctance of the cruise organisations to facilitate a survey amongst cruise workers. After a number of failed attempts to gain support, alternative approaches were sought. The use of personal and professional contacts working in the cruise ship industry supported by social media platforms ultimately succeeded. Because of the inaccessible nature of the cruise ship organisations willing to support a survey approach, it was at this point that indicated a survey was unlikely to be logistically possible as a method for data collection, thus the option to adopt semi-structured interviews was adopted, although this was not without its challenges. As many of the participants were located around the globe, arranging interviews was fraught with technical and time zone challenges. Therefore, the lessons learnt for future studies for those considering embarking on research into the lives of cruise ship workers would be to ensure flexibility in their approach to planning methods of data collection, as methods of holding interviews can be subjected to challenges faced by the impacts of technology advances, and limitations of accessibility to the cruise industry.

While chapter 5 discussed the challenges faced in obtaining participants and the subsequent route adopted due to the nature of the difficulties in gaining access and cooperation. Ideally, the research would have involved hospitality workers in a single organisation, or at most two organisations for comparative purposes. This would have contextually allowed for better control over variables such as organisational practices, management practices, the segmentation of the cruise ship organisation and its passengers, as indicators of behavioural expectations. Contextual variables within cruise ship companies, where elements that could reasonably be considered as having an impact on the cruise workers *Lifeworld*, as

most participants below three-stripe positions are subjected to six-month employment contracts, and not all cruise ship companies deploy these employment contract lengths, with some opting for four-month contracts. In addition to the length of employment contract, space for social and off duty time varied between cruise ships and cruise organisations, with some organisations offering a 'wardroom' or a 'officers only bar', where cruise workers could relax away from those team members they have spent their on-duty time with. Finally, an area that was not considered before executing the research was that of culture. This can be separated into two distinct areas; national cultures, where crew members from geographical locations around the world bringing the cultural artefacts with them and retaining them in cultural workgroups and; second, the organisational culture of the cruise ship organisation. For example, UK cruise ship companies retain the culture of the UK in terms of language and cultural behaviours, whereas cruise ship organisations whose headquarters are based in the USA retain the cultural norms and behavioural expectations of those countries, despite the workforce being made up of multiple nationalities.

Researchers (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Schien, 1988) recognise the importance of culture in organisations and industries, and the cruise industry is no different. There are both national cultures of significant variation with crewmembers being drawn from multiple nationalities and there is organisational culture. Due to the complexity of national, international and organisational culture for onboard workers, it was judged as an area to omit at this point, as the area of culture in the workplace provides its own set of complex circumstance, which is a valid area of research for future consideration and I recognise culture is an element that impacts behavioural

performance and emotion management for cruise workers. Likewise, as this thesis only considered those workers of officer status, it would be advised to consider the influencing impacts of the paradigm for those workers who originate from the Philippines and India who do not hold officer status and whose employment contracts are much longer duration, often lasting between nine and ten months. Due to the lack of cooperation and the inability to access these individuals were rejected from the outset as participants to the sample.

Further limitations include the participant interviews and size and access to the sample. The main challenges faced in adopting this approach to gathering data involved gaining access to cruise ship workers who were currently employed in the cruise ship industry - to avoid concerns with clarity of recall from those who may have left the cruise industry some years ago. Access was sought eventually by exploiting several avenues, which included personal contacts who were employed with major cruise companies, as well as the use of targeted social media used by cruise ship workers, such as Facebook pages dedicated to cruise workers, LinkedIn and Twitter Blogs solely used by cruise ship workers. These were successful in that they provided an opening to access cruise workers who were willing to participate in an interview process. Having been able to secure willing participants through many platforms and approaches, multiple methods were adopted to conduct interviews, additional to face-to-face interviews, the use of Skype and telephone interviews were undertaken. Whilst all approaches to conducting the interview allowed the researcher to gather in-depth accounts of cruise workers Lifeworld, the technology-based approaches did not always allow for the ability to develop a strong rapport between the researcher and the

participant, as in some cases there were connection interruptions and connectivity issues. Therefore, on reflection, whilst the face-to-face interviews were not without challenges, as a method of data collection, they presented the most effective way to strike up a rapport which allowed the participants to feel comfortable in answering openly and honestly about their onboard Lifeworlds.

The process of interviewing participants provided further challenges, as most of the participants were employed on-board cruise ships on employment contracts in numerous global locations. In order to undertake interviews, as flexible an approach as possible was needed. This often-necessitated security clearance to get on board ships and interview participants in their place of work. Gaining security clearance could take between two weeks and two months, depending on the cruise companies and involved having to submit personal details which had to be checked and approved before being allowed onboard. Even once details had been approved, often there would be further tight security and questioning at the port, as on occasion details would not have been communicated to the Port agent and security officers. This led to a need to be flexible and tolerant, as well as tenacious in pursuing interview opportunities.

During a number of the interviews, cruise workers were called away to deal with urgent matters relating to their job role. Such interruptions ultimately added to the understanding of the constancy and perpetual demands of a cruise workers job role. However, constant disruptions meant that interviews were often protracted due to spending time restating questions and participants recalling their answers. In addition to the challenges faced by the constant disruptions, several interviews

that were conducted on-board had to be held in public areas, as it was not always possible to conduct interviews in offices due to their rank or position, or use personal cabins due to the need for higher security clearance, allowing the researcher to roam around private crew areas. In addition, 'turnaround' days, the days when passengers who are ending their cruise vacation disembark, and new passengers embark, meant the 'below deck' areas were extremely busy. As a result, interviews were conducted in public areas on occasions. Thus, conducting interviews in full public view and full view of co-workers, some participants were conscious about the confidentiality of their answers. Therefore, interviewees would often provide answers that aligned with company policy and expected behavioural norms whilst responses were being recorded. However, once the recording device was switched off, often participants would open up and provide responses that were not always congruent with organisational policy or even what had been previously said under-recording. Whilst some of the non-recorded responses were noted, due to the terms of the participation agreement, any responses not recorded were not included in the final transcripts for those individuals. However, these unrecorded responses were cross-checked with those participants who were not interviewed at their place of work, and who were willing to talk freely about their experiences and found to be closely aligned.

Despite these limitations, the qualitative method adopted using a thematic analysis yielded meaningful and experientially defined findings relative to the hospitality occupations of cruise workers. Ultimately, these proved extremely valuable in unearthing some of the complex circumstances of the Lifeworld of these individuals. It was not the intention of this thesis to generate theories that are

generalisable to other areas of research. It would be impractical to expect, or make, claims of generalisability from the findings of this research. Rather, the motivation was to explore, evaluate, and interpret the work and Lifeworld experiences provided by maritime hospitality workers on-board cruise ships, and the complex circumstances that influence their behavioural performances and emotion management. From this viewpoint, new knowledge has been produced in that researchers can better understand the Lifeworld, or paradigm, for those individuals as participants living and working under total institution control of the cruise ship. Whilst numerous studies such as Tracy (2000); Testa (2004), Weaver, (2005) Lee-Ross (2008) and Dennett (2018), have attempted to address the Lifeworld of cruise ship workers, there have been many assumptions formed about their lives and the influencing factors. What differentiates them from this study is the unearthing of the changes to self-identity and subsequent identity management as well as the centrality of work team affiliation as an element of a coping mechanism in dealing with the power and controls exercised in the world of the cruise ship. As such, these findings, whilst a snapshot in time, are the mainstay contributions to knowledge expected of doctoral-level study. In doing so, the study has provided clarity of understanding of the behavioural influences impacting performance, identity and emotions management associated with the work of hospitality onboard cruise ships.

9.4 Future research opportunities

This study did not set out to uncover all the details of working onboard a cruise ship, but rather, through examination and exploration, it offers a partial

understanding of a day in the life of a hotel department officer. This has been achieved by framing the complex circumstances that directly affect the *Lifeworld* of officers and any resultant behavioural and emotion-based actions they voluntarily or are forced to display. The fulcrum of an officer's *Lifeworld* seems to pivot around the power and control radiated by the ship and its agents acting on the authority of the cruise organisation. This pivoting action results in Total Institutional and Observational Control which encourages, or in some cases demands workers demonstrate and enact specific emotional and behavioural performances commanded by their on-board job roles. This study has particularly focused upon explaining the complex circumstances which influence, and are central to, a cruise officer's willingness to change and adapt their work-based identities to meet the demands of the social and professional interactions to which they are constantly exposed. This in turn demands a modification and manipulation of personal emotions and behavioural performances that are constrained by strict rules and regulations.

The data supporting these findings have been modelled to produce a schema (Figure 5.0) that outlines the central themes and *Lifeworld* experiences which form the paradigm that influence a cruise worker's life of super intensity driven partly by having to live and work in intimate proximity with others. It is this intimacy which drives constant demands for personal auditing and self-control of behaviours which subsequently alters/adapts identity. This can lead to a sense of isolation for some and loneliness for others as they struggle with the distance from their *Homeworlds* and the artefacts of their home life to which they had become accustomed.

In regard to future research, it would be interesting to extend this study's findings to a wider pool of cruise workers of different nationalities, genders and ranks who find themselves living and working onboard. Whilst this study has focussed on hotel department officers of one stripe rank and above, the decision to opt for this sample is based on issues of access which was outlined in chapter 5. Whilst this will, in all likelihood, remains challenging for researchers, it would be beneficial to undertake a broader study that focused on non-officer crewmembers *Lifeworld's* to see if there are parallels with the findings of this study. Often crewmembers, rather than officers, have employment contracts in excess of six months, with many from sub-continent countries such as India and the Philippines required to work up to nine-month employment contracts. In addition, crewmembers are not always able to access public areas during periods of rest and off duty downtime. As such, their experiences may be completely different to the individuals occupying officer roles as identified in this study. Issues of cultural identity and whether this acts as a buffer to the demands of institutional control and total observation could be a rich vein of research to be tapped. Furthermore, the experience of crewmembers now experiencing the trauma of incidents such as the Covid-19 global pandemic could also shed interesting insights into the care extended to crew members of all ranks under such testing circumstances.

The original motivation for this study was to explore the leadership impacts upon cruise workers and their everyday work experiences. However, as previously explained in Chapter 5, as a result of early pilot interviews it emerged that this would firstly require a greater understanding of the complex circumstances of those working and living onboard a cruise ship, something which this study has now

provided. As a consequence, it may well be fortuitous for researchers to now consider how leadership is enacted and what changes leaders have to embrace in order to deploy the total institutional control mechanisms demanded by the cruise ship owners. It would be interesting to explore how leadership *Lifeworld's* are constructed as there are far fewer leaders compared to one and two stripe officers. Could they demonstrate the same identity changes expected of lower officer ranks or is there an embedded understanding that such actions and changes are normal? This would necessitate studying leaders who may have risen through the ranks versus those who have entered cruise work at elevate levels, possibly from their senior experiences on shore-based hospitality operations. Would one, or both, type of leader behave similarly or differently? Finally, a larger sample studied under quantitative methods ought not to be ruled out. With the continued growth in cruise ship numbers and breadth of operations, it is likely that at some point in the future that access will be easier as cruise employers hopefully embrace a broader understanding of what it is for officers and other ranks to work on board in a fast-paced and ever changing operational landscape.

In sum, this study has examined the *Lifeworld* experiences of a small population living and working onboard cruise ships. This population combines global communities into a microcosm environment where 'normal' life is concentrated into the strict and observational boundaries of the cruise ship and where social and professional interactions are continually monitored. The research opportunities identified are fascinating and boundless.

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APPENDIX A: Ethical Standards Approval Letter



Ref: FREC1516.24

Date: 11 November 2016

Dear Richard,

Ethical Approval Application No: FREC1516.24

Title: Impact of emotion regulation and emotions on leaders in the cruise industry

The Faculty Research Ethics Committee has considered the ethical approval form and is fully satisfied that the project complies with Plymouth University's ethical standards for research involving human participants.

Approval is for the duration of the project. However, please resubmit your application to the committee if the information provided in the form alters or is likely to alter significantly.

We would like to wish you good luck with your research project. Yours sincerely

(Sent as email attachment)

Dr James Benhin

**Chair
Faculty Research Ethics Committee Faculty of Business**

Faculty of Business

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APPENDIX B: Interview Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Impact of Emotion Regulation and Emotion Labour on Leaders in the Cruise Ship Industry.

Please complete the form below by ticking the relevant boxes and signing on the line below. A copy of the completed form will be given to you for your own record.

Please Tick Box

- I confirm that I have read the information sheet concerning the purpose of the project, and purpose has been explained to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I consent to the information I contribute being used to generate insights for the research project.
- I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time up until the commencement of the analysis of the data.
- I consent to allow the fully anonymised transcribed data to be used for future publications and other scholarly means of disseminating the findings from the research project.
- I understand that the information acquired will be securely stored by the researcher, but that appropriately anonymised data may in future be made available to others for research purposes only.
- I agree to take part in the above study of Impact of Emotion Regulation and Emotion Labour on Leaders in the Cruise Ship Industry

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Richard Parkman

Name of researcher

Date

Signature

APPENDIX C: Interview Participant Information C

Participant Information Sheet

A Study into the Influences of Power and Control on Behavioural Management Emotion Control and in the Cruise Ship Industry.

Invitation

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Taking part in this study is entirely voluntary and will not affect your rights in any way.

Purpose of the study

The research is being undertaken by Richard Parkman a Ph.D. student and full-time lecturer at the School of Tourism and Hospitality, University of Plymouth. The information that is gathered will be used to understand the influence **of the power and control of the cruise ship setting for behavioural performance and emotion control** and the ability **for workers to** perform their role. The researcher is trying to understand some of the cultural and leadership challenges facing **workers who live and work** onboard **this** unique environment, **exposed to** a set of mainly irreplaceable work life circumstances. I will do this by carrying out face to face interviews whether with on board cruise employees who hold a position of one stripe officers or above.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. I will ask you to sign a consent form to show you have agreed to take part. You are still free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving a reason. A

decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you in any way.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be interviewed by myself (Richard Parkman) at an agreed time and location, dependant on your place of work (ship board or shore based). All conversations are strictly confidential, and you are expected to abide by this. What is said in the interview should endeavour not to name people or identify them in any way.

What will I have to do?

During the interview you will be discussing a range of issues and topics that can impact your daily life as a leader in a ship-board environment. I want to know your views and experiences and how these experiences shape your behaviours in your place of work. The interview will be recorded on a digital voice recorder, but you are assured that all the information you give will be kept strictly confidential. All of the audio records made will be destroyed after the research is completed. A paper record [transcript] of the interview will be kept secured but any information which would identify you will be excluded from this transcript.

Is it confidential?

You are assured that everything you say will be treated with strict confidentiality. All audio files made during the study will be destroyed upon its completion. A paper record [transcript] will be kept, however, all information which could identify you, or others you may mention will be excluded, and the transcript redacted to ensure

anonymity. All records will also be analysed and stored in compliance with Plymouth University's Ethics Policy and Data Protection 1998 legislation.

APPENDIX: D Application for Ethical Approval of Research

**APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL
APPROVAL OF RESEARCH**

(For FREC use only)

Application No:

Chairs action
(expedited)

Yes/ No

Risk level
-if high refer to UREC
chair immediately
Cont. Review Date

High/ low

/ /

Outcome (delete)

Approved/
Declined/
Amend/
Withdrawn

1. **Investigator/student** *Note:1
Richard Parkman

Student - *please name your Director of Studies or Project Advisor*: Prof Duncan Lewis
and Course/Programme: PhD

Contact Address: Room 334, Cookworthy Building Faculty of Business School of Tourism and Hospitality Plymouth University.

Tel: 01752 585684

Email: Richard.parkman@plymouth.ac.uk

2. **Title of Research:**
Impact of emotion regulation and emotion labour on Leaders in the cruise industry.

The cruise ship is a truly unique and unusual workplace due to the relative isolation of the ship and its closed working environment, of the type described by Goffman (1961). Where an organisation's employee is isolated from the wider society for considerable periods of time. Moreover, their lives are administered by the rules and regulations of the organisation that employ them for prolonged periods of time

Individuals employed in the on-board cruise ship setting, are required to be on duty for up to ten hours a day, over a 24-hour period, seven days a week for the length of their contracted term of employment. This could be up to 12 months of the year, more usually four to six months on duty with between two or three months for officer ranks, more for crew. However, having to operate in constant contact, not only with managers, supervisors, colleagues and peers, there is the constancy of customer interactions to contend with too. Therefore, investigation intends to explore the theoretical foundations, emotion labour and emotion regulation at the cruise ship work place, with the notion of identifying implications for individuals leading and supervising others in the panoptic environment of the modern cruise ship.

The aim of the study, and that of the methodological approach is to identify and understand the role of an individual, along with the impact of the environment and its influences upon the behaviours and emotion regulation of these workers. Whilst we are discussing emotion the main aim if the role of emotion labour and the ability of an individual to fake their facial expressions in the work place. Moreover, to further identify whether having to fake and adapt displays and modify behaviours has any implications for these individuals.

3. **Nature of approval sought** (Please tick relevant boxes) *Note:2

PROJECT: PROGRAMME (max 3 years)

If a) then please indicate which category:

Funded/unfunded Research (staff) Undergraduate

	MPhil/PhD, ResM, BClin Sci Masters	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Or Other (please state)	<input type="checkbox"/>										
4.	Funding: a) Funding body (if any): If funded, please state any ethical implications of the source of funding, including any reputational risks for the university and how they have been addressed. *Note: 3													
5.	a) Duration of project/programme: 3 years		b) Dates: 2016-2019											
6.	Has this project received ethical approval from another Ethics Committee? N Please write committee name: Are you therefore only applying for Chair's action now? No													
7.	Attachments (if required) <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">Application/Clearance Form</td> <td>No</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Information sheets for participants</td> <td>No</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Consent forms</td> <td>yes</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Continuing review approval (if requested)</td> <td>No</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other, please state: sample questions</td> <td>yes</td> </tr> </table>				Application/Clearance Form	No	Information sheets for participants	No	Consent forms	yes	Continuing review approval (if requested)	No	Other, please state: sample questions	yes
Application/Clearance Form	No													
Information sheets for participants	No													
Consent forms	yes													
Continuing review approval (if requested)	No													
Other, please state: sample questions	yes													
Principal Investigators are responsible for ensuring that all staff employed on projects (including research assistants, technicians and clerical staff) act in accordance with the University's ethical principles, the design of the research described in this proposal and any conditions attached to its approval. In most cases, approval should be sought individually for each project. Programme approval is granted for research which comprises an on-going set of studies or investigations utilising the same methods and methodology and where the precise number and timing of such studies cannot be specified in advance. Such approval is normally appropriate only for on-going, and typically unfunded, scholarly research activity. If there is a difference in ethical standards between the University's policy and those of the relevant professional body or research sponsor, Committees shall apply whichever is considered the highest standard of ethical practice. Approval is granted for the duration of projects or for a maximum of three years in the case of programmes. Further approval is necessary for any extension of programmes.														

8.	<p>Aims and Objectives of Research Project/Programme:</p> <p>The impacts and effect of emotion regulation on Leader-Member-Exchange relationships in the cruise ship setting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify the leadership challenges that are faced by cruise ship officers living and operating within the 24-hour environment of an operational cruise ship. To understand how managers and leader's emotions impact upon their effectiveness in undertaking operational duties To explore factors of emotional dissonance (felt emotions and enacted emotions) as experienced by managers and leaders. 4. To examine how leaders and managers regulate their own emotions within their organisational citizenship behaviours. <p>Please see section 2 for a description and purpose of the research.</p>
9.	<p>Brief Description of Research Methods and Procedures:</p> <p>The research data collection methods will take the form of face-to-face interviews on a one to one basis. It is planned to interview between 30-40 employees and or recently employed members of cruise ship organisations who have held management or supervisory roles. The interviews will be based on a semi structured basis. The interviews will be conducted face to face either on board ships in areas of privacy such as private offices or via skype video calls where the challenges of geographical locality can prevent face to face.</p> <p>The participants will all be employees or former employees of an international cruise ship organisation. All participants will hold a management or supervisory role within their respective current or previous organisation. The population will be recruited and invited to participate via contacting cruise ship organisations human resource departments in the initial stages. Further participants will be contacted using a snowball effect, based on recommendation and invitation of other employees and former employees to gain access to invite for participation.</p> <p>Participants will only be asked to participate if and when they give their full consent and once they have completed with full agreement the consent form outlining their position and the nature of the research. Further outlining their periods for withdrawing from the study and the periods up until which they can exercise their right to with draw. Furthermore, explaining the future use of the data/information and how it will be stored and any future use of the data. The data will be stored on a secure university server which can only be accessed with a passcode held by the researcher only. The time scale for holding such data will be in line with Plymouth University expectations and policy of ten years.</p> <p><i>Specify subject populations and recruitment method. Please indicate also any ethically sensitive aspects of the methods. Continue on attached sheets if required.</i></p>
10.	<p>Ethical Protocol:</p> <p>Please indicate how you will ensure this research conforms with each clause of the University of Plymouth's <i>Principles for Research Involving Human Participants</i>. Please attach a statement which addresses each of the ethical principles set out below.</p> <p>Informed Consent: Consent will be sought from all participants before commencement of the interviews.</p>

All participants will be required to read and complete the consent form prior to the commencement of the interviews being conducted. Failure to complete the form will prevent the individual from taking part in the study. Where participants are to be interviewed via the use of technology such as skype and electronic copy of the consent form will be sent to them along with a copy of the types of questions for their approval. See the attached form. The opportunity to further explain the nature and purpose of the study will again take place prior to the interview commencing.

Openness and Honesty:

Prior to any interview taking place a full open and honest explanation for the purpose of the study will be given. To give assurances that the study has no connection or been commissioned by or with any professional organisation. Furthermore, to give assurances that all data and information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and that anonymity will be maintained unless written permission is provided at some later stage

Note that deception is permissible only where it can be shown that all three conditions specified in Section 2 of the University of Plymouth's Ethical Principles have been made in full. Proposers are required to provide a detailed justification and to supply the names of two independent assessors whom the Sub-Committee can approach for advice.

Right to Withdraw:

Before the commencement of the interview participants will be informed that they have the right to withdraw for the study at anytime. Furthermore, they will be offered the opportunity to view a completed copy of their transcript before any publication of the study. Participants will also be informed that any data collected will be destroyed on successful completion of the thesis.

Note that this section should also clarify that participant's data will be destroyed should they withdraw, in accordance with best practice.

Protection from Harm: All participants have to complete a consent form to participate in the study before commencement of the interviews. Participants are adults and have the right to withdraw at any point from the study. The participant will have received a open and honest account of the aim of the study and will be given the right to withdraw or terminate the interview at any point.

Debriefing:

This section has been previously covered, that all participants will be advised of the purpose and will all be given the opportunity to view a completed transcript.

Confidentiality: All contents of the interviews and participants will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. No organisation or individual will be identified and all names will be changed to maintain their anonymity. There would be prior written consent sought before any individual or organisations identity are published.

As previously stated all the data will be stored on a passcode protected file space within, allowing access only to the researcher.

Professional Bodies Whose Ethical Policies Apply to this Research:

The committee strongly recommends that prior to application, applicants consult an appropriate professional code of ethics regardless of whether or not they are members of that body (for example, Social Research Association . <http://www.the-sra.org.uk/ethical.htm> Market Research Society <http://www.mrs.org.uk/standards/codeconduct.htm> British Sociological Association <http://www.britisoc.co.uk/equality/>). Applicants **MAY** choose to write "not applicable" in the "Relevant Professional Bodies" section of the Ethical Application Form. However, it is very rare that there would be no professional/academic code of ethics relevant to a given research project. If based on the information written in other sections of the form, FREC considers a particular professional code to be of relevance, then the Committee may make its consultation and adherence a condition of acceptance.

11.	<p>Declaration*: To the best of our knowledge and belief, this research conforms to the ethical principles laid down by Plymouth University and by the professional body specified in 6 (g).</p>		
	Name	E-mail (s)	Date
Principal Investigator:	Richard Parkman	richard.parkman@plymouth.ac.uk	15/08/2016
Other Staff Investigators:			
Director of Studies (only where Principal Investigator is a postgraduate student):	Professor Duncan Lewis	duncan.lewis@plymouth.ac.uk	

APPENDIX: E Example of Interview topics and questions

Interview topics and suggested questions

Role and responsibilities

1. Could you give an explanation of your role and responsibilities, what your role involves whom you are responsible for (number of direct reports if any) and who you are responsible too.

What does a typical day look like, how many hours a day and how many days per week do you work? What is your typical contract length?

What impact does the working day and contract length have on you and your motivation throughout your employment contract?

Leadership/Management

2. Leadership – if you are responsible for direct reports what is your style of leadership/Management. What do you consider the important aspects of leadership of others?
3. Do you take a consistent approach to leadership with all your direct reports, if not could you explain how you may treat others differently?
4. Does the length of contract, time you have been working or any other conditions of your employment impact your leadership (management) of others?
5. There is a pseudo military environment in the cruise ship setting with clear strict rules to be adhered too, do you ever go outside of them in order to lead your direct reports and if so why?

Environment

1. Living and working on board a cruise ship can bring its own particular set of issues. Could you highlight some of these that you feel directly impact upon you and your working and personal life?
2. When on-board are you aware of being observed during your daily working and social life, if so, who are the people you are conscious of observing you, and why?

3. Do you find it easy to relax away from your job role what sort of things do you do to relax and get away from the job?

Emotion and emotion regulation

1. Customer facing roles are notoriously stressful due to the requirement to be positive and display the right emotions (smiling etc.) at all times. Could you explain your experiences of this in your role both on duty and off duty? Any examples you could illustrate would be useful.
2. Maintaining positive displays of emotions both customer facing or when dealing with your direct reports has been identified as a required part of any supervisory/management role. Would you have any perspectives with examples to add to this point? For example, dealing with direct reports or requests from shore side or on-board senior managers where you have felt negative emotions but have been unable to actively display them or it would be unprofessional to do so. What tactics would you employ to overcome these situations?
3. Working away from home and away from friends and family can have some advantages and disadvantages. Could you explain how you deal with the personal emotions during times when you have had news from home and how do you deal with these times? Examples could be a family birthday/wedding or a relationship break-up.

Is there anything else to add?

The role of emotions in leadership and customer service has been well documented recognised as an important part of any role. The cruise ship setting is a unique and little if anything has been documented on how these two factors impact the role of individuals in this setting if you would like to add anything further please feel free to do so.

APPENDIX: F Example of Interview Transcript

Transcript

Interviewer: I would like to restate what this research project is all about. What I'm focusing on is two-fold. I'm focusing on officers in the cruise industry – and how they manage themselves on a day to day basis, whether it is one stripe officers – right the way through to four stripe officers. It is about how they manage emotion control in this environment. I have several areas to explore and some questions to help begin this exploration

Interviewee: Okay.

Interviewer: The first question is about your role and responsibilities. You mentioned yesterday that you'd been in the sector for seventeen years – so I am interested in your current work and role. So, for the first question, could you provide an explanation of your role, your responsibilities, what your role involves, whom you're responsible for, the number of people who directly report to you, and who you're responsible to. For the second part, what does a typical day look like for you? How many hours a day do you work? How many days per week is it? What is the length of a typical contract? And finally, in this section, what impact does the working day, and the working contract length, have on your personal motivation throughout your contract to deliver the one hundred percent experience?

Interviewee: OK.

Interviewer: over to you.

Interviewee: I have been with the company for seventeen years. My current job is working as the Guest Relations Manager. I have a quite a few people who directly report to me, there is my Assistant Guest Relations Manager – with whom I work with very closely. We have a meeting every morning when I go into the office. We go through any issues, any 'logs', anything that is pending, and anything that we have to resolve for the guests. Then of course you have the 'Documentation Officer' – who is in charge of 'clearing' the ship. She prepares all the paperwork – all the manifests and everything – she coordinates the clearance of the ship in every single port. Then we have the Event Coordinator who is in charge of groups, so he coordinates that. He organises any private events – any weddings – he coordinates that as well. Then we have the Concierge, she is sitting up there on Deck Seven. She is dedicated to all the guests onboard who might have questions. How to do things independently while in port. She also focuses on lost luggage. So, if guests have lost their luggage, they will go up to her so they can call the airlines and coordinate the delivery of luggage. Then we have our 'Captain's Club' hostess who is in charge of our 'loyalty guests'. So the Captain's Club members – they have various

tiers from 'Preview' to 'Classic Select' and 'Elite to Elite Plus' members – we have seventy five Elite members within the whole company and they have more than three thousand points. And then we have Guest Relations Officers who report to the Assistant Guest Relations Manager.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: And then you have Junior Guest Relations Officers who man the phones and work the console and everything, and since April we're now in charge of all the butlers. They will now report to those in Guest Relations, so it is quite a huge operation that focuses on the guest experience and resolving guest issues – various other stuff you know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Every day is different at Guest Relations.

Interviewer: I see.

Interviewee: Even after seventeen years when you think you know everything – there will always be a guest who will come with a question and you'll be like 'huh?' Honestly it happens. And then of course I do report to the Hotel Director. Every morning we meet – we have a nine o'clock meeting on a daily basis unless we are arriving in port at nine o'clock In which case we will go out onto the gangway and we sort out the 'flow' of the guests – we're there as part of crowd control and everything. There are other people who will also report to the Hotel Director like the Food and Beverage Director, the Cruise Director and the Financial Controller. And also, the Onboard Marketing Manager, the Inventory Manger, the Financial Controller to the Housekeeper and also recently, the H.R. Manager. In the past the H.R. Manager would report to the Captain, and now they belong to the Hotel Department and they report to the Hotel Director as well.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewer: So, the Hotel Director – they are sort of the equivalent to the Captain on the hotel side?

Interviewee: On the hotel side.

Interviewer: In terms of all the non-navigational marine side....

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: It all comes under the Hotel Department?

Interviewee: Yes – exactly.

Interviewer: It is a very responsible job!

Interviewee: It is, yes because in terms of the Hotel Department – they're looking after almost one thousand crew members in terms of those who belong to the Hotel Department, and the other two hundred come under the Marine Department.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: The Hotel Director is the equivalent of the General Manager in a hotel.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: And we call our ships 'floating hotels' as well.

Interviewer: So you do use that as a term, as I have read ships are now more floating resorts?

Interviewee: We do use that term. When you walked around the ship yesterday you could see it was like...it is a six-star hotel.

Interviewer: , this is luxurious in terms of the décor and the quality – in terms of what there is.

Interviewee: We have to maintain it as well, because the ship has now been sailing for five plus years. That means we must take care of the wear and tear, so there is always some sort of maintenance going on.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: You can see it going on around the ship. There is always somebody painting or checking the chairs or something – or the curtains. There are a lot of things to be done. We want to maintain it because if you don't, you know it is going to get even worse.

Interviewer: I see.

Interviewee: It is part of the daily operation. We do our 'maintenance walks' around the ship as well.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: We check what has to be painted, what has to be sown, and what has to be replaced. If there is like a room that is available on a "cruise basis". Like for example someone may have a shop in Southampton – then myself and the Chief Housekeeper will coordinate with the maintenance team and check if there is anything that needs to be done. Because otherwise embarkation is a very short period to fix anything in the room if anything is broken.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So, if there is a room that happens to be available on embarkation day, we will not do anything, we won't put any guests in there for a day or two, so that those in maintenance can go there. They will wash the curtains. The Housekeeping department will do like a 'special' clean in the room.

This will give them more time to be more thorough than on embarkation day – when the guests are turning around and you only have six hours.

Interviewer: In terms of your role, I was here yesterday when you were talking to the maintenance team who had six minutes to go, and you were having a countdown. So your role as Guest Relations, is making sure that the maintenance people look after the upkeep of cabins, staterooms etc as well as the passengers?

Interviewee: Exactly, and it is all about communication. And sometimes what we notice... It is a big ship.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: The last thing you want to do is sit in the office and constantly talk via E-mail. We have to make the effort to pick up the phone and talk to other managers and sometimes we go to their office. I mean we have been talking for how many minutes, I already have a lot of E-mails in my inbox.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So, we do these things – we get out of the office on purpose you know.

Interviewer: Ok

Interviewee: We also have all these events with the officers. We do the walk-around in the “Cocktail Hour” – that is a good thing to get us away from the computer!

Interviewer: Do you think that is important for ‘face to face’ interaction as a method of communication?

Interviewee: Yeah – I really want to build relationships with guests and also between us. Because I mean this is our home. This is our ‘house’ so you try to get along with everybody. Maybe you don’t see everyone on a daily basis, but you still have to make an effort.

Interviewer: OK. So, in the next – you alluded earlier to what your day was like. If you could expand on what a typical day is like for you?

Interviewee: There is nothing typical in Guest Relations.

Interviewer: How many hours per day would you work? How many days per week would you work? And what is the typical contract length? I would like you to explain, if this the contract length has an impact and whether it is important, what is the impact of the working day? The length of your contract, do you start at the beginning enthusiastic towards your role and what do you feel like in the middle and at the end?

Interviewee: At the end of the contract yeah? The typical thing about Guest Relations is that there is nothing typical about it. Of course, when it is a 'port day' and you arrive into port, and the guests get off the ship - that kind of makes things easier for us. So, my typical day would be that the ship arrives into port at eight o'clock in the morning. I would start around seven thirty so that before we arrive, I can come to the office and check if there is anything urgent in terms of emails. And then I would just be with my Documentation Officer – while we're waiting for the authorities to board the ship. Once the clearance is done, then we can make the announcement so that all the guests can get off, we need to make sure they know where the gangways are because the gangway location changes according to which port, we're at. And then of course some of us will be at the gangway while the guests are exiting – we wish them a good day if they're going on a shore excursion or even if they're just going for a walk around. So, we stay at the gangway for an hour, or maybe less. Then I have my morning meeting with the Hotel Director, and we go through the daily operations or anything that we need plan ahead for. For example, the transatlantic crossing is coming so we're already thinking about the events, the activities, and then of course once we reach Boston, we will have a full guest immigration inspection – all the guests have to be inspected by the U.S. immigration authorities. So, you're always planning ahead. So, once all that is done, then you come to the office. You still check your emails and you check with your team, to see if everything is fine. And of course, the most important thing in Guest Relations – we need to get along with each other. If someone doesn't say, 'Good morning' you would be left wondering what has happened to this person. Is something wrong? Because sometimes we're so focused on going to the back office to do your paperwork or something, sometimes you don't 'register' everybody around you. It is just a personal touch – a connection.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: That you will want to make. And then of course on a port day I would take a break. In the afternoon, let's say around lunchtime, I would go for a break – an afternoon break. And then I would come before the ship departs. So the ship typically departs at five o'clock or four o'clock I would be back in the office an hour before so I would check up on everything that has happened when I was not there, and then once the ship departs we will be on the gangway making sure everybody is back on board. We are monitoring the pass system – where the guests are punching in and out. Yeah. Because sometimes we need to make announcements for guests because sometimes somebody is missing and stuff! And then in the evening once I've got back to the office and the ship departs, I will walk back into

the office and check with the team. How is everybody? The evening entertainment will start in the lobby, we then do our walk-around, and we mingle with the guests. Sometimes we have events. Like yesterday we had the Senior Officers' Cocktail Party for our Captain's Club members! There is always something to do. So, it is very eventful. On a normal day I would finish my duties at maybe ten o'clock at night, sometimes I stay later, sometimes we have late night events that end at eleven thirty. If it is an interesting one, I would stay around.

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: Like for example tomorrow night I believe we have the (inaudible) club where we will have the Staff Captain, the Hotel Director and the Executive Chef. We don't really participate in this event, so we just go there to have a laugh. What else? And then of course like today – today is a sea day. Usually it is busier because all the guests are onboard which means somebody will always need something at Guest Relations.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: The team is out there. They have longer hours on a sea day as well. In terms of questions, they might have to go to the assistant manager or myself. My phone has not rung now for some time which is good. The sea days tend to be the longer days of the week, but the longest day is the turnaround day. When we're making sure that three thousand guests disembark, and that three thousand guests embark. So yeah – that is the busiest day for us – this is the day that you work the longest.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: In terms of a typical day in Southampton, I would wake up at five o'clock. because at six o'clock you have to start the disembarkations. I want to be there at the gangway because I want to clear the ship. I need to tell the Bridge officers that we need to start the disembarkation process. So, we're at the gangway – everyone has a duty on the gangway – making sure that we wave goodbye to the guests and wish them a safe journey and all that stuff. So for all the guests to get off when the ship is in Southampton – it usually takes about three hours!

Interviewer: So, you start at six AM?

Interviewee: Yeah. We start at six AM and then usually by nine AM all the guests are off the ship and we then 'turnaround' the ship – we make sure all the public areas are clean and Housekeeping starts cleaning all the staterooms. I make sure all the paperwork is set out and the desk is clean. I make

sure we have enough fliers and enough 'Sea Pass' cards. There has to be enough paper in the printer because the worst-case scenario is there is a queue at the desk, and you need to print something and there is no paper in the printer! That happens as well! What else? And then of course the embarkation starts! Usually it starts at ten forty-five – the first guests will begin to arrive on the ship. In the meantime, I will go into the terminal to make sure everything is fine in the terminal – making sure the Check-in Agents are okay and everybody is in place. Usually the supervisor has a briefing with all the Check-in Agents – in Southampton they're amazing so there are no worries there. And then I just monitor the embarkation process. Sometimes everything goes smoothly but sometimes not.

Interviewee: Sometimes when the guests are punching in their Sea-Pass cards – maybe there is no connectivity, so everything breaks down. And we have a line down the gangway, it happened twice this season. Then of course when the guests embark on the ship there are a lot of crew members from the revenue generating trying to promote their areas. The spa and the beverage packages and stuff. So, it is a lot of information and a lot of things happen on embarkation day. And then of course the ship is supposed to sail at four thirty from Southampton so by four o'clock I need to make sure that the check-in is done.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I need to make sure that all our laptops are closed down, and all the reports are done. I need to make sure all the manifests are completed. I am usually the last person to come aboard.

Interviewee: In Southampton or any other embarkation port. Once I am onboard then we can leave. It is quite an important day.

Interviewee: And then once the ship departs of course the guests usually have millions of questions – this is usually the biggest day for Guest Relations as well. So, we will have long lines (queues) at the desk, but what we also do is everybody 'pulls in' – all the people who report directly to me – like the Event Coordinator or the International Hostess. At the moment we don't have that because there is no need to have an International Hostess, because we only have English speaking guests onboard. We will get one for the next transatlantic cruise because we will have almost two hundred German guests booked so we're planning ahead again. So, then everybody just pulls in. Everybody goes into the lobby as well because sometimes the guests are lining up at Guest Relations, but they actually want to be at the 'Shore-Excursions Desk' which is just opposite. It's their first day, guests are a little confused, so they need a lot of direction as well. I have my Event Coordinator – he was in my office a while ago. He

is a big guy. He is quite loud. So, he will direct guests to Shore Excursions – sometimes they just have a question. It could be, where is the Maître d?’ So, he will then send them to Deck Four and the restaurant and stuff. So, it is a lot of coordination and crowd control for this task. And then there are guests who will want to check their statement to ensure they have got the onboard credit that they’re entitled to. They need to be make sure it is posted into their account. But once they come aboard, it is not there yet because it takes our Financial Team twenty-four hours to apply all the on-board credit and the promotions that they might have.

Interviewer: I see.

Interviewee: And then there is always some luggage that ends up at the Guest Relations desk. The reason being that the guests put their tags on their luggage, and they get torn off because they are made out of paper. There are quite a few pieces of luggage that is unidentified at the desk. Our concierge will try and find any other identification because sometimes the guests have their personal luggage tags on the suitcase, so they need to check their last name and which stateroom they’re staying at. We then have to call Housekeeping to deliver the luggage back to the rooms – we have to do all of the coordination. So, after six o’clock, when dinner starts for the first sitting – it gets kind of quiet. So, we then kind of coordinate the whole desk again, and put everything into place. And then at around eight we tend to get busy again because some people have finished their dinner, and some people are going for dinner at eight or eight thirty, so there will be another set of questions! And then by nine o’clock, if there is nothing out of the ordinary, then the desk becomes quieter!

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: And then we do all of our reports you know. We have a special team for the children who are less than seventeen years old, we deactivate the Sea-Pass cards, unless the children want them to spend money. Because in the past we have had the experience of children running up their bill and then their parents would not want to pay for it, so we just deactivate their cards and then the problem is solved.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So that is what we do on embarkation day and the following day is usually a sea day. The itineraries are made this way so that the following day is a sea day so guests can relax and enjoy the ship and all that stuff. And all the other things will come up. Maybe the guests will realise that

something is rattling in their stateroom because the ship was moving a little bit, or they here noises from next door. So, then the problems start.

Interviewee: They start yeah. And then you have to start resolving them again, so it is quite interesting. My contact is for four months.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: Usually I'm a Guest Relations Manager who stays for the whole period of four months on one ship. Because there are other GRMs who will need to cover someone's vacation. So, for example, when I go home for two months, there will be another Guest Relations Manager who will come and replace me for two months. And then once I come back that same person will go to another ship to cover somebody else's vacation. So that person would have a two-month contract. For me, I will normally stay on the ship for four months, and this is now my fifth contract on the (xxxx ship name removed). So, I am quite familiar with the itinerary and with the guests and everything. Our guests here in Southampton – we call them 'copy-paste'. They were here last season and the season before, so it is always the same people.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: It is quite interesting. I have a lot of repeat guests on this ship. They love the ship and they mostly like the people. Some of them come because of the itinerary, some of them come because of us – they *know* us, and it is quite interesting yeah.

Interviewer: Cruise customers, the one thing I have recognised from all the different ships I have been on, is the idea that the customers are very loyal. They are loyal to the brand, and they are loyal to specific ships?

Interviewee: Yeah – it's the same every year.

Interviewer: Unlike a hotel.....?

Interviewee: It is different you don't have that much interaction – but here you're on the same ship for up to fourteen days so you meet the same guests all the time.

Interviewee: And usually you make friends with the guests – the ones that are kind of nice. Unlike the ones that have issues all the time. I sometimes I even track those that have issues because I often feel like saying, 'But you had the same issue on the last cruise – how come?' So, we then start our little 'FBI style' investigation – and we check things out. Because especially with the rise of all the social media – the guests are sharing advice – how would I put this? They are giving advice on how to get

things out of us. They give themselves advice – which rooms are noisy compared with others, and how to get compensation out of us. We have to track all of this. We have a system in which we input all the guest logs and we can monitor it from cruise to cruise and year to year – all the time.

Interviewer: that is interesting that you have to carry out your investigations into passenger behaviours?

Interviewee: Yeah. We do that because we have to. And sometimes you will see the face of guest, and you think, 'I know that, but is it for a good or bad reason'? We do have guests that are quite loud and they're screaming in our face or whatever. And then the following day they come back and they can't even look you in the eye so. We have quite interesting situations. And then we also have a system when the guests are becoming very demanding or obnoxious or they're drinking too much. Or they may be giving alcohol to children or fighting – we have a process for that as well. Because unfortunate things like this do happen on the ship. So, then I and the Staff Captain will call those guests into the office and we give them a warning. And we tell them that if they continue with such behaviour, they will be disembarked. It is quite serious because we do have a set of rules, and it is the same for the guests as it is for the crew.

Interviewee: So, when the guests come onboard, they should abide by our 'Guest Conduct Policy', that they find in their documents. They will behave, even if they use the 'f-word' that is regarded as a breach of contract because sometimes guests are unhappy with their table assignment in the Dining Room or they don't like the stateroom and they suddenly start off with excessive words which are not appreciated. So, you just have to calm them down. Sometimes the guests come on board with different expectations. The travel agent has told them that they're getting a suite when it is actually not a suite, it is just a regular stateroom. And then you show them the paperwork and that is what it states clearly, but they insist that that is what the travel agent told them, so we have instances like this as well. Usually they will calm down – they will want to speak to the Guest Relations Manager. So once I step outside and say I don't know..... I say, "Mr. Smith let's just calm down and talk about it." The guest is often really upset about something. Whenever I go out there, I'll smile at them you know. Because it kind of calms them down. But if I feel that I cannot handle them, that is all a bit too much, or they get abusive, I will ask somebody to help me. Sometimes you do need Security involved, sometimes I will just say to the Hotel Director that that guest is really not nice. I'm a woman so sometimes this may make them feel that they're stronger than me so I will ask for help from the Hotel Director.

Interviewer: So, you do have to deal with the individuals who feel they can bully or threaten you as a woman?

Interviewee: Yes! Exactly. It happens. Or sometimes you have to deal with crying ladies where everything is wrong. Even though I would have to say that guests behave differently according to their nationality. The guests from the UK are very traditional and very polite usually. If they get really upset, it is usually because alcohol is involved.

Interviewer: I see, the stereotypical UK holiday maker.

Interviewee: Exactly. Then in terms of the United States, you will have people who come from New York, they're very loud as well. I used to work on the ship, and they were a completely different clientele, it was a completely different guest mix. And then in terms of my contract, like I said it is four months. Of course, when you come onto the ship on your first day, you're really excited. You have been at home for two months and you're full of energy, and you're eager to come back to work. So, at the beginning everything is exciting, and my energy starts to drop one month before I sign off.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: It does not happen for like the whole month, but I do have days when my energy goes down. You need to drive and lead the team, and then I need to have a word with my assistants. I will have to say, "xxx (name removed) – maybe today is not my day"!?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I will try and stay away because I won't want to spread my negative energy – I would not stay around that late. I would say to them, "Maybe I'll just go at eight thirty" I'll need to stay away. I need to be by myself and regain that energy and enthusiasm. Because you have days sometimes when things will happen at home. This is an interesting story. I have a cat that is nearly fifteen years old.

Interviewer: Right!

Interviewee: In August she almost died.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: I was devastated you know. My mum was emailing me. It was a neighbour who was poisoning my cat.

Interviewer: Right!

Interviewee: So, we had to take her to the vet and everything. I sat crying in my office, I couldn't get over it because I am so attached to this cat. Whenever I come home and I'm home for two months or

whatever, she is constantly with me. So, I was wondering if I was going to see her again. So anyway, my cat is back to normal.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: My mum sends me pictures now and then, showing me how beautiful she is! But then of course towards the end of the contract, like a few days before you go home, you're all excited. You have all these plans about what to do in your vacation, and when I go home, depending on the time of the year... For example, I go home on the 2nd of December this time. This is winter at home. I am not fond of winters. Like who wants to shovel snow and all that stuff!? I have made some private arrangements. I will stay with a friend who works in the Turks and Caicos Islands. I will stay there for a while, and then I'll go home. So, I will be home for Christmas and the New Year which is nice – after three years of being on the ships at Christmas. However, this time my vacation won't be exactly two months. It will be a bit less – a month and a half. I will be coming back to the Eclipse at the end of January. So, I will join up with the ship in St. Maarten. After St. Maarten we will have two sea days and then we will be in Miami, which means for those two sea days the person who replaces me will have to do a handover period, and then she will go to another ship. Actually, she will go on vacation because she is currently on the (*xxxx ship name removed*), which means she has already completed two months on the xxxx, then she comes back to the xxxx and then she goes home on vacation. When I'm on vacation I don't think about the ship ever.

Interviewee: I still get a lot of emails from the Miami office that I'm involved with. So, I still get some emails at home. Of course, the team will email me, saying, "How are things"? But otherwise, I just have a completely different life at home.

Interviewer: Can I just ask about that life of being at home and at work? It is to do with salary, but you don't have to tell me. I know some organisations will only pay for when people are at work, and in their 'off time' you don't get paid, is that the same?

Interviewee: Actually, this has just changed with us in July. In the past, in terms of myself as a 'two and a half stripes' officer I would be entitled to vacation pay.

Interviewer: Right!

Interviewee: Vacation pay was actually calculated based on the number of months that I spent onboard.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So, for every month that I would spend onboard, I would get half of my salary as vacation pay, and this would be paid to me the day I left the ship. So, there would not be anything showing on my account for the two months that I'm at home, but I would get it on the last day before I leave. However, in July they changed that for us in the Hotel Department.

Interviewee: So, half of my salary would be put in the bank and given to me. It is included as part of my salary on a monthly basis now.

Interviewer: OK. Every month?

Interviewee: Every month I get my 'vacation pay' included in the salary yes. I am lucky because not the whole team gets that. For example, the Assistant Guest Relations Manager does get vacation pay but for the rest of the team it is a case of they get their salary and that's it. They don't get vacation pay.

Interviewer: So that is what – for people two stripes and below?

Interviewee: Two stripe and one stripe officers yeah. So those that are two and a half stripe officers like myself get vacation pay, and also some type of bonus. Based on our results per quarter we get... As a Junior Guest Relations Officer an Event Coordinator or an International Host, whatever you make per month – this is it. So when you're on vacation you get nothing extra.

Interviewee: But the good thing is that now we have incentivised our Guest Relations officers and junior staff. We have incentivised everybody in the Guest Relations team with a beverage sales package.

Interviewer: Oh right!

Interviewee: This is very popular – if they sell a package they get a commission out of it. At the end of the day it is nice for them as well, because usually the gratuity on the ship is eighteen percent, but we have incentivised the Guest Relations staff so that out of that eighteen percent they get eight percent and then ten percent still goes to the bar because at the end of the day, they will be serving these guests for like ten, eleven, or fourteen days. So that is a nice addition to their salary, so they are quite happy with that. It is something extra in their pocket yeah.

Interviewer: Great! Talking about working at sea and then taking your time off, is there a period of adjustment? Now, the fact that you've worked in this sector for many years. But you have two months at home shovelling snow or whatever, and then you come back. Is there a period of adjustment and how do you adjust?

Interviewee: Actually, I have two 'modes' in my life. One is 'ship mode' and the other is 'normal' mode. When I go home for example, I don't talk to anyone for three days. I am just there in my pyjamas, making myself a sandwich, and I'm trying not to answer any of the phone calls. I send a text message to my girlfriends to say that I'm at home, however I will call them when I'm ready! So, for three days I just spend time with my mum, my dad, the cat and my sister, and I don't even turn on the television. I sleep. You know I spend time on the Internet, and I listen to new music. Because you have kind of lost track with whatever is new out there in the real world! And then after three days I do my appointments – my hair appointments a manicure and a pedicure. I put myself back together you know because after four months on the ship, sometimes you look a bit different. So, then I feel like a normal human being again, and then it is life as normal. I have to pay the bills. Seeing what is out there and what is new. What new shopping mall have they built? Stuff like that. Then after maybe two or three weeks I will start thinking what is next and I get anxious again. What shall I do – where shall I go? There are days when I get bored and I'll book an airline ticket and go to New York for a week – crazy stuff like that. And then like a week before I have to go back to the ship, I will start thinking about what to put in my suitcase. But at the end of the day I don't need much because I am usually in uniform anyway.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And then I start packing and I start saying goodbye to my friends, but after seventeen years, they're just used to it. My mum, dad and my friends are all used to it, they're all happy when I'm at home you know, we try to go out to dinner and for drinks. I want to spend time with everybody. On the day I leave of course I'm sad, but as I sit on the aeroplane going back to the ship, I get excited. And then when I see the ship when I've got to the port, I become even more excited. You start with one family and then you go to the 'second family' on the ship – it is exciting. It is completely different but exciting.

Interviewer: So, you have a period of adjustment back into, 'Civilian life'?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you have a period of adjustment from 'civilian life' back to your onboard job life?

Interviewee: Not really when I go back to the ship because it feels like as soon as I set foot in my office and I sit on this chair it feels like I have never left anyway. Everything is the same in here, nobody touches my stuff. Everything is still the same in the computer, so it feels like I never left. Maybe it would feel different if I had gone to a different ship but coming back to the same ship makes things a bit easier.

Even my cabin is quite nice. I have like my own little corridor that leads into my cabin and the corridor is like a storage area. So, I leave my shoes and my uniform there, and everything. So, I'm lucky that I come back to the same ship because if I didn't, then I don't know what I'd do with all that stuff in the cabin. Everybody leaves stuff in there, xxx sometimes leaves stuff in my cabin, so it is always being used for some type of storage. It is nice.

Interviewer: Yeah, I see. I would like to move to the next section that covers the role of leadership and management onboard. You lead and managing quite a large team. You have people to help such as XXXX and your Events Coordinator and so on. I want to focus on... on leadership and the questions is.... As you're responsible for people who directly reports to you, in your own words, could you describe how you manage people? What is your style – what do you feel is important when leading a team? Do you take a consistent approach to leadership of these people, and if not, could you explain how you may treat others differently? You may think you have a certain style, but sometimes you have to step out of the norm. If do you do that – can you explain? If so, do changes to interactions changes with the length of contract, and the duration of your working day?

Interviewer: Does the length of your contract, the amount of time you have been working, or any other conditions of your employment impact upon your style of leadership towards others? And finally, the cruise ship environment has been considered a pseudo military environment, with clear rules that have to be adhered to, but sometimes do you ever bend them or flex them in any shape, way, or form – in order to keep your team together?

Interviewee: When I was first promoted to the role of manager, I had no idea about managing people. So, you gain with experience or you tend to look up to somebody, in my career, I have worked with many leaders. And some of course are more leaders than the others. You always have to take the good stuff out of them. You know when I learned how to manage the team. At the moment I can say I am quite lucky. I have worked with Darren and he has been great. He taught me a lot, even though I knew that I knew a lot, but he taught me a lot. He has got his team together, so I tried to apply the same thing to my team. I am usually a manager – I believe that I am – with an 'open door' policy. I don't want the team to be afraid to come to my office, or anything like that. So that is why my door is always open, even when I'm not here.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So, then they can come in and just say things. Whether it is personal or business related, sometimes the Guest Relations Officer will come in here and we will just have a chat. Sometimes they will 'vent' their feelings about certain guests or whatever, sometimes we talk about personal stuff. Sometimes they will cry in this chair because of something to do with their boyfriend or girlfriend. Sometimes something has happened at home because they're on the ship for six months, but sometimes something has happened at home and they have to leave. Sometimes somebody has died, you have to be there for them all the time. I like to be 'friends' with all of them. Which I am because I will go out to the desk and we will joke and have a laugh, and we will dance when there is a band playing in the lobby and stuff like that. And they will sing but I won't sing because I don't know how to sing. But I always say that when we're at work we are there to work, but when we have fun, we do have fun. Because there is sometimes serious stuff that we have to go through, for example when we have a longer cruise – like a fourteen-day cruise. We will have like two meetings for the whole department. The butlers, all the Guest Relations Officers – everybody. I need to share information – whatever is coming and whatever is knew. I need to keep them posted about the ratings in terms of where we stand at the moment. All the ratings are also displayed here on the board as well. I try to be transparent. I tell them why we are here – I give them the big picture. And when I came to this ship three years ago, my team was completely different from what it is now. There are a lot of challenges, they didn't get along with each other. It took me a while to sort it out.

Interviewer: OK. Can I ask how you did that?

Interviewee: We had some meetings of course. You do have to try and evaluate the team. We had group meetings and I spoke with people "one on one" just to see what was bothering them, you know I tried to get to the bottom of it because sometimes the team really does blend. Like for example now sometimes they can't stand each other unfortunately, but you do still try to make it work. I always used to say to them, "If you are here, on this ship, then you want to be here – you shouldn't be here because someone else told you that it is great to be here." I would say stuff like that because you still have to have some willingness to be here and to work hard. You're still able to travel the world, but here at 'Guest Relations' travelling the world is almost secondary in my opinion. We still have regular working hours – eight, nine, ten, or sometimes eleven hours! It is not like working in the gift shop or the casino when the ship is in port! In there, when the ship is in port everyone can get off, unfortunately this doesn't happen at Guest Relations. However, we want to be flexible with the team as well. So, when xxxx

makes a schedule he will ask them if they have any preference because we still want to make them happy. So, xxxx will ask them if they want to work the morning shift or do they want to do an evening shift. Or we're in port and there is a whole day excursion to Rome so who does want to go? Because some of the team have been there already and some haven't, so we will try and accommodate requests because at the end of the day, we want to keep them happy. Then like once a month we will do teambuilding. We have the "X Club" up there on Deck 7 and when we don't have many children, we organise team gatherings. We have some drinks and some food, just to get away from the desk. It is important as well. Or, what we do as well... As course there is a lot of training, and you don't want to just like 'hammer' everybody with training and ratings, and all that stuff. So, it is important that they know what is happening around the ship, so I take them into the main restaurant.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: We split into different groups of people and we host tables in the restaurant, so that new people and the people that have been here can experience the new menu in the restaurant. So, whenever the guest has a question the team are familiar with it. It depends on the menu – how does it work and all that stuff? They appreciate that as well you know. And then they go on shore excursions when they can, I am very happy with the team at the moment.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And then the team, how can I say? If I wasn't nice to them, they probably wouldn't be nice to me most probably. It works both ways. There are some instances when you think, "What did he do again – you know." But then you just put it on the 'scale'. At the end of the day he or she is a good worker, so maybe she is not having a good day to day. It is the same for me so I will cut them some slack. And I will say, "I understand – maybe you should work in the back office today"? They can do some paperwork, maybe it is not good for them to be out there. So yeah – there are days when 'things' happen.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I am very clear in my meetings about what is expected of the team. So, it is very basic. We have certain policies on the ship, and I need them to abide by it. I need them to follow the rules of course. The first thing is safety and security. And then it is about the guests, and we're in Guest Relations so we need to build relationships with guests. That is why they're here. I make it very clear what is expected, and it is only basic stuff actually. They don't have to go and do crazy things. If they

just follow our staff philosophy on the ship, it just makes it easy for them. The first thing we ask them to do at the Guest Relations Desk is to smile. You know that is a basic thing, you smile. I told them “if they don’t have that and they just stand at the desk like a cucumber, it doesn’t help”.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So, there are even a lot of people from other departments that want to join the Guest Relations Team, but I always read the body language. People will train in Stateroom Services to become Junior Guest Relations staff at some point, and I would see them around the ship, and they would always smile at me. But then sometimes they don’t see me and they’re not smiling. Or they may be doing something, and I end up thinking, “do I really want someone like this in my team?” Because you look at the big picture all the time you know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Because always when people come into my office for an interview, of course they want to impress me. You know they dress up very nice and they try to smile but they’re usually nervous. It is quite interesting because we do have a lot of people come in from other departments like Housekeeping or Food and Beverage, and they want to join Guest Relations which means that we have a process in place. They’re trained in Stateroom Services to see if they actually like it because it is not all glamour. Or sometimes it’s a case of, ‘we are an officer wearing stripes, you’re just answering questions.’ It is not like that, you deal with problems and you’re resolving guest issues, it looks more glamorous than it is sometimes, but that is the reason why we do teambuilding and we do the fun stuff with the team! Because I know sometimes it can be challenging – as a Guest Relations Officer their contract is longer. It is six months.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: My contract is four months. Our work is not so much physical work, but it is mental work. You absorb a lot of information. I remember when I was a bar waitress. When I first started, I sometimes did six or seven month contracts. And that was physical labour – you know you were carrying trays and you were carrying drinks. You were walking around a lot. And I wasn’t as tired then as I am now after four months. Because now you’re observing all these things – all the mental stuff. But I’ve learned by experience in this position. Like for example in this position when this cruise is over, I would press ‘delete’ on my computer – I would delete all the old stuff, but I would also delete it from my memory as well.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Otherwise I would just have 'information overload', because it is a lot. And you want to start fresh. So, at ten forty-five on the Wednesday, that will be when I start the new cruise, if you ask me what happened on the last cruise, I will have no idea. I don't know. You'll have to go backwards and look through the report. And then I would say, "Oh, this happened It was a long time ago".

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: You learn how to manage all these things. And then sometimes you have to multi-task when there is a lot of things happening at the same time, this usually happens I would say in American ports. Because clearing the ship is so much more difficult. The U.S. immigration authorities can be difficult sometimes. The porters are a bit slower compared to those in Europe, there are just so many factors. It is about multi-tasking. Then a luggage trolley can end up in the water, and all the computers can shut down because there is no power in the terminals. You just deal with it you know.

Interviewer: Yeah. I would like to focus on the notion of emotional labour – this is the need for staff to smile. You have talked about the need for staff to smile as part of their job role. However, this can also impact an individual's 'emotional regulation'. Having a very busy lifestyle when you're onboard, and a busy working environment. required to smile all day. Even in the position you're in, you still have to smile, and as you say, keep your team happy. In this environment, how do you get away from all of this? What do you do to switch off? Because you can't get away for any lengthy duration. I imagine even when you're back in your cabin, even when you're having a cup of coffee, the phone will start going and you cannot escape your job role demands. Could you explain how you manage your life away from your work?

Interviewee: Something is going to happen.

Interviewee: I will just go out by myself. For example, if we're in the Caribbean it is much easier because everything is very close to the ship. For example, I like to go out in St. Maarten. I like to go and maybe lay on the beach, or just to browse through the shops. For me, I just don't want to see the 'ex'. That is the thing, or to come to my cabin for example, I don't even turn on the television sometimes.

Interviewee: I just keep it quiet and peaceful, like even here sat at the desk, even though I'm in my office I can still hear what is happening – I'm always conscious of that. If someone starts raising their voice, I will call xxx and say, "what is happening?" I may need to get out there and do something. It is three hundred and sixty degrees – I am always monitoring everything. I wish I could go to the gym, but

at the end of the day I'm thinking, who is Jim? I go to the gym at the beginning of my contract, but towards the end of my contract I end up thinking, "Is it gym or my bed? Oh, it is my bed". When I take my afternoon breaks, I would take a nap.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Because sometimes I have to work late at night. Or the clock goes forward one hour – you learn how to manage your time. You have to start prioritising things which at the beginning when I got promoted, I did not know how to do that. I thought I was 'guilty' for every single thing that happens to go wrong on the ship, if a guest had a noise in the room, I thought I was responsible. If their steak was not hot enough in the restaurant, I thought I was responsible, so I absorbed all of that.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I was sick – I ended up in hospital thinking, "I can't do this". I started prioritising and putting the 'ownership' back onto those managers you know. I mean if the steak is not hot enough, should I be the one who speaks to the guest or should it be the Restaurant Manager, the Executive Chef or the Food and Beverage Director, shouldn't they be the ones taking care of that issue?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Because if everything ends up on the shoulders of those who work with Guest Relations... What about the rest you know? They're still managers and they still have three or three and a half stripes – they're managers who should be able to resolve any of the issues. And even like on the manager's side, we work very well together as well. For example, today instead of having the regular meeting with the Hotel Director and everybody else, we didn't have a meeting in his office. We went to a restaurant and we had breakfast together, so it was more casual. He tries to take us away from our offices and all that stuff. We try to build relationships, and when we did our teambuilding exercises on our last cruise for example, it was this cruise actually! We invited the managers with whom we work with closely, and we do depend on them. On a daily basis we call the Housekeeper or the Assistant Chief Housekeeper or the Restaurant Manager. We call his Maître d's and of course the Executive Chef will prepare the food for us. So, he was there, and the Bar Manager was there so we do try and build relationships outside of normal working hours. It is important. It is interesting.

Interviewer: Going back to what you just said – you said you had to go into hospital because you took on too much – you didn't know how to manage and regulate your emotion? My question is, when

you have got staff and you're leading staff, customers are one thing, but how do you manage that side of emotions as well?

Interviewee: Let's say it is the team at the desk. For example, especially the people who're new to the team or they're new to the position. They have never been on ships before and you do try to make them feel comfortable, you will never see me screaming at the desk or at anybody – you know. I would maybe get aggravated, but I would still be professional. Because the worst thing, I always say, would be to scream at somebody else. My parents didn't scream at me! But we would want to integrate them into the team so you start them off with lighter duties, you wouldn't want to just leave them out there standing when there is a guest raising their voice at them. But you know the team is strong, so they pull together. If for example abc sees that xyz is in trouble, because she doesn't know how to answer a certain question, he would step in. So, they have this team spirit, they pull together, and they help each other. Or, for example, there may be unforeseen circumstances when a certain Guest Relations Officer will have to finish his job at eight o'clock but he or she may see that there is a long line at the desk, so they wouldn't leave. They will stay to help the team.

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: And for me the most important thing is for them to know that they can come to me at any time.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: They shouldn't be afraid to call me. Even if it is eleven o'clock at night or two o'clock in the morning, I need them to know that they can call me.

Interviewer: And do they?

Interviewee: Usually they would call xxxx first.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: But then we always know which guests are really, really difficult, and when I will need to get involved. It was two nights ago I believe. We had suite that had an issue in terms of the noise in the room. It was the first time. I know every single stateroom by heart by now. I know which rooms are the 'problematic rooms'. They might have noise coming from the theatre or from the gym, or from the Ocean View Café. And the suite in question, usually doesn't have any issues. So, I was thinking, "what is going on?" So, we were listening to hear some noise when the ship was in port and we couldn't. So, two nights ago the ship was rocking a little bit more than usual, and the noise started happening.

Interviewee: So, these ladies started causing a fuss. So, we all went into the room – the Chief Housekeeper, me and the Staff Chief Engineer, and then we finally heard what the noise was all about! The Staff Engineer was there – he is the second person after the Chief Engineer – so he knows the ship inside out and he was able to identify where the noise was coming from. They were able to fix it temporarily, and then the following day when the ladies went on a shore excursion, I went in there. I dismantled what had to be dismantled and put everything back together, so there were no issues. And then xxxx called me and he said these ladies were causing a fuss. I said, “OK – I’m going”. So, I called everybody, and I got all the troops together, and I was ready to attack – this is only way. And even though the lady who was first in the suite was the Assistant Chief Housekeeper, which means she only has two stripes, they were making a fuss and shouting at her you know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: When we all came together at the end of the day we had a laugh. Sometimes the guests just need all this attention, and you need to be seen to be taking them seriously, because I know it’s inconvenient it is for the guests not to be able to sleep at night. I am also sensitive. If my safe is rattling at night I will get up and I will put paper in it, or if the door or my shower is rattling, I would go crazy. But I don’t get disturbed by people making noises, but everybody is very different. And on a ship, you have various kinds of noises, which is our main issue. The guests would come to the desk and say, “This is the fourth time my Sea-Pass is not working.”

Interviewee: So of course, you check to see if they have anything magnetic, and they say, “No – I don’t have anything magnetic.” I say, “Did you put it next to your cell-phone”? And they then say, “No – I didn’t!” But then you see that in their purse there is a magnet. And the lady has placed it right in-between – so of course it is never going to open the door again. So, you show to them and sometimes you make jokes, and you say that they have a magnetic personality. You always find ways to turn them around. Sometimes there are people who’re born miserable and you can’t do anything about it, so I feel sorry for them! And in terms of the team, there are members of the team that come aboard the ship with different expectations. Of course, you have to tell them the reality, because I would want to do that from the beginning, I wouldn’t want to hold anybody captive on the ship. The people that don’t want to be here. And there are a lot of people who enjoy it, and of course you do see potential in them. And you try to develop them, and you help them grow, like xxxx. After her second contract she has been promoted to a Captain’s Club Hostess. We have a lot of people who really want to “grow” – who love

the cruising industry and love the company. I would say it is a great company to work for, especially after being here for seventeen years and I've seen all the changes – the good, the bad and the ugly.

Interviewer: And you've come through the ranks. You started as a Bar Waitress and you've come right the way through, so you've seen all the positions.

Interviewee: I've seen it all. From the days when there was no Human Resources Department aboard the ship, to now where there are policies in place about the working hours.....

Interviewer: So if you could sum up what are characteristics and the attributes of a successful sea going Hotel Department operative, leader or manager, what would you say those would be?

Interviewee: You know what I will go back to the past again when I first started. There was always the Marine Department and the Hotel Department. And they were special, we were special, and everybody was special. You know nobody wanted to take ownership of anything, and then over the years it became apparent that all departments need to work hand in hand and synchronise! And this does make a big difference. I think this happened when the CEO joined the company many years ago. She thought that as Captain you should not just sit on Bridge or in your cabin, you need to walk around the ship and socialise with the guests. Of course, I know the Captain should drive the ship – his job is to get us from point A to point B, but the guests love to see the Captain outside. They want to have their picture taken with him and they want to have a chat, and all that stuff. Yeah there are some Captains who tend to be more outgoing than the other, but just to see the Captain during social events and being around the ship is like 'wow'. So that I would say makes a big difference – the idea of working hand in hand. I know specifically in terms of this ship; we have been able to achieve this even in our second year. Because when I first came it wasn't that synchronised – everybody was doing their own thing – we couldn't find a way to make things happen. But lately it has been a great ship to work with. We won 'ship of the year last year'.

Interviewer: Thanks, and congratulations

Interviewee: Because every year it is a competition amongst the ships in the xxxx (name removed) Fleet in terms of who is going to be the best. That is based on the ratings and the revenue and all the other 'key performance indicators'– we decide which ship is the best. They take into account fuel consumption, accidents on board, and all that stuff. So, we were 'ship of the year' last year and we were really proud. And then in Miami, on the 21st of April of this year, the CEO came on board and we made a cake – it was really nice. So, I think there is a great team spirit on this ship, and everybody is very

proud. Even though you do have guests where you sometimes think, “What are they doing here!?” We ourselves have to make it happen – it is a great thing.

Interviewee: The CEO has always been with xxxx Cruises. She started with xxxx but I think she was in the Marketing Department first. Or she may have worked in the Sales Department, and she worked her way up. Then she became Vice-President of Hotel Operations and she went off to work for xxxx for two years and then then last year, became the CEO at xxxxx.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: The CEO is very involved she sends emails to the ship, and she congratulates us when we have good results and all that stuff. It is a nice boost and it his good for the morale.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you think I have not asked that I should have asked? Considering what we’re trying to understand?

Interviewee: I would always say that it is very important for people who want to work on the ship to have the right expectations. I think sometimes they’re given a load of promises to get them to come to the ship and it is a tough reality sometimes.

Interviewer: Is it?

Interviewee: If you ask me how many times, I have a day off – there is none! Honestly. But we do try to incentivise the team, in terms of the Guest Relations side. For example, instead of a couple of hours off – maybe we’ll try and make it a little longer. Like six or eight hours, maybe perhaps they will work in the morning and then not come back until the following day which makes a difference as well. But it is a lot of fun. It is a lot of fun but it is a lot of hard work as well.

Interviewer: It is the people that make the experience?

Interviewee: Of course! It is all about the people. We always say, “we have this beautiful ship, so we have the hardware, but we need the software”. And that is the people. The people will make a whole lot of difference. For example, I been on ships where I walk around, and the crew members wouldn’t even greet each other! Here, everybody says hi to everybody, and everybody will say hi to you. And I know that if I need something from the Captain now, I will call him and say, “Captain I need something now”.

Interviewee: And he will say, “No problem”. Or, I’ll phone the Staff Captain. On certain ships if I had to call the Captain I would be shaking. He would say, “Why are you calling me!? I’m having coffee and I’m having a break” It is very pleasant – it is very pleasant. But I always say that when people come on

the ship they should come with the right expectations. If they think they will make thousands of dollars in one contract, it is very easy to spend money on the ship!

Interviewer: Is it – right.

Interviewee: It is very easy. You walked through the shops the other day, it is very easy to buy a diamond, or to spend money ashore. So if you want to save you can, but you can also spend.

Interviewer: Because one of things that I've come across from all the people I've been contacting, is that they say you can save money and its one of the main attractions to working onboard?

Interviewee: Exactly you go to the beach and you buy some food and some drinks, and some stuff here and there. Because at the end of the day I look at all the stuff that I have in my cabinets and I'm thinking, "How is all this going to fit in one suitcase!?" It just doesn't make any sense.

Interviewee: Because what I like to do every contract or every second contract, I like to reward myself for all my hard work – so I will go out and splurge on something. I will buy myself some diamonds or a brand name purse or some shoes! And when I look at my friends at home, and instead of buying a Gucci purse, they will buy themselves a sofa or something.

Interviewer: But a sofa is no use to you?

Interviewee: Yeah – because I have it and I actually spend four months of the year on that sofa – why would I need a brand-new sofa when I can have a brand new Gucci purse? Living on a ship maybe you just have different priorities in life as well. We're a bit different because at my age, my girlfriends at home are married and they have children, and they have this and that, but I am a little bit different you know. For me, it still feels nice to be on the ship. Maybe If I had found something to do that is just as interesting, maybe I would have left by now, but it is still interesting, so I still like it. That is why I am still here.

Interviewer: I have got another interesting question; you don't have to if you don't want to because this may be seen as prying. But something that has come up is relationships, and people, certainly the younger ones, the ones that are new to sea, relationships help them get by.

Interviewee: When everything is coming up roses then yes, but things can get ugly sometimes, and then it is not nice!

Interviewer: Yeah other people... I was talking to a Cruise Director from MSC Cruises and he said that he doesn't have any relationships. Who are these people? They're not your friends! He had a little bit of a different point of view than from the way you viewed it. But also I spoke to somebody else who

said, "Yeah I have a relationship contract by contract." It is really interesting that there are all these different viewpoints.

Interviewee: It's very different – it is very different yeah. When I was younger of course I had relationships on the ship. Some of them lasted a couple of months and some of them lasted a couple of years, my last relationship lasted for five years. But then I cut it off – it just doesn't work. I mean even though the person was with me all the time. I work in one single position on the ship. My boyfriend was one the waiters, this means the company could easily accommodate he and I working on the same ship because they're very good about that. My problem would be if I was dating someone in a 'single position' – for example the Food and Beverage Director - then it would be difficult to match our contracts. And then sometimes you just give up you know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Because you may get split up and put on different ships, and after seventeen years, everybody knows me. So, you would have to put up with hearing all these stories and I can't be bothered. Now these days I stay by myself, but if I look at my team, quite a few of them are in relationships.

Interviewee: The Junior Guest Relations Officer and the Guest Relations Officer they're getting married this vacation. They're both from India which makes it easier. They're both on the same ship together, and they go home together. They're going off to get married and then they will come back to the same ship at the same time which means we're very lucky that they can be accommodated. But then of course there are people who believe that it is all great and they're in love, and they then go back to land! And they see who they are as 'real people' and then after a while you see them coming back. I then ask them what happened, and you realise they're no longer together. And you also have to put a lot of effort into it. And just to put it into perspective, on this ship we have one thousand and two hundred crew members. Out of those, there is around two hundred girls! And one thousand men. So, it means the ratio is one to five which means I could have a different boyfriend on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. But no! It is a personal preference. I choose to be myself.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: But you have to look at your reputation as well. You're a two and a half stripe – you're a senior officer would you want to be in the Crew Bar every night and have a different relationship every contract? That wouldn't give a good impression of me in public – you know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I am also very private. We go out with the team and we have a beer and we mingle and I hang around. But it is very seldom that you will see me with somebody – a man.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I just stay with my team and that is it.

Interviewer: Because again that is another interesting part of this. This sense that you're always being observed.

Interviewee: Exactly! Everybody is watching – especially if you're blonde.

Interviewer: Absolutely. You're right! And it's this sense that in your position you're not only being observed by the staff and crew members, you're being observed by passengers.

Interviewee: Exactly! I would not want to be in the disco with the guests and somebody else drinking the night away. I will drink socially in a public area, but nothing excessive because there is always somebody watching on the ship.

Interviewer: So, is it reasonable to say and I'll use this term, you have got to be a person who is comfortable in your own skin. You have to be comfortable in your own solitude and you have to be an independent person.

Interviewee: With all these years on the ship I know what is important to me. Maybe when I was younger, I was wild and a lot crazier than I am now. I have learned from my mistakes I would say. And of course, I would give advice to my girls, especially when they're brand new to the team. I would say, "Just be careful". And I do tell them that there will be a lot of guys that will come and approach you and offer you a drink and offer you a coffee. But, be picky, and just observe for a while! But there are a lot of things going on. Sometimes I go to my team and I say, "So what is happening – what is the gossip!?" Because I don't know – people don't come and tell me! Sometimes I find things out and I say, "Oh really!?" And so and so is with so and so. You would never think in a million years this would happen, and next Monday, it is a case of, "This one is now with so and so already". Sometimes you lose track because you have to concentrate on everything else like work... I don't know – other stuff! Sometimes things aren't as important to you anymore. Because maybe seventeen years ago, or even ten years ago, there wasn't a party that I wouldn't miss in the Crew Bar. We would dance the night away and all that stuff. And after three hours of sleep, we would go back to work and stuff. I can't do this anymore. Thank you but no thank you.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: In terms of going to the Crew Bar over my four-month contract, I've been here three and a half months and I've been there twice. The reason being, in one instance we organised a party in the Crew Bar – Guest Relations were hosting a party and we had to decorate everything so of course I went there to support the team. I had two drinks and then I left. And for the second one, we hosted a party but it was also my sister's thirtieth birthday party so that is why I had to be there. And that was it. There was no more of the Crew Bar until the end of contract.

Interviewee: Most probably not because I would always be thinking of the morning after you know. So, you know what I will just have two drinks and I'll just go and get my rest because tomorrow I will have to be fresh.

Interviewer: But does your position come into this?

Interviewee: Yes of course! You don't want to be hanging around the Crew Bar with people knowing who you are. Even if I go, you can't really relax one hundred percent because there is always somebody watching and at the end of the day, you want to watch what other people are doing. Because you see somebody standing at a desk, and then you see them in the Crew Bar and you think wow. You feel very protective of your team, and you always try to protect them, when you have to! Because I know there are good people, but then there is also one odd one. I haven't had that for a while luckily. But there are people that are a bit different, so of course I would go and check you know. Is it worth me putting my 'hand in the fire' for this person – not really! Because at the end of the day you're here for the success of the company, and you want to make it work. But sometimes you get people that don't want to make it work as part of the team, so of course you go and help, but at some point, you give up! And you just have to be straightforward, maybe it gets a little bit too much.

Interviewee: There have been too many negative comments, too much time has been spent in the bar, not pulling together when we need you to. But then people get the message, so sometimes you have to tell them, sometimes they don't realise. But sometimes they know they're doing wrong and they still continue doing it. Then you know that this person is not right for this situation and you push them out.

Interviewer: That's interesting – some really interesting comments have come out of this interview. One of the things that keeps coming up in this is the importance of having friends. But actually, the more senior the officer...

Interviewee: The less friends you have!

Interviewer: Or is it the less reliant you're on friends. You become less reliant on the shipboard friends but are simply colleagues?

Interviewee: I always say my actual friends are all at home. My real friends are all at home. They are the people that I grew up with, the people I went to school with, and all that stuff!

Interviewer: Thank you – I know you are busy and have to be elsewhere so we can end the interview here. Thanks again for your time.

END OF TRANSCRIPT